Alex Borucki, David Eltis & David Wheat (eds.), *From the Galleons to the Highlands: Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020. x + 350 pp. (Paper US\$ 34.95)

From the Galleons to the Highlands charts slave trafficking in Spanish America using a collaborative research model. Following the work of José Antonio Saco in the mid-1830s, generations of scholars have produced volumes on this trade, much of which is captured in the Trans-Atlantic (TSTD) and Intra-American (I-Am) Slave Trade Databases at slavevoyages.org, a powerful research and classroom tool. The first three chapters map the direction and scope of this trade by squaring TSTD with I-Am data on over two million captive Africans disembarked in Spanish domains between 1520 and 1867. These data, first published in the editors' "Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America" (*American Historical Review* 2015), upwardly revises earlier figures and more firmly ties Spanish America to the history of Atlantic slavery.

The middle four chapters offer new data from notarial archives to reconstruct a vast overland slaving network from Veracruz to Callao. Pablo Sierra Silva outlines three opening arteries of this trade in Mexico, where African captives were trafficked two to three per mule up the windward Sierras from Veracruz, over frigid 7,000-foot passes, into central Mexico—a two- to five-week vertical extension of the Middle Passage on muleback. The southernmost route, engineered by Italian Bautista Antonelli, is pictured on the book's cover. The sojourn of tens of thousands between 1590 and 1640 spawned regional economies of cooks, barber-surgeons, inn keepers, and mule drivers increasingly reliant on enslaved labor and free-people of African descent. Silva examines networks that enmeshed Mexico's textile industries, sugar plantations, and slavers like Mateo Gallegos with Luso-African and Iberian creditors. He details the single-roomed inns used to pen captives at night and reconstructs Puebla's market, where fruit and bread vendors expelled slavers to the edge of town by 1624.

Central Mexican slave routes fed the sugar-producing heartland, but also the Valley of Oaxaca, where a quarter of urban-dwellers were of African heritage by 1699. Sabrina Smith compares notarial records of 1,038 Creole and African-born slaves in Antequera during 1680–1710. Her research suggests that more enslaved individuals arrived in Oaxaca through interregional trafficking than transatlantic trade. These predominately-Creole individuals worked domestically, but Oaxaca's monasteries and nunneries were among the largest slave purchasers. Smith hints at the global dimension of ecclesiastical human trafficking, linking transpacific and transatlantic exchanges through local bills of purchase. West Central Africans were also forced to Oaxaca from the Caribbean overland via

Santiago de Guatemala. Paul Lokken likewise uses bills of purchase to track 1,709 captives ensnared in this trade between 1605 and 1655. Expanding on the work of Christopher Lutz, Lokken shows how Guatemala turned from a slave-trading crossroads to an exporter, with a third of all sales in Santiago bound for Mexico or Peru following the post-1641 decline in Iberian transoceanic trafficking.

Peruvian slave routes also ran through the Panamanian Isthmus, a region explored by Rachel Sarah O'Toole, who pairs royal cédulas with Archbishop notaries in Lima to reverse engineer Panamanian routes in and out of slavery. She examines the skills and strategies of enslaved and free-people of color as they worked to integrate Panama's slave trade into local and imperial economies. She accomplishes this by focusing on the lives of individuals: Joseph Cano and Lucas Gutiérrez, freedmen maintaining Panama's transisthmus slave roads; Lorenzo Agustín, a crewman who secured freedom by plying captives between Perico and Callao; Feliciano de Ozerin, who earned 10 pesos a month washing captives and the linens of traders; and Inés, who won freedom after her newborn, Nicolás, was sold to a cleric in Trujillo. Inés worked twenty years before exchanging an eight-year-old captive for the freedom of Nicolás. O'Toole's nuanced attention to the social and economic undercurrents of life in a slave society complements the work of Michelle McKinley by highlighting the fractional nature of slavery and freedom in Spanish America.

The concluding four chapters return to imperial archives and TSTD/I-Am data to examine late-colonial slave trading, transimperial contracts (*asientos*), and illicit trade in Rio de la Plata and Cuba, as well as Spanish Atlantic anti-slavery and abolitionist movements. Together, the macro/micro amalgam of all twelve chapters sheds new light on the critical Spanish American branch of the African diaspora. It also exposes missing links. The highland chapters deal almost exclusively with seventeenth-century North America. The omission of chapters on Cartagena, Lima, and Acapulco is striking. How might a mirror land-to-sea analysis of slave routes in Africa enrich our understanding of this global system? The editors and contributors of this book have broken open new research questions and provide an exemplary model for collaborative scholarship on slavery and the African diaspora to address them.

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