

on this type of slave in Cuba, and the conclusions are revealing. For instance, nearly half of the *coartados* were African-born slaves, which shows that African slaves had access to cash and knew the administrative mechanisms for initiating the process of *coartación*. In addition, among the *coartados* there was a significantly higher proportion of females than males, a situation that reflects the higher proportion of women slaves in urban centres. As the authors acknowledge, if systematic empirical data on wages in nineteenth-century Cuba were available the interpretive possibilities of the data presented in this book would be even greater: we would have a means of knowing the efficiency of free labourers as compared with rented slaves. This is a key issue for a full understanding of the life of urban slaves, many of whom enjoyed a semi-slave status: they could live in different houses and even neighbourhoods from their masters and retain a portion of their wages.

Finally, chapter 7 summarizes the findings presented throughout the book and shows the similarity of the Cuban slave market to those of the southern United States and Brazil. The most remarkable aspect of this chapter is the sophisticated methodology that Bergad uses to compare all these slave markets.

In short, by presenting such a reliable series for slave prices in nineteenth-century Cuba, Bergad, Iglesias and Barcia's book offers a fundamental analytical tool for any scholar interested in the economic, social or political history of this Caribbean island or in the history of slavery in the Americas during the nineteenth century.

Joan Casanovas

BRUNK, SAMUEL. Emilio Zapata. Revolution & Betrayal in Mexico. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque 1995. xvi, 360 pp. Ill. \$45.00. (Paper: \$24.95.)

Not since John Womack's *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (1968) have scholars been treated to such an in-depth study of the peasant revolutionary who continues to weigh heavily upon the Mexican psyche. Based upon new archival sources, this work moves away from the paradigm which presents Zapatismo as a fundamentally homogeneous and communal rebellion. Zapatismo is analysed as a response to a complex web of varying socio-economic conditions, which rendered the movement much more heterogeneous and differentiated than previously believed. Much of the book, however, focuses on how Emiliano Zapata's leadership skills initially forged and, later, maintained the movement's cohesiveness. Brunk concludes his study with an explanation of Zapata's downfall. Tightly welded to the Plan of Ayala and attempting to fit local and regional concerns into the national picture, Zapata relied upon politicians and radical intellectuals, who ultimately betrayed him. In the end, Brunk argues, Zapata failed to balance the movement's origins, which were rooted in decentralized, democratic action, with the construction of a centralized force with a national perspective.

Brunk begins the book by placing Zapata within the historical and socio-economic framework of the Morelos region. As the most densely populated and one of the most intensely commercial agricultural zones in Mexico, Morelos' Indian-mestizo village society was strategically placed to lead an agrarian revolu-

tion. Settled first by peasant cultivators, the region gradually shifted to sugar cultivation, as estates shared the semi-tropical basin with peasant communities. After Independence, elites facing economic difficulties claimed additional lands and water. By the mid-nineteenth century, violent agrarian conflict afflicted the sugar region, and Morelos villagers gained experience as insurgents.

Because the state's sugar mills and plantation estates were controlled by absentee owners residing in Mexico City, many of whom were foreigners, the competition between the estates and villages for acreage during the 1880s and 1890s transcended localism and regionalism. In microcosm, Morelos villagers represented the struggle of the Mexican folk against the government-sponsored foreign commercial intrusion into provincial society. Brunk is clear in stating that Zapata and the villagers of his native Anenecuilco considered themselves to be part of the Mexican nation. Their ancestors had fought for Independence and against the 1860s French intervention. In the late nineteenth century, when the aggressive owner of the El Hospital hacienda seized lands belonging to the town of Yautepec, the villa of Ayala and the pueblo of Anenecuilco, villagers of those areas petitioned the state and national governments protesting the intrusions by the "Spaniards".

As a member of the 1892 village committee sent to Mexico City for an audience with Porfirio Díaz, Zapata positioned himself to command the 1910 Anenecuilco's defense committee's insurrection. In the process of supporting Francisco Madero's revolution against Díaz, Zapatista revolutionaries occupied estates, infuriating Porfirian elites. Promising court actions to satisfy village land claims and attempting to conciliate and bribe Zapata, Madero sought the disarming of the Zapatista forces and the evacuation of the occupied estates. Zapata and his followers ignored Madero's wishes and the fighting continued. On 25 November 1911 Zapata and his officers signed the Plan of Ayala, declaring revolution against Madero for treason.

Brunk's interpretation of the Plan of Ayala and Zapatista ideology constitutes a major theme of his study. Asserting that popular liberalism infused the Plan of Ayala, Brunk insists that Zapata did not rebel against capitalism in general, but against the most recent intrusion of capital that threatened the survival of village life in Morelos. Accordingly, "the Plan of Ayala meant to do nothing more than reestablish a balance between hacienda and village" (p. 150). While claiming that the document was innocent of the allusions of the European-born ideologies of anarchism and communism, Brunk acknowledges that radical urban intellectuals influenced the plan. Representative of this influence was an anarchist school teacher from Morelos, Otilio Montaña. The coup that brought Victoriano Huerta to power reinforced the radicals' position within Zapatismo. This was especially true after Huerta closed the anarchosyndicalist Casa del Obrero Mundial in May 1914, and former Casa leaders Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama and Paulino Martínez became central figures in the Zapatista movement.

Huerta's overthrow accentuated the role of the urban radicals, as they served the movement as interpreters of the national scene. Brunk identifies the twelve months after August 1914 as Zapatismo's zenith, when Zapata allied with northern revolutionary Francisco "Pancho" Villa and created a nominal national government, the Convention, which held Mexico City for months at a time. Brunk writes that this period is also when Zapatismo begins to unravel. While both Villa and Zapata opposed the Constitutionals, the bulk of the fighting occurred in the

north and involved Villa's forces. This allowed the Zapatistas to carry out wholesale land redistributions throughout the territory under their control. Brunk suggests that Zapatismo's growth produced resource competition among villages, and that Zapata's reliance upon urban intellectuals to settle disputes undermined the Morelos Commune. Brunk also blames the intellectuals for not holding the Villa/Zapata alliance together as well as Zapata's failure in interfactional diplomacy.

Brunk acknowledges ideological differences separated Villistas and Zapatistas. Many of Zapata's representatives professed anarchism and were more committed to land reform, challenging liberal notions of private property, the rights of labor and the decentralization of state power. However, he reduces the failure of interfactional diplomacy to personalism, emphasizing the strong personalities of urban intellectuals such as Manuel Palafox and Díaz Soto y Gama, writing "they seemed to do everything they could to destroy the alliance" (p. 170).

Behind Brunk's theme of betrayal is a ubiquitous effort to identify a fundamental ideological gap between the Zapatismo of Morelos and the national level, represented by Zapata's radical intellectual advisers. Reliance on these advisers was pragmatic, since "Zapata's education and background did not prepare him for national politics" (p. 125). Zapata needed them as mediators, to give him the national perspective he lacked. The incorporation of the anarchist slogan "Land and Liberty" was rhetoric, and hardly reflective of Zapatismo's core, which was neither fundamentally anticapitalist nor antiprogress. Important to Zapata, Brunk writes, was fomenting grass roots, municipal democracy, plebiscites, an end to *jefe políticos* and the establishment of political and economic independence for municipalities (p. 184). Some scholars have identified these ideas as the essence of Mexican anarchism. Brunk asserts Zapatismo embraced the notion of the state embodied in the Constitution of 1857 (p. 132), but a close examination of Zapatista demands reveals that they ran counter to the caste-based social order legitimized by the document. Brunk concludes the "city", representative of progress and the aggressive intrusion of metropolitan capital, and legitimized by the 1857 Constitution, expropriated the revolution. Rather than an ideological breach between the movement's traditional core and radical intellectuals, perhaps Zapata's defeat resulted from the incompatibility of the movement's demands with the Constitutionalist goal of protecting private property within a newly-constructed polity.

Despite these shortcomings, Brunk's study reveals the popular character and pervasive influence of Zapatismo within the Mexican Revolution. This work will spark renewed interest and debate of peasant rebellion globally because it explores the inner workings of a much misunderstood component of the revolution. Samuel Brunk has written what will surely become a classic study of an enduring icon of twentieth-century revolution.

Norman Caulfield

MORAWSKA, EWA. *Insecure Prosperity: Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890–1940*. Princeton University Press, Princeton [etc.] 1996. xxv, 369 pp. Ill. \$35.00; £29.95.

In 1985 the American sociologist and historian Ewa Morawska published *For Bread with Butter* on the immigration of various East European groups to the