

# PUERTO RICO'S NEW HISTORY

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- ESCLAVOS REBELDES: CONSPIRACIONES Y SUBLEVACIONES DE ESCLAVOS EN PUERTO RICO (1795–1873)*. By GUILLERMO A. BARALT. (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1981. Pp. 183. \$4.95.)
- DE LA ESCLAVITUD A LA ABOLICIÓN: TRANSICIONES ECONÓMICAS EN LAS HACIENDAS AZUCARERAS DE PONCE, 1845–1873*. By JOSÉ CURET. (San Juan: Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Puertorriqueña, 1981. Pp. 35.)
- CASTAÑER: UNA HACIENDA CAFETALERA EN PUERTO RICO (1868–1930)*. By LUIS EDGARDO DÍAZ HERNÁNDEZ. (Ponce: Academia de Artes, Historia y Arqueología de Puerto Rico, 1981. Pp. 106. \$5.00.)
- AMARGO CAFÉ (LOS PEQUEÑOS Y MEDIANOS CAFICULTORES DE UTUADO EN LA SEGUNDA MITAD DEL SIGLO XIX)*. By FERNANDO PICÓ. (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1981. Pp. 162. \$4.50.)
- LA HACIENDA AZUCARERA: SU CRECIMIENTO Y CRISIS EN PUERTO RICO (SIGLO XIX)*. By ANDRÉS RAMOS MATTEI. (San Juan: Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Puertorriqueña, 1981. Pp. 128. \$7.95.)

The title of this essay is in some ways disingenuous because it seems to imply that a body of Puerto Rican historiography exists that is distinct from “old” history. Such a suggestion is partly justified, but it would be wrong to suppose that the new historians are completely rewriting Puerto Rico’s past. Instead, they have focused their attention more on economic factors than on political change, the heart of the old history. Most of the new studies involve detailed, archival microhistorical investigations that reconstruct the specifics of the organization of production, the accompanying social relations, and the underlying economic forces of change during different periods of Puerto Rico’s history. Significantly, many of the new historians either are Marxists or are open to the Marxist research concerns that are apparent in the agenda that the most recent studies have set for themselves.

A frontal challenge to the old history occurred with the creation of

the Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Puertorriqueña (CEREP) in 1970. Most of the materials reviewed here were written by persons who work with CEREP or participate in or otherwise support CEREP's various activities, which include seminars, workshops, outreach, joint research, and publications.<sup>1</sup> CEREP's first publication, *Lucha obrera en Puerto Rico* (1971), criticized past histories for their "great-man" bias and the absence of any fundamental grasp of historical processes as opposed to historical facts.<sup>2</sup> What was missing in the older studies, it was claimed, was actually the greater part of Puerto Rico's past: the history, role, and function of the "unknowns"—the workers, peasants, sharecroppers, artisans, and slaves—the men and women who formed Puerto Rico's lower classes. In traditional histories, the stage and the glory have belonged primarily to an elite, in the double sense, of Spanish and creoles. The newest generation of studies go beyond the traditional emphases on chronology, detail, and superstructural political change to examine the role of different labor forms and the specific organization of individual producing units, particularly sugar and coffee haciendas. The new research has contributed to a much more robust picture of Puerto Rico's nineteenth century by focusing on structures of the economy, its classes, and their evolution, while identifying the motive force of the historical processes at work. As a result, important details and much new information have been filled in by the new historians' work.

Two issues, however, need to be aired. First, could the new history movement have come into existence without an old history to learn from and to do battle with? Traditional histories are no doubt generally guilty of the sort of aggregate, superstructural myopia of which the new historians accuse them. Yet, despite the ideological, methodological, and other biases of the traditional studies, much of the recent research depends on the old history to give it a context. The micro-micro studies characteristic of much of the new history depend upon the broad sweep of the old history to frame them in the same way that the old histories are incomplete without the results of the research of the 1970s. What has been needed all along is not new or old histories but more historical studies with an adequate conception of purpose: to uncover the processes of socioeconomic change. The influence of Marxist methodology on a new generation of Puerto Rican historians and social scientists has contributed to a greater interest in examining economic and class structures, a concern that has enriched the understanding of the forces that promoted change (and at times impeded it) during the nineteenth century. Puerto Rican history will be written as a synthesis, interweaving, and reinterpretation of the best of the old and new histories, but it will lean on the methodology of the new.

In raising the second issue, I in no way wish to diminish the substantial accomplishments of the recent historical work in the slight-

est—I stand in scholarly appreciation and awe of much of it. My point is that the new history is not so new as its proponents or its detractors might believe. A list of works that would fall into the category of new history would be longer than is often imagined. The work of Sidney Mintz, Eric Wolf, and the other contributors to *The People of Puerto Rico* (1956), although covering a more recent period as anthropological field work, is clearly a forerunner of this tradition. So is *The Development of the Puerto Rican Jibaro and His Present Attitude towards Society* (1935) by José C. Rosario. Even earlier was George Flinter's *An Account of the Present State of the Island of Puerto Rico* (1834). Salvador Brau's "Las clases jornaleras de Puerto Rico" (1882) also remains a valuable source, as are others of his *Ensayos*. More titles could be added to this list of well-known works, but these are sufficient to demonstrate that there were precursors of the new history long before the movement took off in the 1970s. Of course, the new work tends to have a different methodological foundation from most of its forerunners due to the diffusion of Marxist analysis and the deepening crisis of the colonial capitalist development model that inspired more critical, antitraditional studies of Puerto Rico's social formation, past and present. Although totally new is something this tendency cannot claim to be, it can rightfully claim to be making significant breakthroughs in exploring the essence of historical processes without which history is little more than a recitation of disjointed "facts."

Fernando Picó's *Amargo Café*, a study of small and medium-sized coffee growers in Utuado (the capital of the coffee-growing region in the late nineteenth century), is an admirable example of what the new historians are doing.<sup>3</sup> Coffee became the most important export crop after 1870 as the sugar industry faltered due to both internal failures and external challenges. Coffee, which was grown in the central highlands, did not require large amounts of land as did sugar, and minifundio and haciendas coexisted side by side. Small and medium farms were primarily subsistence units of production for which future coffee production permitted the current purchase of goods that were not self-produced (coffee also furnished the means to pay taxes). Farmers typically bought on credit from merchants who were then to be repaid in coffee when the beans matured. Perhaps oftener than not, the crop was insufficient to liquidate the debt, thus obligating the producer to maintain the consumption-marketing arrangement with the same tienda in the future. When debts went unpaid, some merchants claimed land, but most understood that the greatest profit was to be made from controlling trade and credit; better to extend more debt and control the coffee crop than to accumulate land that had to be worked by someone in any case (p. 79).

A common theme in the works of Picó, Luis Díaz, and Andrés Ramos Mattei is the essential role of the merchant in providing credit not only for daily consumption, an important part of the total expenses of

small and medium-sized coffee producers, but in extending financing for the purchase of equipment and machinery for larger production units. Picó found close personal relations existing between small farmers and merchants, with the latter acting as godfathers, serving in weddings, and acting in other capacities characteristic of patron-client relations vis-à-vis their debt-burdened customers (pp. 83–84). In return, merchants had a measure of local political influence over their debtors. There was one further advantage to be gained by maintaining close relations with indebted hacendados: they would send their jornaleros to make their purchases at the merchant's store with the hacienda's *riles* (or *vales*). This hacienda-minted money would later be redeemed in coffee (p. 82). During a period when Puerto Rico had neither coins nor currency of its own nor any banks, and hence suffered from a constant shortage of medium of exchange, the willingness of a merchant to accept hacienda money benefitted both the landowner, who could "pay" his laborers, and the merchant, who further expanded his profits.

Spanish colonial policy in Puerto Rico, although liberalized somewhat in the course of the nineteenth century, was never particularly favorable to modernization. Roads, communications, and transport in general improved little. The absence of banking and other financial institutions thwarted the easy expansion of credit and delayed the spread of technology. Such restrictions made it impossible for the sugar industry to transform itself and efficiently compete once the international sellers' market disappeared at mid-century. As the fortunes of the sugar industry declined, merchants and lenders shifted their attention toward the mountains, where new land purchases were financed for the expanding coffee industry; and the resulting commercialization pushed up farm prices rapidly. Those who gained most from the coffee boom, however, were primarily relatively recent immigrants to the island who brought with them a greater ability or desire to adapt and take advantage of the expanding opportunities that the market offered. Native farmers, bounded by their traditional rationality—and a probable lack of skills like literacy, which might have allowed them to understand and deal with the intricacies of the spreading market relations—remained as small and medium farmers, renters, or sharecroppers, or were reduced to simple agricultural workers. Imbued with capitalist ideology, immigrants monopolized trade, and the conflict between creoles and Spanish immigrants was never far below the surface. Hatred of the immigrants who dominated the local economy, credit, and politics was certainly a factor in Puerto Rico's first, albeit ill-fated, revolution, which took place in another mountain town not far from Utuado in 1868.<sup>4</sup>

Picó also provides details on the nature and use of family labor on smaller farms that clearly indicate the precapitalist nature of such units (pp. 86–88) and on changing marriage and inheritance patterns that

resulted as land values increased and peasants tried to prevent the fragmentation of their land into micro units (pp. 53–56, 92–94, 97–98). Four extraordinary chapters painstakingly document and reconstruct family histories from archival documents, many of which are not yet cataloged in the Archivo General de Puerto Rico (AGPR). As Picó notes, the more we know of the variety of rural highland labor forms and experiences, the less meaningful it is to talk of a *jíbaro*, or traditional, culture; the lives of small and medium farmers differed dramatically from those of *jornaleros*, *agregados*, *medianeros*, *arrendatarios*, and each differed from the other (p. 156). Picó's research and the other studies reviewed here help to demystify rural mountain life by showing that it was much more complex than the oft-supposed idyllic existence of independent peasants forging the roots of Puerto Rican culture.

Luis Díaz's *Castañer: una hacienda cafetalera en Puerto Rico (1868–1930)* is an essential complement to Picó's work.<sup>5</sup> Díaz makes the hacienda and the intensity of its class and social relations come to life. Juan Castañer, a young Mallorcan immigrant, went to work on a coffee hacienda in Lares and eventually became its mayordomo. After seven years of work, he used his savings to buy a small plot of land and opened a *tenducho*. The store prospered, and with his profits, Castañer was able to buy more land and to enter coffee production himself. In 1870, nine years after arriving in Puerto Rico, Hacienda Castañer was formed. The Castañer family seem to have been particularly successful; not only was their coffee hacienda well run, but the hacienda store thrived and expanded, becoming a major supplier in the region. Later Castañer opened another store in Yauco, near the south coast, which connected his mountain hacienda (and those of his neighbors) with the coastal market, and he thus added further to his wealth.

The growth of Hacienda Castañer occurred primarily at the expense of Castañer's less fortunate neighbors. Like other large hacendados and merchants, Juan Castañer made loans and offered credit to those in need of goods or money. When a debt could not be repaid, Castañer did not hesitate to take land from the debtor and add it to the reach of his own hacienda. All the land that Castañer obtained in this way was devoted to coffee, at least partly for the purpose of reducing the production of food crops (p. 15).

Díaz, like Picó, documents the clash between the acquisitiveness and business-oriented behavior of recent immigrants and the traditional life-style of the criollos (p. 22). The Corsicans, Mallorcans, Canary Islanders, and other newcomers contributed a dynamic to the economy that otherwise might have been slower to develop. Yet, the polarization that resulted from thrusting capitalist relations into a society constrained by its noncapitalist structure, particularly when the benefits of the commercialization of mountain life accrued primarily to foreigners, was not

mitigated by a growing economy. When criollos saw their family farms and access to cheap land for their children disappear, they viewed the cause of this misfortune to be the immigrants, not a socioeconomic system in the throes of profound change.

Immigrants often did little to diffuse the suffering that their acumen at benefitting from the market system caused others. The Castañer family, even after thirty years, remained aloof from the society and people who were the source of their wealth. They and other immigrants treated the island much as the early colonizers had: it was little more than a place in which to get rich in order to be able to return to Europe in style (pp. 7, 9). The seething hostility toward the immigrants, deepened by the virtual debt-peonage suffered by many workers from the conjunction of the hacienda and the tienda, again erupted into open violence against hacendados and their property around Lares by the late 1880s (pp. 41–42). After the American occupation of the island in 1898, the properties of Castañer and other hacendados were attacked once more; Castañer's tienda was burned and, as in many other incidents, the oppressive accounting books that recorded the debts of jornaleros and other laborers were destroyed (pp. 42–45).<sup>6</sup> Such violence was directed against only the symbols of the causes of rural poverty—immigrants like Castañer who supported Spanish colonialism and its authority and hence invited the dislike of their workers and neighbors. The real enemy, a ruthlessly exploitive system of dependent agrarian capitalism, was left untouched by such attacks.

Díaz provides valuable information on the cost of living for wage workers in the early 1870s. With weekly wages of 1–1.25 pesos, or 20–25 centavos a day, a five-member family's daily consumption of rice (two to three pounds) cost 8–12 centavos alone. A pound of bacon was priced at 32 centavos, potatoes were 18 centavos, and bacalao, 32. Castañer sold bread for 10 centavos in his bakery. A shirt cost 50 centavos and work shoes, 2.5 pesos, more than two weeks' work, which explains why so many of the poor were barefoot. Total daily expenses for a family of five added up to perhaps 30–35 centavos, more than the daily wage, which accounts for the situation of perpetual debt suffered by so many jornaleros, peasants, and semi-peasants, who consequently provided the hacienda with a ready labor force (pp. 39–40).

Surpassing some of the other microstudies of haciendas and estancias, Díaz has succeeded in writing a compelling history that makes life around Hacienda Castañer seem almost contemporary, much like a good historical novel by Naipaul. This work deserves a wider readership than its publisher is likely to be able to provide it (*Castañer* is not even listed in *Books in Print*), but it is worth tracking down.<sup>7</sup>

During the first half of the nineteenth century, when Puerto Rico first began to show some economic progress, sugar was the leading



export crop. It was produced in the coastal regions, where life on the haciendas was almost a different world from that of the nearby interior. One reason is that until abolition occurred in 1873, slaves were an important component of the sugar labor force. (Although there were slaves in the interior mountains, as Picó notes in his study and as can be seen from Baralt's list of slaves involved in the Lares uprising, they were of much less significance.<sup>8</sup>) Another reason was that the average expense of sugar haciendas exceeded that of coffee haciendas, which explains why, given the shortage of labor throughout the century, slaves were so important. *La hacienda azucarera* by Andrés Ramos Mattei is a study of the functioning of one such unit, Hacienda Mercedita, which was founded in 1861 in Ponce. Ramos Mattei's monograph begins with a useful review of the history of the sugar industry and the problems it encountered in trying to modernize production during the nineteenth century. These problems were caused by the lack of liquid capital to purchase machinery and equipment, as others have noted, and by the barriers to modernization and capitalist growth that were erected by a stifling colonial policy. Yet, there was also internal resistance to change from many sugar hacendados who correctly believed that modern grinding facilities—*centrales*—threatened the base of their power, status, and relatively privileged existence (pp. 21–22). Each hacienda ground its own cane, typically using oxen-powered *trapiches* that produced a low-quality raw sugar known as *moscabada*. With the growth of beet-sugar production in Europe and more efficient extraction methods, particularly the application of steam power and centrifugal processing, Puerto Rico's moscabada sugar was less and less in demand. The new grinding methods, however, were capable of processing much larger quantities of cane, and the threat the hacendados perceived was that the creation of *centrales* would turn them into little more than suppliers of raw cane to the factory. But it was not until the twentieth century that this fear was to be realized with a vengeance.

Hacienda Mercedita never became a central (the first was San Vicente in Vega Baja in 1873), but the measures taken to improve production methods helped to keep Mercedita solvent while other growers, including *centrales*, failed. Mercedita improved its irrigation methods and extended its landholdings to expand output (pp. 52–53). The major technological innovations, particularly the introduction of centrifugal processing that permitted the production of other classes of sugar beside moscabada, were introduced in 1890, when more than 60 percent of the 62,365 pesos used for equipment and machinery between 1869 and 1890 was spent (pp. 59, 81). This investment, however, did not result in either complete mechanization or the conversion of Hacienda Mercedita into Central Mercedita. By comparison, 338,334 pesos were used to buy or rent land, and 142,144 pesos had been used to construct a railroad in 1879 (pp. 46, 59). Although Mercedita did not become a central, 1890 was

apparently a watershed year for technological innovation and intensifying the transition to capitalist production methods.

For Mercedita, slave labor played an important role right up to abolition. Not only did the hacienda have its own slaves, but it also rented others (*esclavos jornaleros*) during the *zafra* (sugarcane harvest) (pp. 47, 97). As late as October 1872, Mercedita acquired a female slave for three hundred pesos, the average price paid between 1865 and 1868. During the first three months of 1873 (abolition was decreed in March), Mercedita was still using hired slaves (pp. 96–99). There was never enough money to buy all the slaves needed, and although Mercedita made use of wage labor, there were never sufficient jornaleros either. In 1880 the hacienda, like so many others, was forced to mint its own money in order to pay workers, and in a familiar process repeated again and again, many of them became tied to the hacienda as their debts to the store mounted (pp. 101–3).<sup>9</sup>

Ramos Mattei has produced an altogether admirable study that is rich in both specifics and general information. One learns about the details of Hacienda Mercedita's operations and relative success. For example, from 1860 to 1897, the number of haciendas declined from 550 to 150–200 (pp. 20, 37). The study is also enriched by ample information about sugar production, methods, and machinery. One would like to know more about the owner of the hacienda, Juan Serrales, but the other details uncovered by using hacienda accounting books (as did Díaz) are particularly valuable source material.

For Mercedita and other sugar haciendas, slaves remained an important source of labor right up to the end, although less and less so. José Curet's short monograph, *De la esclavitud a la abolición: transiciones económicas en las haciendas azucareras de Ponce, 1845–1873*, examines slavery as an institution in the area around Ponce. In 1845 slaves made up about 80 percent of the labor force; by 1859, only about 50 percent of the work force were slaves (p. 2). Although the slave population never exceeded 12 percent of the total population of the island, slave labor was concentrated most heavily on sugar haciendas and in sugar regions like Ponce that depended disproportionately on such labor.<sup>10</sup>

Curet reaffirms the relative backwardness of technological development on the haciendas. Most growth of output resulted from more extensive, rather than intensive, production because of a lack of finance capital that was aggravated in the second half of the nineteenth century by the decline in sugar prices, which made production less lucrative. As a result, merchants and other lenders became less willing to extend more credit to sugar hacendados and shifted their operations toward coffee, as noted above. Thus, precisely when sugar producers most needed to mechanize and modernize their productive forces in order to be able to produce more cheaply, the sources of credit began to dry up (pp. 8–9).



This lack of credit also made it increasingly difficult to purchase new slaves. The situation became especially restrictive after the 1850s, which made the search for an alternative source of labor more pressing. Pezuela's 1849 regulation of jornalero and agregado labor helped somewhat, but as Picó's earlier studies explained, methods to avoid the intent of the *libreta* law abounded. Curet observes that the productivity of slave versus free jornalero labor was not at issue for hacendados in their demands for regulation of free labor; they were most concerned with labor availability of whatever type (p. 18). But he also suggests that the decline in slave prices after the 1850s was due to their lower profitability, which made slaves less attractive "investments" (p. 13). Curet even includes a section in which he calculates the internal rate of return to capital invested in slaves in 1845 as greater than 17 percent (pp. 11–12). For Curet, this calculation indicates the profitability of slavery as a form of labor use. It is not clear exactly what one is supposed to make of such a calculation. If all that is implied is that slaves were a productive form of labor, there is little with which to quarrel. If, on the other hand, Curet means to imply that hacendados were aware in some rough way of the profitability of slavery and that this awareness affected their willingness to buy and use slaves, and hence their prices, then the implications are much broader and more controversial. If slave owners consciously calculated the relative profitability of owning slaves versus hiring jornaleros or using agregados or some other labor form (that is, if they were profit maximizers) this conclusion would suggest that the slave-using sugar hacienda was a capitalist-type, not a noncapitalist, enterprise. (A similar debate was waged in the 1970s in the United States over the nature of slavery in the South, giving birth to cliometrics, the application of statistical methods to history.) There is no easy resolution to this controversy, and it is uncertain which position Curet would hold: was slavery a noncapitalist, tradition-bound form of production that for a time created large surpluses? Or was it a capitalist-type enterprise in search of profits?

Capitalist or noncapitalist, slavery was dehumanizing, and slaves responded by rebelling on a scale larger than has been presumed, according to Guillermo Baralt's study entitled *Esclavos rebeldes*. Slave owners and colonial officials alike constantly feared uprisings, particularly following the Haitian and Martinique revolutions in which whites were killed in large numbers. Outside agitation often was suspected, even when there was apparently little basis in reality for such a concern (pp. 17–20, 128–29). Baralt identifies twenty-two planned incidents between 1795 and 1848, fourteen of which actually took place (a table on pp. 156–57 provides the details of each). Counting the murders and attempted murders of hacendados and mayordomos (which accelerated after 1848), the total number of collective slave actions in the period investigated exceeded forty (p. 11). Baralt's account of these various incidents, which

was reconstructed from archival materials in the AGPR and other sources, offers a unique look at slave resistance, their means of communication, their inventiveness, and the contact that slaves were able to maintain with the world outside of Puerto Rico.

At least one slave conspiracy occurred that gave the Spanish reason to believe that it was connected to outside forces. In 1822 the Partido Revolucionario de Puerto Rico enlisted the services of Luis Guillermo Ducoudray Holstein, who had fought with Bolívar, to lead an invasion force into Puerto Rico. Working from Philadelphia, Holstein put together a force of five hundred to land at Añasco, on the west side of the island. The Spanish learned of the plans and prepared for the attack, but it failed before reaching the island (pp. 47–49, 57). The Spanish also learned from a slave informer of a plot by slaves in Guayama, led by Juan Bautista Texidor, to attack and kill whites and take control of the island. The Spanish believed that this conspiracy was to have been coordinated with Holstein's planned invasion, but the slaves involved never admitted such a connection before they were executed (pp. 50–56). It is not clear from the facts whether the plots were coordinated, although it is known that Holstein had hoped for just such an uprising. Nor is it clear why slaves would have supported Holstein, who had announced in his "Proclama a los vecinos de Puerto Rico" that slavery would continue in the proposed republic (p. 55).

The greatest number of rebellions centered around Ponce, where slaves were in the majority, and recently arrived African slaves, who had known freedom, were more likely to be involved than Puerto Rican-born slaves (p. 63). Plans often were revealed by slave informers because slave owners and the law made it attractive for them to do so. In 1826 the colonial administration promised freedom and five hundred pesos to any slave or slaves who informed (p. 71). This provision was part of a *Reglamento* proclaimed by Governor Miguel de la Torre that was intended to help owners control the behavior of slaves and to minimize the circumstances that might lead to further rebellions. Hours for sleep, the use of machetes and other tools, travel by slaves from their own haciendas, and control over dances, drinking, mixing of the sexes, and the intermingling of slaves from other haciendas were all to be regulated (pp. 67–71). These restrictions were based on the experience of past conspiracies that had involved joint actions by slaves from neighboring haciendas, many of whom had made their plans at social or religious gatherings. Such meetings were to be strictly supervised in the future.

Slaves nevertheless continued to rebel against their owners. Baralt does not provide much information about slave living or working conditions, but one can presume that they were difficult and probably worsened after the slave trade became illegal and slaves were harder to obtain. In 1812 the ratio of the slaves to land was five per acre; by 1826, it

had declined to one per acre, suggesting both a shortage of slaves and the rigor of the additional work demanded of them (p. 61). Besides collective conspiracies and rebellions against their owners and their enslavement, the slaves' most common form of resistance was to flee. No known slave communities, which might have provided a safe haven, formed in Puerto Rico as they did on other Caribbean islands, and escape from the island itself was difficult. *La Gaceta Oficial de Puerto Rico* published detailed descriptions of runaways, often for months, and it appears that most escaped slaves were eventually found (pp. 119, n.26; 155–59). Many more cases of slave resistance are detailed than can be discussed here. Although much remains unknown about slave life and work, Baralt's research has documented the inventiveness and tenacity of slaves, who despite being faced with execution for their acts, continued their efforts to outwit and rid themselves of their masters.

The works reviewed here are only some of the most recent that have been produced by the new history movement. They are rich sources of information and interpretation that make use of only a part of the valuable archive material located in the Archivo General de Puerto Rico. The new history represents a recent intellectual tendency, but the quantity and quality of the research is already impressive. Additional research is also deserving of mention. Very important are the insightful and theoretically advanced works of Angel Quintero Rivera.<sup>11</sup> The research of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños at the City University of New York has enriched our understanding of Puerto Rican migration to the United States and its effects.<sup>12</sup> A nearly invisible subject until recently was the role of women in the production process itself and their function in reproducing the family socially as well as physically. The available research in this area has been growing, and CEREP has a new project underway.<sup>13</sup>

The problem with adding names is that the list would become excessively long, but a few more require listing. As mentioned above, the *Anales de Investigación Histórica* includes many informative articles. A number of students are collecting oral histories and researching archives, hacienda records, personal correspondence, and other sources for new information. It only seems fair to mention again the work Sidney Mintz has done over a number of years on both contemporary and historical matters that foreshadow the interests of the new history. The work of James Wessman on southwest Puerto Rico also needs to be consulted.<sup>14</sup>

What can legitimately be expected to emerge as a result of these recent and ongoing investigations? It seems fairly safe to say there will be less and less history per se being written and more socioeconomic analysis. Increasingly, research will be done to uncover and explain the thrust of economic and social change that makes history an unfolding, con-

nected, and understandable ensemble of processes, not just discrete events. The interconnectedness of the rural economy and social life with the urban areas, and of the island with the developing capitalist countries and the world market will be the essential foundation upon which Puerto Rico's history is understood as the evolution of the economy and its classes, a process that needs to be explained and not just reported. The contributions of the new history movement, both substantive and theoretical, are precisely in this vein.

## NOTES

1. Ediciones Huracán has published the bulk of the book-length new history in inexpensive paperback editions. Many CEREP publications, although frequently cited, have not been widely distributed until recently, when CEREP began its outreach program. The *Anales de Investigación Histórica*, which began publication in the 1970s, is also a valuable source. The even more recent *Caribe*, a student-edited journal from the Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe in Old San Juan, has published articles in the new history mold in its early issues and promises more such work in the future. The formation of the Asociación Histórica Puertorriqueña in 1982 may also contribute to furthering such work.
2. Published in English as *Workers' Struggles: A Documentary History*, edited by Angel Quintero Rivera (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976).
3. *Amargo café* is the third volume of Picó's study of nineteenth-century Utuado. The other two are *Registro general de jornaleros, Utuado (1849–1850)* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1976); and *Libertad y servidumbre en el Puerto Rico del siglo XIX: los jornaleros utuadeños en vísperas del auge del café* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1979).
4. See Laird W. Bergad, "Toward Puerto Rico's Grito de Lares: Coffee, Social Transformation, and Class Conflict, 1828–1868," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60, no. 4 (Nov. 1980): 617–42. On the role of immigrants, see the valuable collection edited by Francisco A. Scarano, *Inmigración y clases en el Puerto Rico del siglo XIX* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1981).
5. Another useful study related to the organization of the coffee economy is Carlos Buitrago Ortiz, *Los orígenes históricos de la sociedad precapitalista en Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1976). This study examines another coffee hacienda, Hacienda Pietri, in southwest Puerto Rico.
6. One of the first acts of the Grito de Lares uprising also had been to burn the books listing debts. See note 4 above.
7. I became aware of it from a notice in Dr. Carmelo Rosario's column in *El Mundo*, "Temas históricos de Puerto Rico." This column is a weekly treasure of information.
8. Picó, pp. 123–24, and Baralt, pp. 169–70.
9. Reproductions of Mercedita's tokens can be found in Maurice M. Gold and Lincoln W. Higgie, *The Money of Puerto Rico* (Racine, Wis.: Whitman, 1962), p. 38.
10. Luis Díaz Soler, *Historia de la esclavitud negra en Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras: Edición Universitaria, 1965), pp. 117, 121, 122. In Ponce, slaves made up 61.1 percent of the total population in 1840, the highest concentration on the island (Baralt, *Esclavos rebeldes*, p. 131). In the work force, of course, the percentage of slaves was larger than their representation in the general population.
11. Angel Quintero Rivera, "Background to the Emergence of Imperialist Capitalism in Puerto Rico," in *Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans*, edited by Adalberto López and James Petras (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1974), pp. 87–117. Also, *Conflictos de clase y política en Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1976). I mention only those of his works most immediately concerned with the nineteenth century. Quintero is perhaps the most prolific of the new historians.
12. Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, *Taller de migración* (New York: CUNY, 1975) and *Labor Migration under Capitalism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979).

13. On women, see Edna Acosta-Belén, *La mujer en la sociedad puertorriqueña* (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1980), which includes the work of Marcia Rivera Quintero.
14. Sidney Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations* (Chicago: Aldine, 1974); "Labor and Sugar in Puerto Rico and Jamaica, 1800–1850," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1, no. 3 (March 1959): 237–81. James Wessman, "The Demographic Structure of Slavery in Puerto Rico: Some Aspects of Agrarian Capitalism in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 12, no. 2 (Nov. 1980): 271–89; "The Sugar Hacienda in the Agrarian Structure of Southwest Puerto Rico in 1902," *Revista/Review Inter-Americana* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1978): 99–115; "Toward a Marxist Demography: A Comparison of Puerto Rican Landowners, Peasants and Rural Proletarians," *Dialectical Anthropology* 2 (1977): 223–33.