

(p. 125) seems overstated. For one, it was nothing new for Mexican seasonal laborers to be paid wages. Second, free and coerced labor regimes had often coexisted in Mexico. As Castleman acknowledges, wage labor worked more effectively as a system of recruitment because the employers paid road workers a more attractive wage. Even then employees remained temporary. Castleman rounds out his discussion of the road workers by examining the better-paid artisans.

In Chapter 5, the book's most impressive, Castleman compares two censuses conducted for Orizaba for the years 1777 and 1791. As Orizaba was one of the centers of labor recruitment for a principle stretch of the *camino real*, this analysis provides a glimpse into the social world of the road workers. While the colonial caste system theoretically froze at birth the *calidad*, the ethnic classification of individuals, Castleman finds considerable "whitening" of the Orizabeño population from the earlier to the later census. In part this social mobility merely reflected the use of different ethnic categories in the two censuses, but Castleman also attributes changes in *calidad* to the deliberate efforts of "social climbers". Interestingly, Castleman finds little correlation between class and ethnic mobility: "men who moved upward in the sistema de castas between 1777 and 1791 appear to have come from all walks of life" (p. 120). Castleman's analysis of the censuses is very convincing.

Bruce Castleman's study of the King's Highway demonstrates the value of employing statistical analysis to colonial data. Through the cautious and perceptive manipulation of his rich data source, Castleman brings to life the social and economic world surrounding the construction of the *camino real*. This book is recommended to all historians of colonial Latin America.

Jeremy Baskes

SCOTT, REBECCA J. *Degrees of Freedom. Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery.* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.) [etc.] 2005. 365 pp. Ill. Maps \$29.95; £18.95; DOI: 10.1017/S0020859007042861

Rebecca Scott's *Degrees of Freedom* examines the end and aftermath of slavery in Cuba and Louisiana. It distinguishes itself from earlier comparative works by taking "the construction of postemancipation society, rather than slavery and race relations, as the subject of comparison" (p. 5). It is solidly grounded in primary sources from a variety of archival sites, and its methodological approach and general style also distance Scott's book from earlier comparative studies. The book raises important issues for debate, and even those differing from the author's conclusions or emphases would recognize that it is a groundbreaking study and a remarkable piece of historical research and analysis.

The introduction and Chapter 1 set the scene. The nineteenth-century sugar landscapes of the "two worlds of cane" are described, having "comparably brutal systems of slavery" (p. 16), yet with significant demographic differences. While Louisiana's free people of color were a (diminishing) minority, in central Cuba the large free colored population and the different socio-historical formation created a society in which "every enslaved person would have occasion to encounter many other people of color who were free, often living close by and performing similar work" (p. 20).

Chapters 2 and 3 center on Louisiana. Scott examines the immediate aftermath of the Civil War and the concerns about controlling labor in the plantations. While social

relations resembled those of slavery (blackness equating to plantation labor) (p. 39), the new social configurations of post-slavery Louisiana, combined with new acquired rights of former slaves, generated social tensions that are discussed. Workers, for instance, left the plantations to vote, simultaneously exercising their new freedom of choice and mobility and their electoral (and citizen) rights (p. 49). Reconstruction generated combined sociopolitical conflicts between north and south, blacks and whites, workers and planters, but also engendered alliances of non-whites from (and across) a variety of available spaces for action, from social and labor organizing to the military. The legitimizing of white violence by courts and the constitutional changes in 1879 reduced to nothing the general rights acquired in the earlier 1868 constitution. Further violence and legal and social obstacles by white supremacists had, by the 1890s, limited the options of blacks in public space, labor and electoral politics.

In Chapters 4 and 5 the discussion moves to Cuba, first zooming in on central Cuba (1868–1895), and then zooming out for an island-wide coverage (1895–1898). While covering Cuba's struggle for independence, Scott emphasizes people's independence from the plantation, rather than from Spanish colonialism. Political freedom and freedom from slavery were interrelated and Scott covers the labor politics and the slaves' struggles, with detailed insights into the complexities of the transition to free labor on specific plantations.¹ In Cuba, as opposed to Louisiana, the post-emancipation labor force was characterized by its multiracial character (i.e. Chinese, Spanish, blacks, *mulatos*). The author's insistence on this latter issue prevails in her discussion of labor issues, the independence wars, and subsequent struggles for equality. But she is careful in her assessment – and writing – by noting that, despite freedom from the plantation and racial slavery and increasing participation of former slaves in public culture, racial and ethnic divisions persisted, there was a “fragile coexistence” of wage labor with subsistence economy, and the flight for “respect and equal rights” was still unfinished (pp. 121, 123). Chapter 5 looks at cross-racial alliances during the final war of independence, without losing sight of simultaneous struggles for rights in the labor and electoral arena. The altered landscape in which the 1895 war was fought meant that the portrayal of Cuban insurgents as “savages” fighting for “another Haiti” – dominant in previous conflicts – “had lost much of its force”, according to Scott (p. 131). Yet she also notes that this black fear “still lingered” among whites (p. 139), and it certainly did, regaining its force later in 1912.

In Chapters 6 and 7, the stories of Cuba and Louisiana are joined to analyze people's struggles for their rights. Connections outlined in the introduction are brought to more life as joint (or rather clashing) stories of war and the search for full citizenship. While Antonio Maceo and Máximo Gómez made a brief low-profile visit to Louisiana in 1884 to advance their cause for Cuban independence (pp. 2–3), in 1898, African Americans from Louisiana went to Cuba hoping to provide meaning to their citizenship through military service abroad. They found themselves not only racially subordinated under military hierarchy, but also in the contradictory situation of being the representatives of a government that advocated for the rights of Cubans against Spain abroad (pp. 154–155), while it crushed the rights of non-whites at home (pp. 160–161, 165). Moreover, black soldiers' enlistment followed the racial logic that “they were particularly suitable for war in the tropics” as “immune regiments” (p. 167). This contrasts with another rationale for African Americans'

1. This obviously following from Scott's previous book, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton, NJ, 1985).

participation in the war; that of volunteering blacks identifying with Maceo's cause as part of a wider struggle for rights by peoples of African descent in the Americas traced back to Toussaint L'Ouverture (pp. 155, 168, 172). The encounter of peoples from the US and Cuba at the end of the war and during US subsequent intervention (1898–1902) also meant the clash of two (or more) ways of perceiving “race” resulting in the questioning and assertion of the “color line” (pp. 173–179).

In Chapter 7, the author zooms in again, this time on the insistent judicial battles for electoral rights in Louisiana. A series of legal cases and appeals illustrate joint efforts of blacks and whites in challenging legal obstacles to full citizenship faced by black Louisianans. There is no happy ending to the story. Judicial challenges to black disenfranchisement “reached a dead end”, and by 1904, African Americans were more “isolated” and with doors “definitely closed” (pp. 197, 200). Scott's insightful discussion illustrates that supposedly race-blind and race-neutral laws and regulations do not mean the absence of racial (and racist) thinking. Scott is outstanding in making us “see” and decipher racist operational logic in the legal system, even when US courts at that time did not “discern its logic” (p. 194), or probably did not want to.

The author then discusses how, in contrast to Louisiana, the US faced obstacles in disenfranchizing people of African descent in Cuba. With universal manhood suffrage granted in 1902, Afro-Cubans started the republican era as citizens and actors in the electoral arena, but with a pro-Hispanic discriminatory administration led by Tomás Estrada Palma.² Afro-Cubans became an important electoral constituency for the opposing Liberal Party, and a revolt erupted in 1906 against his re-election with “Cubans of color” being “conspicuous in the rebel ranks” (p. 213). While Scott does not dig into the racial aspects of the revolt,³ documentary evidence does exist about racial perceptions of North Americans in Cuba at the time – including southerners – opening an analytical space for comparing competing notions of the “color line”.⁴ Instead, she looks at class struggles and how they evidenced workers' capacity to organize across racial lines and reclaim their rights. “Conflict in the sugar fields”, Scott tells us, “tended to be defined largely by class, not by race or nationality” (p. 209), thus advancing her argument of Cuba as fertile ground for cross-racial alliances. While public struggles in the sugar areas had instances of cross-ethnic solidarity, as emphasized by Scott, in other plantations one finds that the color line was drawn by the administration and, at the private social and cultural levels, through racially exclusive clubs and organizations.⁵ That is, Cuban sugar fields could be seen as multiracial spaces, but also as checkered spaces where some moves had to

2. For this period, see the excellent study by Lillian Guerra, *The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalisms in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005).

3. See Enid Lynette Logan, “Conspirators, Pawns, Patriots and Brothers: Race and Politics in Western Cuba, 1906–1909”, *Political Power and Social Theory*, 14 (2000), pp. 3–51.

4. See, for example, W.A. Page to Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of State, US, 28 August 1906; United States National Archives (Archives II: College Park), Record Group 59, Numerical and Minor Files of the Department of State, File #244/57 (M862, Roll #37), among other archival materials; and see also travel chronicles such as that of Scottish writer William Archer, *Through Afro-America: An English Reading of the Race Problem* (London, 1910), p. 252.

5. Maybe the *Centro Africano* mentioned by Scott may have been one of those clubs. There is historical evidence of rigid class and color divisions in some Cuban plantations, through the organization of space, and through the development of societies, as exemplified in the literary work of Cuban writer Pablo Armando Fernández. See his “De bateyes”, in *De memorias y anhelos* (Havana, 1998), pp. 11–43.

be carefully measured. In Louisiana, making the move at all was in itself a challenge. Comparatively, then, for African Americans the twentieth century started fighting to have minimal rights, while for Afro-Cubans it was an issue of how to use and secure the rights acquired.

Carl Degler noted that the value of the comparative approach is “to gain insight into the nature of the experience of the nation of one’s own interest”.⁶ Cuba has been at the center of Scott’s scholarly interests, and she seems to sustain Degler’s statement in Chapter 8 through her well-developed discussion of Cuba from 1906 to 1914. It begins with the struggle of a family ascending from slavery in Cienfuegos in 1906 claiming rights over the property of their former master. The legal fight of the Quesadas would also claim reparations for remaining in bondage even when the master had granted them freedom through his will when he died in 1876. Much like the insistent legal fights of African Americans to be included in the electoral registers (chapter 7), the Quesadas’s case did not succeed, but “fighting the case was the next best thing to winning it” (p. 222). This shows that the struggles being fought over in this book may have been about property, freedom, and rights, but also about principles. The chapter then looks at the struggle of the *Partido Independiente de Color* (PIC). Scott’s persistent interpretation of Cuban cross-racial social relations will weigh heavily in her assessment of the PIC’s electoral failure, lack of appeal, and its ultimate fate at the repressive hands of the state in 1912. Scott thus questions Aline Helg’s view of Cuba’s racial system as closer to that of the binary US model,⁷ and other aspects of her assessment of the PIC (p. 331, n. 46). Nonetheless, Scott is clear that in “the stress of political conflict, a dichotomous categorization was winning out over the long-standing social custom of naming multiple gradations of color” (p. 237). At the same time, she also qualifies that the localized characteristics of the 1912 conflict varied with “sharp lines of demarcation” in Oriente, while in Central Cuba, the local *Sociedad de Color* in Cienfuegos supported the government and self-defense forces “seemed to cross class and racial lines” (p. 245). Scott concludes that the “sensationalized news of events in Oriente became part of the permanent framing of the events of 1912”, thus overshadowing the complex interracial dynamics she illustrates through microhistorical research (p. 248).

While I agree that racial divisions were strengthened at moments of conflict,⁸ and with the existence of regional differences in Cuba, I think that the regional characterization of the 1912 conflict was more complex than the east/central Cuba distinctions presented by Scott. In Holguín (Oriente) the mayor proclaimed cross-racial fraternity and assured “people of color” that those who “have not taken any part in the rebellion” should not fear from the authorities. While his statement of cross-racial fraternity shows the spirit of a

6. Carl Degler, “Comparative History: An Essay Review”, *Journal of Southern History*, 34 (1968), p. 430.

7. Alice Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886–1912* (Chapel Hill, NC [etc.], 1995), p. 3. See also a more elaborated discussion in *idem*, “Race and Black Mobilization in Colonial and Early Independent Cuba: A Comparative Perspective”, *Ethnohistory*, 44 (1997), p. 54.

8. Aside from theoretical discussions on this topic, in Cuba in particular, this phenomenon has been studied for the period after 1912, with my own examination of the 1917 Liberal Revolt, and Frank Guridy’s research of racial conflicts in the 1930s. See Jorge L. Giovannetti, “Black British Subjects in Cuba: Race, Ethnicity, Nation, and Identity in the Migratory Experience, 1898–1938”, (Ph.D. dissertation: University of North London, 2001), pp. 69–110, and Frank Andre Guridy, “Racial Knowledge in Cuba: The Production of a Social Fact, 1912–1944”, (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Michigan, 2002).

multiracial nation in the east, it was stated in binary racial terms, between “whites and people of color”.⁹ In Sagua la Grande (central Cuba) dichotomous categorizations existed, with “white mothers” condemning the attacks by the “*cafres Africanos*” of the PIC,¹⁰ and another communication stressed that “all Cubans – white and blacks – are equal under the laws of the Republic” but spoke in unequivocal binary racial terms about the “separation of whites and blacks”.¹¹ In Regla (western Cuba) racial antagonism coexisted with racial solidarity, with whites in “persecution of black individuals”, but also taking “black refugees” out of their houses to safety.¹² Evidently both racial hostilities and solidarity were between *two* clearly marked groups.

The selected examples suggest more complexities to Scott’s portrayal of 1912 and stress the endurance of dichotomous racial distinction over multiracial ones, but they also signal that her micro-historical localized approach is the right path to further our knowledge of these events. The examples presented also stress that the discourse of “fraternity”, and its limits, was dictated from the position of power of Cuban whites (at the level of government and society). The *proclama* by Holguín’s mayor was clear in that “fraternal relations” “will not cool *as long as* the sensible colored element is able to refuse the invitation and condemn the actions of the insurgents”.¹³ One of the Sagua la Grande communications stated that legal equality “cannot be extended to other confines of life, to the extent of confusion of one race with the other”.¹⁴ A final methodological question regarding Scott’s discussion of 1912 is the absence of oral sources, when contrasted with the number of interviews, memories, and accounts used for earlier periods. One would think that being a later date, 1912 opened more possibilities for oral history at the time of Scott’s research.¹⁵

The author brings the book to a close by joining the outcomes of the immediate aftermaths of slavery in Cuba and Louisiana. She concludes that despite the “hypocrisy in the Cuban system” that predicated racial equality, there were spaces and alliances available for Cubans of color that nonetheless found their limits in 1912.¹⁶ In Louisiana, a sharp division between “whites” and “colored” remained in place in public spaces, the military, and the division of labor (pp. 257, 260–261). In Cuba, Scott writes, even after 1912, cross-racial alliances persisted and the events did not “alter the cross-racial organizing strategies

9. José García, Alcalde Municipal de Holguín, [*Proclama*], 23 May 1912, Alcaldía Municipal de Holguín, Archivo del Museo Provincial, Holguín, Fondo-Ayuntamiento, 1912, no. 11.

10. Damas Sagiieras, “Hablan las mujeres cubanas”, (Imprenta de J. Borrón, Periodico ‘Cuba’), 18 June 1912, Archivo Nacional de Cuba (ANC), Secretaría de la Presidencia_Fondo 189, Leg. 110, No. 2 [Second Piece].

11. Jóvenes de Sagua [287 firmas], [Sagua la Grande]. “Nuestra Actitud”, (Imprenta J. Borrón), n.d. c.1912, ANC, Secretaría de la Presidencia_Fondo 189, Leg. 110, No. 2 [Second Piece].

12. Francisco M. Duque, *La Historia de Regla. Descripción política, económica y social, desde su fundación hasta el día* (Havana, 1925), pp. 127–129. According to the account, blacks in Regla were distant from the “racist purposes of Ivonet and Estenez”.¹³

13. García, Alcalde Municipal de Holguín, [*Proclama*], 23 May 1912, my emphasis.

14. Jóvenes de Sagua [287 firmas], [Sagua la Grande]. “Nuestra Actitud”.

15. The issue of oral history of 1912 is relegated to a footnote calling for further research on the repression; Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, p. 333, n. 75.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 256. The argument of the limits of equality was also advanced by the present writer in reviewing one of Scott’s edited books. See Jorge L. Giovannetti, “Libertad, raza, y nación en Cuba: Llenando espacios, rompiendo silencios, y tocando los sentidos de la historiografía”, *Revista Brasileira do Caribe*, 4:7 (July–December 2003), pp. 9–25, and “Review of *Espacios, silencios, y los sentidos de la libertad*”, *New West Indian Guide*, 77:1–2 (2003), pp. 169.

of members of the working class" (p. 254). She tells us that two years after 1912, multiracial labor activists joined forces in the labor congress in 1915 (p. 254), but archive materials illustrate that later in the Liberal revolt of 1917 dichotomous racial distinctions re-emerged as government troops were "killing the blacks" and the national press used the "lingering" black fear.¹⁷ That is, cross-racial alliances existed at specific societal levels and spaces of action, but in other levels clear binary racial distinctions were stubbornly upheld, especially when maintaining socio-racial power structures and exercising control and repression. 1912 changed many things in Cuba, establishing the rules of the game for people of African descent, as they relearned how to operate (under which conditions) within a country that had been marked by a racial massacre. In that sense, people of African descent in Cuba redirected their energy inward, like their counterparts in Louisiana,¹⁸ with more caution in their explicit challenge of power.

A final word is in order about *Degrees of Freedom* and the comparative history of slavery and emancipation in the Americas. Scott partially evades the theoretical discussion of race relations, yet she acknowledges its relevance to the processes of how post-Emancipation societies were constituted.¹⁹ She cannot quite escape the concerns of her predecessors providing insights for the discussion of racial continuums and dichotomies, Iberian versus north-western variants of race relations (pp. 262–263), and prejudice in public (and by default, private) life in Cuba and Louisiana (p. 261). Theoretical interpretations on these issues were provided by Harry Hoetink²⁰ from a "social-scientific" tradition of comparative history, but Scott's anchoring in a "humanistic 'historicist' tradition" keeps her analysis at the margins of race relations sociological theory.²¹ In reviewing Hoetink's work, Sidney Mintz noted two things: that it would be a

17. For the racist repression during the Liberal revolt of 1917 see the surrender documents in Archivo Historico Provincial, Camaguey, Fondo Juzgado de Instruccion del Partido Judicial de Camaguey, Leg. 376, #4706, 4708, 4709. For the strategies used by the Conservatives to manipulate the black electorate see the cartoons and articles in the newspaper *La politica cómica* from 1916 to 1917.

18. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, p. 267. On associations of people of African descent, and their strategies in the Cuban context, see Alejandra Bronfman, *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004), pp. 87–106, and Jorge L. Giovannetti, "The Elusive Organization of 'Identity': Race, Religion, and Empire Among Caribbean Migrants in Cuba", *Small Axe*, 19 (February 2006), pp. 1–27.

19. Scott tells us that there is "no convincing way to isolate something called 'race relations' from the specific ways in which black labor was employed in the countryside and power was relocated in the polity" and notes that people "did not live their 'race' separate from their work or their politics"; Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, pp. 1–2.

20. H. Hoetink, *Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations: A Contribution to the Sociology of Segmented Societies* (London, 1967), p. 22. Hoetink's book summarized many of the debates on the comparative scholarship of slavery and race relations, contributing to the debate from a more theoretical sociological perspective. He referred to aspects such as the "latent conflict" in racially divided societies that are otherwise characterized by "social suppleness" and to categories of public and private race relations, both areas which merit a wider discussion in the debate that will arise from, and about, *Degrees of Freedom*. Scott's book, however, cites only Frank Tannenbaum, Herbert Klein, and Carl Degler, but not Hoetink or other contributors to the debate. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, p. 279, n. 6.

21. On these two traditions, and their specific objectives, see George Fredrickson, "The Status of Comparative History (1980)", in *idem*, *The Comparative Imagination: On the History of Racism, Nationalism, and Social Movements* (Berkeley, CA, 1997), pp. 23–26, 24.

“serious mistake to ignore this author’s ideas”, and that what was needed was research data to test them.²² Scott’s book does both; the latter it does remarkably. Her research findings expand our historical knowledge of complex racial dynamics in Cuba and Louisiana making *Degrees of Freedom* an important contribution for future testing (and challenging) of theoretical elaborations of race relations in the Americas.²³

Jorge L. Giovannetti

ROSSMAN, JEFFREY J. *Worker Resistance under Stalin. Class and Revolution on the Shop Floor.* [Russian Research Center Studies, vol. 96.] Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.) [etc.] 2005. 314 pp. Ill. \$49.95; £31.95; € 42.50; DOI: 10.1017/S0020859007052868

Jeffrey Rossman’s well researched and passionately written book on the resistance of the textile workers to Stalin’s industrialization contributes to a number of issues that are the subject of heated debate in the historiography of Stalinism: the mechanisms of a genesis of social resistance to the regime, its extent, effects, dimensions and limits, and the process and sources of the construction of identities. The book explores, among other major issues, the evolution of forms of worker protest; the emergence of patterns of resistance; the impact of workers’s struggle on central power policies; the reasons for the failure of shopfloor resistance; the divisions between the workers caused by resistance; the role of a worker leader; and the degree of the (un)development of a political consciousness among workers, to name just a few.

Through more than a half a century of development, studies of Stalinism made a spiral in their exploration of state–society relations. Each phase of this spiral offered its own vision of major historical player(s) and dominant type(s) of social behavior. The totalitarian school of the 1950s–1960s and the official version of Soviet history that existed in the Soviet Union at that time, mirroring each other, placed a hypotrophic emphasis on the role of ideology and the state, either negative or positive, in forming social identities and types of social behavior. Either suppressed and brainwashed, or totally enthusiastically supportive, the society offered no resistance to the regime. With the emergence in the 1970s of the revisionist school in the West, Russian scholars, after political change in the USSR, joined their Western colleagues – historians of Stalinism discovered society and a rich spectrum of the types of social behavior and identities rooted either in Stalinist state strategies, or pre-Soviet experiences and the utopian ideals of the Revolution, or the social tactics of adaptation and survival.

Although in time the fascination with society was impregnated with an unjustified broad extrapolation of resistance and a prevalence of the support–resistance paradigm, by the 1990s, with the ease of Cold War tensions in the historiography of Stalinism, it seemed that a certain balance in the presentation of state–society relations had been found. Soviet history emerged as the interplay of two actors: while the state constantly sought total

22. Sidney W. Mintz, “Groups, Group Boundaries and the Perceptions of ‘Race’”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 13 (1971), pp. 437–450, 443, 450.

23. Helg’s comparative research of race and black mobilization in Cuba engaged with Hoetink’s theoretical interpretations in a very stimulating piece that both agrees and rejects arguments advanced by Hoetink; Helg, “Race and Black Mobilization”.