

Dénle duro que no siente: Poder y transgresión en el Perú republicano. By CARLOS AGUIRRE. Lima: Fondo Editorial del Pedagógico San Marcos, 2008. Notes. Bibliography. 318 pp. Paper, \$25.00.

Carlos Aguirre, one of Peru's leading historians and a professor at the University of Oregon, brings together in this anthology a representative cross section of his substantial body of work over the past decade or so. It is an illuminating focus on subaltern groups—slaves, domestic servants, and prisoners—whose profiles and agency have been in the lens of historians in recent years. His work takes its cue from the notion that society reveals much about itself by how it treats its powerless, transgressing, and poorest classes. The theoretical underpinning for Aguirre's analysis of these groups is drawn from the work of Michel Foucault, particularly on the negative exercise of power on the local, individual, and micro level of society.

The title *Dénle duro que no siente* aptly sums up the author's scrutiny of various practices involving domestic service, the maltreatment of children, and those caught in the web of Peru's harsh and poorly functioning judicial system. His purpose is to expose the plethora of everyday forms of authoritarianism that weigh particularly heavily on the country's downtrodden classes and impede the formation of a democratic, tolerant, and just society.

The book is divided into three sections. The first, entitled "Esclavos, castigo y resistencia" comprises three essays on slavery, the subject of Aguirre's first book (*Agentes de su propia libertad*, 1993). The first is a comparison of slavery in Peru and Haiti that reveals many similarities. The second shows how *panaderías* or bakeries were used as prisons where rebellious slaves were put to work under unusually heinous conditions during the first half of the nineteenth century. This was a much-dreaded colonial practice that survived independence well into the Republic; it was finally eclipsed by mid-century abolitionism and liberal, "civilizing" penal reform that laid the groundwork for the construction of the state's first "modern" prison, the Panopticon in Lima, in 1862. In the third essay, Aguirre focuses on the different treatment of women (as opposed to men) in the new reformed penal system. He explains why females were disciplined to be utilized as domestic servants under the administration of the religious orders composed of nuns drawn from aristocratic elite families.

Part 2, "El delito y el carcel" contains various essays on the forms of representation of crime and mechanisms designed to discipline prisoners deserving punishment. One explains the midcentury reform and functioning of the penitentiary of Lima during its initial years. Another analyzes the emergence of the so-called criminal question, in which crime was seen as a social problem with numerous causes and threats to mid-century society. Two other essays examine penal practices imposed on women and the despotic disciplinary methods applied in reformatories for male minors aimed at curbing their defiance of authority.

In the final section, "Apuntes comparativos e historiográficos," Aguirre widens the field of his historical analysis from Peru to Latin America in three more essays, empha-

sizing in one the importance of linking labor and prison history. The first is a rich interpretative synthesis on the evolution of prisons in Latin America between 1800 and 1840 that stresses the links between forms of incarceration and social, political, legal, and cultural changes affecting the region. The second argues for a greater dialogue between labor history and the history of crime and punishment, an interconnection overlooked in the history of subaltern groups whose experiences Aguirre believes are more linked than previously believed. The final piece is an excellent historiographical essay on roughly a century of Peruvian social history since independence written during the last two decades of the twentieth century.

Such an abbreviated summary of the book's contents does not do justice, however, to the thick description and deep, nuanced analysis that Aguirre brings to his scholarly craft in these essays. His work here is grounded in the extensive primary sources that he has gathered from a variety of archives. The final product is further enhanced by a broad reading in the theoretical literature in the fields of slavery and crime and punishment. The latter is the topic of his second and most recent book (*The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds*, 2005) and a relatively new theme in Latin American history. While one might quibble with some aspects of these essays, such as a comparison of slavery between Peru and Haiti, on the whole the volume is a superb showcase of Aguirre's scholarship, which has opened up an entirely new theme in Peruvian and Andean history.

PETER KLAREN, George Washington University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2009-113

Nacionales y gremialistas: El "parto" de la nueva derecha política chilena, 1964–1973.

By VERÓNICA VALDIVIA ORTIZ DE ZÁRATE. Santiago: LOM Editorial, 2008. Notes. Bibliography. 417 pp. Paper.

Since the 17-year Pinochet dictatorship ended in 1989, Chile has been ruled by a coalition of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) and the "renovated" or "reformed" Left of the Socialist Party (PS) and the Party for Democracy (PPD). This means that the Chilean Right has not won a presidential election since 1958. Yet despite the apparent electoral hegemony of the center-left for the last half century, the single most successful political party in Chile today is the party most closely identified with the Pinochet regime, the far-right Independent Democratic Union (UDI), which has recently garnered over 20 percent of the vote in national parliamentary and municipal elections. In addition, the UDI has displayed unexpected electoral success in poor neighborhoods and districts that historically have been bastions of the Left, as historian Verónica Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate points out in this prodigiously researched and skillfully crafted study of the recent history of the Chilean Right.

Valdivia argues that the UDI represents a new Chilean Right, born between 1964 and 1973 during the Christian Democratic government of Eduardo Frei and the Socialist government of Salvador Allende, and fundamentally different from its predeces-