rituals. In other words, Mexicans proved to be more independent and open-minded than many foreigners and writers of the period depicted them, an interpretation parroted in too many textbooks.

Stevens explores this plurality of views and the waning of tradition on several fronts. While many blamed the epidemic on God's wrath, others proposed more scientific explanations. When the Catholic Church sought to blame individuals and their behavior for the epidemic, critics took advantage of the strong memory of the war of independence and the still-smoldering cultural battles to point out the relationship between sexual repression and Absolutism or Conservatism. Stevens also refutes the notion that chaos reigned in Mexico, describing, for example, how many individuals and local public health organizations reacted efficiently and heroically to the spread of the deadly disease. This book succeeds in refuting the interpretation of post-independence Mexico as one of inertia and traditionalism.

Stevens analyzes the bulging archival records of births, baptisms, and death to tell us a great deal about daily life and mentalities, exploring individual cases and tracking trends. His individual portraits are poignant yet respectful, ranging from the ultimate hours of the moribund to decisions about marriage. He does, however, bog down a bit in his explorations of baptismal and marriage records. For example, in his section on name choice and saints' day celebrations, he moves too far away from his arguments and toward more of an archive report or institutional history. These passages contrast with the other, livelier sections of the book.

In the best tradition of microhistory, Stevens uses the 1833 cholera epidemic as an entryway into daily life and from there proposes larger arguments about nineteenth-century Mexico. He rises to the challenge of studying the epidemic in different cities and regions, as the narrative and analysis move seamlessly and he underlines intriguing points of comparison. Social historians interested in the family, rituals, daily life, and medicine will find valuable arguments and data here. The author also succeeds in countering the view of post-independence Mexico as static, mired in tradition and political chaos.

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## RACE, REVOLUTION, AND MIGRATION

Racial Migrations: New York City and the Revolutionary Politics of the Spanish Caribbean. By Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019. Pp. xxxv, 369. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$35.00 cloth. doi:10.1017/tam.2020.17

Ideology and economics are not enough to explain revolutions. Ronald Syme showed in *The Roman Revolution* how prosopographical study reveals networks that bind agents and turn bystanders into activists. Among recent contributions to the tradition is Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof's study of "black and brown" Cubans and Puerto Ricans in Key West and New York in the years that preceded Cuban independence. The question he explores—why Cubans of color collaborated in the national movement—engaged contemporaries, including José Martí, who applauded black friends for joining revolutionaries who "oppressed them" (153), and Booker T. Washington, for whom "the Negro" was "leader of the Cuban forces" (237).

A bigger historical problem beckons: why the history of race relations in Cuba and Puerto Rico diverged from that of the continental United States, despite the relatively late abolition of slavery in all three territories. No equivalent of the parti-colored "Cuban race," celebrated in poetry by Nicolás Guillén and sociology by Fernando Ortiz, was imaginable in the United States. Hoffnung-Garskof portrays Cuban life in New York with painstaking scholarship and meticulous and sometimes vivid detail. The huge cast of characters is hard to manage, at least for readers; the pace is never rapid, the going never easy. The author's comparison of his work to a novel (9) is perhaps flattering. Some of the impressive apparatus, including maps of every relevant location in New York City, is supererogatory. Also, it is disturbing to find 'cubano' translated as "Cuban man" (168). When evidence gives out, recourse to musing on what "we can only imagine" (140) is frequent.

But perseverance brings rewards. Hoffnung-Garskof reconstructs networks in educational, political, and social clubs, cigar factory readings, press subscriptions, and the lodges of Masons and Oddfellows, which sometimes applied color bars. At the heart of the networks are three ambitious émigrés from Cuba who arrived in New York in 1885: Rafael Serra and Juan and Gerónimo Bonilla. They helped new arrivals with the only means of adaptation to the bewildering city: finding "a friend or countryman" (99). They chaired high-minded meetings and gatherings where black Cubans could "meet sweethearts and eat ice-cream" (96). They shared bond-forging lunches of salt cod and chopped kidneys (114). They bridged, as far as was possible, the social distance between black Cuban servants and their rich white Cuban employers in otherwise inaccessibly desirable neighborhoods. They forged a "network of friends" (228).

An atmosphere of machismo is ever detectable. Martí defended himself against accusations of effeminacy by boasting that his accuser could not "fit into my underwear" (128). Serra's "trademark" was "a coalition built on love and tenderness among men" (138). But the author also shows women—especially the midwives who darted between households—as quietly effective agents of community solidarity (231). He traces the remarkable trajectory of the midwife Gertrudis Heredia from "darkness and impiety" (27) to marriage with Serra and leadership among black female émigrés.

Like all truthful histories, Hoffnung-Garskof's story of "the transition of an immigrant community into a political movement" (130) is checkered. Some black Cubans and some white allies wavered from the revolutionary cause, for reasons sometimes pragmatic and sometimes nakedly racist. As victory drew near, factional infighting and personality conflicts disrupted unity. Most contemporaries acknowledged the existence of "a class of color" (7, 149) within and sometimes at odds with the potential Cuban nation (174-6). Yet, blacks remained almost uniformly faithful to nationalism, thanks in part to Martí, whose patronage of black sodalities was unwavering, and to the help of Puerto Ricans, such as the indefatigable "man of print," Sotero Figueroa.

At bottom, perhaps, island traditions were less hostile to racial collaboration than those of the continental United States. Racial intermarriage was routine in Martí's "mestizo America" (211), where whites saw intermarriage as "perfecting and improving" blacks (202, 208). There was "less hatred to extinguish" offshore (48). Fittingly, when Serra revisited New York in 1892, the immigrant official marked his race as "Cuban" (268).

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## MORELOS, MEXICO, AFTER ZAPATA

Land, Liberty, and Water: Morelos After Zapata, 1920–1940. By Salvador Salinas. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018. Pp. 255. \$55.00 cloth. doi:10.1017/tam.2020.18

Salvador Salinas examines the postrevolutionary reconstruction of the state of Morelos "using the lens of environmental history" (4). His study of agrarian reform in Morelos focuses not just on land, but also on forests and water. Taken together, he argues, shifts in the distribution and use of natural resources in the 1920s and 1930s fundamentally transformed the political ecology of the region. In the aftermath of ecological and demographic devastation, the pueblos of Morelos seized control of the state's natural resources with the help of the federal government, which in turn helped "the rural communities become better custodians of the environment" as they accepted federal intervention in the regulation of forests and water (5). As the ejido replaced the hacienda, federal institutions and agencies became a standard feature of village life—a transformation that, according to Salinas, entailed a change in "the idea of what it meant to be a pueblo" (3). The solidarity that characterized the pueblos before the Revolution was gone, and in its place emerged a nineteenth-century notion of village sovereignty, reimagined in a new context. In the pueblos of postrevolutionary Morelos, engaging the state did not compel a loss of sovereignty but actually "made the pueblos more sovereign" (5). Nowhere was this enhanced sovereignty more evident than in the state's regulation of the use of the region's natural resources.