

financial institutions with the Spanish state at the expense of Cuban planters. This contributed to an economic crisis, and encouraged Cuban planters to develop relationships with North American capitalists who could supply funds that Spanish institutions could not.

Louis Pérez' "Cuba and the United States: Origins and Antecedents of Relations, 1760–1860s" argues that Cuban-U.S. economic relations were established in the eighteenth century, when Spain was increasingly unable to meet the economic and trade needs of the Cuban colony. Using both statistical and travelers' accounts, Pérez traces the growing influence of the United States on Cuba's economic and social life.

Gerald Poyo places Cuban communities in the United States in historical perspective. In "The Cuban Experience in the United States, 1865–1940," he points out that Cuban migration to the United States, fallaciously perceived as a twentieth-century phenomenon, began in the nineteenth century as the developing world economy displaced Cuban workers. These job-seeking, forced migrants, many of them radicalized, were committed to Cuban independence. They underwent a transition from exiles to immigrants identified with the United States as Cuba won its independence from Spain.

Ada Ferrer's article, "Social Aspects of Cuban Nationalism: Race, Slavery, and the Guerra Chiquita, 1879–1880," addresses issues of race and racism in that war; and develops a more nuanced understanding of the processes of independence and the social construction of race and nation than that provided in traditional histories.

Aline Helg, in "Afro-Cuban Protest: The Partido Independiente de Color," employs seldom-used sources, such as the party's newspaper, *Previsión*, to analyze incisively the development and destruction of this early twentieth-century Afro-Cuban political party, as well as elite manipulations of race. Along with Carlos Moore's *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa* (1988), which is thoroughly discussed in the debate section by Lisa Brock and Otis Cunningham, the articles by Ferrer and Helg highlight the significance of the social construction of race in Latin America and how much work is still needed on the topic. All the contributions in volume 21 ignite an interest in the possibility of further work by the authors and reaffirm the fecundity of Cuban studies.

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The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below. By CAROLYN E. FICK. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xv, 355 pp. Cloth. \$44.95.

Primarily political in approach, this major study of the Haitian Revolution of 1789–1803 has two unusual features. First, it focuses on the black masses' struggles for emancipation and independence, according secondary importance to develop-

ments among other social groups, international politics, and the role of leaders such as Toussaint Louverture. Second, and quite uniquely, it concentrates on the colony's south coast, devoting 40 percent of the text to a region neglected both in colonial times and by historians of the revolution. There, relations between blacks, free coloreds, and whites evolved rather differently than in the North Province, where the great uprising of 1791 took place. Carolyn Fick describes in rich detail the rebellion of Les Platons and presents valuable information on the functioning of the forced-labor regime that followed slavery's abolition. Owing to a lack of documentation from this period, however, much remains unclear about relations between the black masses of the south and the light-skinned elite, led by André Rigaud, that dominated the region.

Despite this concentration on the south, the author also puts together the most complete account yet of the role of voodoo and *marronage* (*cimarronaje*). She does much to sort out the revolution's confused chronology, though in my view not with complete success. In a desire to emphasize its organization and coordination, Fick fails to see that the revolt broke out prematurely, and thus, paradoxically, she underplays the full scope of the rebels' design. Especially surprising is her uncritical acceptance of the theory that white royalists were involved in the uprising.

Continuity in slave resistance between prerevolutionary *marronage* and the revolution is a central theme of the book. Much of the opposing evidence is overlooked, however. Fick modifies her own and Jean Fouchard's earlier stress on armed bands and maroons' leadership of revolts and instead makes a case for the political significance of short-term absenteeism, assuming that this type of *marronage* lay behind the weekend gatherings at which rebellions were organized. Fick sees little difference between maroon wars (even those in Jamaica) and slave revolts.

Focusing specifically on black resistance, the book is not meant to present a balanced picture of slave society (p. 10), and sometimes the author seems unfamiliar with the broader context. Slave men, for example, were not "more than twice as numerous" as slave women in Saint Domingue (p. 51). The church was not a major landowner in the colony (p. 278), and the entirely mountainous parish of Plaisance is not in the northern plain (p. 37). The picture of the slaves' ethnic background reflects the recent trend toward emphasizing Kongo influences on slave culture, but it is a little dated; and the discussion of slave demography shows no awareness of epidemiological factors. Certain individuals (Gros, Hilliard d'Auberteuil) are misidentified, and terms like *labor intensive* and *kitchen garden* (pp. 36, 208, 305, et al.) are misused. There is also a tendency to make unsupported and, I think, unwarrantable assertions. Colonial society and its economic links with France were "rapidly disintegrating" by 1789 (p. 238). "Numerous slaves could read and write their own language" (p. 39). Petro ceremonies included a blood pact and "vow of vengeance" (p. 42). "Rarely, if ever" did African-born maroons live alone (p. 51).

With extensive notes and appendixes, this is nevertheless one of the best-

documented works on the subject to appear so far. The author makes intensive use of papers of the French government's Colonial Committee and cites from a wide range of other sources, though few from the French provinces or Britain and none from Spain. Strongly engaged with its subject, this is an important extension of the work of Fouchard and C. L. R. James.

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Haiti: The Failure of Politics. By BRIAN WEINSTEIN and AARON SEGAL. New York: Praeger, 1992. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 203 pp. Cloth. \$45.00.

This book is written in the tradition of earlier U.S. works on Haiti in that it shortchanges Haitian scholarship under the guise of "objectivity"; and this is most unfortunate. Ultimately, it argues that countries, persons, and events are unique, so unique as to make comparisons difficult (p. 179). Details often "jam" the flow of the story the authors are attempting to tell. Yet an unspoken assertion—because it is so prevalent—concerns the proximity of a given society to an ideal, in this instance "democracy," that is never defined (pp. 75, 76). The concept "revolution" meets a similar fate (pp. 50, 54). One cannot but think that the United States serves as the model. As a result, the analysis becomes confused, too weak and atomized to carry forward the ideological framework the authors propose to explain Haiti's failures. "Government by franchise" does not do it (pp. 53, 55). It may not be the failure of politics, as stated in the subtitle, but a failure to know Haiti and to place it in its proper historical, cultural, and international context that is at fault.

This is not to say that the book lacks a unifying ideology. It connects with earlier twentieth-century works on Haiti published in the United States, but unfortunately masks much of the Haitian reality, when, for instance, it discusses the literacy campaign of 1986–87 (p. 71). If a similar book with the same kind of evidence were published about the United States, it might well be defined as anti-American and antiwhite. Perhaps owing to the authors' disciplinary specializations, the work is at its weakest when discussing elements of Haitian culture, such as the Vodun (voodoo) religion (p. 9). These passages remain unintegrated with the rest of the book. There are occasional flashes of brilliance, such as when the authors illustrate the lack of correspondence between political jurisdictions and local subdivisions (p. 68) and discuss the Kreyol (creole) language (pp. 68–72). Also helpful are the anecdotes about the authors' interaction with young U.S. anthropologists who were advising the U.S. ambassador, and with the officer manning the Haiti desk at the State Department (pp. 47, 49). Unfortunately, the analysis remains oddly simplistic throughout. This may be due to the book's introductory nature, which gives it limited appeal to an academic readership. Awkward sentence structure and inelegant prose make it difficult reading for others as well.

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