Book Reviews


-Reginald Butler, Gertrude Fraser, James A. Rawley, The transatlantic slave-trade: a history. New York: W.W. Norton

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There exist, in the Caribbean, islands which were not part of the plantation system because of their small size and the nature of their soil, and as a consequence their social structure, economic life, and culture took on special characteristics. Without being totally apart, these islands avoided certain influences that were important in shaping life in plantation America (patterns of land tenure, massive importations of African slaves and Asian indentured laborers, etc.), but felt others (poverty, lack of land for cultivation). In the nooks and crannies of the plantation world, these islands built a set of societies that cannot be fully understood without reference to that world, but which also differ from it in important ways.

What are these Caribbean islands without sugar? How are they similar to and different from other Caribbean societies? How can we best approach an understanding of them, given their double character — geographically at the heart of the Antillian arc, but sociologically set off at a distance? Certain of these islands, such as Saba and St.-Barthélemy have maintained a significant European population and this is considered, by their inhabitants, of crucial importance in distinguishing their societies from others in the Caribbean.

First of all, there are ecological and historical features that are closely tied to the ethnic make-up of these populations. These are
closely interrelated, and it becomes necessary to understand their respective roles as well as the ways they interact. It is on this task that Jean-Luc Bonniol focuses, as the subtitle of his book implies. As historian and anthropologist, he conducts simultaneous fieldwork and historical investigation, with each posing its questions for the other.

The first part discusses the ecosystem of the small archipelago of Les Saintes, situated to the south of Guadeloupe, and particularly the island of Terre-de-Haut. The biotope, the flora and fauna, and human activity are presented in both their present state and their evolution. This ecosystem is then studied as the framework and means of a social life in which the sea exerts a particularly important influence on both economic and cultural activities.

Passing on from ecology to history, Bonniol then devotes two substantial chapters to tracing the development of the population of Terre-de-Haut. He does this in several stages. The first considers Les Saintes within the context of the colonial Caribbean. Mismanaged by a centralized state which sometimes turns them into a military base and frequently neglects them, Les Saintes are subject to external pressures, without enjoying any autonomy, as their own society develops at a very slow pace. Once Guadeloupe became a French département, for example, Terre-de-Haut experienced the simultaneous shocks of tourism and administrative reorganization.

This history resounds with echoes of the tensions and dramas that have played themselves out in other islands. Ethnic diversity and a past of slavery and revolts rarely exert a direct influence there, but they do color the values attached to particular ethnic groups and help shape a cultural identity in which these latter play a role.

The history of a small island society is, however, taken much further. Demographic analysis reconstructs — sometimes in broad outline, often with specific examples — the genealogy of this population. We are very far, in this book, from the sorts of ethnographies in which demographic data are given superficial treatment. Working with excellent documentation (census materials, government archives), Bonniol examines the demographic situation with real thoroughness — analyzing the main demo-
graphic variables and their development over more than a century and reconstructing genealogies according to information from birth registrations. Social structure and genetic structure are presented, then, not through anecdotal information or oral inquiry, but upon a firm base of documented demographic history.

It is, however, in addressing the contemporary situation that this long incursion into history takes on its real significance. Working with solid genealogical resources, the author was able to view this situation against the people's own ideological construction of themselves, their history and their ethnic origins. From this emerges an ethnic identity, constituted from both biological realities and the social interpretation of those realities, for "the people of Les Saintes, while instilled with a 'white' identity by the play of social relations, are not — genetically speaking — entitled to that status..." (p. 350).

Pulling together the various aspects of his study (historical, ecological, and ideological), Bonniol emphasizes how their interplay reinforces the people's cultural understandings within the context of insular boundaries, and reinforces the boundaries through the ideological view of an ethnic identity. Drawing together natural environment, biological history and cultural experience, he demonstrates their continual interaction in the construction and development of this island population.

This is a beautiful book which draws as much on French historiography as on the Caribbean anthropology whose resources it utilizes so thoroughly. Terre-de-Haut des Saintes fills an important gap — a geographical gap created by the scarcity of good anthropological studies of the French Caribbean and of small, marginal island societies, and a theoretical gap created by the clustering of research in the areas of plantation life, domestic organization or political structure. The book would have been enriched by comparisons with St.-Barthélemy or Saba, which could have been based on the author's own experience. It could also have benefited from a more unified presentation of economic life within the special context of departmentalization. But these are more traditional areas of inquiry, which other authors are equipped to explore, while there are few people who have the multiple qualifications that permitted Bonniol to write a book of
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Michel Laguerre, a Haitian anthropologist who teaches at the University of California at Berkeley, has done a great service for those who seek to go beyond the sensationalism and superficiality of so much that is written about Haiti and its people. These impressive and handsomely bound volumes will facilitate Haitian research on a variety of topics, while appealing to Caribbean and Latin American specialists concerned with cross-cultural studies. The Complete Haitiana supplements The Complete Caribbeana, 1900–1975 (Comitas 1977), which did not attempt to cover Cuba, the Dominican Republic or Haiti. It makes a laudable attempt to fill gaps and overcome organizational difficulties which have hampered the use of previous Haitian bibliographies in systematic research (e.g., Duvivier 1941 and Bissainthe 1951, 1973). And the technical quality of Haitiana’s layout and typography enhances its contribution in this direction. I detected only a few typographical errors, although the names of authors such as French historian Gabriel Debien and 19th-century Haitian writer/politician Démèsvar Delorme are accented improperly, and the use of diaeresis marks in foreign language titles is erratic.

Haitiana lists 9,945 entries, only two of which are reduplicated. The entries include books, contributions to edited books, journal and newspaper articles, pamphlets, and reports prepared for governments and international organizations. The bibliography also brings together a large selection of doctoral, master’s and bachelor’s theses submitted to Caribbean, European, Latin
American and North American universities. Moreover, it is the first convenient guide to the steadily increasing number of publications in Haitian Creole.

The entries are distributed among eleven thematic sections (e.g., History of Haiti, Haitian Culture, and Political and Legal Processes), and each section is subdivided into topical chapters, of which there are 65 (e.g., Post Independence, 1804–1914, Macro- and Micro-Analysis of Haitian Society, and Politics and Government). Primary entries are listed by author in the topical chapter whose subject matter corresponds most closely to that of a given work, and they are numbered sequentially in boldface type in order to distinguish them from secondary entries. Works by individual authors are ordered by year of publication, and those works published in the same year are alphabetized by title.

Haitiana's primary entries contain the complete reference for a work, as well as three types of supplementary information: the numbers of chapters where the entry is cross-listed, a library code indicating where the work may be consulted, and a geographical code for publications dealing with countries other than Haiti. The translations provided for all non-English titles are generally accurate, except for a few mistranslations and misleading ones (e.g., "Santo Domingo" for "Saint-Domingue").

The instructions for using the bibliography are clear, and the lists of periodical abbreviations and library and geographical codes which precede the text complete the information presented in the primary entries. (The Library of Congress appears to be the only library that is coded in the text but not listed in the Code to Libraries.) Annotated chapter headings, together with the author index, guide users to entries they might find interesting. However, the logic of classification is sometimes baffling. One wonders why an article on "stream piracy" is listed in the chapter on slavery, marronage and emancipation [12.0708], or how a study of philately [24.0161] found its way into the one on folklore. Moreover, users who know a work by title alone may discover that it takes some doing to track it down in the larger chapters. The bibliography would have been more useful to me if it had included the years of publication for journals and newspapers. Similarly, it would have been helpful to know the life-span of authors, and to
be informed consistently of cases in which they used pseudonyms.

Having become all too familiar with the pitfalls of Haitian bibliography myself (Lowenthal & Woodson 1973, 1974), it is perhaps unfair for me to dwell on them. However, given Laguerre's criticism of previous bibliographies, some comments on Haitiana's bibliographic shortcomings, as opposed to its strengths as a reference guide, are in order.

Laguerre compiled entries from several sources, including publication lists solicited from some fifty colleagues, but there is no indication that the works themselves were ever consulted in Haitian or North American libraries. This departure from standard bibliographical methodology may account for the significant number of inaccurate or incomplete entries. Perhaps it also explains why Albert Magonè, rather than his late father Edmond Magonè, is credited with assembling the Collection Magonè, and why Laguerre is unaware that the Collection Price-Mars has been catalogued (p. xvi).

A spot check of works in my own library revealed nearly forty erroneous citations, including reversals of authors' first and last names and inaccurate publication information for books and journal articles. Moreover, aside from the omission of useful works on various topics, Haitiana's coverage of translations of books by Haitians or about Haiti is sporadic, and its coverage of significant scholarly exchanges in Haitian journals is incomplete.

Space limitations preclude extensive citations, but three examples will illustrate the point. The Spanish translation of Jean Price-Mars' *La République d'Haiti et la République Dominicaine* [47.0032 and 47.0033] has been omitted despite the fact that it was published simultaneously with the French edition (Price-Mars 1953). Likewise, his critical essay (1948) on the third volume of *La République d'Haiti* by Joseph Verschuren (pseudonym of Henri Op-Hey) has been overlooked, even though Verschuren's book [25.0509] and his reply to Price-Mars [25.0511] are listed. And while inclusion of Lepkowski's history in Polish of the formation of the Haitian State [11.0163] illustrates the bibliography's international scope, it is regrettable that the more accessible Spanish translation was not also listed (Lepkowski 1968).

Finally, Haitiana's failure to indicate the total number of vol-
umes for books whose volumes are given separate primary entries, or to note the conclusion of articles which were continued in several issues of a journal makes it difficult to determine when a given work has been cited in its entirety. In addition, inconsistent notation of original dates of publication, particularly for anthropological and historical works by Haitians, leaves users concerned with such information in the dark. The justification for the selection of editions (p. xxiii) is convenient, but thoroughly inadequate for comprehensive bibliography.

These comments are not intended to belittle Laguerre's substantial accomplishment. Despite the fact that bibliophiles and bibliographical specialists will still turn to Bissainthe to guide them through the labyrinthine world of Haitian bibliography, *Haitiana* is the most wide-ranging source of publications for the period 1900–1980 available today.

**REFERENCES**


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This is a trilingual dictionary. English and French are the target languages. The source language is referred to by the authors as "Haitian Creole". The first question this raises is whether the source language is indeed a language, and if so, why "Haitian creole"? (Do we write Creole with an upper case C or creole with a lower case c?) Why not simply Haitian? These questions are less trivial than they seem; they are related to several deeper issues including some that are relevant to the very nature and purpose of the work under review.

The dictionary's major purpose is to "aid in the comprehension of spoken and written Haitian Creole by speakers of English and French who have some knowledge of the structure of the language." Thus the main section of the dictionary, taking up virtually the whole of Volume I, is devoted to the presentation of "an inventory of Haitian words as described and listed in available glossaries and as illustrated by some current written material in the language." There are about 10,000 articles in the dictionary. Volume II then gives target language indices; English and then French words that appear as meanings in Volume I are cited as head words in Volume II, and their Haitian equivalents are given.

The dictionary, however, provides much more information on Haitian than merely the French and English equivalents of a select set of Haitian words, and this may be the great merit of the work. The introduction (pp. i-xx), in addition to supplying the
usual information on structure and scope and the usual advice to users, also makes very useful and interesting statements on word classes (parts of speech) in Haitian. Orthography remains a current burning issue in Haiti and the introduction not only presents an orthography for Haitian (with copious illustrations of its application contained in the material of the articles of the dictionary), but also regales the student of language planning endeavours in Haiti with a comparative lay-out of the differences between three of the most important competing orthographic systems proposed: that of the Institut Pédagogique National d’Haiti (IPN), which was declared Haiti’s official orthography by presidential decree (September 1979), the one devised by Charles Pressoir, a Haitian linguist and nationalist, and another that was proposed by Americans (McConnel-Laubach) for Americans. The author wisely opts for the first of the three (the IPN orthography) in writing words for this dictionary, or at least opts for one that “most closely approximates it.” The author, perhaps unwisely, fails to indicate explicitly the areas where his orthography deviates from the IPN. Finally, the introduction makes a further contribution to the language planning process in Haiti by making certain codification decisions having to do with choice among morphophonemic alternants and the use of hyphens and apostrophes.

The dictionary entries contain a wealth of information, including grammatical description of the head word, English and French equivalents, sentences illustrating usage, geographical and stylistic restrictions on usage, synonyms or related words, and cross referencing. This then is a very substantial publication which achieves its goals quite admirably. In terms of the achievement of its stated goals, we may only reproach the rather large list of errata, which suggests a not-too-careful initial editing and proofreading. The author informs us, however, that the work is “preliminary”. Though we do not know what is to follow in the definitive stage, we can expect that the errata will be eliminated.

I cannot end this review without returning to the question posed in the first paragraph concerning the deeper implications of the dictionary. Although it is obvious that scholarly and practical works such as this dictionary will assist greatly in the promotion of Haitian as a full language, it is also obvious that a trilingual
dictionary with Haitian as source language falls short of looking at Haitian as objet en soi, but rather looks at it as an objet en relation. The treatment of Haitian as objet en soi can only be achieved with a monolingual dictionary in Haitian. The absence of such a dictionary is indicative of the persistence of low status for Haitian, a status which is in turn reflected in the continued use of such designations as Haitian Creole, French Creole of Haiti, etc. This is no reproach of the dictionary under review, since the author clearly states his goals. One cannot help but be intrigued, however, at the way in which this trilingual dictionary symbolises the current competition/collaboration between France (French) and the United States (English) to influence the destiny of Haiti (Haitian).

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Jean Price-Mars, the acknowledged precursor of “Négritude,” lived a long life as Haitian scholar, diplomat, senator and interim medical practitioner. He aspired to the presidency of his country, hoping to devote its powers to the interests of the black country people whose wisdom and hard work he praised, at a time when European notions prevailed at the capital among the educated elite. He hoped that agriculture, the way of life of most Haitians, could become more productive. The Tuskegee Institute was a model to emulate, early in the century.

Among his works, one has prevailed: Ainsi Parla l'Oncle, published in 1928, when Haiti had been occupied for a decade by the U.S. Marines. The ‘Uncle’ was the African one, whose strength and courage were now to be drawn upon again, as they had been during the war of independence from France. The author of this biography, a Haitian exile, devotes a whole chapter to the book,
stressing not only its argument, but also its effect on the younger (1930s) generation of intellectuals, among them Jacques Roumain (founder of the Institut d'Ethnologie), Suzanne Comhaire and others. One of these, the poet Jean Briére has written a preface to this biography: I would like to quote a paragraph, in Antoine's translation:

The stature of the man [Price-Mars], with his self-esteem bound up with the true Haitian people, his unrivalled cultural activism, his exemplary humility which was not without its controlled anger, cries and barbs demands that his magi's profile, his sage words, his venerable kindness so similar to that of African teachers and elders in the shade of the palaver tree ought not to be shown in a private study for the "happy few", but on the vast screen of life lived differently by all its varied protagonists; the screen itself of history, beautiful, painful and tragic, of the Haitian people... In his time [1910–30], he was the only leader in the bosom of a perfectly assimilated elite, who was conscious and proud of his African origins [p. 5].

A part of this stress on Africa was the awareness and defence of voodoo as a popular religion, whose ideological role in the wars of independence and present day practice required, according to Price-Mars, understanding and careful study. Alas, one of his students at a Port-au-Prince lycée, François Duvalier, took his master's definition of Haitian peasant cults to the presidential palace, where it was used to justify the reign of terror by the president's Tontons Macoutes.

When he died at 93, Price-Mars had watched and participated in countless régimes, many of which he had served more or less reluctantly. Generation after generation of young Haitians have criticised this tendency to collaborate with the very people who defeated or outmaneuvered him. But in the long run what has endured was pointed out by Leopold Sendar-Senghor:

... at the Sorbonne I had begun to ponder on the problem of a cultural Rennaissance in Black Africa, and I was looking for... a sponsor who could insure the success of that undertaking.... And I read Ainsi Parla l'Oncle at a breath as one drinks water from a cistern, in the evening, returning from a long trip in the desert. I was gratified to the full. The Uncle was supporting the reason for my search, approving what I had felt. For, as he showed me the wealth of Negritude he had discovered on and in Haitian soil, he taught me how to discover the same value, but virgin and stronger, on and in African soil [quoted by Antoine, p. 144].

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Rawley's work is organized into sixteen major chapters, all but three of which center on the involvement of national carriers and the activities of slave merchants and traders. Since the author is primarily interested in the business of slaving, three quarters of the text is devoted to the participation of national carriers. The role of the Portuguese, Spanish, French, British, and to a lesser extent the Swedes, Danes, and Brandenburgers in the transatlantic slave trade are discussed, as are the involvements of colonial territories in the New World, particularly that of the British mainland. Stress is placed on the interaction of these national groupings in the pursuit of their interests in the acquisition and distribution of Africans. Drawing on recent scholarship, Rawley has also included some discussions of the role of various African slave traders, and the changing power relations between those African societies that largely provided individuals to be enslaved and those that provided traders. One gets a fair sense of the competing interest groups — merchants vs. the crown of the state vs. New World planters — and of competing economic ideologies — laissez-faire vs. mercantilism — and of the accommodations made by various national groups and individuals in the pursuit of profitable markets.

Rawley relies heavily, and sometimes unquestioningly, on secondary sources for his discussion of Iberian, Dutch, French, and Danish participation in the trade, but makes extensive use of primary documentation for his analysis of the role of the British and American participants. Considerably more space is devoted to the involvement of Britain and the British colonial territories, particularly the North American mainland. Indeed, the disproportionate attention to English and “American” involvement is reflected in Rawley's decision to focus the bulk of his analysis on the development of the trade in the 18th century — the period marked by increased participation of British North American colonies in the slave trade. Thus, although Rawley writes that his aim is to consider the three and a half centuries of the trade and the activities of both major and minor participants, the work does not
provide a balanced account. The overall result is that discussion of the Iberian, French, Dutch, and other national carriers sometimes seems to serve merely as the backdrop against which the activities of the British and increasingly independent Americans are contextualized.

Focus on the national trades is complemented by two chapters on the economies of the slave trade and on the middle passage. Here, Rawley confronts much of the debate within the historiography of the transatlantic slave trade concerning slave mortality, the volume of slave imports into the New World, and the impact of the slave on metropolitan economies. While these chapters offer little in the way of new interpretations, they successfully provide the most comprehensive synthesis of recent scholarship on these subjects. Once again, however, Rawley's arguments are weighted heavily towards the data from British and North American involvement in the trade. Thus, for example, in a major thesis of his work, Rawley argues that profits from the slave trade were "modest" for all national carriers, and had little effect on the accumulation of capital and the rise of industrialization in Europe, yet supports this sweeping statement primarily by reference to statistics from the English trade. Rawley's final chapter serves as a summary of his major conclusions and, in a work profuse with information often offered with little guidance as to its relative significance in the broad schema of the history of the transatlantic trade, this proves to be a useful addition.

Quantification, more than any other issue, dominates the historical controversy surrounding the study of the transatlantic slave trade. Philip Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (1969) was the first systematic analysis of the available primary sources of the volume of slave imports into the New World. Much of the subsequent historiography has centered on the modification and refinement of Curtin's original estimate that upwards of nine million Africans were transported into colonial regions of the New World. Rawley, like other historians, while not deviating from the sources or calculations used by Curtin (and in fact offering his revisions "with great diffidence" [p. 429]), has forwarded a remodeled version of these importation figures. He calculates that the total volume of the trade was 11,354,000 Africans,
an increase of roughly 18% over Curtin’s original estimate. However, Paul Lovejoy (1982), in a discussion of recent revisions of Curtin’s census, has argued that Rawley’s number is incorrect. Rawley, he maintains, failed to make a clear distinction between slaves transported by national carrier and those actually received into the variety of colonial markets. Lovejoy also writes that this error is compounded by Rawley’s miscalculation of Brazilian imports and his misreading of David Eltis’s compilations for the 19th-century trade, all of which results in an over-calculation of about one million Africans.

But whether Rawley’s estimate is incorrect seems unimportant in the long run; attention to the number’s game has for too long eclipsed more substantive issues. For example, while Rawley sees fit to revise the volume of the trade upwards by such a significant amount, he rarely explores the socio-economic, cultural, or political implications of such a large increase in the numbers of Africans transported out of the sending societies. Indeed, if upwards of one million more Africans came across the Atlantic than previously estimated, surely this would have had a qualitative effect on the societies which they left and those to which they came. Yet by his emphasis on studying the slave trade as a business in human commodities, Rawley misses the opportunity to take the quantification debate beyond the narrow boundaries within which it has so often been confined. Historians of the slave trade can no longer be satisfied, as is Rawley, with merely offering numerical updates every few years.

The quantitative debate has created an enormous political and emotional backlash from those who have insisted that Curtin’s original projection is too conservative and reflects a denial of the negative consequences of the slave trade on the African continent. A similar response has been generated by the recent literature on the mortality of slaves during the middle passage. This study will undoubtedly fuel the controversy. Rawley argues that much of the literature describing high African mortality during the Atlantic voyage has exaggerated actual conditions. He writes that most of the slaves died as a result of illnesses contracted, and conditions existing in the pre-embarkation environment, rather than as a result of inhuman conditions aboard slave ships or as a result of
cruelty of ship captains and crews. He argues that historians who have calculated mortality rates have ignored a number of factors that would have the effect of lowering the calculated rate of slave deaths: length of voyages (with shorter voyages resulting in fewer deaths), region of provenance of Africans, experience of slave traders and its effect on their treatment and care for slaves on board ship, changes in design of slave ships to lessen time at sea, economic incentives which encouraged shippers to protect the health of slaves in board, and government regulations limiting the carrying capacity of slavers. Additionally, he maintains that the practice of counting pre-embarkation deaths in mortality figures for the middle passage has inflated percentages for the voyage itself. Rawley also suggests that inhumane treatment of Africans as a factor contributing to their mortality has been given undue credit. He points out that sailors aboard slave ships died in proportionately larger numbers than did Africans. In these regards the author places the stress on the disease environment from which Africans were departing as a major variable in their mortality during the voyage.

While one appreciates Rawley’s call for more nuanced analyses of the rates of African mortality during the middle passage, his moral and methodological approach needs further exploration. First he does not adequately distinguish between legislation which set guidelines for the operation of slave ships and the actual behaviour of captains and crews. He assumes, for the most part, that there is a convergence between de jure expectations and de facto behaviour. Second, in keeping with the slave trade as business perspective, he suggests that shippers’ rational pursuit of profits would in itself lead to conditions conducive to the welfare of Africans. In this view, therefore, Rawley maintains that abolitionists in writing of the trade have exaggerated the cruelty of captains and crew. Cruelty in Rawley’s moral framework is to a large extent just a reflection of poor management and lack of experience on the part of captains, crew members, surgeons, and ship owners, rather than as illustrative of behavior generated by racism and the relations of domination between enslaved Africans — “commodities” — and those responsible for transporting them.

Specialists who study the development of slavery in the colonies
in North America may find Rawley’s work of interest, for he offers a solid discussion of American participation in the slave trade. They may be disturbed, however, by a few misconceptions on his part. For one, Rawley accepts Peter Wood’s thesis that the development and success of rice agriculture in South Carolina was due in large part to the presence of West Africans who had been rice cultivators in their natal societies, despite recent literature, which suggests that there is little evidence to substantiate such a claim.

By readily embracing the commonly held assumption that planters preferred black African slaves to white indentured servants, Rawley misrepresents the nature of the transition from an indenture system to a slave system in the Chesapeake region. The data suggest that, for the most part, throughout the 17th century planters actually preferred to use white indentured servants and that the shift to the use of African slaves came about as a result of an increasing shortage of available white labor. In his discussion of Virginia Rawley correctly notes the relationship between the fortunes of the tobacco industry and the volume of imports of African slaves into the Chesapeake; but his timing and numbers need adjustment. He pinpoints the 1680’s as the highpoint for both the exportation of Chesapeake tobacco to England and the importation of African slaves into the region and argues that, in the case of Virginia, the slave population tripled during this decade. Yet there is ample evidence to show that from the 1680’s through the first decade of the 18th century, the Chesapeake tobacco industry was in a period of slow growth, while the available demographic data for the period in question indicates that the likelihood that the black Virginian population tripled, either through importations or natural increase or a combination of both, is close to impossible.

Rawley’s study is a highly problematic one. He says in his introduction that his aim is to write a one volume “objective” history of the trade. His definition of objective, however, calls into question the entire enterprise. In his view to write an objective history is to “de-emphasize the trade’s undoubted horrors” and to write in “keeping with the historical climate in which the trade flourished” (p. 7). As a historian, therefore, Rawley ostensibly takes on the role of dispassionate bystander. But he seems to be
basically unaware of the manner in which the perspective from which he writes is highly circumscribed and subjective. If previous authors who have written about the trade were moralizers and wrote through the eyes of abolitionists, as Rawley suggests, then rather than providing the balance so sorely needed in this literature, this study is yet another history of the trade, told this time around through the historical lens of the powerbrokers, for whom the slave trade was a business. The major flaw of this study is Rawley’s assumption that a discussion of slave trading as a business, whether from the perspective of James Rogers, an 18th-century Bristol merchant, or Tegbesu, a Dahomean monarch and slave trader, leads to a value free history. Ironically, the study fails ultimately even to offer a vision of the perceptions of the “businessmen” in the trade, for Rawley’s definition of business rationality is basically a twentieth century one.

Slave trading as business is Rawley’s controlling metaphor and it underlies his examination of the three and a half centuries of the forced migration of upwards of ten million Africans to the New World. There is some use to exploring the data on the transatlantic slave trade through the application of the “business” metaphor. However, the problem for these reviewers is the degree to which metaphor becomes explanatory variable in Rawley’s study. The author has missed the opportunity to reassess the parameters of the arguments surrounding the transatlantic slave trade and instead becomes mired in old and worn debates. In the final analysis the work may be useful as a comprehensive synopsis of some of the classical arguments in the historiography of the trade, but in our view it provides nothing new, and fails as an “objective” study of the trade or as a history of the trade in general.
Among the flurry of studies on the Atlantic slave trade, emancipation, abolition, and slavery in the New World, it is easy to forget that the Iberian peninsula provided a crucial point of reference for two seminal works which provoked this scholarly activity: Frank Tannenbaum’s *Slave and citizen* (1946) and Stanley Elkins’ *Slavery: a problem in American institutional and intellectual life* (1958). Both attributed alleged benignity of slavery in Latin America to preconditions in the Iberian peninsula. Tannenbaum, Elkins, and their successors drew a veil over distinctions between Castile and Portugal, ignored the absence in Portugal of a codification comparable to the *Siete Partidas*, and placed both nations in a unitary system characterised by Elkins as the “conservative, paternalistic, Catholic, quasi-medieval culture of Spain and Portugal and their New World colonies.” Subsequent research has revealed how erroneous is the attribution of uniformity to colonial Latin America. Diversity, and not homogeneity, characterised New World slavocratic societies. But to date little attention has been paid to slavery and race relations in Portugal which were to have repercussions throughout the Atlantic world. This *lacuna* has been remedied by Saunders’ *A social history of black
slaves and freedmen in Portugal. Based on archival and published sources, this book questions some assertions on which Tannenbaum built his thesis, and provides a firm foundation for those seeking a Portuguese dimension to Old or New World systems of slavery and race relations.

Saunders has adopted a conventional approach: overview of the volume, logistics and institutions of the trade and its legal and philosophical justifications, demographic distribution in the receiving country, occupations and life styles, and roles of persons of African descent vis à vis Church and State. Evaluations of the impact of the trade and of slavery on labor systems, on regional economies in Portugal, on the national economy, and on Portuguese commercial relations with Europe run through the book, as do considerations of sociopolitical repercussions on Portugal, Europe, and the Americas. Saunders provides the reader with the timely reminder that the trans-Atlantic slave trade was the successor — in organizational terms — to a trade firmly in place by the mid-15th century. This trade in the African Atlantic exhibited those selfsame complexities and intricacies which were to characterize the trans-Atlantic phase after the 1530s. Concentration on demand factors leads Saunders to underplay the contribution of what has been referred to as "elasticity of slave labor supply". He suggests that tight packing was less important in determining mortality than were delays at ports of embarkation, time afloat, and supplies of food and water. Saunders provides the most comprehensive figures currently available on slaves landed and sold in Lisbon. In the period 1490–1530, arrivals in Lisbon numbered 300–500 slaves annually. Data for other Portuguese port cities are scant, but Saunders does treat a largely unexplored area — re-exports to southern Spain, Castille, Italy, and even Flanders, of 800–1000 slaves annually in the early 16th century. Portugal had become the purveyor of slaves to early modern Europe, as had Genoa and Venice for the later Middle Ages. But West African trades generally, except for Mina gold, were minor in the overall Portuguese economy, although with the decline of Indian trades in the 1560s, Guinea trades were to comprise an increasingly important part of crown revenues.

Saunders provides the first comprehensive demographic assess-
ment of the slave population in Portugal. His conclusions are as follows: by the mid-16th century, slaves made up 10% of the populations of Lisbon, Evora, and the Algarve; Estremadura and the Alentejo counted 5% slave populations; northern towns (with the exception of Oporto, at 5%) were 1–2% slaves. Freedmen were insignificant, counting at most 1% in those communities where slaves were most numerous. Saunders estimates the minimum number of persons of African descent in Portugal at 32,370 slaves and 2,580 freedmen, that is, 2.5–3% of the national population. Local concentrations of 10% were high for 16th-century Europe, but Portugal confirms the view that traditional Mediterranean economies could not absorb many slaves. Distribution of slave population supports Faria’s thesis (1655) about the inequilibrium and defective organization of the Portuguese economy. Males predominated slightly over females, and females were favoured slightly in manumissions.

Occupations of slaves have been of consuming interest to students of Caribbean history and much debate has centered on elite jobs as perceived by owners or slaves. In Portugal the only elite slaves were females in attendance on queens and princesses who were treated virtually as maids of honour. Such examples illustrate a wide pattern of personal servants and royal retainers who were underemployed and contributed nothing to the economy. The coexistence of slaves and free labourers suggests that in terms of occupations, wage slavery differed little from formal slavery. A wider range of occupations was open to men than to women, but on estates there was a division of labor by sex, with women engaged in domestic activities and males tending herds and cultivating crops. In the absence of occupational distinctions between black slaves and freedmen or white manual laborers, choice of free over slave labor was dictated by regional and seasonal differences and social and financial considerations. Saunders qualifies the view that blacks were imported to offset the siphoning off of Portuguese manpower overseas, concluding that at no time did blacks threaten the livelihood of the white labor force. In Lisbon slaves supplemented rather than supplanted free labor, although this changed in the 1550s when rural population growth made available to the metropolis a ready supply of cheap free labor.
Saunders has attempted to depict the life of a slave: clothing, shelter, food, language and education, festivities, religious activities, punishment, diseases, and the cycle from birth through marriage to death. He has made a valiant effort to give flesh and blood to individual lives, but the absence of data has led to a monochromatic picture of a ghetto-like existence in which — despite attempts at social integration through baptism, marriage, and funerals — persons of African descent socialised together, held their own festivals, were linked by marriage and family, and spoke their own languages or a distinctive form of Portuguese. It would be interesting to learn more about the bestowal of names (apparently chosen by the owner in most cases) and the degree to which names denoted occupations, alliances to places, or African origins. In contrast to Brazil at a later date, the godparents of baptized slaves in Portugal were invariably white, although Saunders does not discuss factors determining choice. Most slave children were born out of wedlock, but there is no consideration of what comprised wedlock in early 16th-century Portugal, how stable and permanent slave unions were, and whether there existed alternative forms of marriage. Saunders accepts without comment the “casual sexuality of a slave-owning society” and notes that transactions dividing slave families “are known to have occurred” (p. 92) — a lame explanation for a complex issue studied by Frederick Bowser for 16th-century Peru. The section “sexual relations and marriage” (pp. 102–105) makes no distinction between household and houseful nor do sources provide data on dyads within the family. Shortages of data and few freedmen of color lead to a cursory treatment of manumission (pp. 138–41). Because Saunders has eschewed an interpretative approach for the more descriptive, he leaves unanswered many questions that scholars of Caribbean and Latin American history have become accustomed to addressing — for example, the role of urbanization in determining incidence and nature of manumission. If the road to freedom was disheartening, no less so was the outcome, namely: absence of social mobility; employment prospects comparable to those of poor whites; and discrimination in police regulations on the grounds that freedmen had more in common with black slaves than with free whites and would aid and abet slave criminals. The
impression left by Saunders is that the black community essentially hunkered down in the face of discrimination. The brotherhood of the Rosary provided shelter, psychic reinforcement, and some protection against owner's abuses, and was the advocate and representative of black interests. Saunders has not addressed mechanisms (other than flight) of resistance — abortion, suicide, sabotage, rebellion — nor discussed responses by blacks studied by Genovese or Gutman in the New World context emphasising resilience and adaptation.

_A Social History_ is a well researched, scholarly monograph, and the best account to date on this subject. Saunders is at his strongest analysing quantitative data. Less successful are sections on life styles of blacks. Saunders has kept close to his sources. Broad questions remain. Did forced migration make blacks different from other migrants to Lisbon? How important were distinctions of pigmentation rather than of race in determining attitudes? Can one discuss the position of persons of African descent without considering the concept of estates in a seigneurial society? What were relations between blacks, mouriscos, and Jews? Biomedical aspects receive scant treatment, and there is no discussion of blacks as bloodletters, midwives, or bonesetters. Saunders does not explain the absence of ethnographic interest on the part of the Portuguese in persons from sub-Saharan regions.

There is a tendency to examine Iberian models of slavery as forerunners of the American experience. The Portuguese inaugurated a trade which was to make black slavery the most constant and persistent characteristic of New World societies. The organization of slave labor and social and racial attitudes in Portugal foreshadowed those in the New World in general, and in Brazil in particular, but for Brazil there developed a greater variation of nuances than existed in late medieval Portugal. As Saunders notes (p. 177), if "the blacks [were] accepted; the mulattoes, half Portuguese as they were, [were] preferred." In Brazil racial polarities did not correspond with moral polarities. It was the mulatto, and not the black, who was "audacious", "lazy" and "insolent". Saunders asserts that relations established between races in 16th-century Portugal "set a pattern which had effects throughout the Atlantic world until today". Perhaps he
was too conscious of the role of the Portuguese as precursors of New World practices and attitudes. In fact, the Portuguese example represents an extension to the Atlantic coastboard of practices and attitudes prevalent in late medieval Europe: economies not dependent on slave labour; slaves supplementing rather than supplanting the free work force; and distribution primarily urban and in ports. Saunders has provided a corpus of knowledge about blacks in early Renaissance Portugal and has opened the way for further studies of persons of African descent in Portugal in the 17th and 18th centuries. He has completed a mosaic of studies of black slavery running from the western rim of Christendom to the Levant. The time is ripe for a comparative study of persons of African descent in those countries bordering on the Mediterranean and Crete and Sicily. Students of Latin America and the Caribbean, and of comparative race relations and systems of slavery, will find much of interest in Saunders' authoritative work. But this cannot detract from the desirability of seeing New World phenomena through New World rather than European eyes and recognizing that the values, privileges, attitudes, and mentalities were — within a decade of initial contact, conquest and settlement — no longer European but American.

REFERENCE

FARIA, MANUEL SEVERIM DE, 1655. Dos remedios para a falta de gente.

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Today the subject of race is still a sensitive and volatile issue, although the attitudes of the past have to a large degree been
replaced by feelings of guilt and embarrassment — at least within the scientific community. Indeed, I can remember that, as a graduate student, the first time I read the work of Edward Drinker Cope and other late 19th-century racial theorists I was appalled. Even now when I read passages from these works to my students, I can appreciate and understand their shock and often repugnance. Although such a reaction is commendable in an enlightened student, it is something to be avoided by a professional historian. Surprisingly, however, Nancy Stepan has found it difficult to detach herself and thereby avoid imparting her obvious distaste of 19th-century racial theory to her readers. This lack of objectivity, I believe, prevents the reader from looking at the many well-intentioned scientists who dealt with this subject as highly moral individuals. While stopping short of calling them pseudoscientists, Stepan clearly reveals her ideological bias, and as a consequence these workers are more often than not presented simplistically as being either right or wrong. Though well intentioned, this approach has imposed on Stepan's narrative the attitudes and scientific facts only lately known.

Another problem with this book is that Stepan takes a sociological view rather than a strictly scientific view of the history of science. The scientists are examined for their ideological views rather than looking at their techniques for data analysis and the methods by which they arrived at their particular conclusions. As a consequence of this, a reader unfamiliar with the complexities of 19th-century anthropological theory is unable to follow and fully appreciate the subtle twists and turns (not to mention frequent inconsistencies) in the various arguments presented by scientific workers during this period. Furthermore, it is evident that this approach has led Stepan to suggest that the emergence of racism and racial theory in Europe was due in large part to slavery in the New World, rather than stemming principally from the intellectual concerns of 18th-century natural science. Thus, while Stepan recognizes a thematic continuity in racial theory from the mid-18th century on through essentially to the present, this fact is neither fully developed nor explained.

For instance, in her opening chapter Stepan examines the concept of the "Great Chain of Being", and notes that the idea of a
chain did not "completely disappear from biology" after the arrival of the Darwinian synthesis. But contrary to one's expectation, she does not proceed to use this observation as an organizing principle. Furthermore, her analysis of the application of the Great Chain in pre-Darwinian anthropological theory leaves much to be desired. However, in the opening chapters of her narrative, Stepan shows quite convincingly that British anthropology prior to 1860 was dominated essentially by the ideas of James Cowles Prichard. Unlike many of his European contemporaries who subscribed to a polygenic explanation of human diversity, Prichard endeavored to seek scientific sanction for non-white inferiority by invoking the degenerative influence of the environment upon these populations. As such the Prichardian view, with its inherent protoevolutionary stance, prepared the way for the eventual arrival of the Darwinian synthesis.

The middle chapters of Stepan's book deal with the period following the publication of Darwin's *Origin of species*. Here she notes that Darwin's thesis had little or no effect on racial theory, and that in fact many of the theoretical components of the earlier polygenism remained intact. Although Stepan's accounting of this phenomenon is accurate, it is not, unfortunately, presented in an entirely coherent fashion, and many readers may find it difficult to keep the salient features of post-Darwinian racial theory from becoming muddled and incomprehensible.

Unfortunately, the remaining chapters of Stepan's book are not devoted exclusively to a synopsis of the modern evolutionary synthesis and the development of current views on human variability. Instead, her efforts are concentrated on a relatively detailed description of the emergence and influence of the eugenic movement in British science, as well as the issue of intelligence and the more recent controversy of sociobiology. These topics are considered peripheral to the race question.

While clearly finding this book disappointing, I should note that Stepan's text, in spite of its faults, does provide an overview which hitherto has not been available to instructors who lecture on the history of anthropological theory. As such I intend to use this book but will recommend to my students that they read it in conjunction with the texts of Jordan (1968), Stocking (1968), Stanton (1960) and Haller (1971).
The appearance of two books on Cuban women in the same year is noteworthy. It is almost ten years since the publication of Margaret Randall's first book, *Cuban Women Now*, and very little has appeared since then.

Unfortunately, neither of these books is a systematic study of the impact of the Cuban Revolution on Cuban women. Although the Cubans themselves have apparently gathered some data, none of this has appeared in published form in the United States. Clearly there is a great need for such a study, and we can only hope it will appear soon.
Both of these books are first-hand accounts by non-Cuban women who have lived in Cuba for several years since the revolution and have tried to give us their impressions of the change in women's lives. The book by Holt-Seeland, a Norwegian, is a series of portraits of Cuban women, including a farmworker, a young brigade leader, a housewife, a university student, a factory worker, and an older black woman. Constructed on the basis of interviews, these portraits reveal sensitive insight into the lives of these different women, most of whom appear to support the revolution and to have benefited from it in some way. The only note of dissidence comes from the housewife, who came from an upper-class background and would have preferred to leave Cuba with the rest of her family, but was deterred by her husband, who was from a lower class background than hers and was a strong supporter of the revolution. Over time, she accommodates to the revolution and actually becomes quite active in voluntary work, particularly the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, which mobilizes many housewives in Cuba today.

Although there are no Marielito women in this book, several of the women are quite candid about the shortcomings of the revolution. The woman farmworker talks about continued sex segregation of jobs, with the harder, more hazardous, and better paid tasks such as spraying of crops going to men, and notes that “when there are no suitable jobs for women, they go several days without work.” From her point of view, however, this restriction has benefited women, who in the pre-revolutionary period had no choice but to do “men’s work.” The chief reason given for restricting women from certain jobs is that they are harmful to their reproductive system; one wonders if the jobs might not have the same effect on men.

It would have been interesting to include a portrait of a professional woman, preferably one highly placed politically such as Vilma Espin, head of the Federation of Cuban Women (the major mass organization concerned with women). Unfortunately, there are still few women in high decision-making positions, a weakness the Cuban government has acknowledged and is attempting to correct.

Despite its limitations, Holt-Seeland's book is a very enjoyable
Margaret Randall’s book is more analytical. It examines key aspects of women’s lives, such as maternity, the family, the Federation of Cuban Women, and women in art. It provides some valuable data on changes in women’s roles under the revolution, including new work and family roles, and benefits such as health care, day care, maternity care, and education. Randall notes the great advances made in these areas, with women now representing 30 percent of the salaried labor force and 25 percent of the National People’s Assembly, the nation’s highest governing elected body.

There is, however, virtually no criticism of the revolution in Randall’s book — even less than emerges from the interviews by Holt-Seeland. The book thus loses much of its credibility by appearing to be propaganda for the Cuban government. Furthermore, Randall has a tendency to cite endless lists of Cuban women in the arts, in political positions connected with the National People’s Assembly, etc. These names mean little to the non-Cuban reader and make for very boring reading.

Except for a brief introductory chapter, there is no attempt to relate changes in Cuban women’s lives to the women’s movement in the United States, although as an American, Randall would have been in a unique position to do this. The essays in this book were originally given as lectures while Randall was on a tour of U.S. colleges and universities, after an absence of 17 years. Surely this should have given her interesting insights into her own culture, which could have been developed in this book.

My own opportunities to study or observe Cuban women have been far more limited, since I have made only two brief visits to the country since the revolution, and did not focus on women in either. What I have been able to observe and read, however,
suggests that the women’s movement in Cuba is very different from that in the United States. The chief difference lies in the nature of the leadership of the movement. In Cuba, the initiative has been taken by the government, which has created mass organizations, such as the Federation of Cuban Women and the Feminist Front of the Confederation of Cuban Workers, and passed legislation, such as the very progressive family code which guarantees legal equality in marriage for women and men. Cuban women, by and large, have been passive recipients of such advances, and have not had to struggle for their implementation or effectiveness. The result has been a lack of feminist consciousness on the part of the older generation of Cuban women, who still abide by traditional sex role ideology.

I am told, however, that some of the younger Cuban women have become far more forceful and articulate concerning their rights and needs, and that these women are to be found primarily among the rank-and-file; they tend to be peasant women and factory workers rather than members of the professional elite. If this is true, we may yet witness the emergence of a genuine women’s movement in Cuba similar to the one that has shaken the U.S. since 1970. In the U.S., the leadership for the women’s movement came from the grassroots, from thousands of small “consciousness raising” groups, which demanded changes in abortion, day care, maternity benefits, and so forth. That is, the women’s movement in the U.S. grew from the bottom up, while its counterpart in Cuba was very topheavy.

Nevertheless, the Cuban government deserves credit for recognizing the importance of gender inequality within the framework of a socialist revolution. Clearly they have done more than other socialist governments to incorporate women into the revolutionary struggle and to do away with prerevolutionary sexist ideology.

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The people of Buena Ventura is an important, interesting, and flawed book. It is a product of Oscar Lewis' 1969–70 Cuba Project which produced Four Men, Four Women, and Neighbours by Oscar Lewis, Ruth Lewis and Susan Rigdon (1977, 1977 and 1978 respectively). Those three books and this fourth one all present a perspective on Cuba that would otherwise be unavailable to Western outsiders. Yet it is a perspective limited by both the Cuban government and the researchers' own particular biases.

Butterworth has written a typical urban ethnographic community study. He focuses primarily on social relationships: how people relate to those within the family and community, to those outside the community, and to the new institutions of the Revolution, such as Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and People's Courts. The Cuban Revolution resettled the people of Buena Ventura from one of Havana's worst slums, Las Yaguas, which Oscar Lewis had the opportunity to observe in 1945–46 and again in 1961. Butterworth attempts to situate Buena Ventura by contrasting it with the residents' former community, a true shantytown of mainly filmsy houses and few services — a community with pimps and prostitutes among unskilled workers of what would have been called the informal sector or the secondary labor market, and with a reputation for argumentative, rude and lewd behaviour.

Ten years after the Revolution and after being resettled, the residents of Buena Ventura remained poor and they have some new neighbours who are materially better off than they. They complain of shortages and the hassles of waiting in line. Nevertheless, the economic and material conditions of the people of Buena Ventura were clearly better in 1969 than before. Many residents note the material improvements brought by the Revolution, their new houses, the steady work, and the health care. Some deeply appreciated the power of the Revolution and, in the words of the Revolution, are "well integrated." There are firm supporters of
the new order, participating in and promoting its activities. They express a new concern for their community and nation and they are internationalist in perspective, talking of imperialism and its efforts to obstruct the Revolution.

There are also those who are not well integrated into the Revolution. There are those who are more immersed in their personal, immediate social concerns of marriages, affairs and disagreements with family, friends, neighbours, and officials. There are those who complain loudly and constantly of the overcrowded housing and the continued condescension toward the residents of Buena Ventura expressed by outsiders, including government officials. Buena Ventura has quite a few who think that (and apparently act as if) Cuban society is still unequal. They remain individualists to the core, parochial and selfcentered, apparent examples of Cuba’s failure to create a New Society and a New Man. Butterworth seems to indicate that Buena Ventura has more people who have not integrated into the Revolution and been transformed than people who are integrated.

Yet the picture is necessarily biased. Butterworth admits that Buena Ventura is not representative. There was another resettled community, Bolivar, from the same original slum (Las Yaguas) whose residents were apparently well integrated. But Butterworth and the Cuba Project were unable to gather much data on Bolivar. Their work was suspended in midstream by the Cuban Government. Embattled by economic problems, fears of further CIA destabilization efforts, and the knowledge that Lewis had innocently gathered evidence incriminating to one of the Revolution’s highest officials, the Cuban Government stopped the project and confiscated much of the materials. The researchers were left having completed only part of the research and possessing only a partial record of the research they had completed. They had not had a chance to begin working in the well integrated resettled community. Buena Ventura was unfortunately the only resettled community for which they had much information.

The incomplete, partial, and biased picture we receive raises, but does not answer, many interesting questions: (1) Was Buena Ventura given fewer resources or less attention by the government than Bolivar? (2) Were the people in Buena Ventura different in
some way from those of Bolivar? Were they selected differently? (3) How important are the legacy of their former community, Las Yaguas, and its negative stereotypes in the minds of outsiders in mitigating against treating Buena Ventura residents as equals? (4) How important is the creation and institutionalization of a new bureaucracy in obstructing the integration of Buena Ventura residents? (5) How important is the U.S. threat in diverting energies and resources into defense rather than creating the New Man and overcoming the legacies of inequality? Neither we nor Butterworth know the answer to any of these questions. We are left with an historical snapshot of one resettled urban community ten years after the Revolution. The results are mixed; we do not know enough to judge the causes; and we wish we could know more.

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This is the second of a projected three-volume study of Utuado, a coffee municipality in the heart of Puerto Rico’s cordillera central. Utuado was one of the largest coffee producing municipios in Puerto Rico at the close of the 19th century and the patterns of socio-economic change found at this micro level can be used to generalize about Puerto Rican highland society. Picó’s first volume (1979) examined the formation of a labor force; this one concentrates on the dynamics of life for small and middle-sized farmers during the coffee boom of the late 19th century.

Methodologically, the two studies are similar. Each relies on the meticulous examination of archival materials to reconstruct family histories over several generations. Picó’s work is pioneering in this regard since he is the first historian to apply prosopographical methods to the study of Puerto Rican history. The focus of this book is also innovative. Socio-economic research on Latin
America and the Caribbean has tended to ignore the role of small and middle-sized landholdings and to concentrate on large scale haciendas and the various forms of labor that served them. Picó chose non-hacienda landowners as a focal point of study for very good reasons: they made up over 80% of all landowners and produced over two-thirds of Utuado's coffee during the 1890s.

The book is divided into two parts, of which the first is by far the more important. Rather than narrating the history of the many families traced through the 18th and 19th centuries, Picó generalizes about their experiences in terms of various themes: the establishment of private property, credit, labor, and linkages to the international market. Two factors constantly pressured these sectors of rural society. The first was the gradual settling of all public land by the mid-19th century, which meant that surviving children had little recourse to land ownership other than the fractionalization of hereditary holdings. This problem was alleviated when people married later or delayed childbearing. Second, the rising demand for coffee after 1850 translated into pressure on land by the expanding haciendas as well as merchant speculators.

Yet small and medium properties persisted, although as they moved from subsistence farming to coffee production they became increasingly tied to the large scale coffee haciendas and merchant creditors through debt, as well as through their dependence on them for transportation services and coffee processing. Land guarantees were at the center of these linkages and often led to alienation and downward mobility from generation to generation. Picó has found a turnover in the ranks of small and medium-sized farmers, although the strata remained an important part of local society. Labor needs were not large, and could usually be met by the nuclear or extended family, and subsistence crops were cultivated for sustenance. Thus, these modest operations could avoid the overwhelming debts that specialized coffee haciendas acquired because of their need for capital to hire laborers and purchase food.

The second part of the book consists of four narrative family histories regarded as typical. Although there is interesting material here, especially for students of Puerto Rico, one tends to get lost in the details.
A drawback to this study is that these small and middlesized farmers are grouped together without considering the substantial differences between, for example, those families with 5 cuerdas of land and those with 150. A more explicit statistical profile of the various land tenure groupings and a discussion of the very distinct socio-economic problems faced by minifundia and owners of medium-sized properties, would have been useful for a more complete understanding of the dynamics of highland society.

Yet this is a valuable and pioneering book that adds to the growing bibliography of what has been termed “la nueva historiografía puertorriqueña.”

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Mosquitia, the Miskito Coast of eastern Nicaragua, has been described as one of the “least known, least visited, and most forgotten parts of the entire Caribbean area” (Parsons 1954:54). Populated mainly by Miskito-speaking Afro-Indians and English-speaking Creoles, the region’s history is quite distinct from that of Spanish-speaking Nicaragua, which came to rule it directly only in 1894. The 350-year-old antipathy between the inhabitants of the country’s two halves, as the cultural heirs of Nicaragua’s British and Spanish colonizers, today manifests itself
in "the mistrust of the Miskito Coast's people toward Spanish-speakers" (p. 78) — including those who brought about the Sandinista revolution of July 1979. It was to celebrate the second anniversary of that revolution that this book was published. Its purpose is to show how the Coast's "colonial domination by the British, followed by neocolonial domination by the United States, led to a cultural and socioeconomic history different from that of Nicaragua's Pacific coast. Its current problems, as well as the revolutionary policies now being carried out there, will find their explanation through reference to this history."

*La Mosquitia en la Revolución* is a very valuable book, despite some factual errors and its clearly partisan perspective. Its rhetoric is unsurprising in reference to the Creole *lumpenproletariado* (p. 149); its outlook is also that of the Spanish-speaker (see, for example, the reference on page 11 to "the Yankee policy of dominating Nicaragua through the Creoles"). Yet the ideals of the revolution — economic and cultural development and independence — are usually placed above the interethnic grudges; indeed, there are efforts at self-criticism to understand the negative attitudes of Mosquitia's Costeños toward Hispanic Nicaraguans, and this understanding is crucially important for the ultimate success of the revolution.

The book is divided into four sections, each of which deals with particular aspects of the Miskito Coast's economy as well as related social factors, explained in terms of the region's history and cultural traditions. The first section is entitled "A Historical Interpretation of the Atlantic Coast." After a description of the region's ethnic groups (which misclassifies the Garifuna as a subgroup of the Creoles [p. 27]), this section outlines the 17th-century alliance of the Miskito with British buccaneers against the Spanish, leading to a British protectorate (1740–86). Expelled after military defeat, the British settlers retreated to Belize but many Afro-European Creoles stayed on in Mosquitia. The Spanish were never able to hispanicize the region and its lingua franca remained creolized English, spoken as a first language by the Afro-Europeans (Holm 1978) and as a second language by the Miskito (Nietschmann 1973). Although the British regained influence in the area during the 19th century, they were finally
replaced by North American entrepreneurs who created their own socioeconomic and quasi-political fiefdoms while exploiting the Coast's natural resources: rubber, timber, bananas and gold. This section concludes with a description of the conditions in which the revolutionary government found the Atlantic Coast in July 1979.

The second section consists of a detailed study of the rural areas of the northern part of this region, which has proved — since the writing of this book — to be crucial in the struggle between the Sandinistas and their opponents. It was here, early last year, that some 8,000 Miskito were forced to leave their villages along the Coco River (*New York Times*, 23 Jan., 1983), which forms the boundary with Honduras and where counterrevolutionary forces were training for an invasion. The Miskito, who were being recruited to join the guerrillas, were relocated by the Sandinista government to camps near the mining towns of Rosita and Siuna, inland from the border. In 1983 there was fighting going on in several parts of the region, principally around the coastal towns of Puerto Cabezas and Bluefields, led by a “third guerilla faction, the 3,000-member group of disaffected Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians” (*Time*, 8 Aug., 1983). This section on the northern part of this region deals mainly with problems in improving cooperative production in agriculture (rice, beans, corn, yucca, plantains, bananas, coconuts and cattle) as well as in fishing, hunting and salaried employment. It stresses the importance of increasing popular participation and overcoming old colonial attitudes.

The third section deals with gold mining in the town of Siuna. After tracing the history of the operation and the community that grew up around it (Miskito workers, Creole clerks and North American supervisors, as well as Chinese shopkeepers and Ladino farmers), there is an analysis of the workers' reaction to the mine's nationalization after the revolution, resulting in a strike in the neighboring mining town of Bonanza when food became scarce and unaffordably expensive late in 1979. Although no strike occurred in Siuna, there was considerable friction between the workers and the Spanish-speaking managers sent in by the new government.

The fourth section deals with an agricultural community of
Spanish-speaking peasants that have been migrating from western Nicaragua for some thirty years to establish farms in the area surrounding Siuna. After a detailed analysis of their methods of production, markets and community structure, there is a call for the political and technical training needed for effective co-operative farming.

The main body of the book is followed by two appendices, the first a chronology of documents relating to the legal status of the Miskito Coast (tending to prove that it was supposed to have been Spanish all along), the second a chronology of more general historical events, such as the British capture of Jamaica in 1636 (actually occurring in 1655). These are followed by notes and a bibliography of respectable length, although one finds oneself wishing that the authors had actually read these works, or at least read them more carefully. There is no index.

The book contains 27 photographs (largely decipherable), 10 maps and a dozen charts. The last are sometimes totally mysterious, such as the graph on the distribution of land in Siuna (p. 226), which simply has two axes marked from 0 to 100 in units of 10 — with no further explanation. The missing information can be maddening; for example, the chart on ethnic groups and their languages, race, religion, class and proportion of the regional population (p. 149) leaves quite unclear what region is being referred to — the Miskito Coast as a whole (the topic of the book) or the northeastern part of the department of Zelaya (the topic of this section). A comparison of the percentages in the book with those from Holm et al. 1983 for the entire Miskito Coast make clear the importance of this difference:
An indication that the second set of percentages must in fact refer to northeastern Zelaya only (rather than the entire Miskito Coast) is the proportion of Creoles, 8%. Since their population is given as 80,000 for all of Nicaragua earlier in the same section (p. 102), 8% would imply a total population of 1,000,000 — far more than the Miskito Coast's 9% of the Nicaraguan population of 2,740,000. The figure of 80,000 Creoles seems to be in reference to the Miskito Coast communities named in a previous sentence on page 102, suggesting that the sizeable Creole colony in Managua is not included, despite the reference to all of Nicaragua. The Centro de Investigaciones y Documentación de la Costa Atlántica (CIDCA) has published the results of a recent census (Foladori et al. 1982:49) presenting a substantially different picture in which Spanish-speaking Ladinos account for 65% of Zelaya's total population of 282,200. However, 90% of these Ladinos live in the western part of the department, where the agricultural and ethnolinguistic frontier has made a considerable eastward advance over the past decade into the sparsely populated forest areas separating the Miskito Coast from the rest of Nicaragua (ibid., 45, map p. 52). If these inland Ladinos are not included in the coastal population, then the CIDCA figures reveal the following proportions: 66,994 Miskito (57%); 25,723 Creoles (22%); 18,237 Ladinos (15%); 4,851 Sumu (4%); 1,487 Garifuna (1%); 649...
Rama (0.5%). This census was carried out in 1981 but had to be suspended in some rural areas because of counterrevolutionary fighting (p. 11); it does not include the population of the Departamento del Río San Juan, although this constitutes part of the Atlantic coast (p. 51), but it does include the 10,000 Nicaraguan Miskito who have fled to Honduras (p. 27). An unknown number of all groups have also fled to Costa Rica since fighting has worsened (B. Nietschmann, pers. comm).

To conclude, *La Mosquitia en la Revolución* is unique and valuable as a source of information despite its shortcomings. Among the factual gaps, one wonders who the *et al.* may have been; only Wheelock Roman’s name appears, both on the cover and as author of the five-page introduction. Even as part of a collective effort, the hard work of the authors of the four main sections deserves at least the recognition of their names. The most serious shortcoming of this book, however, is its partisanship. Its enthusiasm for the Sandinistas’ new political and economic system is, of course, quite understandable and easy to sort out. The partisanship that does the very purpose of the book a disservice is the recurrent Hispanic ethnocentrism. Despite some attempts to see the peoples of the Miskito Coast and their attitudes towards Spanish-speakers sympathetically, one senses that in general Costeño communities are perceived as “bastantes [sic] primitivas” (p. 12), and their anglophilia and distaste for things Hispanic go beyond the forgivable.

Yet Nicaragua is one country and this is a dangerous moment in history for disunity. The book is intended as a bridge to understanding — an act of faith that Nicaragua’s disunity is not insurmountable. The Sandinista government has professed a belief in the possibility of unity through mutual respect and cultural pluralism, and it began literacy campaigns in English and Miskito (but not Sumu, as asserted on p. 86). Yet now that the Sandinistas have seen more closely the Pandora’s box of political perils that cultural freedom opens, these literacy campaigns have been quietly dropped. The book proclaims that one of the nation’s most urgent tasks is the Miskito Coast’s “integration” (p. 9), a word that for Costeños echoes the 1894 “reincorporation” of the Coast into Nicaragua with forcible hispanicization and the crud-
est kind of cultural suppression, continued by the Somoza dictatorship until the recent revolution. But at least one contributor to the volume shows real understanding of the complexity of Nicaragua’s cultural schism in the observation that “there is the risk that militant revolutionary actions without the participation of the region’s populace will be interpreted as those of colonialists. In order to integrate and develop the ample revolutionary potential of the Miskito Coast’s peoples, it is urgent to increase their participation in regional organizations and institutions, and to overcome old colonial mistrust and discrimination, and to accept the values and forms of motivation particular to the Miskito and Creoles” (pp. 141–142). This kind of cultural pluralism is the other half of the revolution needed in Mosquitia.

REFERENCES


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As the only Dutch newsman on the scene, Henk Boom not only followed the Surinamese military coup of February 25, 1980, “from up close” (as he puts it in his title) but also through the work of his Surinamese colleagues in print and other media. Altogether his book makes for fascinating reading. The scope is limited, encompassing a five-month period that began with preparations for national elections, saw them aborted by an unexpected and seemingly accidental coup, and ended with the formation of a new government whose popularity and authority were as considerable as if it had been elected. Because of the collage method of presentation, however, one sees a far wider horizon, which puts this curious chain of events into an illuminating perspective. Throughout, Boom remains steadfastly neutral, writing with a crisp, wry style that both eschews editorializing and spurs the committed reader, of whatever persuasion, to fresh thought.

First, as to who was to blame for the coup, Boom finds ample guilt for nearly everyone — from the Dutch government of Joop den Uyl, who pushed independence on Suriname without a plebiscite, to Henck Arron’s Surinamese government, which eagerly took it, throwing the accompanying foreign aid ($1.5 billion) into long-range projects of immediate benefit only to the contractors involved. Political arrogance, spoils, and declining welfare had all damaged Arron’s image by 1980. Thus, Boom’s speculation that Arron might try to use a sergeants’ strike as an excuse to suspend the constitution and postpone elections is highly plausible. Were there any “good guys” who would be thwarted by such an action? It does not seem so by Boom’s account. The parliamentary opposition, having paralyzed the legislature by a prolonged and clearly pointless boycott, had lost its credentials for public service and problem-solving. As a result, public cynicism regarding parliamentary government in general was at an all-time high. Boom reports that over 50% of Suriname’s youth was unemployed, that most civil servants were equally unemployed (though they were paid for their inactivity, absenteeist or not), that the city water...
system had broken down, and that an election campaign was at hand in which neither of the leading parties offered any serious hope for a change, while the radical left was more fragmented than ever.

In this setting (which comprises the first half of Boom’s book), the coup became a fairly welcome surprise. But, as events have subsequently shown, such cures are sometimes worse than the disease. Hints of this could already be seen a day after the coup in the televised use of corporal punishment meted out (without trial) to a few looters. It had earlier been revealed during the coup itself in the deliberate shelling of the police headquarters, despite the fact (revealed by Boom) that the coup leaders knew that three fellow noncommissioned officers were being held prisoner there.

Boom gives us a great deal of information about the NCOs (some of it repeated from De Nacht van de Revolutie by Josef Slagveer, one of the fifteen known victims of political executions that took place in Paramaribo on December 8, 1982). Trained in The Netherlands (and paid extra compensation even into 1982 to bring them to the level of their Dutch counterparts), the Surinamese NCOs were in their late 20s and early 30s. Efforts to organize a union (on a par with their Dutch comrades) had been repeatedly rejected. Frustrated by being in what was apparently the only organization in Suriname that exacted real discipline from its members, and bored by the absence of meaningful work (such as participation in economic development projects), the sergeants became more and more politicized. A few affiliated themselves with the Marxist Volkspartij of Ruben Lie Paw Sam. Others worked with the somewhat less radical Nationalistic Republican Party of Eddy Bruma to pursue the union struggle. But two of them, Desi Bouterse and Roy Horb, had another plan altogether: to seize power. Recognition of their own potential power and the opposition’s many shortcomings clearly excited the imagination of sports instructor Bouterse. But he and his loyal second-in-command, Horb, failed to realize that their “playing field” was a political morass and that the real game was only to begin with the coup’s success. As Slagveer put it, “everyone was quite agreed that something had to happen without clearly being able to declare what the alternative ought to be.”
Considerable space is taken up with the course of the final rounds of the NCOs' strike, the arrest and trial of their leaders, and the unexpected coup. Although, miraculously, the shelling of the police headquarters did not cost the lives of the radical unionists, Boom is confident that it drove a major wedge between them and the coup's less ideological leaders, one that continues to the present. All in all, seven people, including several policemen, died in the coup, and 25 were wounded, including the Minister of Justice and Police. Such violence, mild perhaps in international terms, was unknown to Suriname's post-war politics.

Despite denials to the contrary by both the NCOs and a grimly determined President Johan Ferrier, another mortal casualty was the Constitution, as Boom sees it. Although it was not formally suspended until August 1980 (at which time Ferrier was also removed from office), the problem of holding new elections — or of reviving Parliament in their absence — was just too disagreeable to the new power-holders. The President's urgent call for "national reconciliation" was ignored, and with it the chance for a fresh start.

Certainly, the image of parliamentary democracy in Suriname had been badly damaged even before the coup — by the irresponsibility of its members and the bleak running commentary of the press. Particularly blamed by the NCOs and their radical civilian advisors was the ethnically-based organization of politics — the elaborate, and sometimes immobilizing, effort to "deal everybody in." However, all attempts to recruit support by other (e.g., ideological) means had repeatedly failed over the years. It is interesting, then, to note that in each of the three civilian governments installed by Bouterse since 1980, the same ethnic arithmetic has been carefully followed despite the freedom from accountability that military rule permits.

Why then has the Surinamese "revolution", as it now calls itself, steadily lost the public support with which it began? For one thing, despite the people's disaffection with parliamentary democracy, some form of electoral participation was widely desired, whatever the governmental form. Community councils and other models of grass roots participation, despite (or because of?) their absence from the Surinamese tradition, have not been very
successful; and although various models have been proposed for the higher levels of government, all have been vetoed (mostly by Bouterse himself). Real accountability, it seems, has frightened all the players on Bouterse’s team. And like a self-fulfilling prophesy, their disdain for the thinking (“false consciousness”?) of the public has only brought rejection of their generally worthy plans.

As most of Suriname’s “revolutionaries” are return migrants, one is tempted to theorize about the political effects of their socio-psychological adjustment problems. Much of the intellectual value of their sojourn abroad may have been lost due to their subsequent inability to re-assimilate. In this regard, they have become the functional equivalent of an ethnic group, trapped in a narrow “us vs. them” view of the surrounding (political) cultures. The Surinamese people, initially receiving them with sympathy (the “exotic” stage in the process of culture contact), have been increasingly repelled (and repulsed), and from this new confrontation there seems to be no exit.

In 1953, Bertolt Brecht suggested that a beleaguered East German government “dissolve the people and elect a new one.” The execution of fifteen prominent critics of Surinamese military rule in December 1982 and the arrest and apparent suicide of Roy Horb shortly thereafter would suggest that such a process may in fact be under way.

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This revised translation of René Römer’s 1977 history of Curaçao provides both a comprehensive narrative account and an interpretation of the island’s past. The purpose of the study is twofold. First, it synthesizes and interprets scholarship on the history of Curaçao for a wider English-speaking public, utilizing the work of
previous scholars such as Harry Hoetink and Cornelis Ch. Goslinga. Since many of the earlier sources Römer uses are either unpublished or extremely rare, the history of Curacao is well served by this critical evaluation of them. Moreover, he carries this study forward to 1980. Second, the study reviews the processes of social formation in Curacao from the Dutch settlement on the island to the present, and critically examines the political and economic realities which impinge on the social structure.

The text is organized chronologically into three periods: the slave society, the post-emancipation society, and the modern society. These chapter headings are deceptively simple; Römer conveys intelligently a great deal of information under a wide array of themes, such as master-slave relations, the abolition of slavery, emigration and immigration, labor organization and decolonization. He concentrates special attention on the period after the establishment of the oil refinery in 1917, which is regarded as the most important watershed in the social history of the island. Unfortunately for English readers, the bibliography is not annotated and does not indicate whether a book has been translated.

Römer's theoretical framework of the structure and the dynamics of change in Curacao is the "plural society" thesis. He analyzes hierarchy and domination between social groups in terms of social norms in crucial institutions, such as family, education, religion, and property. He discusses the increasing influence of Western culture upon the somatically determined hierarchy, and suggests that the social relevance of somatic categories is declining, and that more generally accepted standards of social status are emerging. For Römer, Curacao society cannot yet be seen as stratified into classes, though different segments do have their own internal status differentiation. (This type of conceptualization of a Caribbean society has been debated by scholars such as Edward Brathwaite, Carl Stone, Ken Post, and David Lowenthal.)

Römer's thought provoking and detailed historical investigation of Curacao — geared to an English-speaking university public — goes far toward filling a long-standing gap in our knowledge of the Dutch Caribbean. This comprehensive intro-
BOOK REVIEWS

Introduction to Curacao's social history should receive wide readership among students and scholars of the Caribbean and Latin America.

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Boyer's book is a useful contribution to a little researched and little understood period in the history of the United States Virgin Islands (USVI). Written originally in 1949 as a master's thesis, the text remains essentially unchanged except for the addition of an epilogue surveying developments between 1949 and 1980.

Since Boyer first wrote his thesis (now book), only a few other books that touch upon the same period have been written; see Hill 1967, Creque 1968, Bough & Macridis 1970, Hill 1971, Lewis 1972, Dookhan 1974, and Ottley 1982. Lewis 1972 and Dookhan 1974 are important scholarly works that, oddly, omit reference to Boyer's thesis, while the volume edited by Bough & Macridis (1970) has pretensions in this direction. The other books, all by U.S. Virgin Islanders, are largely anecdotal and generally uncritical of U.S. colonial rule. The latter is not surprising given the absence, in this century, of any truly nationalist sentiment in the USVI. It is thus a peculiar irony that Boyer, an "outsider," had begun to recognize, as early as 1949, that the doctrine of territorial incorporation precluded the full exercise of citizenship rights by U.S. Virgin Islanders. This is not to say that political activists in the USVI were unaware of the fact that their civil rights were dependent upon congressional action for realization, but it was never so articulated in their works.

Boyer's main intent in this book is to examine the status of civil liberties in a U.S. territorial possession where the doctrine of territorial incorporation (the constitution does not follow the flag)
has been invoked. This he does admirably as he examines (1) the debate surrounding the extension of the U.S. constitution to "subject populations" of darker hue, (2) the Danish Colonial Laws of 1863 and 1906 which remained in effect after the transfer of the islands from Denmark to the U.S. (March 31, 1917), (3) the agitation for a constitution which became a reality when the U.S. Congress passed the Organic Act of 1936, and (4) the evolving relationship between the U.S. Federal Government and the USVI. With the exception of Chapter 1, which contains some analysis, the book presents a rather dry factual account of the struggle for civil liberties in the USVI. To Boyer's credit he notes the difficulties and subtle nuances of the U.S. Virgin Islanders' struggle with a series of naval governors and presidentially appointed civilian governors, and with a U.S. Federal bureaucracy that had a vague idea of where the islands were located but knew nothing about its people.

I have only two critical comments to make on the original master's thesis portion of the book. The first centers around Boyer's excessive reliance on Luther Evans' (1945) work, which, despite its overtly liberal tone, presents a perplexingly jaundiced view of the USVI and its people. The second revolves around Boyer's failure to recognize the critical role played by the American Civil Liberties Union in championing the struggle for civil liberties in the USVI between 1920 and 1936 and in lobbying for constitutional reforms.

The epilogue, written towards the end of 1981, serves to bring the reader up to date with political and economic developments in the USVI. By its very nature it is a brief and sketchy account and suffers accordingly. Scholars interested in a more analytical and in-depth study of the 1917–1980 period in USVI history, are advised to read Boyer's new book — *America's Virgin Islands: a history of human rights and wrongs*.

In the epilogue, Boyer reports on further concessions made by the U.S. Congress towards greater self-government in the USVI after 1949. These were the 1954 Revised Organic Act (which established a unicameral legislature in place of two municipal councils), the Elective Governor Act of 1968 (which allowed U.S. Virgin Islanders for the first time to elect their own governor), the
appointment of an elected non-voting delegate to the U.S. Congress, and the four attempts to write a constitution, all final drafts of which were rejected by the voters. While these may be considered steps in the right direction, neither the U.S. Federal Government nor the political directorate in the USVI has established firmly what this direction might be. Thus the fundamental issue in terms of civil liberties, and one which Boyer briefly addresses, is that of a negotiated political status for the USVI. In my view, until the political status question is resolved, the USVI, despite progress towards greater local autonomy, must be considered a nonself-governing territory for the following reasons: (1) it is subject to the plenary authority of the U.S. Congress, (2) certain provisions of the U.S. constitution do not apply in the USVI (e.g., uniform tariff duties and grand juries), (3) U.S. Virgin Islanders do not elect voting representatives to the U.S. Congress, (4) U.S. Virgin Islanders do not vote in national elections, and (5) there is no expectation in the U.S. Congress or in the USVI that the Virgin Islands will become a state within the Union.

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