

ecologies, and people alike. Along the way, she provides a vivid and precise history of how this historic Caribbean industry evolved over time, from detailed discussions of turtle biology, turtle hunting vessels and crews, and the various uses to which turtle flesh and shells were put in the Caribbean and beyond. The Caymanian turtlemen are the protagonists of the story Crawford tells, but she does justice to the regal turtles (primarily green turtles, known for their tasty flesh, and hawksbills, coveted for their beautiful shells) they hunted, too. She poignantly describes their extraordinary migratory ways and the often-gruesome fashions in which they died to sustain appetites of all sorts, near and far. Crawford's analysis of the industry is judicious: she shows that turtling practices both sustained and damaged a multispecies Caribbean ecosystem. The turtles are a poetic symbol of an archipelago long characterized by migration, forced and free: hatchlings crawl toward the sea within an hour of emerging from their eggs, guided by the motion of the waves and earth's magnetic field. They then spend their lives swimming hundreds of miles from home, nourishing the ecosystems through which they pass throughout their feeding patterns (18–19). It is difficult to read about these magical maritime beasts' travails, from the techniques employed by hunters to remove the turtles' shells to their transportation to various markets, tipped on their backs and often deprived of food and water for the length of the voyage.

If one aspect of this industry seemed underexplored to me, it was the role of women in sustaining the turtling economy. Crawford has plenty of excellent material on female participation in this industry, and she might have done more to emphasize that it was not entirely male. Women stretched turtlemen's scant earnings through their home economizing, including making thatch currency, cooking, and managing money and debts while their husband and sons were at sea. She even offers a fleeting glimpse of one woman who was a turtler herself in the 1930s and 1940s. Even though Crawford does not dwell on their involvement, she acknowledges that women were linked in critical ways to this maritime lifestyle. In light of this material, I found myself wishing the book's title and image were different and not so male-focused. However, her dominant tone is unfailingly respectful of the turtling industry's self-definition as male. The gendered aspects of turtling life and the male camaraderie to which this labor regime gave rise invite reflection. They serve as a reminder that different types of labor regimes facilitate different kinds of relationships, constraints, and opportunities among and for their workers.

Just as Crawford does not fully develop the gendered elements of the industry, she rarely engages directly with race or capitalism, both central to much of the historiography on the region. Instead, the book

approaches these issues from an oblique angle, as it does with some of the other major shaping forces in the story she tells. Throughout *The Last Turtlemen*, it is Crawford's humane treatment of the environment and people she writes about that stands out. As she follows the turtlemen and their prey throughout the Caribbean and far from its shores, she reveals how a logic of labor and ecology within the Caribbean existed beyond—and for a time, in spite of—national borders and laws of various sorts. However, Caymanian fishermen eventually became caught, like the turtles themselves, in the tightening nets cast by circum-Caribbean nations eager to enforce their maritime claims. As the book concludes, the reader is left with the sensation of having been invited by a knowledgeable and thoughtful guide to glimpse the ecological and human sinews that sustained “the cultural life of the archipelago” (34).

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Jeffrey Alan Erbig Jr. *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2020. Pp. xv, 259. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$24.95, e-book \$19.99.

Borderlands are all the rage, and for good reason. The social, political, and cultural dynamics in and around frontier zones are of perennial interest, but even more so today as military and humanitarian crises cohere in greater numbers along political borders near and far. Nevertheless, there are certain instructive examples that have eluded US-based scholars for decades, and in some cases for centuries. *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America*, Jeffrey Erbig's insightful book on the southern borderlands between Spanish and Portuguese America in the eighteenth century, admirably explores one of the terrae incognitae in this broader hemispheric map, applying the methods of ethnography, art history, Indigenous studies, and the history of cartography to printed and manuscript sources on both sides of an archival divide. Not since Mário Clemente Ferreira's *O Tratado de Madrid e o Brasil Meridional* (2001) has a work so thoroughly engaged with the historiography and archival richness of this important topic, and never has a scholar writing in English provided a more readable and incisive view of how and why these topics inflect the broader history of borders and borderland studies across the colonial American world.

For centuries, Spain and Portugal had struggled to define their southern border in South America, as they had—in different ways—across many of their tenuously held American possessions. The Treaty of Madrid in 1750 sought to regulate definitively the land

border between Portugal and Spain in their respective American dominions, following two and a half centuries of ambiguity and uncertainty put in place by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) and an arbitrary division of territory in South America following Columbus's arrival in the New World. From early in the eighteenth century, especially following the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), a geographical revolution was underway at several flash points that concerned French, Portuguese, and Spanish possessions, including the Guyanas as well as the area around Colonia del Sacramento, which went back and forth between the Iberian powers like a Ping-Pong ball. After 1749, an empirical orientation that privileged documentary evidence as well as on-the-ground surveying set in motion a new kind of cartodiplomatic fervor while episodes of interethnic violence and a new accommodation of Indigenous communities to more sedentary *reducciones* redefined territorial dynamics across the region. Erbig focuses his attention on the boundary expeditions that emerged in the wake of the Treaty of Madrid (1750) and the Treaty of San Ildefonso (1777), especially in the region surrounding the Río de la Plata and the Banda Norte—present-day Argentina and Uruguay—emphasizing clearly that many of these new dynamics undercut Native pretensions to territorial sovereignty.

The manner in which Erbig attends to these iconic moments in the political and diplomatic history of Iberoamerican settlement is highly innovative, and there are several aspects of his methodology that should be commended. The first is his attention to Indigenous sources and the centering of the Indigenous experience as active polities with agency and agendas. He brings particular conceptual attention to *tolderías*, defined as “portable encampments of autonomous Native communities” that were highly mobile and strategically organized to create conditions for a wide range of Native communities—from Bohanes and Charrúas to Minuanes and Yaros—to maximize their own territorial control and gain access to necessary resources. Describing the spatial configuration of these *tolderías* as an “archipelago” of settlements and mobile groups in his first chapter, Erbig powerfully asserts the territorial authority of Indigenous polities, emphasizing that local city councils acknowledged Native territorial control and that “in a multipolar world ... no single group was able to assert unilateral dominance,” including and especially Iberian authorities.

Another feature is the creative use of cartographic sources and the rereading of traditional maps and diplomatic sources according to a new methodology that brings together ethnohistorical sensibilities with an archival historian's rigor. Paying close attention to the epistemological power of ethnonyms as well as the intermittent presence of Native peoples across a broad

range of civil and juridical records, Erbig provides a nuanced view of Indigenous presence that explains how imperial blinders could have underemphasized their abundance in imperial documents, from maps to criminal processes. The range of archives, libraries, and historical institutes consulted by Erbig is truly impressive and crosses many national boundaries—from Spain and Portugal to Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. One of the real highlights of this book is Erbig's attention both to Portuguese and Spanish sources, something that English-language scholars have generally ignored or have chosen to emphasize one or the other's experience, with the notable exception of Tamar Herzog's *Frontiers of Possession* (2015).

Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met is a lean yet muscular example of multidisciplinary transnational historical narratives that bring attention to Indigenous agency and Native conceptions of space without failing to recognize the power dynamics that accreted to European imperial agents—in this case, mapmakers—whose technologies of instrumental empiricism and (carto)graphic description created new—and harsh—realities on the ground for centuries to come. Indeed, the final chapter opens with a powerful scene in which seventy-nine women and children were “corralled” by Montevideo police into the city's military jail, demonstrating not only the sudden decline in the *toldería* model following the end of the eighteenth century but also serving as an apt metaphor for how Indigenous communities would eventually become trapped by the imperial logic—and brute force—of the colonial enterprise. Although firmly rooted in historical sources, Erbig's masterful study still manages to eye the present with surprising rigor, surveying the landscape of past and future as we grapple with the same conflictual borderlands our political predecessors bequeathed to us many centuries ago.

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Jeffrey Gould. *Entre el bosque y los árboles: Utopías Menores en El Salvador, Nicaragua y Uruguay.* Bielefeld: CALAS, 2020. Pp. 120. Paper €15.

Entre el bosque y los árboles: Utopías Menores en El Salvador, Nicaragua y Uruguay (*Between the Forest and the Trees*) is part of Jeffrey Gould's extensive engagement with Latin America. As he explains, he first visited the region at the end of July 1979. At that time, the author traveled as part of a Dutch television crew to Managua, the epicenter of a radical revolutionary victory that militarily defeated one of the region's most opprobrious dynasties. That unique moment of optimistic revolutionary fervor was immediately captured by Gould, who gathered interviews and field notes, valuable sources that are incorporated into