

startlingly radical statement on the proper treatment of slaves in the monastery, a rule that among other things pre-dated the emergence of the Atlantic slave trade by nearly a millennium. Those interested in the complex relationships between texts and contexts, especially as these relate to terms of Christianity and enslavement in Brazil, will benefit from Costa's meticulous research.

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GLOBALIZING POLITICAL ECONOMY IN HAITI

Entrepôt of Revolutions: Saint-Domingue, Commercial Sovereignty, and the French-American Alliance. By Manuel Covo. New York: Oxford University Press, 2023. Pp. 304. \$27.95 paper.
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There is no shortage of works on Atlantic empires, economies, or revolutions, and yet Manuel Covo's *Entrepôt of Revolutions* reframes how we think about all of these things. Covo's analysis of colonial capitalism centers not on the British and Spanish slave labor camps and mines, or genocide campaigns on the American continents that often star in stories of imperial development, but on Saint-Domingue. Covo showcases the "pearl of the Antilles" as the "hub of global capitalism" (2). The free-trade debates of the American, French, and Haitian revolutions centered on this incredibly rich island—the most profitable colony in the Atlantic in the late eighteenth century.

This is not, however, a book about only economic debates in the abstract, but one on the complicated realities and shifting networks that defined the era of imperial overthrow in the Americas. Covo mines a wealth of trade records, legislative documents, merchant papers, diplomatic correspondence, and pamphlets in multiple languages to spotlight the diverse cast of individuals, from enslaved laborers to well-known philosophers, who made Saint Domingue the "counterintuitive pinnacle of a republican project based on international law and commercial diplomacy" (97). Because France, like Spain, was a "polycentric polity," there were multiple centers of power; the book highlights in new ways the importance of Saint Domingue as one of these centers (8).

After an introduction that explains the stakes in "placing political economy at the center of the revolutionary narrative" and shifting the conversation away from a Eurocentric understanding of the Age of Revolutions and free trade debates, Covo moves from 1776 to 1801 to highlight the American, French, and Haitian revolutions. In nine chapters, he painstakingly reconstructs the mercantile relationships, diplomatic networks, and political ideas that flowed through Saint-Domingue (8). Each chapter highlights the shifting attitudes and actions of individuals who were not bound by the

“binary politics” (189) that seemed to define revolutionary sentiment and alliance in this era. An epilogue looks ahead to Haitian independence and the reversal of French republican values. The primacy given to economic factors and individuals’ profit motives throughout the book is tempered by the fact that “the debate over free trade could not be disentangled from Saint-Domingue’s racial context” (116).

The fifth chapter, “The Best of a Bad Bargain,” is especially illustrative of Covo’s ability to analyze transnational trade in fresh ways. The chapter, its title taken from a merchant’s letter describing his proposed reaction to the 1791 insurrection, argues that “trading practices on the ground reshaped the French-American alliance more significantly than the lawmaking of the National Assembly in Paris” (117). After the flour markets were opened to non-French traders, policymakers continued to debate the status of the *exclusif* amid the ongoing crises of the French Revolution, and slave revolts sometimes prompted colonial officials to lift monopolies. A focus on just these debates, however, would obscure the realities of enslaved persons’ struggles to destroy the plantation economy. Here, Covo gives a nod to Johnhenry Gonzalez’s colonial luddism in *Maroon Nation* (2019), documenting merchants’ attempts to profit through various legal and illegal channels, such as military provisioning and slave trade; none of these efforts had clear or singular ideological intents.

For example, Covo retells the battle of Cap-Français, which ultimately resulted in the abolition of slavery, through the lens of commercial motives. Deals worked out by US and French traders have been portrayed as evidence of the French-American alliance and a shared commercial republicanism. The reality, Covo tells us, was pettier and more self-interested. Disagreements led to a situation in which French traders refused to pay. When American merchants demanded justice, the French traders switched allegiances, and when rebels burned the port, these French traders didn’t have to pay the prices they had opposed. Although the fire destroyed American goods, US merchants, for their part, benefited when Black revolutionaries took over and were happy to do business with them.

Although American and French traders usually acted in their own self-interest, we get glimpses of some ideological motives. Covo mentions that merchants usually avoided political debates, with occasional exceptions. He uses the Girard brothers as an example. Jean Girard expressed strong white supremacist views along with his hope that the English would seize control, while Stephen remained loyal to France and sided with Toussaint L’Ouverture when L’Ouverture’s allegiance shifted to a seemingly pro-emancipation France. It would have been helpful if Covo had given us more evidence from their correspondence, which he says demonstrated “immense freedom of tone, blending commercial language with intimate and political reflections” (122). He might have also explained more thoroughly the economic and ideological rationale behind their views.

Following the burning of Cap-Français, Saint-Domingue merchants and planters sought refuge in the United States and subsequently changed the economic landscape of

US-French trade, seeking new entrepreneurial activities and investing in US land. American merchants, likewise, took advantage of the destruction of Cap-Français and the abolition of slavery to triple the size of the slave trade to Havana and to increase the value of US exports to the French West Indies. The intricacies and changing dynamics of new iterations of the “triangular trade,” which Covo details, are too numerous to mention but will be important for any scholar or student interested in the “rapidly globalizing economy” of the late eighteenth century (2). This book is “connected history” at its finest (11).

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ELITE PARTISAN CONFLICTS AND STATE-BUILDING IN URUGUAY

The Pen, the Sword, and the Law: Dueling and Democracy in Uruguay. By David S. Parker. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022. Pp. 248. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$41.00 cloth; \$32.25 e-book.
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Hundreds of duels were fought in Uruguay in the century after independence. An insult in the press or a pointed comment during a debate could spark a duel and lead, in surprisingly rare cases, to the death of a rival. As David S. Parker argues, the duel offered a “utilitarian solution to deep but essentially practical problems of political conflict in a young republic” (5). Despite its many opponents, Uruguay's elites regarded dueling as a necessary evil to ensure civility in the public sphere during a time when fragile legal systems and libel laws lacked teeth.

The book is divided into four chronological chapters that trace the rise and fall of the duel from the late nineteenth century to 1992 when the practice was outlawed. For most of its history, dueling functioned as a parallel legal system that mediated the tensions between the code of honor, or gentlemanly law, and jurisprudence. For political elites, “true gentlemen didn't appeal to courts when honor was at stake” (21). Journalists and politicians trained in fencing and marksmanship with the expectation that at some point they would be compelled to defend their honor with saber or pistol. The first two chapters detail the many motives and the complex choreography that could lead to a duel, highlighting how dueling opened fundamental debates about the norms of public discourse and the limits of Uruguay's young democracy.

Chapter 3 looks at the decriminalization of dueling in 1920 with the passage of the Ley de Duelos. Parker reconstructs the debates surrounding the law and notes that legalization came close to failing and would have done so had it not been for the deadly duel fought between Uruguay's formidable two-time president José Batlle y Ordóñez and