ACADEMO
Revista de Investigación en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades
ISSN 2414-8938. Vol. 12 Nro. 1, 2025.

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

https://doi.org/10.30545/academo.2025.n1.1103

The institutional scaffolding of Habanero arts and crafts apprenticeship, 1839-1849

El andamiaje institucional del habanero aprendizaje de artes y oficios, 1839-1849

Jesús Javier Mejias Díaz[1]

[1] Instituto de Historia de Cuba. La Habana, Cuba.

Abstract

This article has as its object of study the institutional scaffolding of the arts and crafts learning branch of the Industry and Commerce Section of the Royal Economic Society of Havana between 1839 and 1849. An analysis is carried out on the structuring and implementation of the control devices in the apprenticeship branch during the decade of its existence. Apprenticeship officials tried to ensure the social control of masters, officers and apprentices throgh apprenticeship deeds, penitentiary correction, and supervision over workshops, masters and their employees by neighborhood inspectors. In search of a new work ethic for marginalized urban sectors the apprenticeship branch expanded its initially conceived institutional limits, generating interactions and spaces of delimitation. In order to trace the way in which this scaffolding of power was manufactured and evolved, it was necessary to carry out an exhaustive analysis of the documentary and printed sources contemporaries to the Apprenticeship Branch. From them it emerged that the social discipline of the artisan sectors tied – through a legal architecture – the Havana intermediate manufacturing groups to the economic modernization project of the sugar elites at the dawn of the first industrialization in Cuba.

Keywords: *Artisan, Havana, apprenticeship, institution, social control.*

Resumen

El presente artículo tiene como objeto de estudio el andamiaje institucional del ramo de aprendizaje de artes y oficios de la Sección de Industria y Comercio de la Real Sociedad Económica de La Habana entre 1839 y 1849. Se realiza un análisis sobre la estructuración e implementación de los dispositivos de control en el ramo de aprendizaje durante la década de su existencia. Los funcionarios del ramo de aprendizaje trataron de asegurar el control social de maestros, oficiales y aprendices mediante las escrituras de aprendizaje, la corrección penitenciaria y la supervisión sobre los talleres, los maestros y sus empleados por parte de los inspectores de barrio. En busca de una nueva ética de trabajo para los sectores urbanos marginalizados el ramo ensanchó sus límites institucionales inicialmente concebidos generando interacciones y espacios de delimitación. Para poder trazar la forma en que se fabricó y evolucionó este andamiaje del poder fue necesario realizar un análisis exhaustivo de las fuentes documentales e impresas contemporáneas al ramo de aprendizaje. De ellas emergió que el disciplinamiento social de los sectores artesanos asió —por medio de una arquitectura legal— a los grupos manufactureros intermedios habaneros al proyecto de modernización económica de las élites azucareras en los albores de la primera industrialización en Cuba.

Palabras clave: *Artesano, Habana, aprendizaje, institución, control social.*

.

Correspondence: jesusjavier.mejias@gmail.com
Article received: May 23, 2024; accepted for publication: November 22, 2024; published: January 8, 2025.
Conflicts of Interest: None.
Funding source: None.
Responsible editor: Herib Caballero Campos. Universidad Americana. Asunción, Paraguay.

Website: http://revistacientifica.uamericana.edu.py/index.php/academo/

Introduction

The apprenticeship system of arts and crafts in Havana (1839–1849) was embedded in a global movement of ideas, techniques, and practices stemming from the Enlightenment, which shaped a macro-project of bourgeois elites seeking to expand perceptions of labor necessary for the productive dynamics of industrial capitalism. For this reason, it was not an isolated phenomenon but had its ideological origins in the social purpose outlined by Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes for the establishment of Spanish economic societies of *friends of the country* in the second half of the eighteenth century (Álvarez Cuartero, 2017). It was conceived as an aspiration of the Royal Conservatory of Arts of Madrid—created in 1824—and as a reference to the French schools of arts and crafts established during the first three decades of the nineteenth century (Ramón Teijelo, 2011). The Havana system of apprenticeship in arts and crafts was replicated to varying degrees in other parts of the Island of Cuba.

The dissection and study of the institutional scaffolding of this apprenticeship system is crucial to ensuring a full understanding of the evolution of its legal and institutional framework. As members of the Industry and Commerce Section of the Royal Economic Society of Havana sought to introduce changes in behavior patterns and attitudes toward work, they created a normative continuum[2]. This continuum provided the legal architecture necessary to maintain intermediate manufacturing groups in a subordinate condition. The scaffolding was layered and responded to management needs that varied depending on whether it concerned an apprentice or a workshop owner.

Cuban historiography—and historiography on Cuba—has long lacked studies on urban labor in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first to mention the subject explicitly and provide basic information on arts and crafts apprenticeship during this period was Leví Marrero (1972) in his book *Cuba: economía y sociedad*. Decades later, the topic resurfaced in Joan Casanovas Codina's article (1999), *Urban Workers in Nineteenth-Century Cuba and the Rise of Popular Abolitionism in Cuba*. Casanovas Codina used an antecedent—which he referenced but did not fully develop—to support his assessment of how the colonial and labor model of the elites shaped free labor beginning in the 1860s. Twelve years later, Enrique Sosa and Alejandrina Penabad (2013), in their volumes synthesizing the *History of Education in Cuba*, examined the apprenticeship phenomenon as part of the beginnings of technical education. Without aiming at a full study of the apprenticeship system, they briefly covered only the period between 1839 and 1844, without delving into the mechanisms of control or the system's specificities. However, they traced the origins of the idea of managing artisans, analyzed some elements of the discourse around the usefulness of trades, and revealed the links between certain leaders of the industrial sector and groups of power.

Similarly, Oscar Andrés Piñera Hernández's doctoral thesis (2009), *The Patriotic Deputations in Cuba (1803–1850)*, in analyzing the evolution of patriotic deputations of the Economic Society of Havana, approached the institutional logic and functioning of the Industry and Commerce Sections in western and central Cuba. Although apprenticeship was not the main focus of his research, Piñera addressed the central role of the apprenticeship regulation in providing labor content for these sections. Likewise, Yoel Cordoví Núñez (2022), in *En defensa del cuerpo. Dispositivos de control escolares en Cuba (1793–1958)*, provided suitable methodological tools for the specificities of historical studies on Cuba. Cordoví incorporated structural and discursive analysis concerning hygienism within a long-term educational context. In this regard, he made a specific reference to arts and crafts apprenticeship within his broader

[2] The author outlined the concept of a *normative continuum* to explain the succession of instructions, projects, and circulars which, throughout the 1840s, complemented the *Instructions for the Order and Progress of Public Instruction in Arts and Crafts* of 1839. This succession of supplementary norms of lesser rank constituted a normative continuity linked to the spirit and objectives under which Havana's arts-and-crafts apprenticeship branch was originally conceived. This *normative continuum*—shaped by institutional development—enabled the flexible and adaptable functioning of the apprenticeship branch during the decade of its existence.

analysis, highlighting particular mechanisms of educational control in the island's realities.

Despite the frequent use of José Antonio Saco's *Memoria de la vagancia en la isla de Cuba* (1831) to address numerous issues related to crime and forced labor, the apprenticeship system and its control mechanisms remain virtually unknown—despite being the most important initiative in industrial promotion carried out by Havana's elites. Its importance goes beyond the island framework, as it constituted a transitional control apparatus between the old guild systems and the capitalist labor market, unique within Latin American contexts. In an open economy based on plantation production with enslaved labor, the apprenticeship system complicates the debate over the meanings of capitalist labor modernization in 1840s Havana. At the same time, it sheds light on Cuban liberalism, helping to dismantle simplistic notions about the relationship between industrial modernity and the colonial state in Cuba.

In the broader historiographical context—based on available research—studies of apprenticeship systems in arts and crafts have concentrated on Spain, Mexico, and Colombia. In Spain, approaches from labor and economic history dominate, with emphasis on the transition from the guild model to the capitalist system in the nineteenth century, often through the study of guilds in the immediately preceding period (Nieto Sánchez & Zofío Lorente, 2015). Many of these studies derive from work on the history of the economic societies of friends of the country (Arias de Saavedra Alías, 2001), which focus on the early stages of popular education initiatives and artisan management (Arias de Saavedra Alías, 2012; Negrín Fajardo, 1987).

Meanwhile, Mexican studies on guilds adopt Marxist and social history perspectives to explain the functioning of the guild model in New Spain and its role during the independence period (Castro Gutiérrez, 1986). Scholars analyze labor and opportunities within a stratified and racist society (González Angulo, 1979). In Colombia, the history of artisans has seen a particularly vibrant development in recent decades. In this regard, the sociologist Alberto Mayor Mora (2003) stands out, author of *Cabezas duras y dedos inteligentes: estilo de vida y cultura técnica de los artesanos colombianos del siglo XIX*. His subsequent works, and those of other researchers, not only expanded methodological perspectives and timeframes (Mayor et al., 2014) but also allowed the theme to be placed within connected histories, demonstrating how schools of arts and crafts and apprenticeship systems formed part of a global movement of change in labor ethics (Zapata Hoyos, 2016).

As for the theoretical frameworks used to construct a suitable methodology for this article, authors from Marxist, structuralist, and conceptual historiographical traditions were considered. As a reference point for Western Marxism, Edward P. Thompson (1989) was used, with *La formación de la clase obrera en Inglaterra*. In this work, Thompson established methodological guidelines for writing the history of ordinary people with a Marxist "from below" analysis, in which the formation of the English working class emerges from its ideological interplay with the narrative of capitalism. Thompson drew on the refinement and specialization of artisan trades to complicate the view of pre-factory labor, illustrating cultural change as an expression of mental change and the formation of collective consciousness.

Michel Foucault (2002), in his work on the prison system, *Vigilar y castigar*, defined the modern function of power: surveillance. Foucault's notion of the prison as discourse per se—embodied in the decisions of policymakers, the regulations issued, and the internal functioning as an unspoken discourse—is applicable to the control systems of the bourgeois state. Essentially, collective transformation projects acted as devices for controlling social subjects under the mantle of strict morality, which distinguished the moral worker from the idle, immoral delinquent. The aim was to create the necessary worker by instilling values and social attitudes redefined around the new ideal of labor, firmly tied to Christian principles of honesty and decency.

Finally, Reinhart Koselleck's *Futuro-pasado. Para una semántica de los tiempos históricos* (1993) analyzed the meanings of historical temporality and conceptual semantics. Adapting Koselleck's framework to the

research topic made it possible to understand that the particular evolution and adaptation of concepts associated with Havana's apprenticeship system formed part of the elites' central narrative of domination. In this sense, old medieval concepts such as "apprentice," "master," and "apprenticeship contract" were redefined in a radically different context to naturalize the act of social subordination.

Against this background arises the question: How was the scaffolding of control within the arts and crafts apprenticeship system of the Havana Economic Society of Friends of the Country structured? The hypothesis is that the system of public instruction in arts and crafts of the Industry and Commerce Section of the Royal Economic Society of Friends of the Country of Havana was structured through regulations and mechanisms essential for the social control of masters, journeymen, and apprentices between 1839 and 1849. Based on these premises, the goal is to evaluate the institutional structures of the Havana apprenticeship system between 1839 and 1849, to study the formation and development of the mechanisms and structures that defined this system of public instruction in arts and crafts. In other words, the aim is to uncover the historically conditioned power relations that permeated the ways in which the scaffolding of control was constructed, and to delineate how this scaffolding became rooted in its social context, forming an inseparable web between institutional control mechanisms and social practice. The careful molding of the urban manufacturing sector through these social structures exercised functions of ideological domination and behavioral homogenization. In this sense, the goal was not only to control the individual within the framework of apprenticeship but also to shape behavior patterns and use them as systemic reproducibility in everyday practice. Additionally, the intention is to analyze the social profile of the leaders who designed these mechanisms and structures in order to identify the foundations upon which institutional interaction was built.

Methodology

The article is framed—within the perspectives of social history—at the crossroads of labour history and the history of education, since it examines an apprenticeship system in a context of transition toward a free labour market. The study proposed an analysis of structures and institutions and of their functioning in relation to investigations of power groups that made it possible to elucidate how mechanisms of control over subordinate subjects were constructed. To that end, it was essential to carry out qualitative analyses of what defined the social profile of those involved in drafting the control norms and of the utility of those norms as disciplinary devices. It was necessary to draw on printed and periodical sources such as the *Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de la Habana* to—by means of the historical-logical method—perceive object/subject relations from multiple angles.

The Marxist paradigm further clarified the social movement around relations of production and the productive forces in the island context. For this purpose, the culturally oriented Marxist methodology articulated by Thompson (1989) illuminated the forms of representation and manifestation of class contents. Koselleck's semantics of historical time enabled a full understanding of the historically determined and renewed meanings of the concepts *master*, *journeyman*, and *apprentice* (Koselleck, 1993). In addition, Foucault's structuralism (2002) supplied techniques for understanding the intent of power and its connection to the individuals over whom it exercised authority, thus helping to identify social structures within the context of a proto-capitalist labor apprenticeship system on the nineteenth-century global periphery.

Because the Havana arts-and-crafts apprenticeship branch was a labor-control system preoccupied with correction and discipline, Foucault's dissection of the levels at which surveillance and punishment operated in the bourgeois state provided a profound perspective on social control devices in education and in the penitentiary system. This panoptic lens proved especially useful and well suited to the topic, which unfolded precisely at the moment of the emergence of the Spanish bourgeois state and the rise of panopticism within island intellectual circles. Translating that analytical framework to the convoluted Havana context of the 1840s required

combining Foucault's notion of capillary power with the microsociologies of interpretive constructivism (Young, 1971).

Results

Despite having been set in motion in April 1839, resistance from artisans and attacks on the apprenticeship branch by its detractors compelled the Captain General to order the publication of the regulation in the *Gaceta de La Habana* on 26 May of that same year (*Instrucciones para el orden y progreso de la enseñanza pública en artes y oficios*, 24 April 1839). Registrations began on 15 July (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, 1844, Vol. XIX, p. 200), and on 31 August 1839 an *oficio* from Joaquín Pluma, inspector of the Regla workshops, provides—so far as can be ascertained—the first evidence of the branch's actual launch and of the practical and bureaucratic obstacles it faced. Pluma's petition concerned the reluctance of seafaring people to accept the new rules of the arts-and-crafts apprenticeship branch. The inspector proposed that the Commander of the Havana Naval Station cooperate in the surveillance of fishermen, shore carpenters, caulkers, and sailors. The dependence on and delegation to the government displayed in this initial communication of the apprenticeship branch was symptomatic of a project devised by an elite whose colonial condition deprived it of control by a state possessing full coercive capacity. This factual weakness—later used in 1849 to strip the Industry Section of control over the branch—was exploited by those who resisted the apprenticeship from subaltern positions (Guha, 1999), out of fiscal concern, or as a threat to their own class program. The Superior Civil Government's grant of Pluma's request expanded the Commander of the Naval Station's powers to inspect artisans as far as the neighboring town of Casablanca—an epicenter of the naval industry in the Hispanic Antilles—and, de facto, prevented the creole elite from controlling the trades that underpinned maritime commerce (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, 1839, Vol. VIII, p. 410).

When, in December 1839, Joaquín José García[3]—then secretary of the Industry and Commerce Section—read the annual report, he defined the fundamental characteristics of the public instruction branch for arts and crafts. García enumerated the objectives proposed by the board members: the promotion of industry, provision of employment for the lower classes, and the constitution of a work ethic based on honourable profit. The secretary nevertheless acknowledged that this was more an aspiration than a reality given "the disadvantageous state of our workshops" (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, 1839, Vol. IX, p. 178). The corporation had to clarify that the branch did not compel the imposition of levies, so that between June and December 1839 only 586 apprentices were registered, even though the jurisdictional radius extended to Cerro, Jesús del Monte, Regla, and Casablanca—considered suburban settlements of Havana (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, 1839, Vol. IX, p. 182).

To maintain the apprenticeship branch's operation during its early years, in the face of reticence from the owners of artisanal or industrial establishments, the Industry Section relied on adolescents from the Royal House of Charity, on masters with whom it maintained relational capital, and on those it involved in projects linked to its industrial promotion aims. In turn, this measure—beyond any classist perceptions—tied the remaining elements of Havana liberalism within the Economic Society and its Industry Section to act against those who opposed their class project. For that reason, at the ordinary meeting of 28 November 1840 the petition to rescind an apprenticeship for abuse, lodged by the mother of the apprentice Tomás Caro against his master José de la Luz Hernández—professor in charge of the mechanics class applied to

[3] Joaquín José García was Honorary General Administrator of the Post Office. He served as lieutenant to the third and fourth Marquises of the Royal Proclamation in the Havana City Council during the 1840s and, in his capacity as secretary between 1839 and 1846, acted as the connection for the clientelist networks of the Marquises within the Industry and Commerce Section of the Royal Economic Society of Havana. He played a fundamental role in the establishment of the public instruction branch for arts and crafts as secretary of the Industry and Commerce Section. He was associated with Juan Agustín Ferrety, the first president of the Section of Industry and promoter of the apprenticeship branch. For further information on the clientelist and family networks of the Marquises of the Royal Proclamation, see: (Santa Cruz y Mallén, 1940, Vol. I, pp. 229, 232–233).

the arts sponsored by the Section—was dismissed. If there remained doubts about the closeness between the secretary of the Industry Section and Hernández, the assertion "that he knew how well he was cared for by the master" makes them clear (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, 1841, Vol. XI, p. 151).

In his 1842 annual report on the activity of the Royal Economic Society of Havana, Antonio Bachiller y Morales—secretary of that corporation—noted the debate that the apprenticeship branch continued to provoke internally. Examinations were at the epicenter of the controversy: they were considered indispensable for professionalization, yet they aroused suspicion by recalling the old guild structure and were regarded as a barrier to industrial freedom. The deployment of historically determined meanings again became a weapon against the Economic Society by detractors of the apprenticeship branch and by opponents of the interventionism of the creole liberal elite. Bachiller y Morales had to repeat his predecessors' formula that "the Society is not a supporter of guilds and ancient brotherhoods in which reason and convenience were sacrificed to the ridiculous ideas of the time" (Memorias de la Sociedad Patriótica de La Habana, 1842, Vol. XV, p. 177).

Although the branch did not intend to undermine industrial freedom, subordinating the artisanry to power groups lay at the core of its aims; yet foreigners comprised a significant proportion of the island's artisans. They were relied upon to introduce the technical novelties of the Industrial Revolution, and their resistance to submitting to the branch's inspection had to be handled with care by the board. For this reason—although they were competent to interpret the spirit of the regulation—the members chose the Superior Civil Governor Gerónimo Valdés, a known liberal and Baldomero Espartero's man in Cuba (Espartero served as regent of Spain between 1840 and 1843). A consultation of 1 March 1843 by the President of the Industry Section, Laureano José de Miranda[4], to the Superior Civil Government prompted—in response to the reluctance of foreign workshop owners—the reform of Article 18 of the regulation by proposing that each establishment be obliged to admit at least two registered apprentices. The island's highest authority replied affirmatively on

Escritura. Número

REAL SOCIEDAD ECONOMICA.

SECCION DE INDUSTRIA Y COMERCIO.

En la siempre fidelísima ciudad de la Habana á del mes de del año de mil ochocientos cuarenta y ante mí el infrascripto Secretario de la Seccion de Industria y Comercio de la Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del pais, autorizado competentemente por el Escmo. Sr Presidente, Gobernador y Capitan general compareció maestro con taller abierto en la casa núm. calle de y dijo: que se hace cargo de hijo de y de condicion natural de de edad de años, en calidad de aprendiz para enseñarle el oficio que ejerce en el tiempo y con las condiciones siguientes:—

1.ª Que en el espacio de años que empiezan á contarse desde este dia, ha de enseñarle perfectamente el oficio referido sin ocultarle cosa alguna así de teórica como de práctica, de suerte que esté capaz al fin de ellos para ser examinado y aprobado, y ejercerle por sí sin intervencion, documento ni direccion de persona alguna, ni ignore cosa alguna de lo que á él sea concerniente, para lo cual ha de poder corregirle y penitenciarle, pero sin herirle ni lisiarle, pena de los daños y procedimientos legales á que se hiciere acreedor.

2.ª Que durante los espresados años tendrá en su casa y compañía al citado alimentándole, vistiéndole, y curándole como si fuera su hijo por cuya razon el dicho hará, no solo lo perteneciente á su oficio, sino lo que se ofrezca á su maestro que sea decente y no le ocupe el tiempo que debe emplear en aprenderle.

3.ª Que si dentro de un año contado desde hoy, conociere dicho maestro que no tiene suficiente capacidad para aprender el referido oficio, ó que no se aplica á él, por tener mas inclinacion á otro, tendrá la obligacion de dar cuenta para dedicarle á este, de suerte que no pierda tiempo, ni por su omision y silencio se le irrogue detrimento alguno.

4.ª Que aun cuando el enunciado aprenda y se perfeccione en el citado oficio en córto tiempo, no por esto saldrá de su poder ni será obligado á remuneracion alguna, puesto que constituido como lo queda á enseñarle y mantenerle, debe tambien reportar la ventaja que pueda sacar de su instruccion durante el término señalado. Por cuya razon si el dicho aprendiz fugare ó se ausentare, podrá y deberá buscarle y volverle á su taller para que cumpla el tiempo que hubiere estado ausente; porque los años estipulados han de ser íntegros y sin descuento, aunque como se ha dicho, esté perfectamente instruido ántes, ó diga que quiere aprender otro oficio que le sea mas útil, pues no se ha de poder alterar este contrato con otro motivo ni pretesto que el espresado en el artículo segundo, ó por escesiva rigidez y falta de alimento necesario, ó por emplearle en cosa reprobadas, por imposibilidad ó por su fallecimiento.

5.ª Que si enfermare el aprendiz le ha de cuidar y asistir en su propia casa, salvo que sus padres prefieran llevarle á la suya con obligacion de volverle á traer cuando estuviere bueno. Si la enfermedad fuere de pocos dias, no se deducirán estos de los años estipulados; pero si la padeciere con frecuencia, de modo que unidas formen un tiempo de alguna consideracion, se aumentará todo él á los referidos años para que el maestro no se grave con la cura y con la falta del trabajo que debiera hacerle el aprendiz.

Figure 1. Model of an apprenticeship contract from the public instruction branch in arts and crafts of Havana. **Source***:* File on the corrections to be imposed on apprentices of arts and crafts, on the creation of a hall for this purpose, reform of the regulation, and the appointment of the delegate, subdelegate, and secretary (1860). Superior Civil Government, bundle 1052, file 37280. National Archive of Cuba, Havana.

[4] Laureano José de Miranda, Honorary War Auditor, rose through the ranks of the island's administration by associating with the Marquis of Casa Núñez de Villavicencio and of the Royal Oath, alongside whom he defended conservative interests so useful to the Captain General of Cuba, Miguel Tacón. He succeeded Juan Agustín Ferrety as president of the Industry and Commerce Section between 1843 and 1847, with whom he had been associated in the traffic of *blancos* (white laborers). During his presidency, the apprenticeship branch gradually abandoned its initial educational and promotional character to become a provider of manpower. His positions were aimed at creating barriers for people of color. He also participated, as an adviser to the courts, in the dismantling of the intermediate Black artisan class and of liberal groups (Naranjo Orovio, 1994; Amoedo, 1844).

10 March, extending penalties to foreigners who refused to admit registered apprentices before the Industry Section and stiffening sanctions for repeat offenders by imposing workshop closure. The government's order to employ force achieved that, by July 1843, foreign workshops fell under the supervision of the apprenticeship branch (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, 1843, Vol. XVI, pp. 7–9, 154).

In October 1844, a recommendation from the councilor, municipal surveyor, and lawyer Francisco Camilo Cuyás proposed reforming the *Instrucciones* to curb the excess of claims filed in the royal courts regarding apprenticeship contracts and their schedules. Most of these claims revolved around the longstanding issue of the nature of punishments, as well as other matters such as the food and provisions of the apprentices. Not only apprentices sought to assert their rights, but masters also took part in such claims.

The lengthy process the regulation underwent turned the apprenticeship contract schedule into a contradictory document, offering broad interpretative leeway to the parties involved. The interpretative flexibility and opportunism were among the reasons for the overwhelming number of lawsuits filed before the Royal Audience. Cuyás quickly realized the negative image that publicizing these disputes outside the sphere of the Industry Section could generate for the branch, as it could reveal official corruption, violate the regulatory competence of the branch, and dissuade artisans, youth, and their families from participating in a supposedly voluntary initiative.

A commission composed of Antonio Bachiller y Morales and the priest Francisco Jorge Llópiz was created to expand the draft reform of the regulation. The complexity of a proposal aimed at limiting the appeal rights of Spanish subjects discouraged councilors from presenting it in a context of attacks on the initiatives and ideas of the island's liberals (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, 1844, Vol. XIX, pp. 147, 151).

The expansion of the project file and the delay in implementing the reform could not contain the operational crisis of the apprenticeship branch. The design flaws of the branch were compounded by the problems created by the normal course of institutional functioning. Promulgated in a society eager to integrate into the cogwheel of industrial modernity, the regulation lacked the flexibility to reconcile the economic adjustments of the elites, the interests of the proto-industrial artisans, and the increasingly prominent roles of neighborhood inspectors. To adapt to the needs of the branch, the regulation was continuously expanded and reinterpreted by the Industry Section.

Amid legislative dispersion and the overextension of the secretariat's functions, on September 11, 1845, the vice president of the Industry Section, Antonio María Muñoz[5], proposed new operating rules to the governor. Approved on September 23, these rules limited the secretariat's role to maintaining the archive and issuing contracts, stripping it of the power to hear and resolve complaints, distribute apprentices, and organize examinations. In practice, this entailed a removal of the secretariat's functions, altering the balance of power within the Industry Section in favor of the presidency. The presidency became the final authority for complaints within the apprenticeship branch and the decision-maker regarding the formation of contracts, the allocation of apprentices, and the scheduling of examinations (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, Jan.–Jun. 1846, Second Series, Vol. I, pp. 81–82). The centralizing intent of this measure must be read in the context of the weakening of the Havana Economic Society's functions following the loss of powers by the Education Section with the implementation of the Public Instruction Plan for the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico and the reform of the statutes of the Royal

[5] Antonio María Muñoz, president of the Section of Industry and Commerce of the Royal Economic Society of Havana between 1847 and 1849. When the branch of apprenticeship in arts and trades became, in 1849, a delegation of the Superior Civil Government, he was appointed its first delegate. He faithfully represented the interests of the emerging proto-bourgeois economic elite and encouraged the abuses against apprentices as a means of discipline. Most of the files of the branch date from his presidency, due to his policy of gradual institutionalization and documentary safeguarding.

Economic Society of Havana in 1846 (Piñera Hernández, 2009, pp. 4, 29–30).

One of the longest-standing objectives of the Industry and Commerce Section was the organization of public exhibitions of Cuban industry. The launch of the apprenticeship branch highlighted the need for a public event that showcased its achievements, stimulated artisans, and encouraged participation in industrial activity.

The regulation for public exhibitions of Cuban industry was approved on March 23, 1847 (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, Jan.–Jun. 1847, Second Series, Vol. III, p. 264; Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, Jul.–Dec. 1848, Second Series, Vol. V, p. 221). On July 30, an ordinary meeting of the Industry Section agreed that workshops receiving awards would be allowed to display the prize on their containers, advertisements, and business cards. The agreement mainly targeted the important tobacco industry and marked the beginning of using origin denominations and quality awards as part of the visual identity of Cuban enterprises (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, Jul.–Dec. 1848, Second Series, Vol. IV, p. 211).

The first public exhibition took place in November 1847 and provides an interesting sample of Havana's industry. From it, one can deduce the economic weight of each industrial activity, the main manufacturers, and the degree of interaction between the apprenticeship system and other Section projects. The exhibitions served as free publicity for both the product and the master. They were the only connection to the promotion of arts and crafts apprenticeships that the Economic Society managed to maintain after 1849, even though the reform of the industrial exhibitions regulation prevented their organization until May 1850 (Report addressed to the Count of Alcoy by the board appointed to evaluate the products of Cuban industry presented at the 1847 public exhibition, 1848).

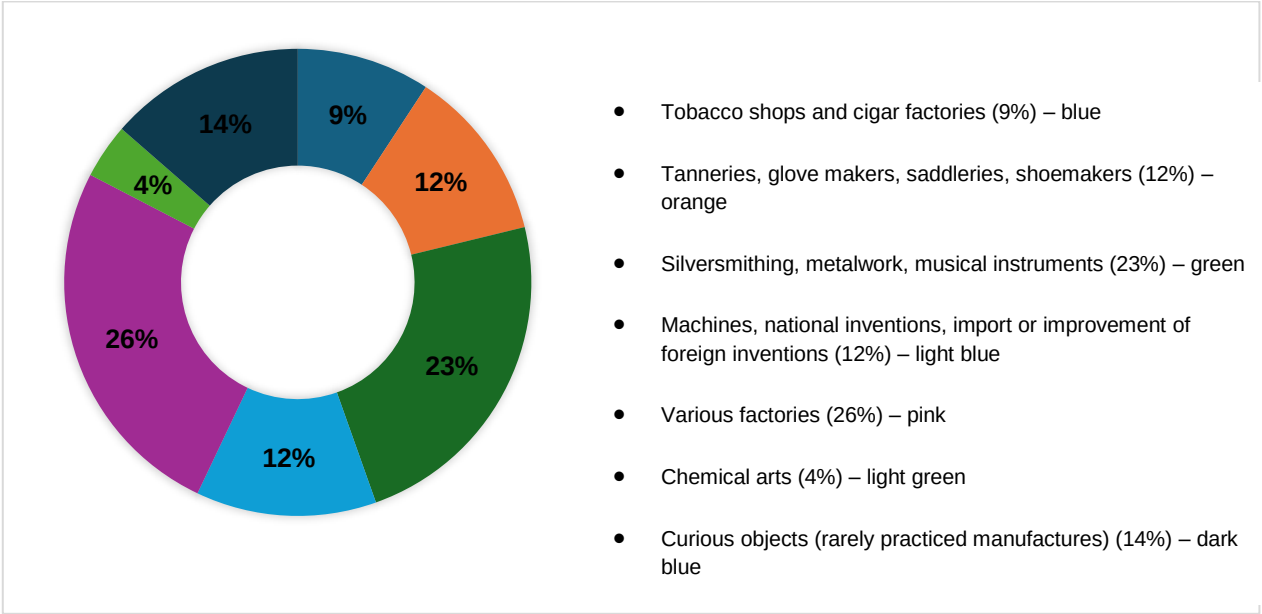

Figure 2. Participation percentage according to object classes from the different manufacturing sectors in the 1847 Public Exhibition of Cuban Industry, based on the classification by its organizers. Source: Casaseca (1848), Report addressed to the Count of Alcoy by the board appointed to evaluate the products of Cuban industry presented at the 1847 public exhibition. José Martí National Library, Cuban Room "Antonio Bachiller Morales", Manuscript Collection, Havana.

In the context of the apprenticeship system, the issue of female participation had been present from the outset. As early as 1840, a project for a conservatory at the Real Casa de Beneficencia by Pedro Auber—promoter and ideologue of industrialization in Cuba during the 1820s and 1830s—had for the first time contemplated the inclusion of women in workshop labor. Auber bequeathed to future apprenticeship projects and to the Real Casa de Beneficencia a conception of the sexual division of labor based on virtuous safeguarding and spatial separation (Auber, 1844, pp. 39–43).

One year later, the Marqués de Esteva de las Delicias sponsored an agreement for the construction and operation of a match factory within the grounds of the Real Casa de Beneficencia. The factory followed Auber's guidelines and, among its 25 adolescent employees, included 11 girls responsible for assembling matchboxes, supervised by a governess in a room separate from the main factory (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, 1841, Vol. XI, p. 192).

However, it was not until October 27, 1847, that female apprenticeships were formally approved. These apprenticeships were intended for young women under 21 who had lost male guardianship due to death, imprisonment, illness, or abandonment. Also considered were those "subjected to unruly or scandalous behavior" due to neglect or tolerance by the men responsible for supervising them. During the presentation of the project, the urgency of incorporating female labor into the urban economy was acknowledged, in order not to deprive the plantation sector of hands. The board members themselves recognized that entrenched sexism was a colossal obstacle to this objective, even though in the preceding decade attitudes toward the work of white women in workshops and factories had begun to change (Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana, July–December 1848, Second Series, Vol. IV, pp. 354–364).

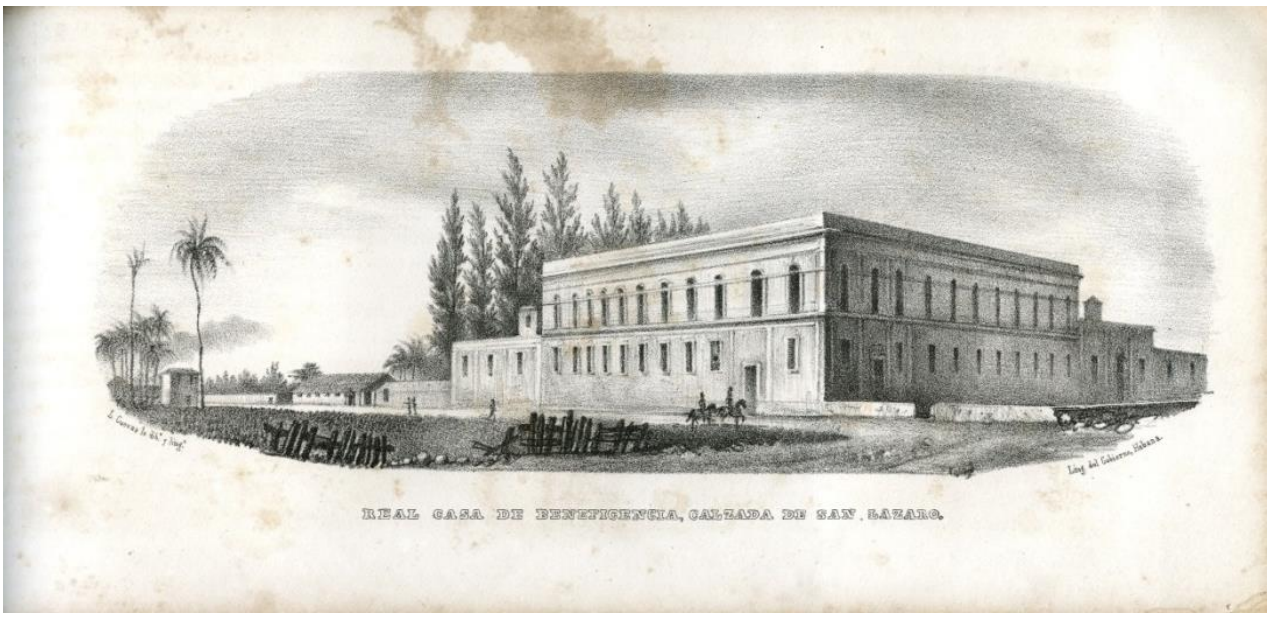

Figure 3. Engraving of the Royal House of Charity.
Source: *Álbum Pintoresco de la Isla de Cuba* (1853), Bernardo May & Company. Engravings Collection, Archive of the Office of the Historian of the City of Havana, Havana.

Figure 4. Photograph of women stripping tobacco leaves. 1880s, Havana.
Source: *Las tabaqueras* [1880s]. (Album Series, Album 48, Historical Photo Library). Archive of the Office of the Historian of Havana, Havana.

Discussion

The analysis of the control mechanisms within Havana's apprenticeship system reveals a system designed to serve the economic project of the local elite. The apprenticeship system was meticulously shaped to ensure the control of apprentices, masters, and journeymen through the detailed regulation of learning periods. At the same time, the definition of a workshop master was tied to ideological associations with decency, labor, and skill. The leading figures devoted themselves to creating a moral code for the urban manufacturing sector that functioned as a form of social validation in itself. By conditioning the moral and economic incentives of apprentices and masters, the board members of the Industry Section of the Real Sociedad Económica de la Habana orchestrated changes in behavioral patterns. By the end of the decade, the internal legal control mechanisms of the apprenticeship system had effectively naturalized, in the daily practices of the popular sectors, an axiological alienation between manual labor and honesty, as evidenced in the available files at the Cuban National Archive, though detailed analysis of these files is beyond the scope of this article.

The institutional structure of the apprenticeship system also reflects the deep contradictions within the Real Sociedad Económica de la Habana and the colonial administration. These contradictions reproduce the conflict between two types of elites: a Creole elite and a peninsular one. Moreover, the power structure exhibited traits of the panoptic policies adopted in the metropole and quickly implemented by the colonial bureaucracy in Cuba. The control devices of the apprenticeship system were essentially hygienist in their symbolic discourse and social purpose, aligning with Cordoví Núñez's (2022) vision of education during this period. In this sense, as the peninsular elite displaced the Creole elite, it benefited from the control mechanisms left in place, giving them new meanings.

Furthermore, the apprenticeship system developed during a critical decade for the integration of

nineteenth-century industrial modernity into the island economy. Thus, the initial conceptions of the board members of the Industry and Commerce Section regarding the apprenticeship system quickly became outdated. The issue was not merely about the meticulous refinement of instruments of power, but about the imperative to adapt to the changing logics of an economy accelerating toward capitalism. In the decade marking the rise of branding and at the birthplace of brand image, the Real Sociedad Económica de la Habana, through industrial exhibitions, promoted marketing and competitiveness by granting prizes and rights. This reinforcement of brand identity with awarded prizes, which could be displayed on business signage and inscribed on products, immersed Havana's manufacturing sector—especially tobacco—into capitalist logics of competitiveness and productivity. The pressure of capitalist work rhythms on apprentices and journeymen negatively affected their health and quality of life, echoing Byung-Chul Han's (2022) reflections on capitalism's role in societal fatigue.

The symbolic discourse derived from the modernization of Havana's economic structures positioned the city as a well-defined, dynamic space of social development. The stratified city created commercial and industrial neighborhoods. Based on daily mobility and the utilitarian reinterpretation of space, the supervisory framework of neighborhood inspectors was reinforced to focus on the predominantly industrial neighborhoods. Likewise, it was in these peripheral, overcrowded extramural neighborhoods where power shifted and concealed corruption and abuses. There, apprentices reinterpreted social and domination relations, developing new forms of sociability and resistance to exploitation, based not on origin or race but on the shared denominator of trade, workshop, and master, as Blumer (1990) observed for U.S. industrial cities. However, these forms of sociability were targeted by a social control structure that exploited labor and family interactions to propagate norms and values. As stipulated by the apprenticeship contracts and initial regulations, the work and effort of apprentices were rewarded. Theoretically, this should have led to the internalization of socially accepted behavioral patterns, enabling successful and rapid navigation of punishment and exploitation. The docility of the workforce was conditioned by the control of this "generalized other," as proposed by Mead (1925).

When Havana's leading figures proposed in 1847 the inclusion of women—particularly white women—in apprenticeships for trades deemed appropriate to their sex, they ensured the perpetuation of social inequalities, reinforcing existing power relations as Freire (1972) noted. Women were assigned specific trades, and their inclusion aimed to neutralize any expression of independence through strict moral oversight. The female apprenticeship initiative sought to normalize women's workplace behavior to discipline their social conduct, consistent with Foucault's (2002) analysis of social control. In both cases, women were spatially segregated.

It is worth noting that the apprenticeship system exerted more influence through its capacity to permeate social morality than through the number of apprentices it reached. The female branch supported only about 26 adolescents and young women, reflecting its limited impact on Havana's patriarchal mindset. This represented merely 0.23% of women reporting engagement in any trade. In contrast, approximately 5,158 men were recorded over the decade (1839–1849), representing 16.1% of men reporting engagement in a trade. Census data, however, may complicate these figures, as it included property owners, excluded child labor, and classified age groups differently from the Industry Section. For instance, the Industry Section considered all youth over 12 years old without a trade or schooling as "idle," whereas the census starts at 16. Thus, cross-referencing internal apprenticeship statistics with colonial government records is problematic. The latter excluded city apprentices under 16, presenting a major obstacle in determining the percentage of apprentices relative to the total workforce. Additionally, Havana's labor market was highly informal, leaving many workers—free or enslaved—and apprentices uncounted. For example, the Industry Section census of 1836 recorded approximately 4,000 apprentices (Memorias de la Real Sociedad Patriótica de La Habana, 1836, Tomo II, pp. 135–136), while the

1846 Statistical Table reported 59,769 free persons in trades among 129,994 inhabitants (Cuadro estadístico de la Siempre Fiel Isla de Cuba, 1846, p. 56).

The extension of control mechanisms to other institutions, such as the Real Casa de Beneficencia—a stronghold of the peninsular Marqués de Esteva de las Delicias—illustrates the adaptation of a workforce insertion program for adolescents inspired by Pedro Auber, a leading figure of the old Creole elite. The Marqués, however, focused on rapid profit from free labor, offering an advance in a sister institution regarding the ultimate trajectory of the Industry Section's apprenticeship system. In many ways, the apprenticeship branch served as a testing ground for colonial power control devices, acting as the central cog of a finely calibrated disciplinary society in 1840s Havana. Female inclusion, the displacement of Black workers, and the restriction of the right to lodge complaints constituted a detailed social engineering framework unprecedented in Cuban history. This orchestration of change by elites controlling highly demanded goods aligns with Zapata Hoyos' (2016) observations for Latin American contexts under similar conditions.

It is worth asking how these power structures operated when applied to insular contexts different from Havana, which, as a major commercial and administrative center, concentrated all the characteristics of hub cities. The absence of large industrial proprietors or sizeable manufacturing groups in other parts of the island where the branch was implemented must have required structural—if not legal—modifications, at least in fact and in everyday practice. Likewise, a limitation of this article lies in the scope and the ways in which the legal structure interacted with power in the vast areas that remained outside the plantation economy and whose elites faced other challenges and pursued other interests. Moreover, the realities of Cuba place the researcher in the position of being unable to consult the Spanish archives, where a considerable amount of information is preserved regarding the administration of the island, its power plays, and corrupt practices. Thus—in a certain sense—the map of control may be incomplete, although the essential issues for a rigorous analysis have been set forth.

Conclusions

The institutional framework designed by the Industry and Commerce Section of the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de La Habana enabled the Creole elite to orchestrate a plan for promoting manual arts that aligned intermediate manufacturing groups with early industrialization and economic reform. Control over skilled labor served as a bargaining tool to secure loyalty among white intermediate sectors. While slavery was removed from public attention, its labor model was reproduced in the emerging white workforce.

The discourse of power targeted social disciplining in full synergy with contemporary hygienist thought. This racially and morally charged discourse reshaped the meanings of urban labor in pursuit of what Havana's leaders termed "useful citizens." Legal structures were increasingly extended to reduce personal autonomy outside state and elite purposes. Simultaneously, the apprenticeship system was embedded within the logics of capitalist globalization, marking a transition to disciplinary societies within government institutions guided by economic shifts toward peripheral capitalism.

In the course of its operation, the structures of the apprenticeship branch underwent institutional conflicts spurred by the peninsular power groups, who regarded the initiative with suspicion and sought to undermine the Creole elite. Whoever managed to control the scarce labor force would control the trades and achieve hegemony in Havana, then a hub of the circum-Caribbean area. The disputes and alliances expressed with and from positions of power reflected the turbulent situation in the Peninsula and the still contradictory stance toward the Havana elite. Nevertheless, the *amigos* succeeded in maintaining and intensifying the initiative, turning it into a modern and effective mechanism for the allocation of workers. To achieve this, they absorbed the margins of the labor world: delinquents, orphans, and women. Even so, the most enduring representation of these institutional structures was the creation of a new

paradigm of intensive exploitation, capable of shielding itself from the claims of those subjected to it through axiological legitimacy. In turn, this perpetuated and refined new forms of discrimination and exploitation in the workplace.

This obsession with efficiency and control increasingly diverted the apprenticeship system from its initial purpose of industrial promotion through education. The Enlightenment vision was supplanted by conservative liberal reformism of the 1840s, redefining the colonial economic pact. Workshop labor, far from fostering individual autonomy, became a finely tuned architecture of domination: manufacturing capitalism. In this context, the heteropatriarchal discourse on gender prefigured women's performative roles in the insular manufacturing workplace through virtuous behavior under male supervision, sexual segregation of workspaces, and assignment of gender-appropriate roles. These productive roles either perpetuated domestic female work in public spaces—maids, laundresses, confectioners, cooks—or shifted traditionally female tasks to the manufacturing sector—packers, textile workers, stemmers, seamstresses, dressmakers. The institutional control framework relied on social and racial stereotypes to justify disciplining those deemed "idle" for failing to conform to capitalist labor demands. By the time proto-bourgeois groups began constructing these perceptions to integrate into global labor capitalism, the Hispano-Cuban elite had long practiced creating such dichotomies, distinguishing the civilized from the uncivilized or exotic, first applied to the indigenous population and later to Black people. This extended the old ideological dichotomy contrasting white, Christian Western civilization with other global models.

References

Álbum Pintoresco de la Isla de Cuba. (1853). Bernardo May y Compañía. Colección de Grabados, Archivo de la Oficina del Historiador de la Ciudad de La Habana, La Habana.

Álvarez Cuartero, I. (2017). Las Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del país en Cuba. ¿Lobbies para el progreso? En J. Alvarado Planas (Coord.), *La Administración de Cuba en los siglos XVIII y XIX* (pp. 457–484). Boletín Oficial del Estado, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales.

Amoedo, J. (Fiscal). (1844). *Sentencia pronunciada por la Sección de la Comisión militar establecida en la ciudad de Matanzas para conocer la causa de conspiración de la gente de color (2da).* https://www.afrocubaweb.com/history/Sentenciapronunciada1844.pdf

Arias de Saavedra Alías, I. (2001). Las Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País en Andalucía. *Chronica Nova,* (28), 7-33.

Arias de Saavedra Alías, I. (2012). Las Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País: proyecto y realidad en la España de la Ilustración. *Obradoiro de Historia Moderna,* (21), 219-245.

Auber, P. A. (1844). Arte de Tejer. Conservatorio de Artes y Oficios. In *Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana (Vol. XIX,* pp. 39–43). Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía General.

Blumer, H. (1990). *Industrialization as an agent of social change*. *A Critical Analysis*. Aldine de Gruyter.

Casanovas Codina, J. (1999). Los trabajadores urbanos en la Cuba del siglo XIX y el surgimiento del abolicionismo popular en Cuba. *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales,* 45(48).

Casaseca, J. L. (1848). *Memoria dirigida al conde de Alcoy por la junta nombrada para calificar los productos de la industria cubana presentados en la exposición pública de 1847.* Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana "Antonio Bachiller Morales", Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Castro Gutiérrez, F. (1986). *La extinción de la artesanía gremial.* Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Cordoví Núñez, Y. (2022). *En defensa del cuerpo: Dispositivos de control escolares en Cuba (1793-1958)*. Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.

Cuadro estadístico de la Siempre Fiel Isla de Cuba, correspondiente al año de 1846 formado bajo dirección y protección del Escmo. Sr. Gobernador y Capitán General Don Leopoldo O'Donnell, por una comisión de oficiales y empleados particulares. (1847). Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía General por S.M.

Foucault, M. (2002). *Vigilar y castigar: Nacimiento de la prisión*. Siglo XXI Editores.

Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogía del oprimido*. Editorial Tierra Nueva y Siglo XXI Editores.

García, J. J. (1839). Relación de los trabajos en que se ha ocupado la Sección de industria y comercio, aprobada por la Clase y leída en Juntas generales del presente año de 1839, por su Secretario D. Joaquín José García. En

Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana: Vol. IX (pp. 177–184).

Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 1052. (1860). *Expediente sobre las correcciones que deben imponerse á los aprendices de artes y oficios, sobre la formación de un salón con este objeto, reforma del reglamento, nombramiento del delegado, subdelegado y secretario*. Expediente 37280 Archivo Nacional de Cuba, La Habana.

González Angulo, J. A. (1979). Los gremios artesanos y el régimen de castas. En C. d. Humanísticas, *Anuario II* (pp. 148-159). Veracruz: Universidad Veracruzana.

Guha, R. (1999). *Elementary aspects of peasant insurgency in Colonnial India*. Duke University Press.

Han, B. (2022). *La sociedad del cansancio*. Herder Editorial.

Instrucciones para el orden y progreso de la enseñanza pública en artes y oficios (1839, 26 de abril). Diario de La Habana, 126. (Diario de La Habana - enero-junio de 1839). Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana Antonio Bachiller Morales, La Habana.

Koselleck, R. (1993). *Futuro-pasado. Para una semántica de los tiempos históricos.* Editorial Paidós.

Marrero, L. (1972). *Cuba, economía y sociedad.* Editorial San Juan.

Mayor Mora, A. (2003). *Cabezas duras y dedos inteligentes: estilo de vida y cultura técnica de los artesanos colombianos del siglo XIX.* Hombre Nuevo Editores.

Mayor, A., Quiñones, C., & Barrera, G. y. (2014). *Las Escuelas de Artes y Oficios en Colombia, 1860-1960: Vol. I El poder regenerador de la cruz.* Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Mead, G. H. (1925). The Genesis of the Self and Social Control. *International Journal of Ethics*, *35*(3), 251–277. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2377274

Memorias de la Real Sociedad Patriótica de La Habana (Tomo II). (1836). Oficina del Gobierno y Capitanía General por S.M. Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana Antonio Bachiller Morales, Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana (Segunda Serie, Tomo I). (enero- junio de 1846). Imprenta del Gobierno y de la Real Sociedad Económica. Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana "Antonio Bachiller Morales", Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana (Segunda Serie, Tomo III). (enero- junio de 1847). Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía General por S.M. Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana Antonio Bachiller Morales, Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana (Segunda Serie, Tomo IV). (julio- diciembre de 1848). Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía General por S.M. Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana Antonio Bachiller Morales, Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana (Segunda Serie, Tomo V). (julio- diciembre de 1848). Imprenta del Gobierno y de la Real Sociedad Económica. Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana Antonio Bachiller Morales, Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana (Tomo IX). (1839). Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía General por S.M. Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana Antonio Bachiller Morales, Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana (Tomo VIII). (1839). Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía General por S.M. Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana Antonio Bachiller Morales, Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana (Tomo XI). (1841). Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía General por S.M. Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana Antonio Bachiller Morales, Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana (Tomo XIX). (1844). Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía General por S.M. Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana Antonio Bachiller Morales, Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana (Tomo XV). (1842). Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía General por S.M. Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana Antonio Bachiller Morales, Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Memorias de la Sociedad Económica de La Habana (Tomo XVI). (1843). Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía General por S.M. Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Sala Cubana Antonio Bachiller Morales, Colección de Manuscritos, La Habana.

Naranjo Orovio, C. (1994). Colonos canarios: una alternativa al modelo económico- social de Cuba, 1840-1860. *Actas Del X Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana*. https://digital.csic.es/

bitstream/10261/267803/1/Colonos%20canarios.pdf

Negrín Fajardo, O. (1987). Las Escuelas de artes y oficios de la Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País (1775-1808). En O. Negrín Fajardo, *La educación popular en la España de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII: las actividades educativas de la Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País* (pp. 22-30). Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia.

Nieto Sánchez, J. A., & Zofío Lorente, J. C. (2015). Los gremios de Madrid durante la Edad Moderna: Una revisión. *Áreas. Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales,* (34), 47-61.

Piñera Hernández, O. A. (2009). Las Diputaciones Patrióticas en Cuba (1803-1850). [Tesis doctoral]. Universidad de La Habana.

Ramón Teijelo, P. (2011). *El Real Conservatorio de Artes (1824-1887): Un intento de formación e innovación industrial en la España del XIX*. [Tesis doctoral]. Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Santa Cruz y Mallén, F. X. de (conde de S. J. de J. (1940). *Historia de las familias cubanas* (Tomo 1). Editorial Hércules.

Sosa Rodríguez, E., & Penabad Félix, A. (2013). *Historia de la Educación en Cuba: La educación secundaria, técnica y profesional entre 1800 y 1842.* Editorial Pueblo y Educación.

Las tabaqueras [década de 1880]. [Fotografía]. (Serie de Álbumes, Álbum 48, Fototeca Histórica). Archivo de la Oficina del Historiador de La Habana, La Habana.

Thompson, E. P. (1989). *The making of English working class*. Editorial Crítica.

Young, M. F.D. (ed.). (1971). *Knowledge and control. New Directions for the Sociology of Education.* Collier-MacMillan Publishers.

Zapata Hoyos, I. (2016). *Las escuelas de artes y oficios. Una forma de mundializar el trabajo técnico y disciplinar los artesanos*. [Tesis doctoral]. Universidad EAFIT.