

pauper children with those of Yamanashi children generally, Saito shows that wards of the state bore the brunt of early industrial labour, a finding confirmed by the systematic use of pauper apprentices in early British mines and factories. In an era when the family provided whatever protection there was, children without parents were destined for deprivation. Laslett's "nuclear hardship" is part of the child labour story. For those poor countries where migration, war and famine have left many children alone in the world, the prognostication is gloomy. Child labour also has a political dimension as De Herdt notes. Where the employers of children wield political power, as in nineteenth-century Belgium, the struggle against it may be protracted.

Although this is a timely and important book, I remain uneasy about reducing children's contribution to industrialization to the extent of their labour. In Britain, child labour played a pivotal role in the development of a technology (mechanized production) and an industry (cotton) which are recognized as of enormous strategic importance. The earliest rural, water-powered mills could not have overcome their recruitment problems without pauper apprentices. Nor was child labour readily phased out despite cotton's capitalist image and "free" labour market. When the industry migrated to the towns and used steam power, urban mills employed relatively more children than their rural counterparts. The argument need not stop with cotton. Children were important workers in another foundation industry of European industrialization, coalmining, as De Herdt reminds us. Thin seam pits could not have been exploited without the diminutive labourers who stopped a gap in transport technology. A perspective which sees children's work as essential to establishing industry on a modern technological and organizational trajectory would, at last, rescue child workers from the condescension of economic historians.

Jane Humphries

BERGAD, LAIRD W., MARÍA DEL CARMEN BARCIA [and] FE IGLESIAS GARCÍA. *The Cuban Slave Market 1790–1880*. [Cambridge Latin American Studies, 79.] Cambridge University Press, Cambridge [etc.] 1995. xxi, 245 pp. £35.00; \$59.95.

In the last few decades historians from various countries have researched the history of Cuba, but many of its fundamental aspects have not yet been fully explored. *The Cuban Slave Market* is an outstanding contribution that investigates a key issue in nineteenth-century Cuba: the price of slaves from the boom in sugar exports in the 1790s to the passing of the emancipation law of 1880, which instead of abolishing slavery established an eight-year transitional period for its definitive elimination.

The core of the book is econometric history. It analyses in depth the slave markets of Havana (in western Cuba), Cienfuegos (on the south-western coast of the island), and Santiago de Cuba (in eastern Cuba). By choosing these three cities, the book provides an accurate analysis of the slave market throughout the island over a ninety-one-year period in which around 780,000 African slaves were brought to Cuba and slavery was the key feature of the Cuban economy, society and politics. The book is based on a complete price series for Cuban slave sales

in this period, analysed by age, sex and nationality. To construct this series, the book relies on notarial records relating to the sale of 23,022 slaves: 9,401 from Havana, 10,069 from Santiago and 3,552 from Cienfuegos. These records are held at the Fondo de Protocolos Notariales and the Miscelánea de Expedientes of the Archivo Nacional de Cuba, and at the Archivo Provincial de Santiago de Cuba. In addition, some sales could be documented from notarial records located at the Fondo de Protocolos Notariales of the Archivo Provincial de Santiago de Cuba.

As explained on page xv, this book is mainly the work of Laird W. Bergad – professor at Lehman College, CUNY (New York) – who “composed the statistical tables, prepared the figures, wrote Chapters 1, 4, 6, 7 and the quantitative analysis of the regional slave markets in Chapter 5”. Bergad also “translated, edited, and rewrote substantial portions of Chapters 2, 3, and 5, and made revisions after the book was copyedited”. Fe Iglesias – a researcher at the Instituto de Historia, Havana – wrote chapter 2 and a section of chapter 5. Finally, Fe Iglesias and María del Carmen Barcia – also a researcher at the Instituto de Historia – jointly wrote chapter 3. Although the book has been written by these three historians, twenty-five student researchers under their supervision “extracted the data analyzed” in it. It should be pointed out that thirteen of these students were from the University of Havana, and twelve from Lehman College. Thanks to the efforts and broad-minded approach of scholars from Cuba and the United States, several of these American student researchers travelled to Cuba in 1988, and several of the Cuban student researchers travelled to the United States in 1992. The book should therefore be prized not only for its academic value, but also for having promoted an egalitarian cultural exchange between the two countries.

The book is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter offers an overview of the existing econometric historiography of slave prices in the western hemisphere. The best-studied case is the slave market in the US South before the Civil War. The book reviewed here follows the path opened up in the 1970s by Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman with their book *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*. Within Latin America, Brazilian slavery has been the best-studied case, and among the Hispanic Caribbean countries, “the historiography of Cuban slavery is the most developed”. In 1964 the Cuban historian Manuel Moreno Fraginals began to publish his seminal three-volume work *El Ingenio*, yet his outstanding work on Cuban slavery tended to rely more on “theoretical interpretations” than on “empirical data”. By using published and non-published census materials and Cuban, Spanish and US archival records, Rebecca J. Scott’s *Slave Emancipation in Cuba* (Princeton, 1985) demonstrated that Cuban slavery remained economically viable until just before its definitive abolition in 1886. Following the publication of Scott’s book, Bergad complemented her thesis by demonstrating that demand for young slaves remained high well after the abolition process had begun (see his articles in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 67 (4) (1987), pp. 631–655, and *Latin American Research Review*, 24 (1) (1989), pp. 95–113, and his book *Cuban Rural Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1990)). The book reviewed here further documents “the continued economic viability of slave labor in Cuba’s dominant sugar sector as the abolition process began in the late 1860s” (p. 143).

In the second chapter the authors set out the sources and methods of data collection. The notarial records used for this study reflect above all the trends of the urban slave market in Cuba, but since Havana, Cienfuegos and Santiago de

Cuba were major slave markets for entire Cuban regions the authors successfully argue that this large sample of slave sales is representative of the demand for slaves in both urban and rural areas. All of the notarial records documenting the 23,000 slave sales studied in this investigation offer data on the health, age and sex of these slaves, but only 2,535 of these records carry detailed occupational information. The excellent analysis of this relatively limited amount of data constitutes the basis of one of the most fascinating sections of the book (pp. 72–78, and chapter 6). The book thus provides new empirical data and interpretations essential to the study of urban slavery in Cuba.

Chapter 3 summarizes the history of Cuban slavery in relation to the evolution of the island's economy. It accurately shows the importance of the non-sugar economy until the 1840s. Unfortunately, this chapter provides little information on the role of tobacco growing and manufacturing, and the urban economy in the use of slave labour, two subjects that remain largely unresearched.

Chapters 3 to 6 are the most interesting. In chapter 4 Bergad analyses the price structure of the Cuban slave market during this period using the impressive statistical database on the Cuban slave market between 1790 and 1880 developed from the sources described above and included in Appendix B of the book (pp. 161–231). One of the book's most interesting conclusions is that slavers were able to meet labour demand during those periods in which the sugar economy expanded at a faster pace. A good example of this was the massive arrival of slaves between 1827 and 1840, and during the 1850s. One of the most relevant findings of the book concerns the changes that took place in the slave market due to political threats to the Atlantic slave trade. These threats prompted slave owners to increase the purchase of women in order to increase slave birth rates and decrease their dependence on slave imports from Africa. This is important data for the future study of slave demography and women of African origin in Cuba during the nineteenth century. Another important issue analysed in this chapter is the higher prices paid for Creole slaves than for African-born slaves. Creoles were thought to be more docile and could speak Spanish. In domestic occupations, Creole females were clearly preferred to African-born slaves.

Chapter 5 studies the regional variations in the Cuban slave market by comparing the Havana, Santiago and Cienfuegos markets. The main conclusion here is that the three markets followed a similar path, which reinforces the reliability of the data and the historiographic interpretations presented in this book. The case of the Cienfuegos slave market is particularly interesting because it is the smallest city of the three studied and it was located in one of the most dynamic areas of sugar-cane cultivation in Cuba. It therefore better reflects the trends in the slave market in rural areas. An interesting finding is the high rate of Creole slaves sold in Cienfuegos as compared with Havana, which demonstrates that Havana was a main point of entry for African slaves. Overall, though, "the price trends on the Cienfuegos slave market confirm the general tendencies of slave prices in Havana and Santiago" (p. 115).

One of the most fascinating chapters is the sixth. Here the book offers very rich and new information on slaves buying their freedom through a legal procedure known as *coartación*. Almost all of these slaves (*coartados*) lived in urban centres. This chapter is therefore an important contribution to the study of urban slavery in Cuba. A large proportion of the *coartados* hired themselves out and by law could retain part of their wages. This is the first study to use statistical data

on this type of slave in Cuba, and the conclusions are revealing. For instance, nearly half of the *coartados* were African-born slaves, which shows that African slaves had access to cash and knew the administrative mechanisms for initiating the process of *coartación*. In addition, among the *coartados* there was a significantly higher proportion of females than males, a situation that reflects the higher proportion of women slaves in urban centres. As the authors acknowledge, if systematic empirical data on wages in nineteenth-century Cuba were available the interpretive possibilities of the data presented in this book would be even greater: we would have a means of knowing the efficiency of free labourers as compared with rented slaves. This is a key issue for a full understanding of the life of urban slaves, many of whom enjoyed a semi-slave status: they could live in different houses and even neighbourhoods from their masters and retain a portion of their wages.

Finally, chapter 7 summarizes the findings presented throughout the book and shows the similarity of the Cuban slave market to those of the southern United States and Brazil. The most remarkable aspect of this chapter is the sophisticated methodology that Bergad uses to compare all these slave markets.

In short, by presenting such a reliable series for slave prices in nineteenth-century Cuba, Bergad, Iglesias and Barcia's book offers a fundamental analytical tool for any scholar interested in the economic, social or political history of this Caribbean island or in the history of slavery in the Americas during the nineteenth century.

Joan Casanovas

BRUNK, SAMUEL. Emilio Zapata. Revolution & Betrayal in Mexico. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque 1995. xvi, 360 pp. Ill. \$45.00. (Paper: \$24.95.)

Not since John Womack's *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (1968) have scholars been treated to such an in-depth study of the peasant revolutionary who continues to weigh heavily upon the Mexican psyche. Based upon new archival sources, this work moves away from the paradigm which presents Zapatismo as a fundamentally homogeneous and communal rebellion. Zapatismo is analysed as a response to a complex web of varying socio-economic conditions, which rendered the movement much more heterogeneous and differentiated than previously believed. Much of the book, however, focuses on how Emiliano Zapata's leadership skills initially forged and, later, maintained the movement's cohesiveness. Brunk concludes his study with an explanation of Zapata's downfall. Tightly welded to the Plan of Ayala and attempting to fit local and regional concerns into the national picture, Zapata relied upon politicians and radical intellectuals, who ultimately betrayed him. In the end, Brunk argues, Zapata failed to balance the movement's origins, which were rooted in decentralized, democratic action, with the construction of a centralized force with a national perspective.

Brunk begins the book by placing Zapata within the historical and socio-economic framework of the Morelos region. As the most densely populated and one of the most intensely commercial agricultural zones in Mexico, Morelos' Indian-mestizo village society was strategically placed to lead an agrarian revolu-