

three special features of sojourner behavior: their activity in webs of patronage, the Chesapeake sojourners' loyalism, and measurements of material success. He has interesting and insightful things to say, but whether they are always convincing is open to question.

In both regions, enterprising Scots worked hard, acquired wealth, and encountered a wide range of problems that made it difficult, if not impossible, to realize their assets and move out of the colonies. But if all their actions were governed by intentions to return home, why did they so often fail to understand the nature of the problem? For rather than transfer earnings to Britain as rapidly and continuously as possible, sojourners tended to invest in their colony of residence.

This stimulating study leaves a host of unanswered questions that follow from the treatment of the topic. The methodology may be the only one available to enable the quantitative data to appear, but the sample is so small or the overall estimate so large as to bring into question the method's usefulness. The author fails to convince his reader that there were no sojourners elsewhere in British North America. Fortunately, his use of the rich personal sources he has uncovered balances the uneasiness. Allowing the sojourners to speak for themselves is one of the book's strengths. Still, a few difficulties remain. Although no documentation survives, the author asserts that the English refused to accept Scots. Discussing patronage in Maryland and Virginia, where sojourning largely ended at the beginning of the American Revolution, social theory appears to predominate over historical explanation. Accounting for Scottish loyalism in terms of ethnicity is curiously disconnected from the tobacco economy. As sojourners were invariably creditors, it is curious that debt collection is ignored in favor of ethnicity as the glue in the sticky relations between sojourners and colonists. Commerce lay at the heart of sojourning, but sometimes that factor gets laid aside here in the concern for the ethnic behavior of Scots.

This said, it should also be noted that this is an original, well-researched, scholarly blend of quantitative description and analysis and qualitative biographical sketches. It addresses a topic of growing importance, and it should encourage others to join in broadening the research and refining the conclusions about early transient migrants to America.

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National Period

Caudillos in Spanish America, 1800–1850. By JOHN LYNCH. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992. Maps. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xvii, 468 pp. Cloth. \$76.00.

In 1831 José Antonio Páez—who, with Rosas, Santa Anna, and Carrera, appears as a model caudillo in this major study—decided to neutralize a powerful bandit

named Cisneros. To do this he captured the bandit's infant son and then served as godfather at the child's baptism; he had his mistress act as godmother for good measure. Subsequently Cisneros joined the Venezuelan president. This is one of the few places where John Lynch acknowledges that an institution like *compadrazgo* could acquire "a special place in Hispanic culture" (p. 200).

More characteristic is his assertion that caudillismo may not be explained "in terms of cultural values or Hispanic tradition" (p. v). Such reliance, says Lynch, means "seeking escape in spurious terms which simply postpone the task of analysis" (p. 402). The terms *charisma* and *machismo*, for example, are either too subjective or too universal, and thereby distort the historian's effort. (It is no surprise that Glen Dealy's book *The Public Man* [1977] is not in the bibliography.) Curiously, Lynch chooses to ignore recent historiography in a section called "The Caudillo in Political Theory," where only Sarmiento, Alberdi, Carlyle, and Vallenilla Lanz are discussed.

Lynch focuses on "primitive caudillos" as against later "oligarchic" and "populist" dictators. These primitives emerged amid the chaos of independence, and not before. "Any sighting of the caudillo in the colonial period . . . is a mirage" (p. 33). Constitutionalsists like Bolívar, Santander, and Rivadavia were statesmen who built nations; caudillos, by contrast, sought power through land and patronage. Lynch explains that caudillos flourished in early republican Spanish America because they became "the necessary gendarmes" for elite survival in countries with weak institutions and threats of mass insurrection. Juan Manuel de Rosas' biographer reminds us that "El Restaurador" cynically encouraged blacks and gauchos to engage in the "Carnival of Rosas," with its "orgies of drinking and fighting," as a hint of what might happen without his "strong restraining hand" (p. 196).

After an extensive political analysis of caudillismo, Lynch provides biographical sketches of his four leaders. Consular reports by astute observers like Frederick Hatfield in Guatemala inform these sketches, most notably Lynch's fine piece on Rafael Carrera. As protector of the Indians—and they of him—throughout his long career, Carrera realized Bolívar's dream of the lifetime presidency.

Primitive caudillos could not survive past midcentury, however. More complex, export-led economies and urban societies required a different breed: the oligarchic dictator of order and progress. Guzmán Blanco and Díaz originated as caudillos, but their governments were "no longer caudillist in structure" (p. 427). Populist dictators like Perón may have reflected personalist qualities, but "who is to say that [they] received them from primitive caudillos rather than [from] authoritarian liberalism, or the world of the twentieth century?" (p. 436).

Lynch gives us a rich examination of primitive caudillismo. It might have been richer yet had he allowed more room for *compadrazgo* and other qualities that provide nuance, if not definition, to this brand of leadership.

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