Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic (review)

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port as well, thus providing even greater commercial and service opportunities for its non-transitory inhabitants.

Following Sir Francis Drake’s expedition in 1586, a sizeable and permanent garrison was established in Havana. Moreover, in ways very similar to the expansion of the labor force that Evelyn Powell Jennings describes in her work for the years after 1763, both the Crown as well as residents imported African slaves to fortify the town. In fact, the Crown became the largest slave owner in the city, with 150 slaves in 1604; still it had to rent 106 additional laborers from local slaveholders to finish the construction of El Morro. By the early seventeenth century, Havana’s population growth was the fastest in the Americas. Most of the free population came from Andalucia, Castile, and the Canary Islands, with some Portuguese merchants migrating as well. By 1610, there were some 7,000-10,000 residents, with slaves representing nearly half the total. The hinterland expanded, as servicing the fleets facilitated land allocation. At the same time, Havana’s shipyard became the most important in the New World, and one of the largest in all the Atlantic, thanks in part to the high quality of Cuban hardwoods. The last two chapters offer the type of detailed elaboration of family, religious, and political networks that is the staple of modern social history and, in this case, indispensable to understanding the fundamental contours of pre-plantation Cuban society. A wealth of detail is provided to elucidate the experiences not merely of the white elites, but also of less prominent whites, mulattoes, free blacks, and slaves. De la Fuente points to the “erosion of traditional boundaries in a port city” (pp. 186-187), insisting that “there was much in the Spanish Atlantic that was not Spanish—including human, material and spiritual elements” (p. 227).

Havana and the Atlantic ventures only into the first decade of the seventeenth century, so the middle century of Cuba’s urban development awaits further attention, hopefully from Professor de la Fuente. In the meantime, for those specializing in a later, perhaps more familiar era, this book functions as a wonderful complement to Sherry Johnson’s excellent study, The Social Transformation of Eighteenth-Century Cuba (2001). Finally, for the new breed of Atlanticists, whom the author characterizes in his epilogue as Eurocentric and Anglocentric, it serves as an urgent call to broaden our collective intellectual horizons.

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With the growing interest in the forthcoming bicentennials of the Latin American independence epoch, Jeremy Adelman selected an excellent topic to study: the disintegration of the Iberian empires. Based upon secondary sources and primary archival research, this book examines the period of the later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century reforms and the international wars for Atlantic domination. Adelman develops themes in Atlantic history that analyze the experiences of the two Iberian metropolises and their trans-
Atlantic possessions. However, for reasons that are not evident, the author narrowed the scope of the subject implied by the title and in some respects reduced what could have been an overarching study. In the introduction, Adelman announced: “Most of the action described in this book takes place in cities from Cartagena to Caracas and around the Brazilian bulge down to Buenos Aires—and their connections to metropolitan cities like Lisbon, Madrid, and Cádiz” (p. 10). Probably he wished to center his study on his well-developed research strengths, but the complex themes of sovereignty and revolution in the Iberian Atlantic cannot adequately be explained in a regional study. While the Spanish viceregalities of Nueva Granada and Río de la Plata, as well as Portuguese Brazil, embraced an enormous territory, these provinces were thinly populated, economically quite undeveloped, and politically inexperienced. By excluding New Spain, Central America, Cuba and the other Spanish Caribbean possessions bordering on the Caribbean Sea or the Gulf of Mexico, and also neglecting the Viceroyalty of Peru, which also looked to the Atlantic world, Adelman detached Spain’s most valuable overseas kingdoms and provinces from the study. Well over half of the population of Ibero-America and the regions where the issues of sovereignty and revolution were of greatest importance received no attention. Adelman at least should have explained why he limited his study and abandoned the reinterpretation suggested by the book’s dustcover, which proclaims “a bold new look at both Spain’s and Portugal’s New World empires in the trans-Atlantic context.”

The early chapters examine the roles of merchants, miners, commerce in staple commodities, and the impact of Britain and France’s wars to dominate the Atlantic Ocean during the 1790s. Beginning in 1808, the French military occupations of both Spain and Portugal (1808-1814) served as catalysts that advanced the disintegration of their trans-Atlantic empires. The outbreak of the Spanish American wars of independence in 1810 and the less bloody experience of Brazil under the exiled Portuguese monarchs opened the way to the emergence of the new independent states. In general, Adelman’s chapters are carefully researched and well written. However, neither the author nor his readers for Princeton University Press picked up a number of errors that will surprise scholars in the field. In the 1780s, merchants in the African slave trade shipped German flintlock muskets and not “rifles” to exchange for slaves. The famous Spanish four-decked, 136-gun, Havana-built, first-rate ship of the line Santísima Trinidad, the largest warship afloat, was not lost at the Battle of Cape Saint Vincent in 1797 as Adelman claims, but at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. Many scholarly and popular books and articles published during the recent 2005 bicentennial of Trafalgar stressed the importance of Havana, Cuba, where naval shipbuilders constructed outstanding warships, including the Santísima Trinidad. More importantly, throughout the book, Adelman refers to the Spanish and Portuguese territories as “colonies” and to the inhabitants as “colonists.” In fact, the Spanish referred to New Spain, Peru, and other American provinces as overseas kingdoms or provinces. This view was especially important from 1808 forward in the debates over sovereignty and American representation to the Spanish Cortes under the Constitution of 1812. Finally, while Adelman’s discussion of slavery and the African slave trade is relevant for the portion of the Iberian Atlantic that is the focus of the book and for Cuba, there were fewer slaves in the powerful and heavily populated province of New Spain, an area so important for issues of sovereignty and revolution.
Despite its reduced scope, Adelman’s study adds new insights to the ongoing discussion on questions related to sovereignty and revolution. Though the inclusion of Brazil in the present study is laudable, less experienced students may encounter difficulties if they accept the title of this book and then attempt to apply Adelman’s conclusions to all of the Iberian Atlantic.

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This essay collection—comprehensive, illuminating, engaging and challenging—is an impressive addition to Atlantic and comparative history. In the introduction, Philip D. Morgan and Jack P. Greene note both the significantly varied operational definitions of Atlantic history and the many critiques of the approach. The authors respond to these well-considered positions with balanced confidence in Atlantic history’s capacity to evolve through multivalent approaches and offer the contributions to this volume as evidence. Joyce Chaplin follows with an overview of the multiple historical meanings of the Atlantic Ocean, asserting that the ocean’s history itself must be integrated into the field’s research agenda. The rest of the book is organized along three themes: “New Atlantic Worlds,” “Old Worlds and the Atlantic,” and “Competing and Complementary Perspectives.”

The “New Atlantic Worlds” chapters are written by respected scholars on the Spanish American colonial system (Kenneth Andrien), the Portuguese Empire (A. J. R. Russell-Wood), and the British, French, and Dutch Atlantic systems (Trevor Burnard, Laurent DuBois, and Benjamin Schmidt, respectively). These synthetic presentations emphasize the trade imperatives and the geopolitical designs that derived from commercial interests, as trade and politics were, if not synonymous, certainly equally important foundations for expansion, settlement and competition among European powers. Such activities opened opportunities for entrepreneurship and exploitation within the newly expanded geographies of empire. By design, these contributions offer ready opportunities for comparative perspectives and new means of organizing the complex histories of the component regions.

The section entitled “Old Worlds and the Atlantic” begins with Amy Turner Bushnell’s presentation of European contact from the perspectives of indigenous populations, offering a critique of familiar Atlantic history as that of the old seaborne empires without Asia and East Africa. She points instead to an alternative version of this history, in which the indigenous populations and their internal complexities contribute to our understanding of contact and its consequences. Philip D. Morgan follows with an overview of Africa and the Atlantic from the mid-fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, which reminds us that while the Atlantic served as a significant causeway for an African Diaspora, more important and numerous were the multiple internal diasporas within Africa obtaining from intra-African slavery, along with the dispersal that resulted from the slave trade across the Indian