

THE CARIBBEAN SUGAR INDUSTRY AND SLAVERY

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- THE CARIBBEAN SUGAR INDUSTRIES: CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES.* By G. B. HAGELBERG. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974. Antilles Research Program Occasional Papers No. 3. Pp. 174.)
- BLACKS IN COLONIAL CUBA 1774–1899.* By KENNETH F. KIPLE. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976. Pp. 115.)
- EL INGENIO: COMPLEJO ECONÓMICO SOCIAL CUBANO DEL AZÚCAR.* By MANUEL MORENO FRAGINALS. (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1978. 3 volumes.)

The European expansion into the Caribbean, beginning with Christopher Columbus's ill-fated expedition, linked permanently the sugar industry, the black population, and the plantation complex. This link has endured through five centuries, creating an extensive debate about the value of the inordinate local dependence on sugar production or the social and economic impact of the entire plantation complex. These three books illustrate graphically the main directions of research and disputation within history and the other social sciences, as well as the historical implications for politics. G. B. Hagelberg offers a bold frontal attack on a whole range of assumptions and conclusions held by historians, sociologists, economists, and anthropologists (among others) on the role of the sugar industries in Caribbean economic life. Kenneth F. Kiple attempts to correct and streamline one of the most difficult problems of Cuban demography: the number, reliability, and historical utility of the various Cuban census returns between 1774 and 1899. Manuel Moreno Fragnals, in this modified third edition of his pathbreaking 1964 study, posits a mechanical-industrial rationale for the demise of the Cuban slave system. All three studies, despite the reservations of some specialists, make significant and provocative contributions to the study and understanding of Caribbean societies.¹

In a short, superbly written introductory essay to Hagelberg's book, Sidney Mintz establishes the relationship that not only provides the departing focus for this study, but also binds these three works together. Mintz observes, "The association of sugar cane, the slavery of transported Africans and the large agricultural estates commonly called

'plantations' is both intimate and ancient—so much so that we need to be reminded how much that association is an artifact of particular historical circumstances. Sugar cane has numerous intrinsic characteristics—above all, that it must be ground as soon as it is cut, to maximize its yield of sugar—but nothing says it must be grown only on plantations, or only by slaves. Yet its importance in the expansion of European agro-industry in this hemisphere so set the terms of its production that the triadic image—plantations, sugar cane and African slaves—has come to epitomize whole centuries of post-Columbian, Caribbean experience." Hagelberg begins his work by attacking a number of accepted generalizations about the Caribbean, especially the use of the term "plantation." He notes the longstanding controversy over the use of this unsatisfactory term, citing numerous reports of the International Labor Organization from 1950 to 1966 that failed to arrive at an agreement on the term, the Pan American Union Symposium of 1959 that "rejected the possibility or even the advisability of arriving at a single definition of the plantation" (page 3), and various attempts by anthropologists such as Julian Steward, Eric Wolf, and Sidney Mintz to clarify the term. Adding to the challenges of using the term has been its transformation from the conventional notion of the sugar plantation throughout the Caribbean into a nexus of foreign capitalistic intrusion, dominating and often distorting the priorities and values of the local society. Hagelberg points to the cases of Cuba (where sugar production has been entirely nationalized since 1960) and Guadeloupe (where small-scale producers have increased their share of the annual crop from 33 to 76 percent between 1961 and 1970), as well as to similar trends in Martinique, Puerto Rico, and Haiti, all cited as examples of how complicated the Caribbean reality is, and how difficult it is to generalize—much less theorize—about the Caribbean sugar industry. It is not surprising, therefore, that Hagelberg completely rejects the tenor, assumptions, and conclusions of George Beckford's *Persistent Poverty* with this blunt declaration: "The effort of Beckford to attribute the persistence of underdevelopment to the plantation influence is probably more revealing as a reflection of a psychological attitude prevalent in the Caribbean than as an explanation of complex phenomena" (p. 3).²

Yet, as Hagelberg readily acknowledges, scholars and policy-makers must contend not only with reality when dealing with the Caribbean sugar industry, but also with the emotionally charged perceptions of that reality. At the time he wrote his book, Haiti and the U.S. Virgin Islands were the only regional producers failing to be self-sufficient in sugar production. Subsequently, former major producers such as Jamaica and Guyana have been experiencing temporary shortfalls in expected production; and even the largest regional producer, Cuba, has found the combination of fluctuating yields and erratic prices to be of

major concern. Thus, dismissing the arguments of principal critics of the sugar industry like Beckford or Havelock Brewster is as difficult as following their arguments.³ Hagelberg's study attempts, within the severe limitations of the available data, to evaluate the Caribbean sugar industries as objectively as possible in four chapters. The first chapter deals obliquely with some critics of the industry and outlines the problems of handling such a bewildering array of variables. The second gathers the available statistics and pinpoints their strengths and weaknesses. The third chapter deals with trends in production costs, factory use, and productivity. The fourth concludes the work and is followed by thirty-nine statistical tables and a very good bibliography.

The Caribbean sugar industry has consistently been accused of utilizing the best land, or holding excess acreage, or depressing wages, or epitomizing any number of negative social, economic, and political attributes. But the evidence for these accusations is either entirely absent or, where available, is questionable at best and ambiguous at worse. Hagelberg, however, notes that sugarcane is grossly underrated as a versatile, valuable commodity:

A good starting point is the relative efficiency of sugar cane as a converter of solar energy into vegetable products, a quality incidentally shared by sugar beet. As a rule, sugar cane (and sugar beet) produce larger quantities of utilizable calories per land unit in a given time than any other cultivated plant in their respective climatic zones. Under optimum conditions, cane furnishes annually over twenty tons of dry matter per hectare. Roughly half the dry matter is in the form of sugars utilizable as food or feed. The other half is mainly fiber. As fresh bagasse (49 percent moisture), it has a fuel value equivalent to about 0.18 its weight of fuel oil, but it is potentially more valuable as a raw material for paper products, building materials and furfural. (P. 10)⁴

Successive official and semiofficial reports between 1960 and 1970 failed to produce conclusive evidence of underutilization of land on any of the major Jamaican sugar estates such as Frome, Monymusk, Innswood, or Worthy Park. In 1966 the Mordecai Commission stated unequivocally that the situation throughout Jamaica was an honest attempt by all estate owners to maximize the available area in productive use. It did imply, however, that some areas with improved pastures might be converted to sugarcane cultivation. But it also noted that "some of the land under cane is too steep or too poor for other cultivation—particularly with tractors—and might with advantage be retired to pasture or some other use."⁵ Indeed, even in Cuba, with its proportionally greater area of cultivable land, the revolution failed to find significant areas deliberately withheld from production prior to 1959.⁶

After reviewing the problems of agricultural diversification, Hagelberg admits that they are not easily resolvable. Apart from the competitively high yield per acre of sugarcane, a combination of ecological,

economic, and political factors provides an ongoing advantage for the continued investment in sugarcane. Experience has shown that sugarcane is the most remunerative cash crop in the Caribbean, and the painful effort of the Cuban Revolution to de-emphasize sugar production in the 1960s remains the most conclusive proof of the value of sugar production to local economics.⁷ Nevertheless, the political appeal for the masses of breaking up the large sugar plantations and reducing economic reliance on sugar exports remain constant throughout the Caribbean.⁸ Hagelberg, without opposing programs of change and diversification, thinks that "the best development strategy would seem to be one that seeks diversification, through rather than apart from sugar cane" (p. 19). This strategy would offer not only the established by-products of rum and molasses, but also the expanded production of other commodities such as ethyl alcohol, saccharomyces yeast, fodder yeast, molasses urea, paper, furfural, plastics, and particle board.

The confidence with which the author advocates internal diversification diminishes when he discusses trends in costs of production, land productivity, and economics of scale in sugarcane growing; for although sugar prices in the world market have fluctuated, the costs of production have gradually escalated, especially in the wage sector. In Jamaica, production costs per acre increased nearly 50 percent between 1954 and 1965 while the sugar yield per acre remained constant, and the Jamaican experience was familiar from Cuba to Guyana. Moreover, the bewildering variety of geographical and topographical conditions, the inexplicable fluctuations in annual yield from the same plot, and the uncertain impact of managerial and technical expertise all render the rationalization of the scale of production either impossible or extremely difficult. Rationalizing the scale of production, however, merely accentuates the thorny political and economic problems of implementing technical transformations and accommodating the manpower rendered superfluous by mechanization. Despite this recognition, Hagelberg concludes that the major constraints on the Caribbean sugar industries derive primarily from internal, local economic, technological, political, and cultural factors rather than from external market demand and international pricing and quota regulations.

Since the publication of *The Caribbean Sugar Industries*, the situation in the Caribbean has not changed drastically. Cuba and the Dominican Republic have maintained their levels of production while increasing their mechanization. Production levels have declined in Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, and Guyana. The future of the industry in Jamaica and Trinidad is far from promising, and the political debates over the value of sugar continue to be oblivious to the caveats issued in this dispassionate book.

Kenneth Kiple's *Blacks in Colonial Cuba* reveals far less about the

Afro-Cuban population than about the various counts and estimates of the Cuban population during the late colonial period. Nevertheless, the book provides a convenient summary of various official and unofficial population data and points out certain errors and contradictions.

Anyone who has read Philip Curtin's *Atlantic Slave Trade*, especially his seminal first chapter on what he aptly calls "the numbers game," has already received an indelible impression of the general unreliability of statistics and the often misleading authoritative veneer produced by their repetition.⁹ The deficiencies and patent inappropriateness of some data used to attack or defend the Caribbean sugar industry form a constant theme in the thoughtful propositions of Hagelberg's work. Moreover, during much of the history of the Caribbean, sugar and slavery were inseparable correlates. Kiple's "inability to reconcile Cuba's contradictory census data," then, is an experience shared by every serious scholar who has toiled in that expansive maze of Spanish colonial documentation. Not everyone, however, is as disturbed by this discovery as is Kiple.

His book is basically a set of tables accompanied by an explanatory text. Kiple correctly points out that the term "census" is used ambiguously in Spanish, and that it is extremely difficult to separate official from unofficial listings. He nevertheless tries to separate official counts (or what were accepted as official counts) from guesses or rough estimates of the population for the period 1774 to 1899, noting that "we have no assurances that there were any actual counts made in Cuba prior to the 1860s" (page 20). Kiple nonetheless accepts the official census returns legitimized by the directors of the census of 1899, which included those of the years 1774, 1792, 1817, 1827, 1841, 1861, 1877, and 1887.

Kiple's reconstructed tables correct the errors of Jacobo de la Pezuela, Ramón de la Sagra, José Antonio Saco, and the multi-authored work of Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, and he validates the specific dates of counting and the ethnic and legal composition of the entire Cuban population during the period under review.¹⁰ By separating established counts from conjecture, the author allows us to view the demographic evolution of Cuban society much more easily than we might otherwise have done. The convenience factor, therefore, emerges as the most salient feature of this work.

Although the tables are commendable, the text is slightly disappointing. Much of the explanation of errors and dates appears to be mere quibbling. For example, given the generally suspicious basis of the entire process of census taking, does it really matter that Jacobo de la Pezuela makes an arithmetic mistake of two hundred in his figure of 1774, or one in his stated total for 1792?¹¹ Should we be overly concerned that Ramón de la Sagra's total is off by one thousand in 1774, or that

Saco's errs in excess by ten thousand in 1775? Correcting human errors should not be taken to the point where the impression is conveyed that some numbers are inherently more reliable than others. Nor can the citation of any numbers, reliable or not, serve as the sole basis of "historical fact" (p. 71). More important than the gross numbers of any specific date are the social and political implications of the trends produced by assessing the population from time to time. Why were race, color, condition, and population size so important to Cubans and Spaniards during the nineteenth century?¹² Assuming that the intellectual challenge of this undertaking exceeded the discovery of ten minor discrepancies among 111 sources covering 125 years, the reader remains with an unfulfilled expectation that there must have been some major purpose behind the relentless counting and estimating of the island population. The convenience afforded by the compilations and corrections does not compensate fully for the lack of information about the black, white, or mixed population within the socioeconomic complex.

Manuel Moreno Fraginals's *El ingenio* has been acclaimed as the most intellectually stimulating and informative book dealing with Cuban history and one of the most influential works in Latin American history during the past five years.¹³ This second Spanish-language edition of *El ingenio* follows the original edition of 1964, a one-volume work that rapidly became as highly sought as it was rare.¹⁴ The 1978 publication, however, is more than a simple reedition of the original work, which has been amplified extensively. New chapters have been added such as *El Camino hacia la plantación* in the first volume. Some of the statistical tables have been redrawn and significantly altered. (For example, compare Cuadros I and II in the 1964 edition, pp. 83–84, with Tables I and II in the 1978 edition, pp. 171–72.) Corrections have been made and new information has been incorporated.

Noël Deerr followed the complicated history of sugar from the time of the plant's domestication in Indonesia to the middle of the twentieth century.¹⁵ Elsa Goveia examined the society that developed around the production of sugar in the English Leeward Islands at the end of the eighteenth century, when sugar production there began its perceptible decline.¹⁶ It was the first manifestation of the recurring crisis of sugar and society. Manuel Moreno Fraginals concludes that the sugar society in Cuba was also experiencing a severe crisis at the time of the outbreak of the Ten Years War (1868–78). But the crisis was not the simple exhaustion of available land and decline in production and productivity of the slaves that had occurred on the earlier-developed English islands.¹⁷ It was instead a more profound crisis exacerbated by the expanded incorporation of the industrial revolution to the process of sugar manufacture, as well as the intrusion of international capitalism and modern capitalist techniques into an industry that had a strong legacy of patri-

cianism and feudalism. This point is made with considerable clarity in the corrected paragraph added in Volume 1, which states that “semi-mechanized and animal-powered mills produced 85.20 percent of the harvest of 1860: therefore this statistic holds the key to the great sugar crisis that culminated in the Ten Years War” (p. 175).¹⁸

Between 1760 and 1860, Cuba experienced the sugar revolutions familiar to the majority of the neighboring Caribbean islands.¹⁹ From being a marginal supplier, Cuba emerged as the foremost producer of cane sugar in the world, an achievement and an era as fascinating as they were complicated. Even before the Haitian Revolution had destroyed the productive capacity of that outstanding competitor, major initial development had already taken place in Cuba.²⁰ Moreno Fraguinals discusses the extent and intensity of these changes.

A series of revolutions occurred in the scale of landholding and the scale of production. *Ingenios* and *cafetales* replaced *vegas* and *haciendas*. The owners of the largest ingenios calculated their landholdings in *leguas*, instead of in *caballerías*—a ratio of 108 to 1; land values in the zones of expansion meanwhile skyrocketed from 80–100 pesos per *caballería* to a range of 500–2000 pesos (1, p. 62).²¹ The small, single-mill *trapiche* gave way to the modern mill. The number of mills increased from less than 100 in 1761, to 227 in 1792, to 1318 in 1860. Average sugar production per mill similarly increased from 49 metric tons in 1761, to 58 in 1792, to 127 in 1804.²² By 1860 the new mechanized ingenios averaged 1176 metric tons of sugar per harvest, although most mills were semi-mechanized and produced less than 500 metric tons annually.

Revolutions also took place in attitudes and in capitalization of the mills. Sugar producers ceased to be modest farmers (*agricultores*) and became sophisticated businessmen, more at ease in the international ambience of large capital, railroads, telephone, telegraph, and steam, gas, and electrical gadgets than even their Spanish metropolitan peers. Moreno Fraguinals depicts the Cuban sugar producers as an aggressive, self-conscious lot, who contrasted sharply with their English Antillean colleagues. Their industrious ingenuity and international involvement reinforced a bourgeois self-confidence that is attractively conveyed in the author’s etymological invention, the *sacarocracia*. The sugar boom propelled a new wealthy group into the sector of the established Cuban elite. This new group eroded the role of the urban merchant, weakened the economic foundations of the intermediate stratum of producers, and lessened the impact of the Church in the moral structure of society. The *hacendado* or *patrón* became as important as the priest. Indeed, Moreno Fraguinals points out that as the boom moved from its first into its second stage, especially during the period after 1792, a subtle evolution occurred in the names of ingenios from the predominantly religious saint-names (Santa Maria, San Antonio, San Nicolás, San José, San Rafael,

Santa Isabel, La Santísima Trinidad) to the immediately secular (Esperanza, Atrevido, Casualidad, Aspirante, Conquista, Confianza, El Buen Suceso).

The revolution was also demographic. As the extent of estates increased and the scale of production expanded, reliance on slaves initially deepened. But the expansion of the South Atlantic system to incorporate Cuba occurred at the very time that the slave system was collapsing, thereby creating a significant variant in the Cuban development. "From the end of the eighteenth century, the *ingenios* in Cuba operated with a strange mixture of wage-earners and slaves," writes Moreno Fraginals. "From a certain point of view we can say that there was no succession of one form by the other. There existed a simultaneous juxtaposition of both forms within the same manufacturing enterprise. Moreover, there existed a third type which cannot be clearly classified: the hired slave. Perhaps one could say that from an economic standpoint, the hired slave was closer to the wage-earner than the true slave" (1, p. 259). The sugar revolution not only increased all sectors of the population, but increased the Afro-Cuban sectors to a disconcertingly large population, and by importing Mexicans, Asians, and Canary Islanders, diversified the ethnic and cultural composition of the sugar zones. *El ingenio* details the Cuban slave trade, the conditions of labor, and, especially in volume two, the relationship between technology and labor.

The relationship between technology and slave labor is a major theme of Moreno Fraginals.²³ But despite such statements as "industrialization and slave labor are mutually incompatible phenomena" (2, p. 27), the author retreats from his direct, linear proposal in the first edition that mechanization undermined the basic structure and profitability of slavery. Here the relationship is discussed in a more indirect, complex, and nuanced way. Moreno Fraginals argues that by the early 1840s, the slave plantations had exhausted their "productive possibilities" (2, p. 94) and that industrial innovation expanded production without increasing productivity, largely because the newly introduced steam machines were not more efficient than the popular Jamaica train. Instead, from 1840 to the 1880s (when effective mechanization and specialization were introduced via the central factory), the sugar industry faced a series of bottlenecks that were gradually resolved by technical innovation. Such innovations tended to reduce manpower needs in the industrial or factory sector, but they also introduced wage earners into the plantation labor force. With market prices fluctuating wildly and production costs constant or steadily increasing, the sugar producers eventually realized that the combination of machines (including the railroads that reduced transportation costs drastically) and flexible wage earners produced a more efficacious operation than the slave-labor system in a

capitalist world. Mechanization, in other words, was the only viable way to increase productivity and maintain competitiveness in the international market.

In the two volumes of text and the companion volume that includes statistical information, a glossary of technical terms and Cuban expressions, and an annotated bibliography, Moreno Fraginalls has subjected nearly two centuries of Cuban history to the most methodical, original, and thought-provoking examination it has ever endured. What sets this work apart from such ambitious works as the ten-volume edition of Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez et al., *Historia de la nación Cubana* (Havana: Editorial de Historia de la Nación Cubana, 1948–52), or the eight-volume work by Levi Marrero y Artiles, *Cuba: economía y sociedad* (Madrid: Editorial Playor, 1972–80), or Roland T. Ely's *Cuando reinaba su majestad el azúcar* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1963) is the multi-dimensional scope and intrinsic international perspective. Moreno Fraginalls is as much at home discussing the mentality of the Cuban planter-producer as he is in the world of international trade and politics. *El ingenio* examines the physical conditions of labor—slave as well as free—on the Cuban estates and considers the interrelationship between Cuba and the wider world. The breadth of information is staggering, the author's intellectual versatility astonishing, and his writing clear, persuasive, and deeply involved. It is an exemplary and unavoidable contribution to Latin American and Caribbean history, a formidable basis for further investigation.

Nevertheless, many of the issues raised by *El ingenio* are subject to fair debate. The contradiction of slavery and technological innovation has been most thoroughly explored and challenged by Rebecca Scott.²⁴ In an extremely well researched and cogently argued dissertation, she wrote: "There are, in effect, two doubtful elements to the 'contradiction' argument. One is the notion of an inherent incapacity of slaves to acquire the necessary skills to handle machinery. This seems challenged by the evidence. The second is the idea that mechanization requires an overall increase in the skill level of the work force, something thought possible only with a free work force. But as Keith Aufhauser has argued, it is a mistake to assume that technological advance necessarily requires that workers be legally free, or that the work force on balance be more highly skilled."²⁵ Fé Iglesias implicitly challenges the calculations of productivity, basing her argument on the impossibility of arriving at the true proportion of the planted area of sugarcane harvested in any given year.²⁶ The social dislocation that Moreno Fraginalls describes so persuasively needs more comprehensive empirical data before it can be fully accepted. Iglesias's work makes reference to another completed study that promises to reveal this data.

El ingenio nonetheless stands as a monumental contribution to

Caribbean and Latin American historiography. It will continue to stimulate the fields of social and economic history for a long time, and, like the house built upon a rock, will withstand the selective proings of generations of scholars. Such a work and the other two books discussed here make one realize why the subject of sugar and the slave society looms so large in Caribbean life and history.

NOTES

1. Hagelberg's work seems to have elicited very little response, to date. For my review of Kiple, see *Hispanic American Historical Review* 56, no. 4 (Nov. 1976):647–48. See also Fé Iglesias García, "Características de la población cubana en 1862," *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí* (3rd series) 22 (Sept.–Dec. 1980):89–110, and "El censo cubano de 1877 y sus diferentes versiones," *Santiago* 34 (June 1979):167–214. The most sophisticated evaluation of the Moreno Fragnals hypothesis can be found in Rebecca J. Scott, "Slave Emancipation and the Transition to Free Labor in Cuba, 1868–1895," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1982.
2. George Beckford, *Persistent Poverty. Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).
3. George Beckford, *Persistent Poverty*; also, George Beckford et al., "Sugar and Change in the Caribbean," *New World Quarterly* 5, nos. 1–2 (1969):32–49. Havelock Brewster, *Jamaica's Life or Death: The Sugar Industry* (Kingston: New World Group pamphlet no. 4, 1967).
4. Furfural is an intermediate organic chemical, $C^5H^4O^2$, used in the manufacture of plastics and in refining lubricating oils.
5. Mordecai Commission Report (1966), pp. 69–70, cited in Hagelberg, *Caribbean Sugar Industry*, p. 10.
6. Some of the problems of evaluating the data provided by the sugar industry may also be found in Fé Iglesias García, "La formación del capitalismo en la producción de azúcar en Cuba, 1860–1900," unpublished paper, 1981. See also Fé Iglesias, "Algunos aspectos de la distribución de la tierra en 1899," *Santiago* 40 (Dec. 1980):119–78.
7. See Carmelo Mesa Lago, *Cuba in the 1970s* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1974).
8. See *Caribbean Contact*, July 1982, p. 11, cols. 4–5 (St. Vincent).
9. Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade, A Census* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).
10. Kiple's selections are somewhat arbitrary, and he does not include the notable work of Vicente Vázquez Queipo, *Informe fiscal sobre fomento de la población blanca en la isla de Cuba* (Madrid: Alegría, 1845).
11. One has only to recall the number of cities and groups contesting the result of the expensive and elaborate 1980 census returns in the United States to realize that correctly enumerating any population is a difficult task.
12. The importance of race and color is dealt with by Verena Martínez Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974). See also Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies: A Comparison of St. Domingue and Cuba* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), and Fredrika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1853; new edition, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1968).
13. In 1981 Moreno Fragnals won the Clarence Haring Prize that the American Historical Association awards to "that Latin American who has published the most outstanding book in Latin American history during the preceding five years." The influence of Moreno Fragnals emerges not only in the work of social science scholars such as Miguel Barnet, Fé Iglesias García, Rebecca Scott, and myself, but also in a number of Cuban cinematographic and other artistic presentations such as the films *El ran-*

- theador* (1977) and *El otro francisco* (1975) directed by Sergio Giral, *La última cena* (1976) directed by Tomas Guitierrez Alea, and the pantomime *Cimarrón* produced by Olga Flora and Ramon.
14. It was translated by Cedric Belfrage and published by Monthly Review Press, New York and London, in 1976 under the title *The Sugarmill: The Socioeconomic Complex of Sugar in Cuba, 1760–1860*.
 15. Noël Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman & Hall, 1949–50).
 16. Elsa Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965). Goveia demonstrated that slavery could only be properly understood in its broader social and economic context.
 17. For the decline of the sugar industry, see the following: Lowell J. Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1753–1833* (New York: American Historical Association, 1928; new edition, New York: Octagon Books, 1969). Barry Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807–1834* (New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1976). Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944). William A. Green, *British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment 1830–1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976). Alan Adamson, *Sugar without Slaves: The Political Economy of British Guiana, 1838–1904* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972). Donald Wood, *Trinidad in Transition: The Years after Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968). Bridget Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870–1900* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881–1905* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).
 18. This and subsequent translations are mine.
 19. J. H. Parry and P. M. Sherlock, *A Short History of the West Indies* (3rd edition, New York: St. Martins Press, 1971), pp. 63–80. Franklin W. Knight, *The Caribbean. The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 87–92. Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492–1969* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 111–55.
 20. T. O. Ott, *The Haitian Revolution, 1789–1804* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1973). D. B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975). David Geggus, *Slavery, War and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Domingue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).
 21. A *legua* is a nautical calculation, equivalent to approximately 3 miles. A *caballería* is a land measurement of 33.3 acres. A *trapiche* is a single-roller expressive mill.
 22. The author gives slightly different figures in Volume 1, p. 68 and p. 171.
 23. Note his article, “El esclavo y la mecanización de los ingenios,” *Bohemia*, 13 June 1969, pp. 98–99, and “Plantations in the Caribbean: The Case of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo,” unpublished paper, *International Conference on the Transition from Slavery to Free Labor in the Hispanic Caribbean*, 11–13 June 1981, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
 24. Rebecca Scott, “The Transition from Slavery to Wage Labor in Cuba, 1860–1886,” *International Conference on the Transition from Slavery to Free Labor*, 11–13 June 1981, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
 25. Scott, “Slave Emancipation,” p. 33 (emphasis in the original).
 26. Iglesias Garcia, “La formación del capitalismo,” unnumbered pages.