Bonnie A. Lucero, *A Cuban City, Segregated: Race and Urbanization in the Nineteenth Century*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2019. xv + 268 pp. (Cloth: US\$54.95)

In this wide-ranging social history of the Cuban city of Cienfuegos, Bonnie A. Lucero traces “a century-long process of physical marginalization of the city’s historically significant populations of color” (p. 190). Founded in 1819 and originally named Fernandina de Jagua, Cienfuegos was designated as a “White” town. It was thus constructed on a particular elite racial vision: a plan to “Whiten” the Cuban population. These aims soon foundered due to lack of funds and, in particular, to the rapidly-expanding, though illegal, African slave trade, which funneled a steady influx of enslaved Africans to the city and its environs. Cienfuegos’s wealthier residents became as dependent as any other Cuban property-holders on unfree labor. Meanwhile, the “White” city also housed a small founding population of free property-holders of color. Lucero’s careful cross-referencing of rich local archival sources allows her to identify many of these people—not an easy task given the racial silences in the documents. The book then follows the unequal social and geographic trajectories of both enslaved and free(d) *cienfuegueros* of color over the decades, as they struggled for residential, leisure, and working space in the city.

The book argues that a century-long process of specifically racial—as well as class-based—segregation occurred in the city. In this sense, it contributes to broader debates around the intersections of race and class within Latin American urban history. The results of racially segregationist tendencies certainly remain visible on urban landscapes; yet excavating their roots poses challenges for scholars. Segregation, of course, was never absolute, and always involved some degree of racial and geographic mixing. Meanwhile, racially-specific intent by local authorities was only sometimes made explicit, such as in the 1850s ordinances that gave right of way on the city’s sidewalks to Whites. At other moments, it was assumed, such as in a ruling that all residents “except people of hierarchy and distinction” must carry a torch when moving through the city at night, in practice subjecting all but a select group of Whites to mobility control. Generally, segregationist tendencies worked more subtly, for example through taxation codes that gradually prevented all but the wealthiest from retaining property in the city center. Local authorities then focused resources and services there, while reserving the most intense policing for the poorer, peripheral, and less White neighborhoods.

Regardless of explicit intent, the book clearly charts the spatial/racial results of urbanization as it unfolded in Cienfuegos: the gradual displacement of Afro-Cuban families along a “moving urban racial frontier” (p. 191). Ongoing through-

out much of the nineteenth century, this process was exacerbated by economic crises beginning in the 1870s, which disproportionately affected people of color (many of them former slaves). Municipal policies were not neutral in this process: instead, they actively deepened the growing economic and geographic divides between Cienfuegos's residents. A series of maps helpfully illustrates the peripheralization of Afro-Cuban property-holders. Perhaps even more striking are the stories of families over time and space, as they were evicted by wealthier White landlords over small rent arrears, or forced through penury to sell up (usually to White buyers) and move on. Such displaced families pioneered the urbanization of new, peripheral neighborhoods, even as these neighborhoods were neglected by authorities and rendered invisible in depictions of the city by foreign travelers, who only frequented the whitened, "modern" center.

The struggles of *cienfuegueros* of color for urban space varied according to their location and level of affluence. In the middle-class neighborhood of Mercado, better-off Afro-Cubans sought to access "White" leisure spaces, such as cafés, when the colonial government dismantled segregationist laws in the 1870s and early 1880s. In so doing, they clashed with White owners and patrons, who sought to retain informally the racial barriers that had been legally removed. Even for these better-off residents of color, then, "money did not whiten enough" to grant equal access to urban space (p. 147). Meanwhile, in the poorer, multi-ethnic neighborhood of Paradero, the politics of gender, class, and race intersected in particular ways. Women of color spearheaded property acquisition for their communities, yet their economic independence and the non-elite gendered norms that operated among many Afro-Cuban families made those communities, as a whole, targets for increased surveillance and policing.

Engagingly written and deeply researched, this book will appeal to both undergraduates and specialists with interests in the relationship between race, space, and urban history. Walking the streets of Cienfuegos after reading *A Cuban City, Segregated*, they will be better able to discern the city's racial past in the landscapes of its present, and the discrimination and struggle that were built into its very stones.

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