

not without merit. Its best feature, at least in the opinion of this reviewer, is the author's unequivocal condemnation of modern warfare, in particular militarist nationalism — an ideology that has the potential to make destruction acceptable and to involve ever broader swathes of society as both perpetrators and victims. In our brutalized modern world that so glibly devalues life and culture, who can really argue that such a book is not worth reading and meditating?

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MILTON, Cynthia E. — *The Many Meanings of Poverty: Colonialism, Social Compacts, and Assistance in Eighteenth-Century Ecuador*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007. Pp. 356.

Cynthia Milton's book is a rigorous historical work that treats a complex topic: poverty in colonial Ecuador. It is a refreshing study of *Quiteño* popular sectors and the way they were represented from above, mainly by colonial authorities and institutions of the time. The central argument is that "colonialism necessitated many meanings of poverty, corresponding to the principle of a socio-racial hierarchy," and that idea is developed in the context of dynamics that affected the continuity of the colonial system, mainly the transition from Habsburg to Bourbon rule in eighteenth-century Quito. The exploration of negotiation over symbolic spaces in reference to colonial governance and the different meanings of poverty are very appealing. Nevertheless, one wonders whether the negotiation of symbolic space was determined exclusively by the needs of the Crown, its institutions, and its officials, or whether it involved other processes of empowerment and rapid change in response to native peoples' demands of, and resistance to, colonialism.

The first part of the book is dedicated to the city and people of Quito. There, conflict developed around the ideas of ethnic differentiation, which produced a conceptualization of poverty in contexts of migration and disorder that drew the attention of Crown officials. From the second chapter onward, we follow the strategies of the judicial construction of robbery, beggary, vagrancy, and other behaviour associated with poor inhabitants. It is interesting how this was evolving from purely aid policies during the Habsburg regime towards more "modern" conceptions of control oriented to workers, or potential workers, whose integration into the systems of production was a priority. Bourbon policies towards the poor paid more attention to this integration and less to the correction of their diminished moral standards.

The book shows us how the definition of poverty at the time was used mainly as an excuse for the elites to reproduce and consolidate colonial hierarchies and to legitimize their position of power through paternalistic behaviour, articulated of course to religious discourses. It is not surprising that the poor whom Milton studies are not always the real poor, the *pobreza de solemnidad*, the *misérables*,

but also individuals from more privileged groups who had lost some benefits expected in their social rank. The distinction between the economic poor and the social poor is a brilliant interpretative resource. What is also interesting in the cases selected is the contrast Milton offers on the coexistence of the colonial pact with the racial hierarchies of work at the time, the reason it is possible to differentiate *pobres notorios* and *pobres económicos* and even the *pathétic*. Only at the end of the eighteenth century did the economic poor become, according to Milton, the social poor, thanks to the importance of the principles of charity. At the same time, she explains, the colonial order changed with the disappearance of ethnic criteria of differentiation, and privileges rested on the same criteria of duty and honour.

Widows and children, who comprise the subject of the third and fourth chapters, were identified in terms of their judicial incapacity. Girls and boys were not perceived as equal by the Crown. The first were minors who needed protection; the second were young adults who tried to avoid paying tribute. When describing the role of widows, following works such as Nathalie Zemon Davis's *Fiction in the Archives* for the European case, the author shows how they manipulated the language and rituals of the colonial system to gain access to benefits. Milton refers to the patriarchal duties of the King immersed in the colonial pact that permitted those women to use tradition to impose subjective perceptions on their poverty and eventually to get access to pensions. But what about more general discussion on issues of moral economy that opened so many questions about universes of reciprocity as well as horizontal, not just vertical, issues of domination and social control? Paternalism, as a fragile situation that could be broken at any moment if a system of reciprocity was not honoured, is also insufficiently explored here.

The agency and resistance of different groups of the poor, who gave the appearance of "prostrating before the feet of the King," making clever use of the language of patriarchy and femininity in the case of widows, is well presented by the author. I wonder, however, whether the weight of those actions in reproducing rules of colonial governance receives too much importance when we perceive that those public discourses, as Milton herself shows, are complex and subject to continual reinterpretation on the part of different actors. Playing with the rules of the system was not always synonymous with legitimating them, since often they were used and contested in those public practices. We should not forget the Ethiopian proverb, "when the great lord passes the wise peasant bows deeply and silently farts," as quoted by James Scott in his book *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (Yale University Press, 1992). It would be especially relevant to explore whether the poor were passive receptors of these initiatives that were presented as measures designed to protect them. Were they reactive simply because they were poor, and not because they had a memory of resistance, a communitarian tradition, or any other form of behaviour rooted in a long-term practice that did not disappear (as most of the native rebellions of the eighteenth century would soon demonstrate)? Milton recognizes poverty as a social site of negotiation, but the universe of that negotiation

seems to be limited to the articulation between “the place of the poor in society and the function of poor relief” (p. 12). Reciprocity is confined to the realm of social compacts and does not connect with a wider universe of domination.

The book is a great achievement in referring specific historical conjunctures, but further discussion on long-term structures and meanings could perhaps provide an even better comprehension of poverty in colonial times.

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PARKER, Roy — *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867–1917*.  
Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008. Pp. 354.

Roy Parker’s *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867–1917* examines the remarkable and at times troubling history of British child emigration to Canada in the 50 years after Confederation. The expansion of child emigration schemes in this period was a product of multiple factors, most notably high unemployment in British cities, anxiety over the social consequences of child poverty, and the relatively steady demand for labour, especially agricultural workers and domestic servants, in Canada. Parker’s approach to the topic balances sensitivity to these broader contextual factors with a particular emphasis on the importance of individuals, both emigrationists and the children themselves, in this process. The result is an impressive study that makes an important contribution to Canadian and British imperial historiography.

The scope of Parker’s study is quite broad, incorporating the experience of a wide range of charitable, religious (both Catholic and Protestant), and governmental agencies, as well as the key individual figures involved in child emigration. As if introducing characters in a drama, the author begins his study by detailing the personalities and careers of pioneering advocates of child emigration, including Maria Rye, Anne Macpherson, and Thomas Barnardo. This detailed focus on prominent individuals not only allows the author to examine the diverse strategies and methods adopted by the emigrationists but also effectively illustrates the most striking dimension of the history of this topic — the lack of inspection, oversight, and control over child emigration, especially in the first two decades after Confederation. While alarm bells raised by concerned parties resulted at times in government investigations, none led to a comprehensive system of supervision over the emigration process: neither the emigrationists nor the various layers of government in Canada were willing to assume full responsibility for such oversight. The author illustrates the consequences of this vacuum of authority through the career of Maria Rye, a tenacious advocate of child emigration. Rye was able to sidestep barriers to child emigration posed by the 1869 *Immigration Act*, as well as the active opposition of at least one federal government minister, to land several dozen British children successfully in Ontario in the late 1860s. An investigation into Rye’s