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Inter-subjective and Transnational Racial Effects: The Role of the United States in the Formation and Evolution of the Collective Perception and Racial Relations in Cuba, 1898-1902

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FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Miami, Florida

INTER-SUBJECTIVE AND TRANSNATIONAL RACIAL EFFECTS:

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE FORMATION AND EVOLUTION

OF THE COLLECTIVE PERCEPTION AND RACIAL RELATIONS

IN CUBA, 1898-1902

A dissertation submitted impartial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

by

Tiffany Yolanda Jimmece Bryant

2010

To: Dean Kenneth Furton
     College of Arts and Sciences

This dissertation, written by Tiffany Yolanda Jimmece Bryant, and entitled Inter-subjective and Transnational Racial Effects: The Role of the United States in the Formation and Evolution of the Collective Perception and Racial Relations in Cuba, 1898-1902, having been approved in respect to style and intellectual content, is referred to you for judgment.

We have read this dissertation and recommend that it be approved.

_____
Chantalle Verna

_____
John Clark

_____
Guillermo Grenier

_____
Félix E. Martín, Major Professor

Date of Defense: March 24, 2010

The dissertation of Tiffany Yolanda Jimmece Bryant is approved.

_____
Dean Kenneth Furton
College of Arts and Sciences

_____
Interim Dean Kevin O'Shea
University Graduate School

Florida International University, 2010

He said, "Come to the Edge."

I said. "I can't. I'm afraid."

He said, "Come to the Edge."

I said. "I can't. I'll fall off."

He said, "Come to the Edge."

And I came to the Edge.

And He pushed Me.

And I flew.

-Guillaume Apollinaire

DEDICATION

For the legacy you entrusted me with.

With fondest memories, to:

Willie Bell Johnson, Roscella Leverity, Corrine Robinson, and Dorothy Rene Burts

I carry you with me. I carry you in me.

For the legacy I carry and am empowered to pass on.

With fondest hopes, to:

Santanna J. Neal, Yahnae J. Laing, Eldridge E. Paschal, and Keith D. Adams, Jr.

May I live and contribute with significance so that you will have something to carry and

pass on.

To the Ambitious, the Courageous, and the Committed.

To the Ones who go to the edge confident that there are wings awaiting them.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Miami, Florida

Professor Félix E. Martín, Major Professor

Since the arrival of the first African slaves to Cuba in 1524, the issue of race has had a long-lived presence in the Cuban national discourse. However, despite Cuba's colonial history, it has often been maintained by some historians that race relations in Cuba were congenial with racism and racial discrimination never existing as deep or widespread in Cuba as in the United States (Cannon, 1983, p. 113). In fact, it has been argued that institutionalized racism was introduced into Cuban society with the first U.S. occupation, during 1898–1902 (Cannon, 1983, p. 113).

This study of Cuba investigates the influence of the United States on the development of race relations and racial perceptions in post-independent Cuba, specifically from 1898-1902. These years comprise the time period immediately following the final fight for Cuban Independence, culminating with the Cuban-Spanish-American War and the first U.S. occupation of Cuba. By this time, the Cuban population comprised Africans as well as descendants of Africans, White Spanish people,

indigenous Cubans, and offspring of the intermixing of the groups. This research studies whether the United States' own race relations and racial perceptions influenced the initial conflicting race relations and racial perceptions in early and post-U.S. occupation Cuba.

This study uses a collective interpretative framework that incorporates a national level of analysis with a race relations and racial perceptions focus. This framework reaches beyond the traditionally utilized perspectives when interpreting the impact of the United States during and following its intervention in Cuba. Attention is given to the role of the existing social, political climate within the United States as a driving influence of the United States' involvement with Cuba.

This study reveals that emphasis on the role of the United States as critical to the development of Cuba's race relations and racial perceptions is credible given the extensive involvement of the U.S. in the building of the early Cuban Republic and U.S. structures serving as models for reconstruction. U.S. government formation in Cuba aligned with a governing system reflecting the existing governing codes of the U.S. during that time period.

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Introduction

Since the arrival of the first African slaves to Cuba in 1524, the issue of race has

had a long-lived presence in the Cuban national discourse.[1] However, despite Cuba's

colonial history, it has been maintained by Terence Cannon (1983) that race relations in

Cuba were congenial, and "racism and racial discrimination were never as deep or

widespread in Cuba as they were in the United States" (p. 113). In fact, it is with the first

U.S. occupation, during 1898–1902, Cannon argues, that institutionalized racism was

introduced into Cuban society.[2]

> Racism and racial discrimination were never as deep or widespread as
> they were in the United States. For centuries black Cubans had played a
> recognized role in the struggle for independence. Segregation came to
> Cuba in 1898 with the occupying (and segregated) armed forces of the
> United States. (Cannon, p. 113)

Certainly, from its colonial intervention to its postcolonial occupation and establishment

of a Cuban constitution, the role of the United States and its historical presence in the

sociopolitical and economic spheres is significant in Cuban history.

> The imposition of the Platt Amendment in 1901, followed by repeated
> U.S. armed intervention and political interference and accompanied by a
> vast expansion of U.S. capital into the island, the combination with a

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[1] The author of this study regards national discourse as a national or dominant held position or narrative for and/or about a given topic or issue. The author of this study finds that such a national position underlines the widespread and accepted circulating perspective, reasoning, treatment, expression, and understanding of a given topic, issue, or idea within the national society. This study specifically investigates a leading narrative as it pertains to the issue of race in Cuban society.

[2] *Institutional Racism* has been defined as "The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwilling prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people" (Macpherson, 1999, para. 6.34, reprinted in Green, 2000, p. 14). "The concept of institutional racism has been used for some time to describe unjustifiable ethnic minority disadvantage within organizations" (O'Brien, 2000, p. 28). The structures and/or cultures of the organizations demonstrate "patterns of recruitment, promotion or service delivery" which "may result in people from racial minorities being disadvantaged" (O'Brien, pp. 28, 29).

pervasive cultural presence, served to shape the nature of relations
between Cubans and North Americans. (Pérez, 1997, p. xvii)

By reflecting upon the historical discourse of race relations in the United States and its

extensive involvement in Cuba, the discourses of Cuban identity and development can be

studied with reference to the U.S. influence on Cuba's cultural, economic, and political

life (De la Fuente, 2000; Brock & Castañeda, 1998).

This study of Cuba endeavors to investigate the influence of the United States on

the development of race relations and racial perceptions in postindependent Cuba. The

author of this study identifies race as a level of classification and categorization of

individuals into groups on the basis of physical features, particularly skin color. In

investigating race relations and racial perceptions, this study analyzes the interactions

between two dominant populations in Cuba during the period of focus, 1898–1902. By

this time, the indigenous population of Cuba was extinct as a result of illnesses and

strenuously abusive labor conditions. The population comprised Africans, imported by

the Spanish as replacements, as well as descendants of Africans, White Spanish people,

indigenous Cubans, and offspring of the intermixing of the groups. This study researches

the relations among these groups, with particular emphasis on the race division between

White people and those of color. Based on how the groups related to and treated each

other within the society, racial perceptions are researched and exposed by qualifying

influential factors determining the resulting race relations. Investigating perceptions held

specifically with regard to the population of color in Cuba contributes to understanding

and explaining the resulting social behavior and attitude patterns and practices in the

Cuban society.

The research further seeks to discover what contributive role, if any, the extensive U.S. involvement in Cuba during the early Republic years, from 1898–1902, had in the development of the existing race relations and racial perceptions of Cubans. "The emphasis, then, is on the manner in which Cuban relations with the United States worked to shape Cuban history and influence Cuban attitudes, values, and behavior, and vice versa" (Pérez, 1997, p. xix). More specifically, the purpose of this research is to study whether the United States' own race relations and racial perceptions influenced the initial conflicting race relations and racial perceptions in early and post-U.S. occupation Cuba. Accordingly, there is one main research question motivating this work: Did the U.S. involvement in the formation of the Cuban Republic, during 1898–1902, influence the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba? If yes, the primary research intends to investigate and expose how the United States' involvement in the formation of the early Cuban Republic, during 1898–1902, influenced the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba.[3]

Research Problem

There are two facets to this research problem:

1. The history of race relations and racial perceptions in the early Cuban Republic, 1886–1898 preindependence, 1898–1902, and the United States at the turn of the twentieth century; and

2. The contributive role of the United States' presence and involvement in Cuba, given its own history as regards the race issue, during 1898–1902, and

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[3] The investigation of the primary research question will also include inquiry of existing themes regarding race, racism, and racial perceptions in Cuba, just prior to Cuba's independence from Spain.

immediately after the U.S. occupation, to the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba.

Data Analysis, Methods Design, and Instrumentation

Using Cuba for this study, data were collected and my analyses were conducted using historical and current documents, and literature review by way of analysis of secondary literature and document review. The study's investigation incorporates Cuban and U.S. sources. Resources including historical scholarly work, government records, relevant publications, events and information from archival records, statistical data, and publications relevant to this study were used.

Historical Background

In an effort to link the United States' involvement in the formation of the early Cuban Republic, 1898–1902, and the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba, a brief overview of the major historical events relevant to the issue of race relations in Cuba is taken into consideration. This historical overview will contextualize the study, the interest of the topic, and the foundation for the analysis.

The history of Cuba is considered entrenched in struggles of both revolutionary battles and socioeconomic discrimination based on race and class (De la Fuente, 1998, 2001; Helg, 1995). In colonial Cuba, as in many colonized nations, indigenous groups were displaced and forced to take on lifestyles as commanded by the colonizers who assumed the role of authority.

> In most places the original inhabitants, who had logically grouped
> themselves into separate cultural units (i.e., ethnicities), all but
> disappeared after contact, wiped out physically by disease and abuse, and,
> later, genetically and socially by miscegenation, and lastly, culturally by

the religious and political practices of the Europeans and their mixed
progeny. (Klor de Alva, 1995, p. 243)

With the advance of the slave trade industry, the importation of individuals

(uprooted from their homelands and lifestyles) further served to perpetuate the

enforcement of resocialization patterns upon groups. Such resocialization entailed the

imposition of a new lifestyle, culture, language, and customs resulting, in the alteration of

the manner in which indigenous and later labor imports from Africa were accustomed to

living. Resocialization required the acquiring and learning of new norms and values that

likely differed from those previously associated with the lifestyle and culture of origin for

these populations. Thus, in Cuba, as indigenous people diminished because of sickness,

disease, brutality, and, ultimately, death, foreigners, primarily from Africa, were

imported to serve as slaves. The belief of superior knowledge and know-how shaped the

relations between the colonizers and slaves and their descendants.

Therefore, the history of Blacks in Cuba[4] has an active and significant place

within the history of Cuba (Cannon, 1983, p. 14). The first lot of African slaves arrived in

Cuba in 1524. The first Cuban slave revolt took place in 1533. Hence the story of Cubans

of color is very much intertwined with the socioeconomic and cultural history of Cuba.

Under Spanish colonial rule, African slaves continued to be imported into Cuba in large

numbers, particularly as sugarcane production continued to increase in the nineteenth

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[4] This study will use translated "labels that appear in the surviving documents" as well as literature based
on the time period under study that emerged from and within nineteenth century Cuba and modern history
(Ferrer, 1999a, p. 11). These labels are Black Cubans, Blacks in Cuba, Negro(es), and Afro-Cubans.
Additionally, "'of color' is used here as a translation of the Cuban contemporary expression *de color* and
refers to people of full or mixed African ancestry. 'Black' is generally used here as a translation of *Negro*
or *de color* in accordance with the contemporary Cuban racial taxonomy, which classified people with full
or mixed African descent collectively in the same phenotypical category. Similarly, 'White' is used as a
translation of *blanco*. In accordance with the same contemporary taxonomy, 'Black' refers to individuals of
predominantly African phenotype (*moreno* or *Negro* in Cuban Spanish), in contrast or complement to
'mulatto' (*pardo, mulato,* or *mestizo* in Cuban Spanish)" (Helg, 1995, p. 250).

century. For example, by 1870, Cuba was producing 40% of the world's total sugarcane, and slave importation or trade matched the production increase as a result of the central labor role of slaves in the industry.[5] However, despite the economic gains that resulted from an increased African population, their presence was met by constant social suspicion and scrutiny. This became a growing fear of racial conflict that influenced the elite attitudes toward slavery and colonialism as there was an increased participation of Cubans of color in the Cuban independence struggle because the nineteenth century consisted of mainly revolutionary battles and slave revolts. "Though the categories of race in the Spanish colonial world were complex and recognized degrees of racial mixture, the division between white and nonwhite was nonetheless jealously guarded by the colonial state and the white elite" (Schmidt-Nowara, 1999, p. 8). Slavery is documented as being officially abolished in 1886.

Following Cuba's abolishment of slavery in 1886, the involvement of Cubans of color in the Cuban movement for independence was further widely endorsed. By 1895, the renowned Cuban, José Martí,[6] rose as the leading organizer and eventual spearhead for the launching of the Second War for the Independence of Cuba in 1895. As the leading "spirit, inspirer, and organizer" of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, he sought the freedom of the Republic "with all, and for the good of all" (Foner, in Martí, 1977, pp. 17,

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[5] "The census of 1774 showed that blacks and mulattoes, slave and free, totaled some 44 percent of the population" (Cannon, 1983, p. 14). From 1790–1867, Cuba imported approximately 780,000 slaves whereas all of Spanish America, from 1520–1780, imported 700,000 (Schmidt-Nowara, 1999, p. 4).

[6] The author recognizes the presence and participation of other Cuban leaders (in Cuba and exiled), in the Second War for Cuba's liberation. Other Cuban leaders that are included in the study include: General Antonio Maceo, General Máximo Gómez, General Calixto Garcia, Juan Gualberto Gómez, and Tomás Estrada Palma. These leaders are included for their roles as significant figures in the Cuban fight for independence.

19). Martí went on to dedicate himself to dismantling colonial rule in Cuba. He purposed to prevent Cuba from "from falling under the control of the United States or a regime inimical to the democratic principles he held" (Ripoll, 1984, p. 1). Ripoll (1984) writes how Martí associated the freedom of the Caribbean critical "to Latin American security and to the balance of power in the world" (p. 1). Martí "devoted his talent to the forging of a nation" (Ripoll, 1984, p. 1).

The emphasis of the movement included the critical role that all Cubans, both White and of color, would have in the liberation quest and in the future republic, with the racial equality that would follow. "Martí roundly censured materialism, prejudice, expansionist arrogance, and political corruption, and enthusiastically applauded love of liberty, tolerance, egalitarianism, and the practice of democracy" (Ripoll, 1984, p. 2). Martí assisted Rafael Serra, an exiled Cuban of color residing in the United States, with establishing "*La Liga* (The League) for the education and advancement of Negro exiles" (Foner, in Martí, 1977, p. 17). Martí's collaboration in the formation of *La Liga* demonstrated his commitment as a leader; it also showed the commitment of the entire Cuban liberation movement to an independence struggle that was not just of the socioeconomic classes but also of the people's. "To achieve this, the Negro had to be treated 'according to his qualities as a man' and the worker 'as a brother with the consideration and rights which must assure peace and happiness as a nation'" (Foner, in Martí, p. 18). Ripoll (1984) quotes Martí as declaring, "I want the first law of our republic to be the reverence of Cubans for the total dignity of the man" (p. 3).

The racial and social equity pursuits of the 1895 Cuban liberation movement, as pioneered by José Martí, stirred Spain to incite panic among Cuba's neighboring nations.

In response to the combined efforts of the 1895 liberation movement, Spanish colonial propaganda circulated the thought that an independent Cuba would result in "another Negro republic" and a "relapse into barbarianism, constant revolutions, and a loss of civilization" (Weston, 1972, p. 144). Weston (1972) writes that Spain's allegations caused the United States to seek involvement in Cuban affairs, and argues that the U.S. was primarily motivated by the wish for Cuban markets (p. 144). Therefore, with its interests in mind, the United States declared war on Spain on April 25, 1898, and, upon completion four months later, on August 12, 1898, began its venture to occupy Cuba.[7] It is with this first U.S. occupation that it has been argued by historians, including Cannon, that racial segregation was introduced into the Cuban society, the island's colonial past notwithstanding.[8]

The initial occupation of Cuba by the United States, during 1898–1902, resulted in a "new social order imposed by the U.S. military occupation of Cuba and the first elected Cuban government" (Helg, 1995, p. 20). "Despite their participation in the war, Afro-Cubans were marginalized by selective public employment and subsidized Spanish immigrations aimed at whitening the island's population" (Helg, 1995, p. 20). The 1901 Cuban Constitution would also later aid in keeping Afro-Cubans "in a subordinate position" (Helg, 1995, p. 20). No antidiscrimination or welfare programs were created; officials claimed that the newly constructed constitution established equality for all Cubans (Helg, 1995, pp. 20–21). As a result, "systematic form of racial oppression" would come to be firmly established throughout the society, entailing exclusionary

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[7] The Cuban-Spanish-American War is also recorded as officially ending with the signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898.

[8] Cannon, 1983, p. 113.

practices of accessibility to public places, and public and private organizations (Jorquera, 1998).

Given the role of the U.S. government in Cuba, during 1898–1902, the 1901 Cuban Constitution was "directly inspired by" and "modeled after the U.S. Constitution" (Sánchez-Roig, 1996, p. 393).[9] The Constitution contained 115 articles and 7 dispositions, and was attached as an appendix with the Platt Amendment. "The United States demanded that the Cuban Constitutional Convention of 1901 appendix the Amendment to the Constitution" (Sánchez-Roig, p. 394). "Either the Cubans would accept the Platt Amendment or there would be no end to the military occupation" (Pérez, 1995, p. 187). Essentially, the Platt Amendment "authorized the United States to intervene in Cuban affairs to protect Cuban national interest and independence, and required the Cuban government to lease certain properties to the United States for military purposes" (Sánchez-Roig, p. 395).

Although beyond the scope of this study, it needs to be mentioned that the government attempts to restrict the political involvement of Cubans of color later led to the Race War of 1912, which resulted in the genocide of thousands of Blacks by the military. Accordingly, Jorquera (1998) notes, the continual impact of colonial Cuba in the Cuban society throughout the twentieth century caused people's mentality to be continuously conditioned by many prejudices and beliefs from the past. This study utilizes the direct and invasive involvement of the United States during the formative years of early Cuba, that is, during 1898–1902, as its context in assessing the influence of

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[9] "By the terms of the 1901 constitution, women were denied the ballot" (Pérez, 1988, p. 206).

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the United States on the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba post 1898.

> No matter what else may happen, it is clear and indeed inevitable that relations between both countries [Cuba and the United States] will resume sooner or later: the logic of geography and history simply provide for no other alternative… The important questions, hence, are not if but when, under what circumstances, and with what legacy, will relations resume, for when relations become "normal," each country will still carry memories of these years deep into the future…around which narratives of the past will be fashioned and from which future relations will be shaped. (Pérez, 1997, pp. xiii–xiv)

The scope of the analysis of this study concludes with 1902, as 1902 marked the end of the first formal U.S. occupation of Cuba. The U.S. involvement in the Cuban-Spanish war was a turning point for Cuba on varying levels. The nation was coming to the close of an extended fight for independence which resulted with the removal of the formal control of Spain and the introduction of an informal control of the United States. As mentioned, the United States remained and occupied Cuba following the end of the war until 1902. Given the focus of this study, 1898-1902 is identified as a critical juncture period. Ruth B. Collier and David Collier presented the concept of critical junctures in their 1991 work on understanding political development and changes in Latin America. According to Collier and Collier, critical juncture periods result from events and or moments that can cause significant structural change (p. 32). These events and or moments have also been referred to as crises and turning points (Gourevitch, 1986; Mahoney, 2002). They provide opportunity for action from which change is to

follow. Choices are made or direction is taken that initiate a path or chain of action not soon reversed.[10]

Relevant to this study such periods assist with explaining and understanding the varying paths of the development of nations. The concept of critical juncture period emphasizes the "lasting impact of choices made during…critical junctures in history" (Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007, p. 341). James Mahoney adds this emphasis further reveals how long-term development patterns can be dependent upon these decision making moments (2002, p. 8). Thus as a critical juncture period, 1898-1902, is the time frame deemed of greatest importance and that matters most to the study at hand. By limiting the scope of this study to 1902, it focuses the research and analyses of the research to material that specifically addresses and illustrates actions taken during the physical presence of the United States in Cuba. The restraints permit a comparison of pre-Cuban society alongside what was altered with the initiatives of the U.S. military government.

As illustrated in Chapter 2, with the War for Independence, Cuba's government, society, and life was at a crossroad. Spanish polices were changing along with the vision of an independent Cuba in the minds of many Cuban people. Chapter 3 proceeds to illustrate what was transpiring in the United States during

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[10] Essentially critical juncture periods result with significant alterations of changed trajectories for entities by they institutions, government, organizations, or groups. The periods are caused by small or large events, immediate and short-term or over a longer period of time. Giovanni Capoccia and R. Daniel Kelemen have also referred to these events or junctures as "brief phases of institutional flux" (2007, p. 341). According to Capoccia and Kelemen these periods or brief phases "have a significant impact on subsequent outcomes" (2006, p. 7).

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this same period of time, with a specific emphasis on race relations and racial perceptions. The colliding of these two nations and the greater power of the United States resulted with Cuba taking a direction not reflective of what many Cubans desired. Therefore the critical period of 1898-1902 is identified as containing significant formative years for nation building in Cuba. The presence and invasive involvement of the U.S. in Cuba during this time of rebuilding are essential given the United States' domestic turmoil and its pending interaction with a foreign nation with a large population of color such as Cuba.

Foundation of Argument

This study presents an analysis of the issue of the influential role of the United States with regard to the consideration of the race element and the United States' influence in the development of race relations and racial perceptions in early Cuba, during 1898–1902. The argument of the study is that although negative racial perceptions and discriminatory race relations took root in Cuba during the colonial times and, to a degree, remained in postslavery Cuba, the presence and control of the United States assisted in prohibiting the change sought by the 1895 Cuban revolution. The policies and initiatives of the United States bolstered and facilitated the directing and cementing of the evolution of a postcolonial Cuba as a society modeled after and mirroring the United States. This analysis will entail the expansion of the basis of the above position, including a review of the race relations in the Cuban society during 1886–1898 and in the U.S. society at the turn of the twentieth century, a review of the occupation of the United States during 1898–1902 and the placement of the U.S. measures along with their

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residual effects after the U.S. occupation, and an assessment of the overall impact of the U.S. occupation in molding the Cuban society.

Breakdown of Chapters

Chapter 1 presents three different interpretative frameworks traditionally argued as explaining the U.S involvement in Cuba and its influence on the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba. These three perspectives—the liberal-progressive view, the Marxian view, and the postcolonial view—are customarily utilized individually when interpreting the impact of the United States during and following its intervention in Cuba. All three perspectives examine the same historical period through lenses influenced by their respective positions (Rainey, 1975, p. 69). However, contrary to popular historical analysis, this study has determined that it is not solely one of the three presented frameworks that ultimately influenced the United States' involvement and the resulting impact but the domestic social affairs of the United States in addition to a combination of the three presented frameworks. This study presents the combined three frameworks as tools used that would ultimately influence societal thinking and behavior with regard to racial perceptions and race relations in the rebuilding of Cuba. Ultimately, this study uses a collective interpretative framework that incorporates a national level of analysis with a race relations and racial perceptions focus. This collective framework is used to inform this study's analysis by extending beyond the primary acceptance of the idealistic interpretations of the U.S. policy accentuating democracy and humanitarianism as well as beyond the position it was the financial state of the United States that dictated its involvement which was required for the survival and protection of the nation's

interests. Attention is given to the role of the existing social, political climate within the United States as a driving influence of the United States' involvement with Cuba.

Chapters 2 and 3 address the above-outlined first facet of this study's research problem: The history of race relations and racial perceptions in the early Cuban Republic 1886–1898 (preindependence), 1898–1902, and the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. Chapter 2 specifically addresses Cuba and race pre-1898. In considering race relations in Cuba during 1886–1898, what is investigated are the state of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba, postslavery and pre-U.S. occupation. The review of the state of race and race relations in Cuba prior to the official arrival of the United States in 1898 exposes how things were prior to formal U.S. intervention. The topics discussed include slavery, plantation society, the lives of free Cubans of color, and the effects of slavery following its abolition in Cuba. The goals and intentions of Cuban independence from the perspective of *El Partido Revolucionario Cubano* (The Cuban Liberation Party) as part of the 1895 *Cuba Libre* movement are outlined. The discussed principal figures and groups of *Cuba Libre,* both in Cuba and abroad, include General Antonio Maceo, General Máximo Gómez, General Calixto García, Juan Gualberto Gómez, José Martí, Tomás Estrada Palma, and the Cuban *Junta* in New York, United States. The issue of race within the Cuban Liberation Army and within the exile community in the United States is addressed. By addressing the issue of race within these two groups, the impact of race on the collective success of the fight for independence is revealed.

Chapter 3 highlights the state of race relations and racial perceptions in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century as influenced by popular U.S. discourse on race

and existing ideologies. The issue of race and law is investigated with an outlining of institutionalized racism and existing legal discriminatory practices and regulations, along with the prevalence of racially motivated violence. The chapter explores the muscular foreign and domestic agenda of the United States as it sought to expand its influence within the international community. The ambitions of Cuba's resulting independence are exposed from the perspectives of the U.S. policy and decision makers. The principal U.S. figures showcased include President William McKinley, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and later President Theodore Roosevelt, Secretary of War Elihu Root, Major General John Brooke, and Major General Leonard Wood. Public opinion regarding the U.S. involvement in Cuba is examined with a special look at the perspectives of Americans of color. A review of the international interests and domestic policies of the United States is also completed, with the United States' domestic policy being argued as serving as the model and foundation for the United States' international policy, particularly as it pertained to the rebuilding of postwar Cuba and the treatment of Cuban soldiers by the United States.

Chapter 4 addresses the above outlined second facet of the this study's research problem: The contributive role of the United States' presence and involvement in Cuba—given its own history with race—during 1898–1902, and the period immediately after the U.S. occupation, to the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba. Chapter 4 takes an in-depth look at the influence of the United States on the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba. The chapter directly explores the Cuba that the United States attempted to construct after occupying and regulating Cuban affairs, following the end of the Cuban-Spanish-American War, in 1898. The explicit

steps that the United States initiated and put into place during its war involvement and postwar occupation are exposed. Whether the actions of the United States were consistent with racial hierarchical practices present in the U.S. society during that time are addressed, along with whether specific U.S. measures and institutions that existed or were created promoted the establishment of permanent racial inferiority and subordination of Cubans of color in Cuban society.

The final chapter outlines the conclusions of this study based on the conducted research. With the various measures pursued by the United States having been discussed in Chapter 4, the concluding chapter focuses on linking the overall impact of U.S. laws and policy practices on the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba. The concluding chapter considers how significantly racially inclined diplomacy and policies served the United States and, as a result, possibly negatively altered postindependent Cuba's race relations and racial perceptions. The chapter acknowledges that the United States' presence and involvement aided in the perpetuation of a lasting negative racial climate during and post its occupation. It addresses how "ultimately, the circumstances of the interaction between Cuba and the United States—two nations vastly unequal in size, population, resources, and power—contributed to shaping Cuban national institutions, political culture, social structures, and economic development" (Pérez, 1997, p. xix). The potential benefits the United States perceived it was to receive from establishing a society that mirrored its own at the time has also been touched upon.

The concluding chapter connects the extensive involvement of the United States in the building of the Cuban Republic, to the U.S. structures that served as the basis for reconstruction and recovery. The policies of the United States' military government in

postcolonial Cuba "validated the use of color as a condition of livelihood" (Pérez, 1999,

p. 323). Documented accounts per visit to Cuba, in 1905, by historian Arthur Schomburg

(1912), further concluded the following:

> During the colonial days of Spain the Negroes were better treated, enjoyed
> a greater measure of freedom and happiness than they do to-day. Many
> Cuban Negroes were welcomed in the time of oppression, in the time of
> hardship, during the days of the revolution, but in the days of peace…they
> are deprived of positions, ostracized, and made political outcasts. (pp.
> 143–144)

In addition, the concluding chapter corroborates the study's interpretative framework

national level of analysis, maintaining the intentions that government formation in Cuba

by the United States aligned with the desire for a governing system that would reflect the

existing governing codes of the United States during that time period (Paterson, 1998).

Thus, the conclusions are supported by the study's use of the collective interpretative

framework which grounds the position of the study. However, it is also discussed that

although the United States' involvement in Cuba presents itself as a plausible theme for

explaining the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba, the history

of race relations and racial perceptions in the early Cuba, during 1886–1898, and

preindependence also presents itself as a plausible theme.[11]

Significance of the Study

When considering the reasons for the United States' involvement in the Cuban-

Spanish-American War and its resulting occupation of Cuba, the traditional emphasis has

been on U.S. economic protection and security concerns. This study goes beyond

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[11] The study's conclusions acknowledge that the racial divide remained within the Cuban society post
slavery, as revealed by the research. The lingering legacy of the history of Spanish colonial rule and the
system of slavery did not instantaneously disappear (Helg, 1995, pp. 24, 104, 123).

traditional emphases and addresses factors previously given little attention. This study emphasizes the significance of the historic exchange between the United States and Cuba, particularly during the years 1898–1902. Based on preliminary findings, the link between early Cuba and the presence, involvement, and influence of the United States in the formation of the Cuban society with regard to race relations and racial perceptions has an apparent premise. Accordingly Pérez (1995) writes of the United States positioning itself as yet another controlling power over Cuba (p. 192). "The United States had not only rescued and revived the moribund colonial order; it had also assumed responsibility for its protection and preservation" (p. 192). The United States legally sanctioned discriminatory practices through its policies and example in Cuba. By venturing to examine the social impact of the U.S. policy instituted in early Cuba, post 1898, the study displays how the spread of democracy by the United States to the island nation was not free from the incorporation of existing U.S. ideological and societal practices.

With this study, conventional international policy reasoning is challenged with the consideration of the impact and role of domestic issues, beliefs, and practices prevalent in the U.S. society at the time as potentially defining international policy. Thus, formally addressing race relations and racial perceptions developed in Cuba as a result of the U.S. influence considers an aspect of Cuban and U.S. history and society that has long been neglected. The historical (and present) state of race relations in Cuba as thematically presented in a review of literature and scholarly work offers valuable lessons to the world regarding "the promise of and the constraints on…programs of social reformation," the impact of the legacy of colonialism, and the depth of ideology when pursing change "particularly concerning race, race relations, and racism" (Saney, 2004, p. 117). This

study is deemed significant because it sheds light on the United States' ideology of

"racism or race thinking" as "central to the history of the United States and to

understanding United States behavior in international relations" (Paterson, 1998, p. 8).

Additional work covering this topic will contribute to the general field of studies in race,

racism, and race relations in the Americas and the world at large (De la Fuente, 2000;

Saney, 2004). There are significant offerings that this study can provide at both

international and domestic levels.

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CHAPTER 1

Interpretative Frameworks

The transforming state of affairs in both the United States and Cuba throughout

the twentieth century fashioned the relations between the two nations.

> In both form and function U.S. policy responded to the changing nature of
> North American interests in Cuba. These shifts corresponded to changes in
> Cuban society that were often the product of North American hegemony.
> Social formations, political structures, economic systems, cultural forms,
> and, in the end, the very character of the state in Cuba were affected
> decisively by the North American presence. The social system became
> more complicated, class structures more clearly defined, and social
> conflict more distinctly articulated, ultimately altering the character of the
> national discourse. (Pérez, 1997, pp. xvii–xviii)

Three different interpretative frameworks are presented that have traditionally been

argued by historians as explaining the U.S. involvement in Cuba and its impact on the

development of the country. These three perspectives are customarily utilized

individually when interpreting the impact of the United States' presence during and

following its intervention in Cuba. These are the liberal-progressive view, the Marxian

view, and the postcolonial view. All examine the same historical period through lenses

influenced by the positions of their perspectives (Rainey, 1975, p. 69). However, while

these three perspectives may explain U.S. involvement and general influence, they do not

speak to the specific influence of the United States on race relations and racial

perceptions. Contrary to popular historical analysis, this study has determined that it is

not solely one of the three presented frameworks that ultimately influenced the United

States' involvement and the resulting impact but the domestic social affairs of the United

States in addition to a combination of the three presented frameworks. Therefore,

ultimately, this study presents the combined three frameworks as tools used that would

ultimately influence societal thinking and behavior in Cuba, however with regard to racial perceptions and race relations in the rebuilding of Cuba. This study ventures beyond the three frameworks for such specific disclosure. As a result, this study does more than address why and the motivation behind the United States' involvement in Cuba. The study demonstrates details of how the U.S. impacted and influenced Cuban society in the areas of race relations and racial perceptions as a result of its presence from 1898-1902.

Liberal-Progressive View

The liberal-progressive view partners humanitarianism and democracy with U.S. national interests and foreign policy. This view argues that despite the means and results of doing so, the international intervention of the United States spreads good, positivist (positivism) U.S. American morals and values in the developing world. The liberal-progressive view condones the use of force as necessary, and is often what may be interpreted as imperialist actions, given that the results include bringing democracy and equality to developing nations.

> Progressives sought to guide the nation and the world away from the
> social disorders of the late nineteenth century…they would bring order
> and progress at home and abroad…"expert" and "efficient" people had to
> dominate lesser breeds in order to uplift them, and as at home, the force of
> government might be needed to support, indeed to institutionalize, this
> effort. (Rosenberg, 1982, p. 42)

The idealized version of "liberal imperialism," consisting of "the transmission of the superior culture of one nation to the backward, oppressed communities of the world" came to serve as the "rhetorical defense of much of American foreign policy" (Cooper, in Stead, 1902, 1972, p. 12). Liberal-progressive declared the United States destined for

greatness, which according to John L. O'Sullivan was "to manifest to mankind the

excellence of divine principles" and "governed by God's natural and moral law of

equality, the law of brotherhood—'of peace and good will amongst men'" (O'Sullivan, in

Tiatorio, 2005, p. 48). The ideology of manifest destiny will be developed further below.

Thus, within the liberal-progressive view, the United States of America viewed itself as

"the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement…the grand

exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals" (O'Sullivan, in Tiatorio, p. 48). The

nation was obligated to the realization of this mission which as it's "high destiny, and in

nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect… must accomplish it" (O'Sullivan,

in Tiatorio, p. 48). O'Sullivan further declared,

> for this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out
> from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high
> example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and
> oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will. (O'Sullivan,
> in Tiatorio, p. 48)

Revisiting the above-mentioned ideology, manifest destiny, note that the time

period of the U.S. American history of the international policy under consideration

(1898–1902) witnessed the expansion of the nation's domestic pursuits of manifest

destiny. The United States' ambitions of the 1890s pushed for a greater presence on a

global scale. As part of the nation's manifest destiny, it was the divine plan for the United

States to have a larger role on the international stage (Jaycox, 2005, p. 122). As a great

power, the United States held that its national power was moral as well as physical

(Bailey, in DeConde & Rappaport, 1969, p. 52). Accordingly, expansionism became the

appropriate and moral responsibility and action. Government interests in overseas

expansion were widely marketed as fundamentally out of humanitarian motivation more

than anything (Foner, 1972, p. 281). The prevalent rhetoric expressed by government officials sanctioned the spread of the United States' morals and values. "Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana declared, 'God has not been preparing the English-speaking…for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration… He has made us adept in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples'" (Editors, 2003, p. 4). Advocacy of Americanization of the world was widespread, with Americanization being deemed the trend of the twentieth century (Stead, 1902). The influence of the United States was apparent and its existence as a liberating power certain (Stead, 1902, p. 26).

Predicting that the twentieth century would be dominated by the American way of life and by the power wielded by the young nation, it was believed that the nation as an Anglo-Saxon civilization possessed a special moral mission in world society (Cooper, in Stead, 1972, p. 7). American civilization was seen as the wave of the future, with Americans as a group characterized as being unbelievably dynamic (Cooper, in Stead, 1972, p. 9). "Despite its raw edges, Americans were building a democratic civilization that would possess the strength and ability to soon possess the earth… Americans were coming of age as a great state in world affairs" (Cooper, in Stead, 1972, p. 9). Having conquered their own continent, they were in a position to move overseas (Cooper, in Stead, 1972, p. 9). "In the new century, Americans would extend and complete the task begun by Englishmen—the introduction of civilized religion, law and humanitarian ideals in all the backward regions of the globe" (Cooper, in Stead, 1972, p. 9). The success of its efforts was guaranteed, with the American mission determined blessed by Providence (Cooper, in Stead, 1972, p. 10). "Globally extending the influence of American values

(while maintaining control over their implementation) has the added benefit of enabling

the United States to fulfill its dual mandate to God and freedom" (McCartney, 2006, p.

44). Justifications for such expansionistic endeavors were permissible by military force if

necessary.

English journalist-reformer William Thomas Stead (1902) stated that it would be

by way of the United States that the providential mission entrusted to the English-

speaking race would be continued on a wider scale (p. 6). Stead declared that "the United

States will be able to secure the peace of the world" and that "the creation of the

Americans [was] the greatest achievement of our [English] race" (1902, pp. 6, 7).

> The advent of the United States of America as the greatest of world-
> Powers is the greatest political, social, and commercial phenomenon of
> our times… So it may be through the Americans that the English ideals
> expressed in the English language may make the tour of the planet. (Stead,
> 1902, preface, p. 7)

Thus, for people like Stead, the mission of the English stands to be fulfilled

through the American.

Within this accepted perspective of the liberal-progressive, the United States

assumed its own national and cultural values superior as well as universally desired.

Their actions were believed to be appropriate and were cloaked in moral responsibility.

> America possessed an abiding faith in her own moral superiority to every
> other regnant nation… She believed in the values of democracy even if
> she didn't always believe in their actual exercise—third world nations
> would need a lot of help—and she increasingly saw her role as an
> international cop, enforcing what other nations were too craven to enforce.
> (Gabler, 2003)

Again, officials such as Senator Beveridge charged that free institutions

such as the United States were to broaden their blessed reign as children of liberty

covered in strength, until the United States' principles were established all over

the hearts of all mankind (Beveridge, in Tiatorio, 2005, p. 92). This visible mood

of expansionism in the United States reflected the developing national self-image

(Healy, 1988).

> A nation becoming conscious of its growing power, and confident in its
> righteousness, wanted to be received more fully into the inner circle of
> great powers. Colonial powers were currently the premier status symbols
> in that circle, and as they looked on at the territorial scramble which then
> engaged the European powers over much of the world, Americans too
> began to yearn for status. They were as virile and progressive as any other
> people; they too could carry enlightenment to the earth's darker corners.
> American democracy and Protestant Christianity, American technology
> and know-how, could do their part to speed up the world's progress.
> (Healy, 1988, p. 35)

Among the responsibilities of the United States remained its duty to discharge its gifts.

> "Have we no mission to perform, no duty to discharge to our fellow man?
> Has God endowed us with gifts beyond our deserts and marked us as the
> people of His peculiar favor, merely to rot in our own selfishness, as men
> and nations must, who take cowardice for their companion and self for
> their deity—as China has, as India has, as Egypt has?" (Beveridge, in
> Tiatorio, 2005, p. 92)

This important duty "of any major power," which the United States was growing into,

was to be achieved as it was necessary for the future successful life of the nation and its

people. This obligation, which was weighted at the time by influential ideology including

that of the White man's burden, would become a critical aspect of the expansionist efforts

of the United States.

The applicability of this view involving the first U.S. intervention in Cuba exists

with the liberal-progressive view, constructing the structure of modern American foreign

policy during this time period (Liu, 2005, p. 707). With liberal progressiveness as the

base and the ideal establishment of "a democratic and peaceful international society," it

was perceived of the leadership, at the time, that an "American leading was the key" (Liu, p. 707). Accordingly, the action taken by the United States was to see the nation functioning as a great nation should. Endorsing the argument for the existing practices of the liberal-progressive view, Dana G. Munro (1980) states that the U.S. foreign interventions were inspired by the U.S. attempts "to put an end to conditions that threatened the independence of some of the Caribbean states and [which] were consequently a potential danger to the security of the United States" (p. 531). Specifically, in the case of Cuba, Munro (1980) argues that the Platt Amendment was an effort to achieve these purposes (p. 531).[12] As a tool of preservation, officials emphasized that the Platt Amendment was not to impair Cuba's independence but to further aid in securing it. Officials argued that the intervention of the United States "would only occur to prevent a foreign attack or when a veritable state of anarchy existed within the republic" (Munro, 1980, p. 26). Within the liberal-progressive view, economic objectives for intervention were presented as matters of secondary consideration (Munro, 1980, p. 535).

The entry into the Cuban-Spanish War was more than just participation in a war; it materialized as a crusade with a "'just' cause" (Rainey, 1975, p. 29). The liberal-progressive perspective served to drive what Rainey identifies as a moralist approach to foreign policy. Appropriately, Gene E. Rainey (1975) states, "the moralist approach to foreign policy, which has become identified with American diplomacy in the 20th

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[12] The Platt Amendment fundamentally limited Cuba from having complete self-government and thus sovereignty. Conditions within the amendment included Cuba's inability to cede any of its territory to foreign nations except for the United States and its inability to borrow money beyond its limit to return payment. A significant defining provision of the amendment entailed Cuba having to cede to the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs as the United States deemed necessary to ensure a stable and secure Cuban government (Pérez, 1983, 1990, 1997).

century, was the most obvious behavior pattern during this period" (p. 35). The moralist

approach to foreign policy aligned itself with the liberal-progressive claims of moral

responsibility. "It was America's destiny to bring the benefits of a civilized world to a

backward people" and to do so it would call upon the required action to expand the

American experience overseas as necessary (Rainey, p. 31). Rainey (1975) also states

how many within the U.S. society promoted the position that the Anglo-Saxons were

divinely commissioned to give leadership to the rest of the world (p. 31).

The U.S. leaders, including Theodore Roosevelt, with his "Peace of

Righteousness," justified the nation's intervention:

> "…with the assumption that the United States desired to see stable,
> orderly, and prosperous nations as neighbors. These neighbors were
> obligated to keep order within their own borders; but if disorder occurred,
> a 'civilized' nation would be required to act as policeman. If domestic
> instability infected any nation in the Western Hemisphere, even though
> American interests were not involved, the United States government
> would shoulder the burden and intervene." (Rainey, 1975, p. 33)

The United States possessed the critical components for leading the world. America was

attuned to righteousness: Therefore, howbeit aggressive, international harmony would be

the product of a "just" nation. "A nation had to be courageous in facing up to its

responsibilities in the world. If the solution required a war, then the nation must be

willing to engage in conflict, provided its motives were 'just'" (Rainey, p. 36). Theodore

Roosevelt reasoned that, in some cases, war was chosen over peace because "'a just war

is in the long run far better for a nation's soul than the most prosperous peace obtained by

acquiescence in wrong or injustice'" (Roosevelt, in Rainey, p. 36).

Inasmuch as some considered the United States' interference an imperialistic act,

its behavior as a contributor to the civilization of the world justified its actions (Hobson,

1965, p. 234). The imposition of the United States on a foreign nation was done for the good of the nation and "for their [the foreign nation] own good" (Hobson, p. 239). This duty carried out by the United States, and the resulting actions, granted the use of the necessary maneuvers for accomplishment, even should the use of military force be required. The "righteousness" of the efforts and intentions of the United States "to spread its notions of 'freedom' and 'liberty' around the world" were apparent, thus deserving no debate (Lusane, 2006, p. 6). Sustaining this permissible behavior, the liberal-progressive perspective certified that there exist times when strength is just as important as legitimacy (Lusane, p. 6). Of greater significance to the use of force was that America offered hope with its dispatching of troops (Langley, 1989, p. x), thus qualifying the notion that "in any state of society no great achievement can be produced without great force" (Tiatorio, 2005, p. 69).

> At home, "undercivilized" peoples were made to conform to Anglo-Saxon standards by many means, ranging from violence to educational persuasion. So, in dealing with foreigners, some believed that "backward nations" could be brought into civilization only by means of force, while others sought to conquer the world peacefully, armed with sewing machines, Bibles, schools, or insights from the new social sciences. Whether the government would promote expansion by brutal domination or peaceful reform (or a mixture of the two) presented a tactical question within a broader consensus that accepted the necessity and ultimate benevolence of American expansion. (Rosenberg, 1982, p. 42)

This study concludes that the liberal-progressive interpretation of the United States' intervention in Cuba can be outlined within four leading explanations for its involvement: (a) idealistic intentions, (b) the United States' ardor for democracy and freedom, (c) its humanitarian commitment to the rescuing of unfortunate civilizations such as the Cuban people, and (d) its allegiance to justice against the ruthless Spaniards.

The bluntness of the United States' idealistic intentions maintained that the United States "went to war to free Cuba, and did so, period; the Platt Amendment was needed to protect Cuban democracy from internal or external threats" (Healy, 2002, p. 34). The idealistic goal accentuated the exportation of democracy and humanitarianism as a result. Howard Jones (2001) states that the United States colored its drive "with idealistic labels emphasizing 'destiny,' 'progress,' and the spread of 'civilization'" (p. 3). The Cuban people were not seen as equipped or able to free themselves from the bonds of the Spaniards.

Linked to its idealistic intentions, the United States' actions in accord with the liberal-progressive view emphasized its national ardor for freedom and as a result its national pursuits of freedom on behalf of the Cuban people. "For many Americans the war with Spain constituted a crusade to free Cuba from Old World oppression" (Jones, 2001, p. 13). The United States foremost had a commitment to freedom and the exercise of it. This national love of freedom was one facet of the liberal-progressive perspective that incited the United States' intervention (Draper, 1910, p. 147). The United States' involvement took place with the "highest motives" (Anonymous, 1998, p. 33). "The United States had ostensibly gone to war in support of 'Cuba Libre,' to give the island its freedom" (Anonymous, p. 33). The United States possessed this self-imposed responsibility to spread its notions and practice of freedom and liberty around the world.

Senator John T. Morgan (1898) of Alabama argued at the time that the United States had been drawn into war with Spain by necessity and could not honorably avoid it (p. 641). The nation's involvement was imposed on the country "by a proper sense of humanity and the duty" that it owed to civilization for which to ultimately establish "free

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government in Cuba…and the control of that island by a people" with whom the United States could "live in peace and friendship, as near neighbors" (Morgan, p. 641).

> Surely never before has a people, aroused by the contemplation of appalling tyranny in a neighboring country and with an entire disinterestedness of spirit, declared war against the foreign oppressors and bound itself beforehand to give the liberated people a free government of their own. It marks a gratifying advance in the ideals of good government when a great self-governing nation, in one of the most solemn of national acts, carries, with her great heart and strong arm, the blessings of civil liberty, religious toleration, and popular education to the struggling subjects of a rapacious empire. Such an act helps the world to realize that states do not exist for the benefit of their Governments, nor even for security alone, but for the intellectual and moral progress of the people. It presents before all nations a loftier ideal, and it gives to the flag of our Republic a brighter and more glorious meaning… The United States lifted up its voice among the nations and declared that the oppressed island at its doors should go free. (Draper, 1910, pp. 52, 39)

The United States showed willingness to reach out and offer freedom to the world—to Cuba, specifically, in this instance. Synonymous with the rhetoric of the liberal-progressive voice, the United States offered hope, carrying with its presence a "legacy of enduring faith in individual, human betterment, and opportunity" (Langley, 1989, p. x). This aspect of bringing freedom to Cuba and its people advanced the liberal-progressive assertions of the United States' actions, manifesting the same as a rescue mission.

It was perceived that the Cubans had failed and were failing when the United States intervened on Cuba's behalf (Bullard, 1907, p. 630). Thus Cuba's freedom was deemed a gift from the United States (Bullard, p. 625). With its entry, the United States had arrived to save the day in what would be a soaring display of humanity. Reports of the situation in Cuba revealed dire states of "desolation and distress, misery and starvation" (Jones, 2001, p. 10). Senator George Hoar of Massachusetts, "in 1898 wrote, 'we cannot look idly on while hundreds of thousands innocent human beings…die of

hunger close to our door. If there is ever to be a war it should be to prevent such things as that'" (Jones, 2001, p. 13). "Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana rejoiced that 'at last, God's hour has struck. The American people go forth in a warfare holier than liberty— holy as humanity'" (Jones, 2001, p. 14). A successful outcome of the situation in Cuba would require a successful saving of the nation by the United States. Having fundamental humanitarian motives for its intervention, the United States involved itself based on a proper sense of humanity and duty (Freidel, 1958, 1962; Morgan, 1898). "It was…America's duty to rid Cuba of despotic Spanish rule and then remain to tutor Spain's former colony in the art of progressive democracy and civic morality" (Langley, 1989, p. 6).

According to this aspect of the liberal-progressive view, it was a combination of human compassion, righteous anger, and "the condition of the poor Cubans who had been driven from their farms and concentrated in the fortified cities without means of subsistence" that pushed the U.S. interests to intervene and act on behalf of the Cubans (Draper, 1910, pp. 42, 46). Andrew S. Draper (1910) wrote that it was "compassion for the oppressed which impelled the United States to make war upon Spain for the liberation of the Cubans" (p. 147). He continued:

> When the appalling facts thus became known to [be] a certainty—the hard fighting, the intense suffering, the abuse of prisoners; particularly, when it was known that hundreds of thousands of women and children…had already starved through the ruthless course of the Spanish…and all because of a desire for liberty—the public sympathy and indignation in the United States…were ready to break all bonds. (p. 47)

This position was further reflective of what was at the core of much of the endorsed international policy of the United States at the time. Senator John Morgan, quoted by

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Paul T. McCartney (2006), declared in 1898, "'The…horrors of persecution, rapine, and extermination visited upon the people of Cuba…[are] so incredibly inhuman and so disgraceful to the civilization of this age that it stuns the mind into disbelief that such things can be true'" (p. 96). The Senator concluded that the people of America could not be pleased and could not permit such wrongs "within earshot of their frontier" (McCartney, p. 96). The United States sought to save the Cubans and had an obligation to do so. "To abandon the backward races" and to not fulfill this obligation would have been "a barbarous dereliction of a public duty on behalf of humanity and the civilization of the world" (Hobson, 1965, p. 231). Moreover, the United States could not rely on the natives to complete such a task.

A final element to the liberal-progressive view's encapsulation of the United States' intervention in Cuba includes the underlying theme of the Spaniards as dreadfully merciless and corrupt. If the United States respected the freedom of all people, understood and accepted its noble duty toward backward civilizations, and acted on the basis of devotion to a greater good for all humanity, the Spaniards were the exact opposite. Their presence in Cuba and treatment of the Cuban people demonstrated their callous and cruel nature. It was left to the United States to rescue Cuba from the wicked, criminal, and repressive Spaniards.

> Chivalry and courtesy, which are so highly prized by the Spaniards, seems too often to be a thick crust of outward behavior, while below these pleasant manners…selfishness and cruel feelings…sad degrees of duplicity, intrigue, vindictiveness, and inhumanity…corruption seems to prevail among Spaniards more widely and persistently than any other European nation. (Draper, 1910, p. 16)

Senator Morgan of Alabama believed that the American people considered intervention

to be "a duty" by the people of America "to the lives and liberties of 'our' people in Cuba

who are now held beneath the cruel power of Spanish jealousy and revenge" (McCartney,

2006, p. 96). The true vile character of the Spaniards underlined all of the above-

mentioned leading explanations for the United States' involvement as presented within

the realm of the liberal-progressive perspective. The United States would not have

needed to concern itself with the Cuban situation had Spain not mishandled and taken

immoral actions. The United States was obligated to conduct a crusade for morality and

to rescue the Cuban people from the Spanish malefactors (Freidel, 1958, p. 5). "The

removal of the scandal of Spain's control of its last American colony is as just and

merciful as it is pathetic—a necessary act of surgery for the health of civilization" (*The

Atlantic Monthly,* 1898, p. 727).

However, inasmuch as the humanitarian claims endorsed by the liberal-

progressive view of the time were convincing, the liberal-progressive view was found

insufficient to inform this study. The influence of the existing national dialogue and

behavior has an effect on the formation of a nation's international dialogue and behavior.

This study identified additional factors including ideologies and events prevalent

domestically and internationally that would influence the decision of the United States

regarding the intervention and the resulting policy practices in Cuba. These additional

elements, to be revealed below, provide for the selection of a better fitting view. This

study required a perspective that includes and also could in its analysis account for

considerations beyond the rhetoric of the crusading of freedom and humanitarian claims

of the liberal-progressive view.

Marxian View

The Marxist analysis presents an economic focus and partners this focus with U.S. national interests and its foreign policy. This view particularly regards the U.S. national interests as economic in nature. Marxist analysis holds that societal positioning and social groupings are regarded as "largely determined and explained by economic structures and processes" (Loomba, 2005, p. 107). Marxism holds that capitalism drives society function and order. This drive, according to Marxist–Leninists, leads to imperialism and economic expansionism. Imperialism as it is being used in relation to the Marxian view here encompasses the extension of a nation's authority by territorial acquisition or by the establishment of economic and political hegemony over other territories or nations (Houghton Mifflin Company's *American heritage dictionary,* 2004). Quoting John A. Hobson and W. S. Culbertson, in 1925 and 1970, respectively, Scott Nearing defines imperialism as that which "'implies the use of the machinery of government by private interests, mainly capitalist, to secure for them economic gains outside their country…an overseas economic expression of Western civilization'" (Nearing & Freeman, 1925, 1970, p. xiv). With these final descriptions, according to Nearing, imperialism can be interpreted as a business venture and inevitable phase of capitalism (1925, 1970, p. xiv). "Imperialism is a product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the striving of every industrial capitalist nation to subjugate and annex ever larger agrarian territories irrespective of the nations that inhabit them" (Lenin, 1916, pp. 13–14).

According to the Marxian view, "colonialism was a means through which capitalism achieved its global expansion" with "racism simply facilitating this process" (Loomba, 2005, p. 107). The Marxian view argues that the purpose of the United States'

intervention in Cuba was to secure American interests abroad, making the world safe for American business and securing the U.S. economy at home. The United States was not concerned with race with regard to Cuba, except insofar as racial policies made cheap labor available, or otherwise affected the business environment. "'And why, indeed, are wars undertaken, if not to conquer colonies which permit the employment of fresh capital, to acquire commercial monopolies, or to obtain the exclusive use of certain highways of commerce?'" (Loria, in Hobson, 1965, p. 73).

Emily Rosenberg (1982) states, "for a variety of reasons, most policymakers of the late nineteenth century…did believe that free participation in international trade and open access to investment opportunities were vital to the nation's well-being" (p. 39). Rosenberg described the creation of a "promotional state" in which the federal government assisted "functionals" such as missionaries, big navalists, steamship entrepreneurs, industrial capitalists, bankers, and upper class "cosmopolitans" to promote imperialism (1982). Lester D. Langley (1989) agreed that economic considerations played a powerful role in the United States' affairs of 1898 (p. 10). According to Langley (1989),

> The great political debate of the decade had revealed widespread
> uncertainties over the vitality of the American economy and, in fact, over
> the future of American capitalism. From 1893 the country was caught in
> the grip of the worst depression in American history. A feeling of
> economic crisis pervaded. (p. 10)

Corroborating with the foreign policy expansion was the later arising bad financial times in the United States. The nation faced severe economic crises during the 1890s, including what became known as the Panic of 1893. During this period the United States experienced a collapse of the domestic market. The civil unrest that prevailed in

U.S. society during the 1890s and the early twentieth century were in part the result of this economic crisis of the 1890s. The United States experienced one of its all-time worst depressions from 1873 to 1896. The economic collapse of 1893 put millions of American workers out of work (Tompkins, 1996, VIII). The panic was "set off by the collapse of two of the country's largest employers, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and the National Cordage Company" (Holton, 1989; Ohio History Central, 2008). "Following the failure of these two companies, a panic erupted on the stock market. Hundreds of businesses had overextended themselves…banks and other investment firms began calling in loans, causing hundreds of business bankruptcies across the United States" (Ohio History Central, 2008).

The economic crisis contributed to a rise in class conflict and the emergence of violent labor strikes. The Panic of 1893 was also the result of the withdrawal of foreign capital from American capital markets (Brands, in Miller, 1998, p. 74). It is recorded that by 1895 the economy was the most stagnant it had been in U.S. history, with hundreds of thousands of people out of work (Brands, in Miller, 1998, p. 74).

> Unemployment rates soared to twenty to twenty-five percent in the United States during the Panic of 1893. Homelessness skyrocketed, as workers were laid off and could not pay their rent or mortgages. The unemployed also had difficulty buying food due to the lack of income. (Ohio History Central, 2008)[13]

The financial crisis pushed people into panic mode; this panic incited large amounts of labor violence and strikes across the nation (Brands, in Miller, 1998, p. 74).

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[13] For greater detail, statistical data, analysis regarding the depression of the 1890s, including the Panic of 1893, see Noyes, 1894; Stevens, 1894; Dewey, 1903, 1968; Hoffman, 1970; Holton, 1989.

This financial calamity provided additional espousal for the need to acquire

foreign markets to preserve the domestic economy. With the economy at the time

producing more than what the U.S. society could consume, new markets and investment

opportunities abroad became ideal to alleviate this challenge (Jaycox, 2005, p. 122).

Rainey (1975) writes that "economic well-being was one goal toward which the United

States made giant strides" and there existed an "increased domestic interest in obtaining

new territory" (pp. 31, 29). The final decades for manufacturers in the United States

presented a period "where a surplus had been created which could not be disposed of in

the home market" (Nearing & Freeman, 1970, p. 242). Ralph D. Bald, Jr.'s research

accounts that as early as 1885, records of leading industries and businesses document the

repeated emphasis that the United States "'was faced with the necessity of securing

overseas markets for industrial surpluses'" (Bald, quoted in Foner, 1972, p. 295). In

1889, the Bankers Trust Company of New York promoted that the path for U.S.

commercial interests abroad was critical to the United States' permanent prosperity.

> "In the first century of our national existence, our producers were
> primarily concerned with meeting the local demand which steadily
> increased… The tremendous development of our manufactures in recent
> years, however, totally changes the aspect of our trade. We can no longer
> maintain our conservative attitude of doing business… The exigencies of
> foreign trade force us not only to meet the requirements as we find them,
> but to seek the best methods of stimulating the demand for American
> products… Our prosperity will be permanent only when a market can be
> found for all the goods we can produce… In order to keep invested capital
> employed at the point of most economical production…our manufacturers
> are compelled to seek constantly greater outlets in foreign trade…."
> (Bankers Trust Company, in Nearing & Freeman, 1970, p. 243)

The United States watched as European nations sought expansion in Asia and

Africa, and concluded that they needed to "improve and expand trade with the nations of

America" (Nearing & Freeman, 1970, p. 243). The Western Hemisphere was deemed the

most promising for United States' investment as it was considered as receiving little

cultivation (Nearing & Freeman, 1970, p. 243). Secretary of State James Blaine whose

efforts came to be "known as the 'Big Sister' policy" wrote in 1889 that the foreign

policy of the United States "should be an American policy in its broadest and most

comprehensive sense—a policy of peace, of friendship, of commercial enlargement"

(Nearing & Freeman, 1970, p. 243). In line with the Marxian perspective, the United

States' actions were motivated by plans of "commercial penetration that led to either

economic dominance without direct political controls or to the acquisition of colonies

having no prospect of statehood" (Jones, 2001, p. 1). Jones (2001) opines that this

commercial and territorial expansion was advocated "as the chief means toward building

a stronger nation and guaranteeing national security" (p. 2). Expansion was necessary to

safeguard and extend the United States' interests (Conant, 1898, p. 339). Cuba presented

the United States with an opportunity.

> The entry of the United States upon the competition for the world's
> market…means an enlarged share in the world's earnings and in the
> respect of other civilized states. The system of protection, whatever its
> original merits, will lose its reason for being when the producers of this
> country are able to compete in the markets of the world with the producers
> of all other countries. (Conant, p. 339)

Accordingly, the Marxian view contends that the United States' intervention in

Cuba was therefore not out of a sense of humanitarian duty but out of financial need and

desperation. Cuba provided the United States with an opening that could enable the

United States to achieve foreign influence through physical and financial expansion. The

Marxian perspective identifies the freedom of Cuba as "but a pretext" with the real

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objective being a financial war from which the United States would emerge financially

greater (Foner, 1972, p. 284). The United States' involvement was considered a necessary

undertaking for the nation to survive financially as well as to protect the interests it had at

the time in Cuba.

> United States businessmen during the late 1890's and for some time
> before the [Cuban-]Spanish-American War were highly conscious of, and
> seriously concerned with, the problems of surplus and idle capital, over-
> production, commodity gluts. Stemming from these problems were the
> need for an expansion of the export trade and foreign investments, and
> bitter competitive struggle for foreign markets among the world's
> industrial nations. (Sklar, 1959, p. 134)

The depression of the 1890s raised the push for a greater American role in international

affairs, "and the best export markets…were assumed to be in the large economically

undeveloped countries" (Healy, 1988, p. 35). Quoting the periodical *Appeal to Reason*

from October 26, 1907, which addressed the causes for the war in Spain, Foner (1972)

prints,

> Cuba was the prize for which the [Cuban-]Spanish-American War was
> fought. The island was rich in natural resources, the development of which
> would yield profits to the capital invested as well as supply a market for
> the growing surplus of American manufacture… The capital of the United
> States was under the necessity of finding new fields in which to operate.
> Visions of Havana franchises and fertile sugar plantations rose before the
> profit-hungry ruling class of this country…. (p. 286)

The United States as a growing power needed to be competitive in the

international community and economy. There existed a "growing understanding among

Americans that their security was integrally related to events beyond their continental

borders" (Jones, 2001, p. 3). Motivated by government and business enthusiasts, the

Marxian view further maintains that the United States wanted to beat foreign competitors.

"What the American businessmen and policy makers feared in the Caribbean…was…the

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challenge of their transatlantic rivals to United States control of the region" (Healy, 1988, p. 71). The United States felt that it "should play a leading role in the Caribbean, in order to benefit themselves, develop the region, and forestall foreign threats" (Healy, 1988, p. 76). The United States aspired to act before the powerful nations in Europe incorporated into their empires everything of value (Jones, 2001, p. 3). Sklar (1959) stated,

> …that for more than two years, at least, prior to the [Cuban-]Spanish-American War, a significant body of U.S. industrialists was convinced of the necessity of expanding their trade into foreign markets. The continued depression following the Panic of 1893 had demonstrated to them that the domestic market had finally passed the stage of indefinite elasticity capable of accommodating the growing productive capacity of the nation's industrial plant; that the crisis required for its solution "the conquest of foreign markets" in order to "make room for the further expansion of our industries" not to mention the mere restoration of current production to full capacity; that unless something were done in this direction *poste haste*, not only economic but social and political disaster for the capitalist way of life as they so fondly knew it might result. (p. 139)

Its geographical location presented the Caribbean as strategically important for investment and commercial interests. "The importance of the Caribbean region to the United States lies in its proximity, its commercial advantages as a source of raw materials and a market for manufactured goods, and as a strategic military addition…" (Nearing & Freeman, 1970, p. 122). Cuba, particularly, had always been seen as "an object of transcendent importance" having a "commanding position with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas; the character of its population…its safe and capacious harbor of the Havana…" (Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, in Langley, 1968, pp. 11–12). In order for the United States to move toward commerce supremacy, it required the nation to occupy new markets (Tiatorio, 2005, p. 92). A serious champion for U.S. economic imperialism, the State Department, under the tutelage of Secretary of State

James Blaine, did its utmost to seeing to it that the United States would "become the industrial provider of the agricultural nations in Latin America" (Nearing & Freeman, 1970, p. 244). "The United States did not consider itself an imperial power in the European tradition, it looked upon the Caribbean as the 'New American Mediterranean'" (Langley, 1989, p. 12). Also, within such perimeters, the United States was just in its action under the expanded delineation of the Monroe Doctrine.[14] Therefore, any actions of the United States considered imperialistic were not only justified by its economic basis but also by its hemispheric claims under the Monroe Doctrine (Conant, 1898, p. 339; Rainey, 1975, p. 22). According to this justification, the United States' entry into competition for the world market was more than anything a matter of economic development and commercial dominance that would result in safeguarding and extending its commercial interests for the betterment of the nation (Conant, p. 339). Further, the extension of the Monroe Doctrine demonstrated that "the United States desired to see stable, orderly, and prosperous nations as neighbors" (Rainey, p. 33).

The United States' economy was mushrooming, and therefore called for economic expansion to be sustained. Langley (1989) writes that it was generally agreed that it was not in Europe—which was receiving 80% of the American exports—that the new markets existed but in Latin America (p. 11). The avoidance of the disruption of U.S. commerce presented justification for foreign intervention, with the United States' involvement in Cuba considered appropriate. In 1897, one year prior to the intervention

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[14] "During the Napoleonic wars, when the French occupied Spain, the Spanish colonies had revolted and declared their independence. President James Monroe stated in his State of the Union message in 1823 that the United States would consider Spain's intent to reassert its control over its former colonies an unfriendly and hostile act... President Monroe declared in 1823 that the Western Hemisphere was not open for further colonization by European powers" (Rainey, 1975, p. 22).

of the United States, its involvement in the Cuban-Spanish situation has been recorded as being under consideration and war with Spain as being considered an option in the United States' campaign to position itself as preeminent in the international markets (Foner, 1972, p. 297). At its 1897 convention proceedings, the National Association of Manufacturers (N.A.M.) was found to have met to consider the value of a [Cuban-]Spanish-American War (Foner, p. 298). N.A.M. "described the event as 'a Congress of the owners of the United States to decide what their Government should do about expansion'" (Foner, p. 298). The chairperson of the convention was quoted "as telling the delegates: 'Wars to-day are for commerce'" (Foner, p. 298). The United States' involvement in the Cuban situation was seen as ultimately serving U.S. businesses. This position would also later be bolstered by the 1902 published analysis of the Chief of the Bureau of Foreign Commerce in the Department of Commerce, in which he stated,

> "… The [Cuban-]Spanish-American War was but an incident in general movement of expansion which had its root in the changed environment of an industrial capacity far beyond our domestic powers of consumption. It was seen to be necessary for us not only to find foreign purchasers for our goods, but to provide the means of making access to foreign markets easy, economical and safe." (Emory, in Foner, p. 285)

In addition, further enhancing the Marxian perspective of the intervention of the United States in Cuba was the argument that it was because of the financial state and need of the United States that an economical war was needed. The *New York Tribune* published in its March 23, 1902, edition that the war in which the United States intervened was "pre-eminently an economical war, provoked by commercial, financial and industrial forces" (*New York Tribune,* 1902). The downturn of financial times in the United States called for a war for economic survival. "War was necessary because

American capitalism was finding it necessary to spread out and fight for markets" (Foner, 1972, p. 284).

As presented above, this push by the United States for territorial and economic expansion equates to economic imperialism according to the Marxian perspective. As said by Hobson (1965),

> The stronger and more direct control over politics exercised in America by business men enabled them to drive more quickly and more straightly along the line of their economic interests… American Imperialism was the natural product of the economic pressure of a sudden advance of capitalism which could not find occupation at home and needed foreign markets for goods and for investments… They needed Imperialism because they desired to use the public resources of their country to find profitable employment for their capital which otherwise would be superfluous… It was this sudden demand for foreign markets for manufactures and for investments which was avowedly responsible for the adoption of Imperialism as a political policy and practice by the Republican party to which the great industrial chiefs belonged, and which belonged to them. (pp. 79, 78, 77)

Speaking further about Hobson, Philip S. Foner (1972) wrote, "Hobson warned his readers not to be deceived by such slogans as 'humanitarianism,' 'manifest destiny,' and 'mission of civilization,' raised by politicians and propagandists" whom Hobson deemed "were merely the spokesmen for the monopolists" (p. 287). Agreeing with Hobson's conclusions, Vladimir Lenin wrote, "imperialism, as the highest stage of capitalism in America…took final shape in the period 1898…the Spanish-American War (1898)…[as a] chief historical landmark in the new era of world history" (Lenin, 1916, p. 2).

"The Cuban policy of the United States culminating in the use of force against Spain had its root in the rise of monopoly capitalism and its drive for markets" (Foner, 1972, p. 310). The additional political, social, psychological, and ideological elements

and humanitarian sentiments at the time were influential. However, the Marxian perspective contends that all these elements "reinforced economic factors" (Foner, p. 310). "The predominance of economic factors in the sequence of events which led to the outbreak of conflict between the United States and Spain has been sufficiently demonstrated…to warrant the conclusion that the '[Cuban-]Spanish-American War' was indeed an imperialist war" (p. 310).

Consequently, numerous published analyses of the Cuban episode and the United States' intervention in terms of economic imperialism exist that defend the Marxian perspective. The shared position within the Marxian perspective maintains that the Cuban-Spanish-American War was one of opportunity. The war provided the United States with a chance for economic expansion under the guise of humanitarian effort. The freedom of Cuba was utilized to justify war intervention although the (most recent) war in Cuba had been going on since 1895. Marxian view identifies the case of Cuba as an example of overseas economic exploitation through expansionist means. "The Cuban policy of the United States was…predicated on commercial and strategic interests" (Langley, 1968, p. 18). It was challenged from within the Marxian interpretation that anything besides financial benefits lay at the root of United States' intervention. Marxian voices pointed to the injustices present in the U.S. society and the lack of swiftness by the U.S. government to end its homegrown atrocities. The United States' eventual involvement in Cuba was deemed by "order of financial and economic considerations" (Foner, 1972, p. 282).

Advocates for the economic interpretation of the U.S. intervention in Cuba conclude that

the people of the U.S. had a generous impulse to rescue Cuba, but [President] McKinley and his successors were under the influence of bankers, investors, and industrialists, and the real object of the Platt Amendment was to exploit the Cuban economy for the benefit of U.S. capitalists. (Healy, 2002, p. 32)

Economic interests were the existing force behind the intervention. When understanding foreign intervention, Hobson (1965) wrote, "even where good political order is established and maintained…its primary avowed end, and its universally accepted standard of success, are the immediate economic benefits…" (p. 242). Hobson stated that international policies regarding such matters were more along the lines of business deals (p. 241).

In addition to the above illustrations from the late 1880s and 1890s, and early 1900s, arguments endorsing the Marxian perspective for interpreting the U.S. involvement in Cuba have always subsisted. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the U.S. intervention has been characterized along economic lines. According to the Marxian perspective, the situation with Cuba exemplifies any early exercising of U.S. "dollar diplomacy." "Dollar diplomacy" considers "the growth of United States' economic interests abroad, and the diplomatic and military support accorded them by the Federal Government" (Nearing & Freeman, 1925, 1970, p. v). Aligned with Marxian belief, the displayed practice of "dollar diplomacy" in the case of Cuba shows how the United States' economic and diplomatic interests collided with the economic and political interests of undeveloped nations (Nearing & Freeman, 1925, 1970, p. v). David Healy (2002) writes that it was in the 1920s that scholars began to "analyse the Cuban episode in terms of economic imperialism and dollar diplomacy," with the Cuban case observed as "an example of overseas economic exploitation through expansionist means" (pp. 34–

35). "The purpose of dollar diplomacy was to promote the political objectives of the United States" (Munro, 1980, p. 163). Among such political objectives included the protection of the U.S. interests abroad. "If, for most Americans, the Cuban question elicited condemnations of Spanish misrule, for a small but vocal element the issue held vital strategic importance (Langley, 1968, p. 101).

> "This is the real motive of the war. And let us clearly understand what the phrase means. 'Protection of American interests'…means protection of the interests of those who farm the farmers, those who work the workers, the idle capitalist class that lives by the sweat of other men's brows. If this government wished to establish Cuban independence it had the opportunity more than three years ago of recognizing the insurgents… But this would not serve 'business interest.'" (Algernon Lee quoted in Foner, 1972, p. 285)

The United States' involvement would position the nation as a "…state power…oriented towards commercial gain…by expanding the horizons of U.S. foreign policy in the pursuit of export markets…" (Stromberg, 1998, p. 4). Foner (1972) accounts,

> Harold U. Faulkner stated in 1924 that the cause for the war with Spain was to be found in the fact that by 1898 the United States was "sufficiently advanced for financial imperialism," and that the war was fought for markets and fields for investments. Professor Harry Elmer Barnes wrote in 1930 "that the passing of the frontier in 1890 produced the necessity of discovering a field for expansion and investment elsewhere than within the boundaries of the United States. The dispute with Spain over Cuba provided but a welcome pretext and provided a moral issue which allowed the formal and systematic initiation of a process which had long been in preparation." Likewise, Charles A. Beard…in 1934, wrote: "Within a few years the movement for territorial expansion, conforming to the commercial type, was renewed in the Caribbean direction, with the Cuban Revolution of 1895 as the occasion for action"… American concern about Cuba came under the heading of "national interest," but that "supplementary interests were plainly economic." (p. 288)

> Healy (2002) informs that the economic interpretation approach was "swept away

by the Second World War and the ensuing Cold War" as a result of the ascension of

patriotism and anticommunism (p. 35). However, the economic interpretation of

American history received a later revival in the 1960s and 1970s (Healy, 2002, p. 35). As

part of the Marxian perspective revival, William A. Williams (1972) wrote, it was a

common belief that overseas expansion would aid in the recovery from the financial

difficulties the U.S. economy was experiencing (pp. 31–34). The intervention in Cuba

was therefore not only critical to the financial status of the United States but also

necessary to secure future leadership of Cuba (Williams, 1972, pp. 31–34). Williams'

(1972) research and analysis of the Cuba case led him to conclude that the U.S. business

community actually feared the victory of the insurgents and saw their interests gravely

threatened (pp. 31–34). According to Walter La Feber, support existed for "intervention

against Spain not only because it would open the Cuban market for further U.S. economic

penetration" but also because many in the U.S. business community had interests in

Spain's Far East possessions (La Feber, in Foner, 1972, p. 300). Foner (1972) concluded

that "American business, in short…was the initiator of the expansionist policy, and urged

government officials to adopt the necessary strategy to advance the interests of a business

community urgently seeking new markets" (p. 300). Thus, with the revival of the

Marxian perspective that focused on the United States' economic interests came the

renewed argument that

> the…U.S. economy had required economic expansion over ever-widening
> areas. To meet this need, Washington attempted to create an 'Open Door
> World' in which American economic penetration could operate
> everywhere on its own terms… The Cuban episode was…only the first
> step in what became a global process. (Healy, 2002, p. 35)

However, despite arguments supporting the Marxian-influenced perspective,

economics is the primary concern and as is considered incomplete with regard to the

decision for the United States to intervene. As stated above regarding the liberal-progressive view, the influence of the existing national dialogue and behavior on the formation of a nation's international dialogue and behavior is undeniable. Marxian perspective neglects considerations beyond economic motivation, including that of the social climate and issues within the United States as well as the prevalent ideology circulating at the time that this study addresses. The consideration of these additional factors is significant, given the impact they have on the development and practice of ideas and beliefs.

Specifically as it pertains to this study, Marxian perspective fails to consider elements of culture and race as having some bearing on the decision-making process. Ultimately, with its primary focus upon the financial motives for involvement, the Marxian view is seen as having limitations for complete analysis of the United States' intervention in the Cuba affair. Ania Loomba (2005) states, "capitalism as it was theorized by classical Marxism was not enough for understanding colonialism" with its "inability to accommodate the specific political needs and experiences of the colonised world" (Loomba, p. 207; Gandhi, 1998, p. 71). Appropriately, Max Weber concludes, "economic explanations are insufficient for understanding…colonised societies" (Weber, in Loomba, p. 107). Barcan further concluded that although in the Cuba case the business imperialist interests were dominant, the United States' involvement in the war cannot solely be rationalized along economic reasoning (Barcan, in Foner, 1972, p. 295).

Postcolonial View

The postcolonial theory interjects the issue of race as a relevant factor in the composition of foreign policy and an influence upon the nature of United States' national

interests. The theory informs the understanding of race relations, with its exposure to colonialism's residual effects of persisting discourse in societies previously exposed to colonialism. The postcolonial view works well to explore the effects of colonialism in Cuba and Cuban society, as well as the actions and policies of the United States after the 1898 Cuban independence. Accordingly, postcolonialism, as applicable to this study, recognizes the impact of the historical conceptual manifestation known as colonialism and the influence it continues to have on nations and groups throughout the world.

"Originating from the Latin *colonia*, a farm or settlement, in the Roman Empire, a colony was defined as 'a public settlement of Roman citizens (especially veteran soldiers) in a hostile or newly conquered country'" (Bush, 2006, p. 46). Jorge Klor de Alva (1995) informs that it was not until after 1850 that colonialism in relation to a colonial system was associated (pp. 264–265). In accordance with the conclusion by Jurgen Osterhammel (1997) and Barbara Bush (2006), this study accepts that a colony can be "defined as 'a particular type of socio-political organisation' and colonialism as 'a system of domination'" (Bush, p. 46; Osterhammel,, p. 4). In addition, Loomba's (2005) perspective argues that colonialism can be defined as the conquest and control of other people's land and goods (p. 8). Moreover, to quote Loomba again, postcolonialism as found applicable to Cuba with its recognition of colonialism as a process of "forming a community," a new land, necessarily meant un-forming or re-forming the communities that existed there already, and involved a wide range of practices including trade, plunder, negotiation, warfare, genocide, enslavement, and rebellions (p. 8).

Edward Said's *Orientalism* "is commonly regarded as the catalyst and reference point for postcolonialism" and is recognized as representing "the first phase of

postcolonial theory" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 64). According to Leela Gandhi (1998), rather

than engaging with the ambivalent condition of the colonial aftermath—or indeed, with

the history and motivations of anticolonial resistance—*Orientalism* directs attention to

the discursive and textual production of colonial meanings and, concomitantly, to the

consolidation of colonial hegemony (pp. 64–65).[15] In *Orientalism*, Said is credited with

exposing "the ideological disguises of imperialism" and providing contributable

knowledge in his "exposition of the reciprocal relationship between colonial knowledge

and colonial power" (Gandhi, p. 67).[16] As a result,

> clichéd images and racial stereotypes of the colonized emerged through
> persistent replication, constructing powerful representations of colonial
> subjects that retained enduring features… As "colonial knowledge" they
> informed colonial policies and thus impacted in a concrete way on the
> lives and identities of the colonized. (Bush, 2006, p. 155)

In accord with Bush and Ali Rattansi, postcolonialism is accepted as "both a historical

periodization and a particular form of theorization and analysis" (Bush, p. 50; Rattansi,

1997). "Postcolonial scholarship is based on incisive critique of the dynamics, legacies

and multiplicities of colonial oppression" (Persram, 2007, p. 242). Bush notes John

McLeod's remark on the distinguishability in the use and nonuse of the hyphen in the

word:

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[15] This study does not ignore the impact of Spanish colonialism on colonial Cuba; however, the scope of
the study has its emphasis on the role of the United States. By the time the United States got involved in
Cuba, the Cuban society was well on its way to transitioning and morphing itself into an independent
thinking, functioning, and regulating society beyond the all-controlling realm of Spain. The U.S. influence
is given primary attention due to the period of focus, 1898–1902. It was specifically during this time period
that the United States directly governed postindependent Cuban society and established structures and
policies for Cuba.

[16] "*Orientalism* is…devoted to an exploration of the historically imbalanced relationship between the world
of Islam, the Middle East, and the 'Orient' on the one hand, and that of European and American
imperialism on the other…. It proposes that 'Orientalism'—or the project of teaching, writing about, and
researching the Orient—has always been an essential cognitive accompaniment and inducement to
Europe's imperial adventures in the hypothetical 'East.'" (Gandhi, 1998, pp. 66, 67)

"'Post-colonial'…seems more appropriate to denote a particular historical period…whereas 'postcolonialism' refers to disparate forms of representations, reading practices and values that can circulate across the barrier between colonial rule and national independence. Postcolonialism, then, is not contained by tidy categories of historical periods or dates, although it remains firmly bound up with historical experiences."
(McLeod, quoted in Bush, p. 51)

Gandhi (1998) also argues that the unbroken term *postcolonialism* is more sensitive to the long history of colonial consequences (p. 3). "Postcolonialism can be seen as a theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath. The colonial aftermath is marked by the range of ambivalent cultural moods and formations which accompany periods of transition and translation" (Gandhi, pp. 4, 5). Young (2001) states that the postcolonial era in its name pays tribute to the great historical achievements of resistance against colonial power, while, paradoxically, it also describes the conditions of existence that have prevailed in which many basic power structures have yet to change in any substantive way (p. 60). Thus, this study further identifies colonial aftermath as an existing informal colonialism. Bush (2006) states that this informal relationship exists when the formally colonized community retains the outward trappings of sovereignty, but its freedom of political action is constrained by the presence of military bases and expatriate personnel (soldiers, sailors, merchants, missionaries, etc.), for instance, as relevant to this study, Cuba under the U.S. dominance, 1900–1959 (p. 45). "In the postcolonial era, colonialism exists as a legacy, the brutality of which by no means has been forgotten… The significance of postcolonial theory…has been to investigate how the past lives in the present…" (Persram, 2007, p. xxxii). This element of the postcolonial approach enables it to expose colonialism's residual effects and thereby its impact.

In concurrence with the postcolonial view, the United States is recognized as an imperialist nation with pursuits for ideological and social domination just as much as economic domination.

> Before the War of 1898, the United States was a strong but mostly self-absorbed nation; afterwards, it was a globally active "power" in possession of colonial territories at the far end of the Pacific Ocean and with a markedly increased influence in the affairs of its immediate island neighbors. (McCartney, 2006, p. 3)

Appropriately, John Trombold (2005) supports claims that the United States positioned itself in postcolonial role, with its hegemony having been molded distinctively by ideas of manifest destiny. Jones (2001) writes that this national movement of a "new manifest destiny" surged during the late 1890s (p. 1). He continues that the United States' interests in expansion had given way to an "informal empire" inspired by "the theories of Social Darwinism and Anglo-Saxon superiority…encouraging Americans to believe that the strong would survive and that the only limitations on growth were self-imposed" (2001, pp. 1–2). Therefore, the United States' intervention in Cuba was appropriate, as it was believed at the time that "national independence movements generally supported anarchy or tyranny, America's superior 'free' culture probably could be imported only through outright governance…and the well-being of all mankind required interposition by efficient 'producer' races" (Rosenberg, 1982, p. 44). "As they looked southward, Americans saw a potentially rich area awaiting development. They believed its resident peoples backward and inferior, incapable themselves of achieving progress or material development" (Healy, 1988, p. 76). Thus, John Offner (1998) writes, despite developing a greater financial relationship with Cuba, many in the North American society maintained prejudices against the Cubans:

> [The] U.S. scholars in textbooks depicted Spain as degenerate, with
> Catholic inquisition cruelties, a corrupt monarchy, and a backward
> economy. In addition many North Americans were prejudiced against
> people of African descent, and about one third of Cuba's population was
> African. (p. 19)

The postcolonial view incorporates the role and influence of existing ideologies when considering what led to the United States' intervention in Cuba. In allusion to the above discussion, widespread themes of superiority, entitlement, and human hierarchy were rampant during this time period both within the U.S. society and in the international community at large. The actions of the United States reflected the influential nature of such ideas with their increased interest and campaign involving the affairs of the immediate island neighbors. The earlier mentioned expansion of the Monroe Doctrine, "is an example of an American desire to maintain the widest possible latitude in foreign policy making" (Rainey, 1975, p. 22). This doctrine was advanced as "hemispheric public law," therefore granting the United States indisputable permission to intervene in the affairs of Western Hemisphere nations (Langley, 1989, p. 12).

Appropriately, Rosenberg (1982) writes how concepts of racial mission, so well rehearsed at home, were easily transferred overseas (p. 41).

> In the late nineteenth century, governmental power crushed those ethnic
> groups that were perceived as threats to social stability. On the frontier,
> federal troops quashed the last great Indian resistance at Wounded Knee in
> 1890; in the South, state governments enforced Jim Crow apartheid
> against Blacks, and the Supreme Court buttressed the system with the
> separate-but-equal doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson; in Northern cities,
> governmental power clashed with strikers branded as radical "new
> immigrants"; in the Far West, immigrant restriction laws were enforced
> against the Chinese… Policymakers' social attitudes were…easily
> compatible with a new role for government. Drawing support from the
> ideas of Social Darwinism and "scientific" racism, America's dominant
> groups felt confident of their own superiority. Moreover, they had grown

accustomed in domestic affairs to calling upon government to enforce and maintain their prerogatives. (Rosenberg, pp. 40–41)

An endorsement of this racial hierarchy was Charles Darwin's theory of evolution which received much attention and popular interest during the late nineteenth century (Tiatorio, 2005, p. 67).[17] "Evolution is said to make living things more 'fit' to cope with their environment…while some individuals may not survive, the species itself usually benefits and thrives" (Tiatorio, p. 67). Those who through survival became stronger and grew in numbers did so due to natural selection (Tiatorio, p. 67).

> Darwin's theory of natural selection, which was commonly invoked by reference to Herbert Spencer's popular phrase "survival of the fittest," held that the weak members of a species are weeded out due to the incompatibility between their inherited characteristics and the environment into which they are born, so that only a species' strongest representatives survive and propagate. (McCartney, 2006, p. 48)

Accordingly, McCartney (2006) notes, in Darwin's second book, *The Descent of Man,* he widened his natural selection theory to include more than biological evolution (p. 48). Darwin's theory became inclusive of "evolution within and between human societies" (McCartney, p. 48). Equating the survival and growth of the United States with natural selection, the teachings of Darwin became integrated into the moral philosophies of the United States. Darwin's scientific theory became applicable to "the way people live in society…and was given the name 'Social Darwinism'" (Tiatorio, 2005, p. 69).

In *The Descent of Man*, Darwin explicitly endorses the idea that the United States, as the strongest civilization, was at the apex of the evolutionary process, when he writes,

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[17] Darwin's theory claimed that "all species of life are constantly adapting themselves to their environment by gradually changing over time. These changes, called 'mutations,' occur randomly; mutations that proved to be beneficial to the life form made it stronger and became dominant while those that weakened the life form would ultimately cause it to die out. In this process some individuals get stronger and multiply while other[s] get weaker and go extinct. This is called 'natural selection'" (Tiatorio, 2005, p. 67).

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"There is apparently much truth in the belief that the wonderful progress of the United States, as well as the character of the people, are the results of natural selection; for the more energetic, restless, and courageous men from all parts of Europe have emigrated during the last ten or twelve generations to that great country, and have there succeeded best." Darwin's interpretation of America's success fit[s] into the broader pattern of civilizational evolution that he defined, wherein favorable biological characteristics among the population yield greater national power. (McCartney, 2006, pp. 48–49)

The usage, "survival of the fittest," by Darwin was found applicable to class existence and as justification for the accumulation of wealth. With specific regard to human populations, Darwinism was used to explain and justify the historical developments of nations, cultures, and, most significantly, races (Jaycox, 2005, p. 123). The paralleled application theorized world cultures as existing at three evolutionary levels of development: savage, barbaric, and civilized. Accordingly, the United Sates (and Western Europe) were considered to have achieved the most evolved level.

Emphasizing the "superiority of the uncontaminated pure race, the existences of a hierarchy of races, and their application…to conflicts between nations and 'races'" (Smith & Dávila-Cox, 1999, p. 2), "the same Social Darwinism invoked to justify the privileged position of the…elite served as a rationale for the Anglo-Saxon supremacy and as a vindication of overseas expansion" (Gatewood, 1975, p. 2). Aligned with the postcolonial view, the United States' intervention was cultivated by Social Darwinism, given its conclusive position that "it was inevitable and right that the superior white race should dominate the inferior 'colored' races of the world…it was not only right but the duty of Western nations to show the rest of the world how to live" (Tiatorio, 2005, p. 90). "Weaker societies required tutelage from stronger ones or their future would be disrupted by internal anarchy and external aggression" (Langley, 1989, p. 7). This advanced the

North American perspective throughout the nineteenth century that Cuba lacked the

ability to govern itself "for reasons of geography, racial composition, and cultural

heritage" (Benjamin, 1990, p. 8).

> The rhetoric used to agitate for and justify the war built upon a contrast
> between the civilizations of Spain and the United States. Americans
> regarded Spanish civilizations as irredeemably corrupt and criticized Spain
> for being cruel, backward, unenlightened, and monarchical; sometimes
> they faulted Spanish civilization for being Roman Catholic. Americans
> considered their own civilization, by contrast, to be the pinnacle of human
> progress—advanced in its political values, religion, and racial
> composition. They characterized the horrible circumstances in Cuba as an
> inevitable consequence of Spanish rule and insisted that conditions on the
> island would be incomparably improved if Spain's civilization were
> replaced by America's. (McCartney, 2006, pp. 87–88)

The spreading of U.S. institutions included an additional postcolonial perspective

element with the general theme of the U.S. foreign agenda maintaining that the

ideological justification for intervention was the belief of the need to spread Christianity.

This religious element expanded the aforementioned social theoretical application of

Darwinism, with Darwinism being integrated into moral philosophy by the 1890s

(McCartney, 2006, p. 50). The perceived need to establish Christian missionaries fueled

the perception of responsibility and duty of the highest evolved nations to civilize other

populations still at the two initial evolutionary levels of savagery and barbarism (Jaycox,

2005, p. 123). The Church "called for increased missionary work among the primitive

areas of the world" and in effect became unnatural allies of expansionism (Jones, 2001, p.

1).

With White Americans believing their nation was "destined to lead humanity to

the achievement of its collective teleological purpose…Americans presumed themselves

to be humanity's vanguard, the cutting edge of social evolution" (McCartney, 2006, p.

47).

> McCartney (2006) goes on to state that Americans

> thought themselves to have a particular responsibility to bring others up to
> the standards of American civilization, both to share the blessings of their
> superior civilization and also to fulfill the nation's destiny to transform the
> world into a paradise of universal liberty—the kingdom of God. (p. 47)

Senator Morgan of Alabama believed that the American people considered the

intervention in Cuba to be an obligation the people of America owed "'to humanity, to

Christian civilization, to the spirit and traditions'" of the United States and the American

people (Morgan, in McCartney, 2006, p. 96). Senator Beveridge of Indiana declared that

GOD had made the United States experts of government so that it could "'administer

government among savage and senile peoples… HE has marked the American people as

HIS chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world" (Beveridge, in

Rosenberg, 1982, p. 41). The responsibility of the West to show the rest of the world how

to live came at the price of the burden borne by the Whites. The task—which came to be

referred to as the White man's burden[18]—fell on the shoulders of the Anglo-Saxons, one

of the most civilized populations in the world, to be expansionists and bring law, order,

and self-government to the less evolved nations of the world (Jaycox, 2005, p. 123).

> The Christianization of nearly three millions of colored people yet in
> illiteracy and moral darkness is a call to Christian love and service as loud
> as any call can possibly be. The messages of the gospel of Peace, have the
> only promise of salvation to these millions in darkness at our doors. To
> give this to these needy ones, who are not only near to our doors but who
> are ready to receive the grace of Christ at our hands is the call of Christ for

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[18] "Take up the White Man's burden- Send forth the best ye breed- Go, bind your sons to exile To serve
your captives' need; To wait, in heavy harness, On fluttered folk and wild- Your new-caught, sullen
peoples, Half-devil and half-child" (*The White Man's Burden*. Kipling, R., 1899: stanza one; reprinted in
Gatewood, 1975, p. vii).

our patience and fidelity. As we thank God that the smile of Heaven rests upon our country once more in peace, we may well turn our thoughts anew to our endeavor for the victories of Peace, and think fairly of our duty to lift these poor, ignorant millions above the perils of increasing ignorance, as we have been thinking of the deliverance of Cubans from their oppressions and wrongs. (American Missionary, 1898, pp. 105–106)

Ultimately, the "White man's burden" intentioned to establish a society that mirrored the United States and that would serve the United States' global quest for power and economic dominance in the long run. United States' interests would be promoted through the establishment of a system and institutions sympathetic with U.S. goals, both political and economic.[19]

It is this period of rampant Darwinist, racist thinking and practices in the United States and, in general, toward non-White people that, postcolonialism argues, provoked United States' intervention and policy with Cuba. With the United States' commanding presence and involvement, the control of Cuba became a transfer of power from the Spanish to the U.S. Americans. Hobson (1965) notes,

It is true that most of the "backward" races have been placed in some sort of dependence upon one or other of the "civilized" Powers… But this in most instances marks rather the beginning of a process of imperialization…by which interference is increased and governmental control is tightened…. (p. 223)

Having propositioned the purchase of Cuba during both Polk and Pierce administrations, for much of the nineteenth century, the Washington leaders ultimately positioned that Cuba was to remain under the ruling power of Spain "until the time came for her to be attached to the United States" (Benjamin, 1990, p. 9). Thus, for Cuba, the formal "end of colonialism led to new forms of postcolonial domination" (Young, 2001,

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[19] *The White Man's Burden*. Kipling, R., 1899; reprinted in Gatewood, Jr., W. B., 1975.

p. 59). Concurring, Klor de Alva has been quoted stating that "many people living in both once-colonised and once-colonising countries are still subject to the oppressions put into place by colonialism" (Loomba, 2005, p. 17). Hence, Loomba suggests, it is more helpful to think of postcolonialism not just as coming literally after colonialism and signifying its demise, but more flexibly as the contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism (p. 16). Like in the case of Cuba, "a country may be both postcolonial (in the sense of being formally independent) and neo-colonial (in the sense of remaining economically and/or culturally dependent) at the same time" (Loomba, p. 12). "Identifying postcolonialism with the epochal 'end' of colonialism presents itself as falsely utopian or prematurely celebratory" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 174). McClintock concludes, "we may be in a postcolonial, but not a postimperial age; for people in many parts of the world, there was no postcolonial condition" (McClintock, in Bush 2006, p. 59).

> Postcolonial…incorporates political and theoretical practices whose reach extends back into the history of the colonial past as well as the day-to-day realities of the postcolonial present, practices which seek to contest the legacies of that past as well as to challenge the priorities and assumptions of its political heirs. (Young, 2001, p. 66)

Overlapping of Liberal-Progressive, Marxian, and Postcolonial Views

All three frameworks—liberal-progressive, Marxian, and postcolonial—employ justifiable explanations for the U.S. intervention and have been successful in strengthening the U.S. intervention position using their respective view. Each has traditionally been used individually as respective interpretations for the involvement of the United States in Cuba in 1898. "The paradoxical mixture of pacifism and imperialism, international humanitarianism and racism [was] so frequently compounded

in the late 19ᵗʰ century"; both liberal-progressive and Marxian perspectives share common interests with each other as well as with the selected postcolonial view (Cooper, in Stead, 1902, 1972, p. 5).

> On the one hand, that the question of American expansion in 1898 was inherently involved with the questions of ethnocentrism, racism and the distribution of power with a regime of cultural pluralism there is no doubt. On the other hand, that there is some basis for the claim that Anglo-American cultural and legal traditions offer other parts of the world progressive ideas of liberty and political equality is part of what makes…progressive vision persuasive and successful. (Trombold, 2005, p. 212)

Moreover, historians note Cuba as an ideal market, supplier, rich investment territory, and cultural outpost, and argue that the United States had always intended to control Cuba's sovereignty (Pérez, 1988; Paterson, 1998). Paterson (1998) specifically argues that the United States always desired Cuba and, because of her location, perceived her as strategic in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico (p. 6). In 1898, C. A. Conant (1898) declared that the actions of the United States were "not a matter of sentiment" but "the result of a natural law of economic and race development. The great civilized people have to-day at their command the means of developing the decadent nations of the world" (p. 326). Hobson (1965) adds, "wherever white men of 'superior races' have found able-bodied savages or lower races in possession of lands containing rich mineral or agricultural resources, they have whenever strong enough, compelled the lower race to work for their benefit" (p. 248).

The liberal-progressive, Marxian, and postcolonial frameworks—all present relevant concepts that corroborate to explain the U.S. intervention in Cuba. Each framework emphasizes a need for the United States' involvement that would result in

some form of gain and progress. Young (2001) adds that while the postcolonial

interpretation challenges the status quo of hegemonic economic imperialism and the

history of colonialism and imperialism, it also signals an activist engagement with

positive political positions and new forms of political identity in the same way as

Marxism does (p. 58). All three approaches considered the sure possibility that the

ambitions of the U.S. hegemony and the increased economic interests would culminate in

achieving the nation's overall goal of rising to become a world power.

> Revolution in Cuba, whether from internal roots or importation by other
> republics, was rejected…the price of Cuban independence might
> be…racial war… Revolution in Cuba, although ideologically desirable,
> was strategically impractical. In the formation of the Cuban policy, power
> politics and strategic imperatives outweighed any commitment to an
> independent Cuba. (Langley, 1968, pp. 18–19)

Therefore, although distinct, each of the presented perspectives supported U.S.

ambitions as the respective goals.

**Selected Interpretative Framework: Collective Framework Incorporating National
Level of Analysis and Study with Focus on Race Relations and Racial Perceptions**

This study acknowledges the contributions of the liberal-progressive, Marxist, and

postcolonial frameworks toward explaining the United States' involvement in Cuba in

1898. However, as pertinent to the focus of this study, it would be most effective if the

three presented frameworks are considered in a collaborative framework. This study

specifically investigates race relations and racial perceptions present in the U.S. society

and the impact of the said relations and perceptions in the construction of the Cuban

society post-1898. The emphasizing elements of the liberal-progressive, Marxist, and

postcolonial are all necessary to the formation of an approach that best explains both the

U.S. involvement and its influence in light of the social context of the U.S. society. However to effectively address the study's main research question, the selected interpretative framework must not only provide explanations for involvement. It must demonstrate the ways in which the United States impacted and influenced race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba from 1898-1902. Thus, the interpretative framework utilized to inform this study's analysis extends beyond primarily accepting idealistic interpretations of the U.S. policy accentuating democracy and humanitarianism as well as the position that the financial state of the United States dictated its involvement which was required for the survival and protection of the nation's interests.

This study does not consider any of the above presented frameworks inferior; however, they are deemed most compelling in a collaborative manner. This collaboration serves as the foundation along with the additional factors of race relations and racial perceptions.

Moreover, including the emphasis of race relations and racial perceptions incorporates the casual effect of the existing issues, from economic issues to colonialism. Although traditionally neglected, the attention underscores that race relations and racial perceptions had an influence and such inclusion provides for an integrative holistic approach. Thus, as relevant to this study and the issue of race relations and racial perceptions, this provides a forum to address individual and cultural identity formation, societal relations and fluidity, and national identity formation. It maintains what the postcolonial view addresses:

> …issues not formerly interrogated: the links between imperialism and
> national cultures and identities in the imperial heartlands; the link between
> the imperial past and the present; how the imperial past is remembered

(and forgotten); the relationship between race, gender, sexuality, and imperialism. It has provided the "postcolonial" African, African-Caribbean and Asian minorities in the Western "heart of empire" with a new conceptual framework to interrogate their identities and challenge contemporary racism… postcolonial…has prompted creative historical explorations and opened up new interdisciplinary perspectives that go beyond the bounds of conventional imperial histories. (Bush, 2006, p. 55)

However, it also takes into consideration the emphasis of the Marxian conflict that can arise between nations due to economic, strategic, and material interests while maintaining the ideological and moralistic aspects presented by the liberal-progressive and postcolonial perspectives.[20]

Aptly relating domestic affairs and behavior patterns to foreign policy, Jones (2001) draws attention to the fact that policymaking does not take place in a vacuum, besides pointing out the intimate relationship existing between domestic and foreign policies (p. xi). Regarding the U.S. actions in 1898, Rosenberg (1982) wrote: "The entire rationale for overseas expansion was shaped in a domestic crucible. Economic need, Anglo-Saxon mission, and the progressive impulse joined together nicely to justify a more active role for government in promoting foreign expansion" (p. 42). This study's focus on the issue of race relations and racial perceptions present in the U.S. society incorporates the critical influence of the domestic affairs and behavior patterns of the U.S. policy with Cuba, and how existing U.S. domestic race relations and racial perceptions directly influenced the development of Cuban society.

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[20] Postcolonial has been critiqued as neglecting "class, despite the huge influence Marxism and socialism had on subjugated populations" (Persram, 2007, p, xxii). However, it is the position of this study that the postcolonial perspective does consider class in that it brings attention to those of the rejected, oppressed, discriminated, disfranchised, and powerless social groups within a given community and or society. In doing so, postcolonial attends to the class issue as those of "subjugated populations" are traditionally positioned at the lower spectrum of the hierarchy of the class structure. Further, postcolonial includes the issue of class in its discussion with analyzing and studying the relations between groups from the social stratus that is heavily influenced by power structures based on class. The postcolonial view contributes with its concern of keeping culture in view (Persram, p. xxiii).

This focus draws upon Paterson's (1998) national level of analysis of the U.S. intervention in Cuba.[21] With Paterson's national level of analysis, "historians primarily identify domestic or internal characteristics to explain foreign-policy decisions" (p. 7). The national level of analysis considers how nations vary in their reactions to "the prevailing features of the international system and regional setting according to its particular domestic order" (Paterson, p. 7). According to Paterson, from this context, ideology figures prominently (p. 8). The U.S. ideology served as an integrated set of prevailing ideas in the United States and "conditioned the environment in which decisions were made" (Paterson, p. 8). Among the prevalent ideas during that time in the U.S. history, it is the hierarchical sentiments with regard to women, people of color, and nations weaker than the United States that are relevant to this research. Specifically, this research deems the United States' ideology of "racism or race thinking" as "central to the history of the United States and to understanding United States behavior in international relations" (Paterson, p. 8). For example, the influence of such ideology is illustrated by the fact that at the time when the United States intervened in Cuba, and set out to fight to liberate the people of Cuba from their Spanish oppressors, it did so with a segregated

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[21] According to Paterson (1998), historians have studied the United States' intervention in Cuba from four levels of analysis: international, regional, national, and individual (p. 5). The international level of analysis involves looking at the elements of the international system, including the distribution of power and exploration of structural shifts over time. The aim is to address "which states possess the major instruments of power in the world system" (Paterson, p. 5). The regional context entails analysis from a level that moves to identify regional factors (security, vulnerability, and economical and cultural ties), that may explain the actions of the United States. At this level, it is concluded that geographical location or place in the international system matters (Paterson, p. 6). The individual level of analysis concentrates on individual leaders such as the President of the United States and other U.S. Congressional officials or business leaders. Individuals such as the aforementioned, at the most fundamental level of the process, are identified as those who managed the foreign-policy process and essentially decided what steps would be made (Paterson, p. 8). These leaders did not necessarily have the political expertise and so it was "their different styles of diplomacy" that determined the results (Paterson, p. 8).

U.S. army.[22] Trombold (2005) also notes racist underpinnings of American imperialism

in the Caribbean (p. 201).

This period in the U.S. history was host to a mentality in which the White U.S.

Americans judged groups differing from them by "ranking them in a hierarchy of race"

(Paterson, 1998, p. 8). As discussed, "White Anglo-Saxon cultures and peoples were seen

as being above the darker races" (Dávila-Cox & Smith, 1999, p. 11). Black and Native

Americans were grouped at the bottom with Latinos ("Spanish-speaking peoples of color

in Latin America") being placed in the middle of the hierarchy (Paterson, 1998, p. 8).

> Evolutionary doctrines…provided scientific legitimation for Americans'
> other, more longstanding, beliefs and thus became an organizing principle
> of American culture. At the same time, racism experienced a vicious
> renaissance in the 1890s, and contemporary theories of ethnicity endorsed
> racial hierarchy as both natural and necessary. (McCartney, 2006, p. 47)

This U.S. ideology of racial hierarchy shaped what Clarence Lusane has referred

to as a racialized social system. Lusane (2006) informs,

> a racialized system refers to societies or systems in which economic,
> political, social, and ideological levels are structured by the placement of
> actors in racial categories…all racialized social systems place peoples
> within racial categories and differential hierarchies that produce particular
> social relations between or among the groups…the totality of these
> racialized social relations and practices constitute the racial structure of a
> society. (p. xi)

> This world may be constituted by sovereign states, but they are racialized
> states—racialized on grounds established during centuries of colonialism
> and imperialism, grounds which may have shifted much but still remain,
> in places quite solid. Within racialized states—the ubiquitous nature and
> color-encompassing tendencies of international elites…through
> coercion…or force…and…ideology…its…civilizing mission, positions
> subjects closer to the category of body than that of citizen. (Persram, 2007,
> p. xxi)

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[22] "The Ninth and Tenth Cavalry [also known as the Buffalo Soldiers] were composed of African Americans. The Army was segregated in those days" (John Gable, in Miller, 1998, p. 65).

Relevant to the focus of this study, this U.S. way of thinking was displayed in relation to non-Anglo-Saxon populations. Consistent with the reigning U.S. American perspective, Latinos in general were incapable of autonomous responsibility and, thus, self-governance. It was believed that Latinos in general "had suffered so much under Spanish rule that they had lost an ability to govern themselves" (Paterson, 1998, p. 8). Therefore such U.S. perspective was applicable as it pertained to Cuba as well.

> Much has been said against the Cubans to show that they are incapable of self-government. Many of these charges are true. They are poor; they are ignorant, under Spanish rule not more than one tenth received any education at all; they were not accustomed to manage their own affairs; they had no chance; they were without schools; no high ideals had been held up to them; they were robbed of their property, their freedom, and their self-respect by a blind Government and a brutal soldiery…. (Draper, 1910, pp. 38–39)

With regard to Cuba, this was deemed true given the number of Blacks and those of mixed heritage in its society. Angel Smith and Emma Dávila-Cox (1999) corroborate that Latinos were categorized as "cruel, inhumane, and despotic," and Blacks, along with those of mixed heritage, "were 'immature,' even 'childlike,' and incapable of self-government" (p. 11). Senator Albert Beveridge is quoted as stating, "The rule of liberty that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed applies only to those who are capable of self-government" (Beveridge in Tiatorio, 2005, p. 93). As regards Cuba, there was no other Spanish colony where local economy was so extensively dependent on slavery and where African slaves accounted for such a large portion of the population, with the total population of color constituting a majority (Pérez, 1988, p. 101). The independence of Haiti also flamed the influential element of race with the United States' intervention. The Haitian experience caused the U.S.

authorities to fear that without their presence and involvement, the independence of Cuba would result in a "mass exodus of whites and create in Cuba conditions not unlike those that led to the creation of a black republic in Haiti" (Pérez, 1983, p. 220). This intense desire to prevent the "Africanization" of Cuba complemented the generalized "North American sense of its 'manifest destiny' to spread its people and institutions" (Benjamin, 1990, p. 10).

As Chapter 2 demonstrates, there are authors who have addresses the presence of the United States in Cuba from 1898-1902. These authors in their work have rigorously and thoroughly constructed a picture and historical narrative of Cuban life and society during this time period.[23] They have written about the treatment of Cubans of color, pre United States involvement, under colonial Spain during slavery and post-slavery. These authors have chronicled the final fight for Cuban independence, and postindependent Cuba under the occupation of the United States.[24] However with regards to specifically addressing and demonstrating at length how the U.S. influenced race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba, 1898-1902, such evidence has not been rendered detailed attention as presented by this study. Existing work has attempted to address race relation and racial perceptions in Cuban society and the role of the United States however the devotion to disclosing actual documented changes pre-U.S. involvement versus post-U.S. involvement has lacked substantial detail.

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[23] See Benjamin, 1990; Foner, 1972; Franklin, 1997; Healy, 1988 & 2002; Jenks, 1972; Langey, 1989; Miller, 1999; O'Connor, 1958; Offner, 1998; Paterson, 1998; Stead, 1972.

[24] See Bullard, 1907; De la Fuente, 1998; Helg, 1990 & 1995; Kiple, 1976; Miller, 1998; Pérez, 1983, 1988, 1997, & 1999; Pérez-Sarduy & Stubbs, 2000; Schmidt-Nowara, 1999; Weston, 1972.

With the interpretative approach of this study highlights that with the United States' involvement in Cuba, the United States' actions and policies exposed the intersection of race and foreign policy (Lusane, 2006, p. xii). Thus this study will specifically demonstrate how the U.S. influenced the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba beyond primarily explaining its involvement as has been traditionally and repeatedly done. Specific accounts, data, and examples, in addition to the abovementioned are provided in response to addressing the role of the United States.

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CHAPTER 2

Cuba and Race, Pre-1898

Research for this study revealed a history of Cuba entrenched in struggles of both revolutionary battles and socioeconomic discrimination based on race and class. In fact, Terence Cannon (1983) specifies that the history of Cubans of color "is in great part the history of Cuba" (p. 14).[25] From the arrival of the first African slaves in 1524 to the first Cuban slave revolt in 1533, the story of Cubans of color is very much intertwined with the story of Cuba. In colonial Cuba, as in many colonized nations, indigenous groups were displaced and forced to take on lifestyles as commanded by the colonizers, who assumed the role of authority. In Cuba, the ultimate genocide of its indigenous people resulted in the institution of slavery. With the establishment of the slave trade industry, the importation of individuals (uprooted from their homelands and lifestyles) further perpetuated the enforcement of resocialization patterns upon groups. The belief of superior knowledge and know-how shaped the relations between the colonizers and slaves and their descendants.

This chapter is devoted to unraveling how the issue of race in Cuba was addressed prior to 1898. Race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba are explored dating from the introduction of Africans into Cuba for labor in the 1500's, immediately followed by the

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[25] This study will use the term *Cuban(s) of color* to refer to the population traditionally referred to as Afro-Cuban, Black Cuban, and Negro, and includes people of full and/or mixed African descent unless directly quoting resources based on the time period, secondary resources, and authors. Additional labels used due to direct quotation of reference material or translated material include Black Cubans, Blacks in Cuba, Negro(es), and Afro-Cubans. "'Black' is generally used here as a translation of *negro* or *de color* in accordance with the contemporary Cuban racial taxonomy, which classified people with full or mixed African descent collectively in the same phenotypical category. Similarly, 'white' is used as a translation of *blanco*. In accordance with the same contemporary taxonomy, 'black' refers to individuals of predominantly African phenotype (*moreno* or *negro* in Cuban Spanish), in contrast or complement to 'mulatto' (*pardo, mulato,* or *mestizo* in Cuban Spanish)" (Helg, 1995, p. 250). On occasions, the description "of color" is also used, which arises from the translation of the Cuban expression *de color*.

institution of slavery and the establishment of a plantation society by Spain. This chapter further investigates the late nineteenth century abolishment of slavery in Cuba and the revolutionary movements for independence leading to the final struggle for Cuban Independence which culminated in 1898 following the Cuban-Spanish-American War. Although the overall purpose of this study is to assess the direct role and influence of the United States on race relations and racial perceptions during its intervention in Cuba, it is important to ascertain the state of race affairs in that country prior to the U.S. occupation. This is significant because it will present the context of Cuba at the time and the social direction in which Cuba was headed and intended to proceed in within its changing society.

Exploring the Cuban society prior to the formal governing by the United States also considers the impact of slavery, plantation society, and Spanish colonialism on Cuba at the time. However acknowledging these preexisting elements does not negate the powerful influence of the United States. This chapter exposes the views of some of the elites in the Cuban society whose perspectives consisted of holding the U.S. society and its governing system as ideal and to be emulated. These elites who comprised both White Spaniards and White Cubans, some of whom were exiled, sought to replicate the U.S. way of life and societal hierarchy in Cuba. Thus, relevant to this study is the significance and influential nature of the United States' domestic operations and regulations on Cuban affairs.

Therefore, what will be illustrated is that although there was an existing behavior involving race, the event that brought the United States to Cuba took place, for the most part, as a result of the quest by most Cubans to dismantle the injustices present in the

Cuban society. This chapter will demonstrate that such injustices sought to be eradicated, which includes the treatment of Cubans of color during that time. A thorough account of Cuban affairs pre-1898 must be addressed to fully ground the context and state of affairs of the period of focus.

Cuba, Prior to Abolishment of Slavery: Race and the Development of Racial Perceptions and Relations

The introduction of African slaves has been attributed to the Spanish missionary, Bartolomé de las Casas (Corwin, p. 3). De las Casas is said to have encouraged the Spanish to introduce Africans in an effort to save the indigenous people, also referred to as Indians, from extermination (Corwin, p. 3). However, the illnesses introduced into the Cuban society by the Spanish proved too onerous for the indigenous people, which led to the devastation of the population. As B. L. Bullard (1907) argues,

> Within one hundred years their hard mastership had utterly exterminated the native Indians of Cuba, whom they had enslaved and whom they literally worked to death. The great priest, de Las Casas, seeking to save the unhappy Indians, first, it is said, recommended the introduction of negroes as slaves; but says history, the father soon helplessly saw that in being kind to the one he had but been cruel to the other race. (p. 624)

In response, Spain authorized in 1517 the importation of African slaves into Cuba (Foreign Policy Association, in Smith, 1966, p. 118). Thus, slavery pressed on, with the enslaving of Africans appearing "to be an institution accepted naturally by the Spaniards" (Corwin, 1967, p. 3). It seemed "to have been generally felt that the work of one Negro was worth that of four Indian slaves" (Corwin, p. 3). According to Corwin (1967), 1524 saw the first large-scale introduction of African slaves into Cuba, with 300 Africans being imported for work. Slavery and its success dictated the success of the colony,

serving as the foundation of the economic structuring (and social structuring) of Cuba (Corwin, p. 5). "Negro slaves poured into Cuba and were treated almost as beasts. Their span of life in the fields was five years. Supply, however, was inexhaustible" (Bullard, 1907, p. 624). As a result, Arthur Corwin (1967) writes, consequentially, by 1550, "'because of the laziness of Cubans,' who resisted all kinds of work, an exclusive privilege was given by the crown to import African slaves in order to cultivate tobacco and sugar cane," with an estimated 60,000 Africans imported into Cuba as slaves by 1762 (pp. 9, 10).

Although 1820 marked the end of legal slave trade to Cuba, illicit trafficking continued beyond this time (Knight, 1974, p. 214; Foreign Policy Association, in Freeman Smith, 1966, p. 119; Hennessy, in Dávila-Cox & Smith, 1999, p. 75). Under the Spanish colonial rule, African slaves continued to be imported into the nation in great numbers to the extent that, by 1870, Cuba's production of sugar cane amounted to 40% of the total global volume.[26] "Well into the 19th century, a thriving (and illegal) slave trade continued to replenish the supply of enslaved Africans; almost 450,000 arrived on the island's shores between 1820 and 1864" (Ferrer, 1999b, p. 23).[27] "It is estimated that altogether, until the abolition of the slave trade, more than a million Africans were carried to Cuba" (Foreign Policy Association, in Smith, p. 118). The final importation of slaves took place in 1865 (Knight, p. 214; Foreign Policy Association, in Smith, p. 119; Hennessy, in Dávila-Cox & Smith, p. 75).

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[26] During 1790–1867, Cuba imported approximately 780,000 slaves, whereas all of Spanish America, during 1520–1780, imported 700,000 (Schmidt-Nowara, 1999, p. 4).

[27] This figure is equivalent to "about as many as ever arrived in the United States in almost two centuries" (Ferrer, 1999b, p. 23).

Race and Cuban Plantation Society in Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and

Nineteenth Century Cuba. The assessment of race relations and racial perceptions during this time period are made based on the propagated views of the Spanish authorities and Cuban slaveholders within the colonial and plantation system in Cuba. "The importation of slaves to Cuba came as a response for a critical moment in Cuban history—the extension of the sugar revolution. In this way, African slavery became synonymous within certain social attitudes" (Doshi, 1999, p. 9). With slaves becoming critical to the financial success of Cuba, the institution of slavery came to generate racially discriminatory social attitudes (Knight, 1970, p. 182). "For the slaves to effectively serve their economic duties and expectations, systems of socialization were shifted" (Doshi, p. 9). Accordingly, Franklin Knight (1970) states, "slavery represented a social order" (p. 183). Slaves were not primarily nor solely "defined by economic function within society, and instead the division of labor became intertwined with race association" (Doshi, p. 9). Slavery became synonymous with Africa, and sugar was synonymous with slavery (Knight, 1970, p. 222). According to Verena Martinez-Alier (1974), with slavery, one's race, or phenotypic appearance indicated one's position in society and whether one was to be discriminated against or not, and one's legal color was then referred to "when phenotype no longer sufficed," in order to determine if one was to be the exploiter or the exploited (p. 6). Thus, "racism was a pretext for economic exploitation…the more so as a connection can be detected between changing economic needs and intensity of discrimination" (Martinez-Alier, p. 6).

However, Knight (1970) notes that people of African ancestry were not initially subjected to slavery in the New World on account of their race (p. 186). From the 1550s

to the 1770s, in the Cuba prior to plantation slavery, most slaves were used in urban activities or in rural occupations. In the urban areas, in particular, slaves had some opportunity for mobility and along with the free Cubans of color dominated the tertiary sector (De la Fuente, 2004, pp. 9, 10). The integration of slaves into the colonial society by way of their participation in all the economic spheres of society allowed them to acquire awareness regarding the functioning of the colonial society and eventually led them to learn about their rights under Spanish law. Hence, social relations involving the slaves were very complex. In addition to having some measure of rights under the Spanish law, slaves also had the ability to purchase their freedom (De la Fuente, pp. 12, 14–15). It was with the establishment, in Cuba, of a society based on the plantation system that social relations and, especially, race relations suffered a negative impact. However, Alejandro de la Fuente (2004) writes, although the cruelties of plantation slavery had a polarizing and negative effect on race relations, the laws that protected slaves and the norms associated with them did not immediately disappear (pp. 15–16). The right to self-purchase by slaves continued unabated; many other slave rights were also upheld in an 1842 ordinance (De la Fuente, pp. 16, 17).[28] De la Fuente (2004) notes that slaves in the urban environment were more likely to successfully petition and exercise their existing rights as opposed to those on the plantations (pp. 16–18). This pattern resulted in a dual plantation system (De la Fuente, pp. 16–18).[29]

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[28] "The 1842 ordinance upheld the whole panoply of slaves' limited traditional rights: self-purchase and *coartación*, marriage, baptism, and to change owners in case of physical abuse" (De la Fuente, 2004, p. 17).

Knight (1974) writes that although the White Cuban remained divided over the institution of slavery with no fundamental disagreement existing on the question of race, slaves still faced dehumanizing treatment in Cuba (pp. 215, 343). "In general, persons of African descent were considered to suffer from some permanent disability" (Knight, p. 215). People of color were deemed the most ignorant and stupid, with many White Cubans regarding Cubans of color as mentally and morally inferior (Foreign Policy Association, in Smith, 1966, p. 121). "Before the twentieth century, the Africanness of the Cuban society was demeaned, despised, and denigrated by white and nonwhite" (Knight, 1974, p. 219). As a consequence of the reinforcing of the plantation system with slavery, the plantation mentality began equating all physically demanding tasks with the duties of the population of color—which reinforced the status of the African slave as occupying the lowest rung of the island's social order (Pérez, 1995, p. 97).

> Cuba racial perception was a direct consequence of the degree to which slavery appears as a system of forced labour but also of social organization, and of class and racial discipline. At every point the coloured person, whether slave or free, was forced to shape his behaviour in accordance with the actions and expectations of the dominant white sector, who, in turn, also had to adjust to the presence of the non-whites. (Martinez-Alier, 1974, p. 2)

Knight (1970) argues that "in the case of Cuba…slavery exacerbated the racism which might have been latent" (p. 186). "By the end of eighteenth century, the words 'slaves' and 'Negroes' began to be interchangeable—the narrow identification of a servile group with a particular race had begun" (Knight, p. 186). The use of force, abuse, and violence

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[29] De la Fuente writes that it was only in Cuba and other Ibero-American colonies that laws such as these existed; they were unheard of in the U.S. and British colonies, with the masters' rights to free their slaves declining with the expansion of slavery (De la Fuente, 2004, p. 18). "Under English law…slaves had 'no legal identity, no right to family life, leisure time or religious instruction, and no access to legal institutions for purposes of protest or litigation against masters'" (De la Fuente, 2004, p. 18).

was also regular practice with the slave labor. Many of the slaves "lived in wretched

conditions and worked under dreadful circumstances and remorseless exploitation.

Corporate punishment, principally in the form of flogging and beatings, was used to

coerce and intimidate" (Pérez, 1995, p. 97). Louis Pérez (1995) writes that 6-day work

weeks and 18-hr work days, often for months at a time, were not uncommon (p. 98).

> The treatment of the slaves was inhuman, the sole object of the
> administrator being to get the utmost amount of labor in a given time out
> of the greatest number of slaves that could be worked day and night,
> without reference to their health or strength, age or sex. (Pérez, p. 98)

It was believed that "slaves 'required…three or four hours sleep, not more; and if they

had more time they would not employ it in sleep, they would go out wandering or

stealing'" (Pérez, p. 98). In response, the general attitudes of opposition to slavery by the

slaves themselves were seen in their acts of "desertions, suicides, murder, and the wanton

destruction of property" (Knight, 1970, p. 218). "Urban and rural runaways were so

frequent that the Cubans had specially trained dogs and slave hunters… Suicides were so

frequent in the 1840s and 1850s that it became a serious topic of discussion in the

Spanish Cortes" (Knight, 1974, p. 218).

Race ideology took form, "all of which had as their central premise the notion of

unequal social evolution" (Pérez, 1995, p. 92).

> Whites proclaimed themselves innately superior to non-whites. Race not
> only served as a useful justification of slavery but it was used to justify
> both the exclusion of people of color from political participation and the
> imposition of barriers to social mobility. (Pérez, p. 92)

Knight (1972) writes of White Cubans who desired to see the extinction of the "Black

race," identifying them as jeopardizing the island (p. 294). Many found them to be

impotent, dangerous, lazy, lacking in ambition, and a disturbing element of the populace

(p. 294). Martinez-Alier (1974) writes that race was

> a symbol for other differences—the division of labour in 19th century
> Cuba, religion in 15th to 18th century Spain—or in other words, that
> strains and tensions in society that may be the result of a variety of factors
> are often justified and rationalized in terms of racial distinctions. (p. 6)

Cuban Plantation Society and Free Cubans of Color in Seventeenth,

Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Century Cuba. Parallel to the existing slave community in

Cuba resided a community of free Cubans of color.[30] According to Knight (1972), the

free colored community in Cuba originated in the form of offspring of the sexual unions

between Whites masters and African slaves; however, over time, it became composed of

subdivisions based on the color of their skin (pp. 282, 283). "From the very early period

the free colored community was not only substantial but also obviously racially

mixed…the free person of color, therefore spanned a wide spectrum from palest white to

purest black" (pp. 283, 281). As opposed to slaves, many free Cubans of color were the

benefactors of successes during Cuba's slavery period (Pérez, 1995, p. 96).

> By the mid-nineteenth century, free people of color were located in
> virtually every occupational category, in the professions and in the skilled
> trades. Some had acquired sizeable fortunes. It was not unrestricted entry,
> but it was significant. Free men and women of color were especially
> prominent in urban trades, service sectors, and mechanical arts. (Pérez,
> 1995, p. 96)

However, free Cubans of color during this time period were still not immune to

the vicious stereotyping and the malicious treatment that existed. Although free, Cubans

of color were still identified as part of the great "downfall of Cuba" (Knight, 1972, p.

301).

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[30] According to Knight, "no specific study exists of the free colored community in Cuba…" (1972, p. 307).

Leslie Rout (1976) traces the persecution of Cubans of color to as early as the

1790s. Rout accounts that, in 1793, there were 39 schools on the island in which the

majority of the teachers were of color; yet, in 1794, "laws were promulgated providing

for the phasing out of all Negroid instructors" (p. 298). In 1809, the laws to eliminate

instructors of color in Cuba were later replaced by another order that prohibited all free

Cubans of color (including mixed Cubans) "from either teaching in or attending a Cuban

school" (Rout, p. 299). "The next step was an 1816 regulation banning them from owning

land" (Rout, p. 299).

The success of free Cubans of color "aroused suspicion and enmity" (Pérez, 1995,

p. 96). "By the nineteenth century, racism was a prominent feature of Cuba's white

society, and its most hostile manifestation was toward the free colored community"

(Knight, 1972, p. 282). Knight (1974) writes that the Cubans of color, slaves as well as

free people, found the accumulated prejudices of slavery and race to be inescapable (p.

216). Referred to as "victims of systematic discrimination," according to Pérez (1995),

the Cubans of color were

> subject to official discrimination that barred them from attending the
> University of Havana or enrolling in other institutions of higher learning,
> denied them access to the ranks of the Catholic clergy, and blocked their
> participation in the public affairs of the colony. (pp. 96–97)

Thus, societal practices, discriminately endorsed by Spain's local colonial governing

officials, and regulations inhibited Cubans of color from enjoying the right to equal

opportunity to positions made available to White Spaniards and White Cubans. As a

consequence of the restricted access to education, the low economic positioning of free

Cubans of color was reinforced within the free society on the island (Knight, 1972, p.

295). "The plantation system of sugar and slavery in Cuba militated against mass education and discriminated against the education of non-white persons," impeding them from becoming attorneys, physicians, pharmacists, or members of the royal bureaucracy (Knight, 1972, pp. 290, 296). In addition to this legal exclusion from these professions throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the Cuban system of landholding also prevented non-White ownership, with property ownership by free Cubans of color becoming practically nonexistent by the middle of the nineteenth century (Knight, 1972, pp. 291, 292).

Rout (1976) writes that "the presence of an educated Negroid populace that did not work the fields and could challenge white authority was seen as making the intimidation of slaved Cubans exceedingly difficult" under Spanish colonial rule and slave system (p. 299). Free Cubans of color were often unjustly targeted and subjected to surveillance to a greater degree because they were free in a slave society. They were deemed "indirectly dangerous" and "feared as a potential source of political disorder" (Pérez, 1995, p. 97). Many Spanish and White Cubans worried that the presence of free people of color would ignite problems with slaves pressing for free status as that of the free Cubans of color. Since free Cubans of color "detested slavery and participated in every organized effort to overthrow it," they were considered potential organizers of slave rebellion and social unrest (Knight, 1974, p. 217; Pérez, 1995, p. 97). The plantation system which formed the basis of the Cuban society dictated the operation of the society. Thus, with the plantation system, Cuba experienced a continued decline in social tolerance (Knight, 1972, p. 301). The blame of the conflicts that arose within the plantation society was often placed on free Cubans of color, with greater hostilities

directed towards them. "The very presence of a large free population of color, many of whom had attained positions of distinction, threatened to undermine the racial assumptions of the colonial social order" (Pérez, 1995, p. 97). This colonial social order consisted of sustaining a hierarchy of the races. White Spaniards were positioned superior to all others in the Cuban society, followed by Cuban whites, mixed race Cubans, and, lastly, Cubans of color.

Attempts at preserving this social order further manifested itself in the formation of families. Anti-miscegenation laws were established regarding marriage. Such laws were reflective of the existing race relations and negative perceptions within the Cuban society at the time. According to Martinez-Alier (1974),

> …marriage in nineteenth century Cuba was ideally isogamic, i.e., like married like. In 1776 the enlightened Charles III had passed the Royal Pragmatic on marriage which by severely restricting freedom of marriage lent legal support to the aspirations of social exclusiveness… The cultural tradition of Spain which during three centuries had espoused 'purity of blood' as the essential requisite of Spanishness must also be taken into consideration. (pp. 1, 6)

Considering the instances of interracial marriages and their frequency, Martinez-Alier writes of the influence of Spain on its Cuban colony and the locals' desire for racial exclusiveness, emphasizing the significance of slavery and the effect of the institution on the race relations between the slaves and free Cubans of color.

> In Cuba, legal and social discrimination of the free coloured community increased rather than diminished. …[T]he 1806 free-marriage decree…interpreted with increasing vigour throughout the 19th century…provided the basis of official segregation in marriage between whites and free coloureds. (Martinez-Alier, p. 4)

According to Martinez-Alier, the prevalent marriage pattern in Cuba was evidence that "the basic line of cleavage dividing Cuban nineteenth century society was race, to the

extent that legislation was passed regulating and restricting interracial marriage" (p. 2). Particularly for the many White elite families, "intermarriage of one of their members with an Afro-Cuban would have been an outrage" (Helg, 1990, p. 54).

For many "blinded by fear and racial prejudice, white people generally condemned the free-colored sector as 'lazy,' 'uncivilized,' and 'unChristian'" and "of little or no use either to itself, or to the country in which it exists" (Knight, 1972, p. 292). Their presence was not to be encouraged (Rout, 1976, p. 299). "On 12 March 1837 a royal cédula was issued prohibiting Negroids from landing in the country" (Rout, p. 299). Moreover, as of the census of 1841, "the traditional practice of classifying Afro-Cubans separately as blacks or mulattoes was terminated" (p. 300). That decree grouped individuals of full or part African blood as the same (p. 300).

The "Conspiracy of the Ladder," in 1844, also visibly displayed the contempt held for free Cubans of color by many White Cubans. Initiated by a report that a rebellion was being plotted, Leopoldo I. O'Donnell, the governor of Cuba, responded with a massive detainment security measure. Believing that it was the free Cubans of color who were behind the organization of the plot, O'Donnell ordered over 4,000 slaves, free Cubans of color, and Whites to be taken into custody (Rout, 1976, p. 300). In the end, 78 free Cubans of color were executed, hundreds of slaves were fatally flogged, and 1,292 individuals were issued penal sentences (Rout, p. 300). The rumored plot served as proof for many, including the governor of Cuba, that "virtually no person of African origin was trustworthy" (p. 301). This distrust of Cubans of color later manifested itself in the institution of "a pass system" in 1855 for all Cubans of color; "two years later all Negroid

men, women, and children were ordered to register and pay a fixed annual sum for the purchase of an identity card" (p. 301).

Race and Law in Late Nineteenth Century Cuba. The greater part of the nineteenth century in Cuba consisted of mainly revolutionary battles and slave revolts. During this time, discontentment with Spanish authority and exclusion of Cubans from the political and economic venues was mounting. On October 10, 1868, landowner and slave-owner, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, freed his slaves and declared war on the Spanish crown. Céspedes's speech, "*Grito de Yara*" (Cry of Yara), and actions marked the commencement of The Ten Years' War, which has been regarded as the first major war for Cuban independence. The *Grito de Yara* placed the issue of slavery alongside the frustrations regarding the Spanish rule at the forefront of the Cuban colonial society. How Spain and Cuba would respond to the displeased parties would determine the future of Cuban social and economic relations and standing. This was the culminating act reflecting dissatisfaction with the handling of Cuba by Spain and the Cubans' eagerness for independence so that Cubans would receive a deserving share of the profits, gains, and rights they believed was rightfully theirs. It is in the year 1868 that the slogan *Cuba Libre* originated.[31]

Two years into the war, in response to the existing conflict on the island and the disapproval of neighboring nations, the Moret Law of 1870 was presented as a compromise to addressing the issues of both slavery and the economic concerns that

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[31] Knight writes that the slogan was taken to the exile communities in the United States, to some in Europe, and to the mainland of the recently independent nations in Latin America (in Miller, 1999). By 1878, the slogan was primarily used by many organized associations of Cubans, predominantly in the United States, including Tampa, Key West, and New York. Knight further states that the leader of *Cuba Libre* was Calixto García (Miller, 1999).

could potentially arise from its abolishment. The Moret Law, therefore, initiated

emancipation but at a gradual pace. The progression of emancipation would help avoid a

collapse of the Cuban financial infrastructure with regard to the Cuban society as well as

the colonial slaveholders. Therefore, for the benefit of the slaveholders, the Moret Law

"was to institute a patronage system by which the slaves would be tied to the estates as

wage-earners for a period ranging from ten to fifteen years" (Knight, 1970, p. 172).

Overall, the Moret Law

> provided for the gradual emancipation of the bulk of Cuba's slaves and for
> the immediate freedom of (1) the newborn (*vientre libre*); (2) the over age
> 65 (later, amended to age 60); (3) those who fought for Spain; (4) all
> slaves confiscated from the rebels; and (5) all *emancipados*…[and] (6) any
> slaves who were discovered who had not been included in the 1867 census
> were to be freed. (Kiple, 1976, p. 68)

In 1878, The Ten Years' War ended with the opposing parties signing the Pact of Zanjón

which declared the emancipation of slaves who fought for both sides. However, slavery

was not fully abolished and Cuba remained subjected to Spanish control.

By 1879, a new law of abolition was presented by the government which came

into effect July 29, 1880 (Knight, 1970, p. 177). Although the law of 1880 continued in

line with the abolishment of slavery, it incorporated an eight-year tutelage which "set the

terminal date for slavery in 1888" as well as "extended the patronage system to all the

newly freed slaves in lieu of any indemnity to their owners" (Knight, 1970, p. 177). This

extended patronage system required slaves to continue to work for their masters the

duration of their tutelage. In return for their work, the masters "were obliged to feed,

clothe, and compensate the Negroes for their labor, and educate their children" (Foreign

Policy Association, in Smith, 1966, p. 119). This system abolished slavery in name but

sustained its substance (Scott, 1984, p. 99). The patronage system was formally brought

to an end two years earlier by royal decree on October 7, 1886, and slavery was

completely abolished (Knight, 1970, p. 178).

Perceptions of White Cubans and Their Treatment of Cubans of Color in

Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Century Cuba. Cuban culture, society, and

life were, and continued to be, shaped by its European colonial ruler, Spain. Thus, the

European influence flowed into every area of Cuban existence, from thought to practice.

> Initiated in Europe, the classification and ranking of humankind into
> inferior and superior races profoundly influenced the development, indeed,
> the creation of the sciences. Biology, medicine, psychology, anthropology,
> ethnology, and sociology were all, to some degree, shaped by an
> evolutionary paradigm. (Graham, 1990, p. 1)

Of high significance, inclusive in the various developing theories of the time, were those

ideologies that were centered on races and racial hierarchies. Richard Graham (1990)

writes that as a result many social policies regarding societal operations, public places,

education, crime, health, and immigration were informed by these racial theories (p. 1).

In Cuba, those most familiar, directly influenced, and likely to emulate the

thinking and ways of Europe included the *Peninsulares* and Creoles who consisted of the

White elite. Many of the elites were strongly influenced by European derived theories

such as social Darwinism, geographical determinism, and many racial theories (Helg,

1990, p. 37). The European thought and theories emphasized "the superiority of the

uncontaminated pure race, the existence of a hierarchy of races, and…ideas regarding the

'survival of the fittest' to conflicts between nations and 'races'" (Dávila-Cox & Smith,

1999, p. 2). The Anglo-Saxon was seen as the model civilization, and although subjected

to the colonial rule of the Spanish, many elites remained supportive of such policies.

"The elites visited Europe and the United States in search of models…therefore, no surprise to find these elites affected by European ideas regarding race" (Helg, 1990, p. 37). They looked to the United States to replicate its nation building. Particularly for those in support of a society based on Cuba's plantation system, the south in the United States "presented to the world a model of a peaceful and prosperous slave regime in which slave-owners enjoyed both local and national power" (Schmidt-Nowara, 1995, p. 105).

According to Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, in the 1860s, it was the Cuban and Spanish liberals who formed a reformist consensus concerning the shape of the postemancipation Cuban society (1995, p. 102). Schmidt-Nowara writes that "both imagined a harmonious society governed by static class and racial hierarchies in which workers of African or mixed African-European origin labored for a landowning and professional elite of Spanish or European descent" (p. 102). The two groups believed that "a segregated, hierarchical post-emancipation society promised continued labor, harmonized racial and labor relations, and preservation of Cuban nationality" (Schmidt-Nowara, p. 102). Thus, the common European thought identifying Africans as inferior was passed on and received by many of the elites in Cuba. "Though the categories of race in the Spanish colonial world were complex and recognized degrees of racial mixture, the division between white and nonwhite was nonetheless jealously guarded by the colonial state and the white elite" (Schmidt-Nowara, 1999, p. 8). Looking to the United States, many believed that the United States flourished as it did "because it was a nation of Anglo-Saxon immigrants in which the Indians had been pushed aside and the blacks segregated" (Helg, 1990, p. 38). Graham (1990) writes that elites came to endorse the

view that "the white race was superior and destined to triumph over blacks, Indians, *mestizos*, and mulattoes" (p. 3).

The belief of White supremacy "was attractive not only to the ruling elite, but to some larger sectors such as the nascent Creole middle class" (Helg, 1990, p. 58). "Early speculations about *cubanidad* were always expressed in terms of white, Hispanic exclusivity, representing 'civilized' values" (Hennessy, 1999, p. 72). Many conformed to the prevailing assertions regarding Cubans of color. Many also supported the movement to "whiten" the Cuban society. Because of the number of Cubans of color, including those of both full African ancestry and mixed ancestry, an increase in the number of pure Whites was considered critical. The campaign for European immigration to Cuba was encouraged. Augmenting the White populace would advance the Cuban people and culture. Diminishing the presence of Cubans of color would, over time, rid the island of what was perceived as the source of its social problems. Aline Helg (1990) also states that many elites concluded that instituting the process of whitening through European immigration would enable the island to achieve economic development and civilization (p. 39). Intellectuals argued that "whites' genes" were naturally stronger and "would ultimately prevail" (Chomsky, 2000, p. 422).

> To preserve the Cuban nationality, Creole reformers advocated the
> following measures: abolition of the slave trade; harmonization of master–
> slave relations so as to decrease hostility and alienation of the slave
> population and prepare slaves for eventual emancipation; European
> immigration to "whiten" Cuba; and controlled miscegenation among
> African and European subalterns to lessen the sharp racial differences that
> rent Cuban society. The end would be a corporate and caste society in
> which free workers of mixed African and European ancestry labored for a
> Hispano-Cuban Creole landowning and professional elite. (Schmidt-
> Nowara, 1995, p. 104)

European immigration was advocated "to break down the barrier of 'color'" (Schmidt-Nowara, p. 104). Ultimately, it was critical to whiten the society not only racially and demographically but also culturally and aesthetically (Andrews, 2004, p. 119).

Cuba, Post-Slavery: Race, Racial Perceptions, and Relations

Slavery was officially abolished in Cuba on October 7, 1886, by royal decree. However, the ending of slavery did not erase discriminatory and prejudicial treatment against Cubans of color. Internationally, this period witnessed the spread of the aforementioned "scientific racism" and social Darwinism in Europe and North America, along with the institution of the Jim Crow segregation in the United States and the start of apartheid in South Africa (Andrews, 2004, p. 118). Locally, the Spanish intellects and influential writers persisted in the perpetuation of White supremacist thinking and behavior.

> Several post-1886 studies identified Afro-Cubans as the principal cause of Cuba's problems. They viewed slavery as a curse, not because it meant deportation and maltreatment of Africans but because it allowed "the barbarian and savage descendents of the race of Cham" to contaminate Cuba's white physically, morally, and culturally

with grave resistance to racial equality among many Spanish and White Creole elite in Cuba (Helg, 1995, pp. 24, 25; Scott, 1985, p. 272). Knight (1974) writes that African ancestry imposed an indelible stain that survived the institution of slavery (p. 216). Slavery came to be seen as a sin of Cuba's colonial past that left Cuba with Cubans of

color who were perceived as ignorant, nearly savage, masses (Bronfman, 2002, p. 557).[32]

Practices of racial discrimination continued to develop as part of the legacy of Cuba's

society structured by colonial plantations with masters and slaves. Cuban society evolved

as a free society, but as a society still functioning within a context under colonial rule,

and, consequentially, as a society that remained divided along racial lines after 1886.

Former Slaves and Free Cubans of Color in Post-Slavery Cuba, 1886–1898.

> Slavery and its memory continued for many to shape the culture of
> everyday life and perception. Even as late as 1897, eleven years after final
> emancipation, official announcements of crimes identified suspects by
> giving names of their own or their parents' former masters, suggesting that
> more than a decade after the end slavery a person's earlier condition as a
> slave or as the child of a slave still constituted part of his or her public
> identity. (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 159)

Post-slavery Cuba did not result in Cubans of color receiving respect or equal rights in

the Cuban society (Scott, 2005, p. 123). They continued to be excluded from voting

because of property ownership requirements attached to suffrage (Scott, 2005, p. 123).

Many former slaves had difficulties in acquiring land; at that time, the ownership of land

was considered the basic requirement for the right to vote (Scott, 2005, p. 118). Schools

remained segregated "drawing on the U.S. example" (Scott, 1985, p. 274). Cubans of

color continued to be prohibited from entering parks and establishments open to the

public, and merchants continued to refuse service and do business with the population of

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[32] The Spanish abolitionists responded to the racial perceptions circulated regarding Cubans of color and, particularly, slaves that any negative qualities ascribed to slaves reflected the degrading effects of the institution of slavery (Schmidt-Nowara, 1995, p. 115). According to the Spanish abolitionists, "slavery thwarted the basic human urges to labor for private gain, to marry freely and have children, to educate oneself, or to practice religion…[and] that African slaves possessed these basic human impulses and had displayed them throughout history whenever given the opportunity to exercise their free will" (Schmidt-Nowara, p. 115). "Slavery produced violence, conflict, and inefficiency, whereas free wage labor stimulated the inherent industriousness of all economic agents and…the peaceful nature of Africans" (p. 115).

color (Scott, 1985, p. 275). However, segregation in public accommodations was terminated in 1889, along with public schools being made available for the attendance of all individuals in 1893 (Rout, 1976, p. 302). Although a legislation had been passed under the colonial government permitting the use of public facilities such as roads, transportation, and establishments by Cubans of color, what was needed was the actual enforcement of the laws. In addition to seeking open access to public education for Cuban children of color, "the request for the elimination of separate 'white' and 'colored' civil registers and parish books, as well as the elimination of any distinctions in 'titles of courtesy'" was sought (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 129).[33]

The perception of former slaves illustrated the defining tone that the institution of slavery came to have upon the identities of all Cubans of color; for once all were freed, there were no distinctions made between former slaves and those who'd always been free. Rebecca Scott (1985) writes that the "process of gradual emancipation…strengthened the ties between slaves and free persons of color" (p. 271). However, some free Cubans of color were not all too welcoming of former slaves. Some of the previously free Cubans of color did not want to be grouped with the newly freed slaves. Cubans of color who were among the "upwardly mobile…were struggling to cross the great divide separating the world of working-class poverty from that of middle-class respectability" (Andrews, 2004, p. 125). Knight (1974) writes about how many gains in social mobility made possible by the former cardinal distinction between the slave and the free were eliminated, leaving most Cubans of color at the bottom of the

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[33] "The petitioners referred specifically to the practice of granting or employing the title of *don* exclusively for Cubans identified as white" (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 129).

Cuban society and social and economic hierarchies (p. 219). To remove themselves from

the realities of discrimination and prejudice, George Andrews (2004) adds, many Cubans

of color formed subsocieties for themselves that paralleled the mainstream Cuban society

(p. 127).

Some Cubans of color also moved to organize to dismantle the color-based social

hierarchy. These Cubans of color were frustrated by the continuing presence of racial

discrimination against all Cubans of color, including that of the former enslaved. They

created organizations that pushed the purpose of acceptance, inclusion, and integration

within Cuban society.

> They came to the conclusion that all Afro-Cubans faced injustice, and they
> established new criteria for social distribution based on racial equality.
> They undermined the ideology of white supremacy and sought to produce
> a counterideology asserting the positive value of their race. They
> attempted to solidify links between blacks and to increase awareness.
> (Helg, 1995, p. 35)

The *Directorio Central de las Sociedades de la Raza de Color* was one

organization formed and later developed into a leading force for social equality and

integration into the Cuban society. The *Directorio* was established as a means to

assemble Cubans of color and to confront Spanish authority. It was the goal of the

Directorio and the prominent Cubans of color affiliated with its plight to ensure "equal

rights and equal protection under the law" (Helg, 1995, p. 35).

> A decisive step in the struggle for equality took place in Havana in 1887
> when the *Directorio Central de Sociedades de la Raza de Color* was
> created to represent "in the strictest legality" the interests of the people of
> color in their dealings with authorities. The *Directorio* also aimed at
> coordinating the actions of the *sociedades de color, cabildos de nación*,
> and other black associations so that these groups would take a united stand
> against racism. Its ultimate goal was "the moral and material well-being of

the *raza de color*" through the promotion of formal education and "better habits." (Helg, 1995, p. 36)[34]

Furthermore, by the early 1890s, the *Directorio* and its leaders were receiving international support from exiled Cubans of color in the United States. The exiles were themselves experiencing racial discrimination and mistreatment in the United States as well as from many White Cuban exiles living in the United States; therefore, they deemed their support of the *Directorio* (and such organizations) essential to the movement for a new equalitarian Cuban society.[35]

White Cuban Elite and Race Post-Slavery in Post-Slavery Cuba, 1886–1898.

One way or another, emancipation had transformed Cuban society, dismantling the most rigid of the barriers that had separated whites and blacks: the institution of slavery. Racism was by no means eliminated, but the caste-like labor system on which it had initially rested was gone…. (Scott, 1985, p. 292)

Rebecca Scott (1985) continues that "post-emancipation social relationships within the Afro-Cuban community, and between Afro-Cubans and whites reflected the previous history of such relations in Cuba as well as the nature of the process of emancipation" (p. 271). Personal relationships, particularly between many White elite Cubans and Cubans of color, "was still mostly one of masters and servants" (Helg, 1990, p. 54). No greater degree of social integration amounted from the abolishment of slavery. The White Cuban elite continued to speak preemancipation language. They remained committed to eradicating the presence of Cubans of color and if not completely their physical presence, then at least the presence of the African culture through the established initiative of the

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[34] "In the spring of 1894, after an Afro-Cuban legal victory over equal access to public schools and places, the *Directorio* switched its focus to the freedom of Cuba" (Helg, 1995, p. 53).
[35] This assertion is expounded in the section entitled, "Race, the Exile Community in the United States, and the 1895 Fight for Independence in the Late Nineteenth Century United States."

whitening of society with European immigration (Helg, 1990, p. 57). Continuing to look to the United States as a model for race relations, by using the anti-Caribbean-of-color immigration policy, they sought to possibly of reverse "the Cuban process of ethnic evolution toward a predominantly white population" (Helg, 1990, p. 56). The reality of the potential blurring of society distinctions contributed to furthering the growing fears of racial conflict among many Whites. Moreover, an increased interest and participation of Cubans of color in the Cuban independence struggle during the late 1800s, specifically during the 1880s, further influenced elite attitudes.

The time and circumstance generated demographic or social tensions in the island between Cuban nationals, including permanent Spanish residents, known as *Peninsulares*, natural born Cubans of European ancestry, referred to as Creoles, free Cubans of color with full African ancestry, and natural born Cubans of color with full and or mixed African ancestry. These tensions centered on the future regulations of Cuban society and business. The Cuban elite society predominantly consisted of Creoles and *Peninsulares*. The *Peninsulares* controlled the political affairs and commercial life of Cuba. The *Peninsulares,* therefore, "occupied nearly all of the positions in the colonial bureaucracy" (Staten, 2003, p. 16; Foner, 1972, p. xv). They enjoyed economic and political advantages on the island and were overwhelmingly pro-Spain. This was due mainly in part to the Spanish policy of selling local administrative positions via auctions (Staten, p. 16). "Corruption and patronage" by the Spanish officials was prevalent and commonly practiced (Foner, 1972; Staten, 2003). The Creoles were predominantly landowners and the professionals of the island, raising cattle and possessing plantations of tobacco, coffee, and sugar (Foner, 1972, p. xv). Despite the many restrictions imposed

upon their political aspirations and on their freedom to trade under Spanish mercantilist policies, initially, "creole (Cuban-born) elites [had] opted to maintain the colonial bond with Spain. With that bond, they preserved as well a prosperous and expanding sugar industry built on the labor of enslaved Africans" (Ferrer, 1999b, p. 23). However, many grew tired of the direction of the Spanish policy and actions. The growing frustration with the Spanish colonial policies and corrupted officials resulted in some Creoles firmly believing "that only through independence could Cuba achieve a modern political and economic form of society" (Foner, 1972, p. xvi).

Creoles continuously failed to acquire superior-ranking political positions which would allow them to be active participants in the island's decision-making process (Foner, 1972, p. xvi; Staten, 2003, p. 16). Foner (1963) writes that White Creoles wanted to occupy a prominent place in the Cuban society under Spanish rule, while the pro-Spanish supporters sought to maintain their dominating authority in Cuba; however, "on the question of…white supremacy, both parties saw eye-to-eye" (p. 278). Creole resentment toward the *Peninsulares* became apparent with the growth of nationalism and the desire for independence in the second half of the nineteenth century (Staten, p. 16).[36] A break with Spain was ultimately seen as the only means for the achievement of the freedom they sought. Many Creoles sought to protect their economic interests and expand

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[36] Where the two groups concurred involved the preservation of the financial position within the Cuban society. Both *Peninsulares* and Creoles opposed the Spanish attempts to abolish slavery in Cuba. At the prospect of the abolition of slavery, support for independence from Spain in exchange for annexation with the United States gained ground. This movement, of course, found support among pro-slavery groups in the United States who, as aforementioned, "saw in the annexation of Cuba a vast area for the expansion of the Cotton Kingdom and the acquisition of increased political power in the national government" (Foner, 1972, p. xvii).

their political interests; to accomplish this, many would come to partner in the pursuit of the Cuban independence in 1895.

Race and the 1895 Struggle for the Second Cuban Independence in the Late Nineteenth Century Cuba

El Partido Revolucionario Cubano **and Key Cuban Leaders.** Understanding the lessons of the previous battles for independence, the leaders of the 1895 movement, which included General Calixto García, General Máximo Gómez, Juan Gualberto-Gómez, and General Antonio Maceo, along with José Martí taking the lead, knew that regional movements and partial inclusion would be insufficient for the overall success of a renewed war for independence. The promises of the Pact of Zanjón remained unfulfilled. There existed no local government with serious decision-making power, and the Spanish dominance was still present. The reforms, as drafted in the Pact of Zanjón, were merely words on paper and lacked meaningful action; hence, discontent with the Spanish monarchy continued. Thus, following two years of preparation, *El Partido Revolucionario Cubano* (PRC) (The Cuban Revolutionary Party) was formed on January 5, 1892. The PRC became the organizing center and operating brain of the Liberation Army for the 1895 independence movement that launched the second Cuban War of Independence.[37] The PRC sought the freedom of the Republic "with all, and for the good of all" (Foner, in Martí, 1977, pp. 17, 19). Quoting Martí, Ada Ferrer (1999a) states, "'This is not,' he declared, 'the century of struggle of races but rather the century of the affirmation of rights'" (p. 195). Ferrer (1999a) continues, "though Martí lived in what he called a world 'under Darwin's sway,' he had cause to believe in his affirmation, for he

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[37] According to Knight, Calixto García was the original leader of PRC and José Martí later joined, becoming its lead spokesperson (in Miller, 1999).

had seen and lived a movement that appeared to him to hold that promise" (p. 195). The mission of the second war for the independence of Cuba, under the tutelage of Martí, was outlined in the *Manifesto of Montecristo*, dated March 25, 1895, entitled "El Partido Revolutionario Cubano of Cuba" (Foner, 1972, p. 5). The insurrection had officially begun February 24, 1895. The declaration opened as follows:

> "The revolution for the independence, initiated at Yara after a glorious and bloody preparatory process, has now entered a new period of warfare in Cuba, by virtue of the orders issued and the resolutions adopted in Cuba and abroad by the Cuban Revolutionary Party, and as a result of the well balanced association in it of all of the elements dedicated to the eradication of the evils and to the emancipation of our country, for the good of America and the World; and the chosen representatives of the revolution—which as of today is ratified—fully recognized and abide by their duty—without usurping the tone and the declarations that pertain only to the majesty of the duly constituted Republic—of re-stating before the Country, which is not to be stained in blood without reason or without a fair expectation of victory, the precise aims, born of sound judgment and alien to the thirst for revenge, with which this inextinguishable war has been prepared and which will carry it to its logical victory, and which today leads into combat, assembled in a wise and soul-stirring democracy, all the elements that make up Cuban society." (Foner, 1972, p. 5)

"It was Martí who laid the groundwork for Cuban independence through his intense opposition to the idea of U.S. annexation of Cuba" and "feared that Cuba would win its independence from Spain only to lose it to the United States" (Staten, 2003, pp. 43–44). The points of emphasis of the movement included the critical role the masses, both White and Cubans of color, would play in the liberation quest and in the future republic, with concomitant racial equality. "The potential for the war to become a social revolution was strong indeed" (Helg, 1995, p. 57).

José Martí. Since adolescence, José Martí endorsed Cuban independence, initially expressing his position with the publication of his first newspaper, *Patria Libre*. Due to

his strong pro-independence stance, Martí was exiled and lived as such until returning to

Cuba in 1895 to lead the renewed Cuban struggle for independence.

> As a child, Martí had seen acts of…inhumanity committed against Negro slaves in Cuba that he could never forget them. In manhood he wrote: "What man who has seen a Negro whipped does not ever consider himself his debtor? I saw it, I saw it when I was a child, and my cheeks still burn with shame." (Foner, 1963, p. 285)

For Martí, a free Cuba following the Revolution would be

> "a free country with employment available to all and located at the crossroads of the rich and industrial world, will replace, unhindered and with advantage, after a War inspired in the purest abnegation and carried accordingly, the abashed country, where well-being can be obtained only in exchange for complicity, explicit or implied, with the tyranny of hungry foreigners who bleed and corrupt." (Foner, 1972, p. 6)

Martí immensely supported a national society in which access to economic

interests and security would extend beyond the privileged minority and exist for the

masses. Encapsulating Martí's vision of Cuba postrevolution, Philip S. Foner (1972)

states,

> In general, he believed that the country should be organized on the democratic foundations with equal rights for all, regardless of color. Poverty and the concentration of economic power in the hands of the few would be avoided through the social organization of diversified agriculture. It would be a country which would do business with every nation in the world, but free from economic domination by any one of them. Education would be free and available to all, for "an educated country will always be strong and free. A country where only a few men are wealthy is not rich," Martí wrote. "A country where everyone has a portion is." If everyone had a share in its wealth, the country would maintain "a balance in social questions." Not only would poverty be avoided but also violent class struggles and labor disputes such as he had witnessed in the United States. (p. 6)

While exiled in the United States, Martí's residency in New York for many years "alerted

him to the perils attending the long-standing American designs on the land" (Pérez, 1983,

p. 94). Martí saw the United States as a "threat to Cuba's progressive and independent development" (Foner, in Martí, 1977, p. 29). This perspective originated from his awareness of U.S. racism and U.S. imperialist aspirations. Martí wrote, "it is my duty…to prevent through the independence of Cuba, the U.S.A. from spreading over the West Indies" (Staten, 2003, p. 44). Helg (1995) writes of his open recognition that Europeans, native Indians, and Africans were the composition of the Americas (p. 45). For Martí, "the solution…lay in integrating the different races and classes into national societies based on solidarity, not in whitening the population through immigration" (Helg, 1995, p. 45). "It was not black and mulatto marginalization, or the defense of a social status quo, that defined *Cuba Libre.* The defining feature of the movement, rather, was the challenge against colonial rule and racial privilege" (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 198). With Martí at the lead, some White separatists too came to support the involvement of Cubans of color and recognized their demands, at least publicly, with the endorsement of the *Directorio* (Helg, 1995, p. 44).[38] These endorsements upholding the Cubans of color were made evident with the publishing of articles in the newspapers of Cubans exiled in Florida and New York (Helg, 1995, p. 44). As noted by Helg (1995), in the April 1892 issue of Martí's *Patria,* he stated in an article, "'if our republic is to be based on immovable foundations, it has to begin by recognizing the prerogatives of all those able to gain them, whether they are white or black'" (p. 45).[39]

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[38] "White separatist endorsement of the *Directorio,* however, was often motivated more by strategic considerations than by egalitarian beliefs" (Helg, 1995, p. 45).

[39] Helg (1995) further states that although most White separatists agreed with Martí that without the massive participation by the Cubans of color in the struggle against Spain, independence would never be achieved; many of these Whites fully adhered to the ideology of White supremacy (p. 45).

Martí rose to be the foremost endorser of a greater involvement of Cubans of

color in the Cuban independence movement. Accordingly, Foner (1972) states, Martí's

policy regarding the war explicitly declared that the participation of the Negro people

was necessary for victory (p. 5).[40] Martí refused to place Cubans of color in subordinate

positions in the PRC and the revolutionary movement for independence. Approximately

40% of the senior commissioned ranks of the Liberation Army consisted of men of color,

with additional men of color being placed in critical positions in the PRC and the

provisional government (Pérez, 1988, p. 160).[41]

Upon having a strongly established organization, Martí wisely and strategically

enlisted the assistance of fellow renowned Cuban revolutionaries to facilitate the renewed

fight for independence. Among those of greatest esteem to whom Martí reached out were

General Calixto García, General Máximo Gómez, Juan Gualberto-Gómez, and General

Antonio Maceo, respectfully referred to as *The Bronze Titan.* García, Gómez, and Maceo

were all veterans of the Ten Years' War (1868–1878). Collectively, Martí, García,

Maceo, Gómez, and Gualberto-Gómez equated racism and slavery with colonialism, and

freedom and unity with Cuban nationalism (Scott, 2005, p. 131). The renewed fight for

independence stood for more than just a separation from Spain. For oppressed groups,

including "poor people blacks and whites, peasants and workers, the destitute and

dispossessed," the movement offered "the promise of social justice and economic

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[40] "When Cuban insurgents launched the War for Independence on 24 February 1895, the rebellion succeeded fully only in the Oriente, the region with a significant population of African descent and a tradition of struggle against Spain" (Helg, 1995, p. 56).

[41] "In Oriente, a group of powerful Afro-Cuban military leaders with a large following among the oriental population emerged from the insurgent army; without these leaders the pursuit of the independence struggle would have been impossible" (Helg, 1995, p. 33).

freedom" (Foner, 1963, p. 161). "They committed themselves to a movement that promised not only to free them from the old oppression but to give them a new place in society, a new government they would control, and a new nation to belong to" (Foner, 1963, p. 161).[42]

> Just as the army was multiracial, the language and ideology that shaped and guided the movement were antiracist. White officers, like black and mulatto ones, located a central appeal of the movement in its assault on slavery. Patriot-intellectuals professed the equality of all races, and at times, the nonexistence of race. They defined antiracism as a foundational feature of Cuban nationhood and cast racism as a violation of that nationality. (Ferrer, 1999a, pp. 195–196)

General Calixto García. General Calixto García, a Cuban, joined Céspedes earlier on, following *Grito de Yara,* Céspedes' speech. He fought against Spanish colonialism and opposed the Treaty of Zanjón. Following the signing of the treaty, he lived in exile, traveling between France and the United States until returning to Cuba to fight alongside Maceo for *La Guerra Chiquita* (The Little War, 1879–1880). García originally organized the PRC while in New York (Knight, in Miller, 1999).[43]

General Máximo Gómez. General Máximo Gómez was Dominican born and came to Cuba as a Spanish soldier (Knight, in Miller, 1999). Upon arrival, he defected, organized, and trained Cubans rising to prominent leadership within the Ten Years' War (Knight, in Miller, 1999). Martí "knew that Gómez was the man who by experience and influence was most suited to head the military phase of the liberation

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[42] Both Maceo and Gómez declared during the early fight for independence, throughout the Ten Years' War, that peace without the independence and the end of slavery would be unacceptable (in Miller, 1999). Both Maceo and Gómez left Cuba at the close of the war, in 1878, as it did not amount to freedom for all.

[43] Regarding the military campaign of the United States in Cuba, Simons writes "…García…learned that the Cubans were expected to work as 'pack-mules' for the U.S. forces, carrying supplies and digging trenches…'not to be depended upon for severe fighting'" (Simons, 1996, p. 203).

struggle…appointing him military chief of all the men in arms" (Foner, 1963, pp. 325, 326). He, along with Martí, signed the Manifesto of Montecristo, and "signified the official beginning of hostilities against Spain" (Helg, 1995, p. 54).

Juan Gualberto-Gómez. Juan Gualberto-Gómez, a Cuban of color, spent much of his youth in France. Due to the lack of opportunities in Cuba, his parents sent him there to become efficient in the trade of carriage-making (Foner, 1963, p. 277). While he was in Paris he aided with organizing and gathering the Cuban exile community in support of the Ten Years' War (Foner, 1963, p. 277). After the signing of the Pact of Zanjón, he returned to Cuba. He also served as President of the *Directorio Central de las Sociedades de la Raza de Color.*

Gualberto-Gómez became Martí's confidant and agent in the PRC (Hennessy, 1999, p. 80). He was appointed as the political coordinator in Cuba. "His duty was to select leaders for each local district on the basis of their revolutionary experience and ability, in order to take advantage of the peculiar circumstances" (Foner, 1963, p. 327). Gualberto-Gómez "shared with José Martí the conviction that the racial and social prejudice pervading Cuban society was the main reason Cubans had failed so far to achieve independence" (Helg, 1995, p. 53).

> From the time of the Directorate, he had declared himself in favor of black and white unity. He called himself the "man of concord." Accordingly, he declared: "If the day were to come to pass, through provocation on either side, when the black race would need to fight the white, they would have to find another man to advise or guide them. Because I represent the policy of the brotherhood of man, and should this fail, my sense of honor, my respect for the past, and the sincerity with which I uphold my convictions are such that, having failed, I would have to leave the political scene." (Robaina, 1993, p. 90)

General Antonio Maceo. Antonio Maceo, of mixed African and Spanish heritage, started out as a foot solider when he joined the Cuban movement for independence in 1868. His service and leadership during that campaign raised him to the rank of general (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 25). Respectfully referred to as the Bronze Titan, he is considered the most influential and the greatest independence fighter of color.[44] When recruiting and propositioning Maceo's involvement, Martí advocated for a Cuba that transcended race and that was reconstructed so that everyone who worked hard benefited from its economic progress (Knight, in Miller, 1999). Martí offered him a leading place in the renewed movement, with the promise to provide all necessary war supplies (Foner, 1963, p. 326). Using his influence, Maceo "vigorously countered Spanish propaganda that he wanted a 'black republic'. His view was similar to Marti's—'there were no blacks or whites, only Cubans'" (Hennessy, 1999, p. 95).

Race and *El Partido Revolucionario Cubano.* Inasmuch as Martí pressed for the common cause of one color-blind Cuba, the question of race remained an issue even within the confines of the Cuban Liberation Army. "Because Spanish colonialism epitomized discrimination against them, blacks joined the ranks of the Liberation Army in massive numbers" (Helg, 1995, p. 54). Cubans of color joined the reorganized movement from the start "for a variety of reasons, ranging from the need to flee Spanish repression to the possibility of improving their personal lives or contributing to the fight for a just Cuba" (Helg, 1995, p. 56). For many, connecting with the renewed push for

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[44] "The fame of [Afro-Cuban general] Antonio Maceo…reached all parts of the island and helped to make Oriente a region which Afro-Cubans migrated [to] after abolition in search of equal opportunities" (Helg, 1995, p. 33).

independence brought hope and anticipation of improved placement in society with the triumph of independence.

However, with the percent of enlisted Cubans of color, those uncomfortable with the realization of an equalized society postindependence found the prospect that the leadership and involvement of Cubans of color within the liberation army would come to reflect their level of involvement in the Cuban affairs postindependence unsettling. "In a society less than a decade removed from racial slavery, this tension sometimes neatly corresponded with conflicts between white officers and black soldiers who were often former slaves or the children of former slaves" (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 157). The typical Cuban soldier of color was poor, from the rural sector, fighting for equality.

> In reality, the rising Liberation Army was like a world turned upside down: poor, generally Afro-Cuban men of little formal education dominated the rebellion…their goal was probably not only independence from Spain but also the creation of a new society in which they would fully participate. Blacks rebelled against racism and inequality, landless peasants regardless of race stood up for land, popular *cabecillas* wanted political power, and *orientales* in general hoped to gain control of their region's destiny. (Helg, 1995, p. 57)

Cubans of color enlisted in the Liberation Army exemplified "rejection of a colonial past in which many had been slaves and all were discriminated against" (Helg, 1995, p. 90). Their participation enabled them to display their presence with physical power and influence, as critical elements to the success of the movement. This was the means by which they could voice their stance for what a new inclusive Cuba would resemble—one where they would be accepted and respected as equals, having a shared significant presence in all areas of Cuban life. "For many, 'independence' meant not only Cuba's independence from Spain, but their own independence as well. They would be free to

defend their rights in the new society toward whose creation they had so powerfully

contributed" (Helg, 1995, p. 90).

Unfortunately, the considerable overrepresentation of Cubans of color in the

liberation forces resulted in the continued circulation of the warnings of a potential

"Haitian-style Black dictatorship" among many White Cuban elites, including both the

supporters of the independence movement and the supporters of Spanish rule.[45]

> The idea of armed blacks fighting for freedom disturbed quite a few
> whites who did not hesitate to resort to the century-long tactic of
> denigrating Afro-Cuban military initiatives and successes by labeling them
> racist. Spanish authorities were aware of these tensions and used the
> scarecrow of the Haitian Revolution and fear-inducing stereotypes of
> blacks to isolate the separatist insurgency…exploiting deeply rooted
> fears…. (Helg, 1995, p. 90)

Helg (1995) writes that in an effort to exploit the fears of White Cubans of a "black

takeover," the war-for-independence initiative was presented as a "race war" and initiated

repressive policies that often targeted successful organizations of Cubans of color (p. 56).

Rafael Jiménez writes of two great fears in colonial Cuba, that of the "fear of the Black"

and the "fear of the [Black] *caudillos,*" with each being "shaped by a blend of falsehood

and truth that allowed for the existence of the fanatics and detractors" (in Sarduy &

Stubbs, 1993, p. 35).[46] Jiménez continues,

> There can be no doubting…birth of the black fear. Before the black
> revolution in Haiti, there was no fear of the slaves in Cuba… With the
> outbreak of revolution in 1868, it was the eastern sector of the landowning
> class that broke the inertia, and the whole creole bourgeoisie was faced
> with a fait accompli. Carlos Manuel de Céspedes' act of freeing his
> slaves…dealt the first blow to a paralyzing myth, as the freed slaves

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[45] "In particular, certain white separatists used that image to impose their leadership in the war, to the detriment of black leaders, and to deflect Afro-Cuban demands for equality" (Helg, 1995, p. 54).

[46] Military leaders/commanders were referred to as *caudillos* during and following the nineteenth century in the Hispanic and South Americas.

joined the revolutionary troops and the crucible of Cuban nationhood was forged, incorporating the black as an active political element. (in Sarduy & Stubbs, 1993, pp. 37–38)

Cubans of color benefited emotionally and mentally by participating in the independence fight. Many gained a greater sense of Cuban identity and esteem (Helg, 1995, p. 90). However, their active involvement also fostered insecurities and fears in some of those in the White population. The language of José Martí's writings has even come under scrutiny as strategically catering to such fears and insecurities. Martí's raceless emphasis has been argued as more than expressions of "political aspirations but also political strategy" (Ferrer, in Belnap & Fernández, 1998, p. 244). His efforts portrayed as embracing anit-racist rhetoric and actions have also been seen as limiting the actions of anti-racists. Martí wrote that any Cuban of color who proclaimed her or his race in fact provoked and justified White racism (Ferrer, in Belnap & Fernández, 1998, p. 244). Ferrer agrees that such language restricted and at times invalidated racist behavior claims within the Liberation Army (1998).

"Throughout the war, the threat of another Haiti was used…to limit the power of Antonio Maceo and other Afro-Cuban leaders and to keep blacks 'in their place'…" (Helg, 1995, p. 90). The "fear of the Black and the fear of the caudillo" merged on the Cuban leaders of color, particularly General Maceo, seen as prominent and successful military commanders (Jiménez, in Sarduy & Stubbs, 1993, p. 39). As Maceo succeeded militarily, he increasingly faced accusations of dictatorial and racist ambitions (Helg, 1995, p. 69). Indeed, the charge that "the Negro race is a threat" was seen by the supporters of an integrated independence movement as generated mainly by the Spanish rule supporters who wanted to incite the fear of a fulfilled revolution (Foner, 1972, p. 5).

This was astutely exploited by Spain whose ideological attacks were systematically directed at fostering reservations regarding black officers, especially the Maceos… Playing on the fact that the main pillars of revolution in Oriente province…were black, the Spanish press began to talk of an alleged black republic. (Jiménez, in Sarduy & Stubbs, 1993, p. 38)[47]

Foner (1963) also writes that many influential Cuban exiles, who were themselves influenced by White supremacist ideology, demanded that the role of Cubans of color in the revolution be limited, giving special attention to ensuring that Antonio Maceo did not occupy a commanding position (p. 281). Helg (1995) adds that some prominent separatists were willing to "jeopardize the most decisive insurgent military victory over Spain in order to limit the power of black leaders from Oriente" (p. 56).

Thus, social distinctions present in colonial Cuban society were reproduced within the liberation army (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 156). "Within the insurgent army, white commanders spoke regularly of 'my black' (*mi Moreno*) or of giving and receiving black assistants as 'gifts' from other officers" (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 159). Troops of color faced discrimination from fellow White comrades, in particular from White leadership (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 140). They faced limited upward mobility. Officers of color, particularly those leading troops composed of majority soldiers of color caused alarm among White leadership. They would receive fewer arms and ammunition (Helg, 1995, p. 70). Moreover, while soldiers of color perceived their request for equal treatment as reasonable expectations for respect, White officers interpreted them as making demands for power (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 165). Helg writes how officers of color with strong leadership were ridiculed and distrusted for allegedly being arrogant, ambitious, and

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[47] "Antonio Maceo, as a black and a caudillo from the east, was accused of having designs on the presidency of that republic" (Jiménez, in Sarduy & Stubbs, 1993, p. 38).

racist (1995, p. 69). "White commanders were praised for their ambition and popularity, but Black commanders with the same qualities were called racist and dictatorial" (Helg, 1995, p. 70).

Military rank often corresponded with social status and as a result many of those promoted to rankings as officers were White (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 156). Measures were taken that reflected the desire of the leadership to maintain a degree of control within the ranks of the army, including one specifying that "ranks would be assigned to incoming soldiers on the basis of education" (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 154). Considering that many Cubans of color lacked accessibility to education during and prior to this time period, this criterion for the assignment of ranks limited their chances for promotions. The criteria continued to serve the preferential treatment of the White elite, even if they were not physically trained and qualified. For officer ranking, there existed an imbalance of races. Soldiers of color were disciplined harsher and according to stricter terms (Helg, 1995 p. 69).

> Rigid social divisions existed within the rebel army, not only in the allocation of ranks but also in the daily exercise of military life: in the distribution of supplies, in forms of address, and in opportunities to exercise authority over others. (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 155)

Cuban soldiers of color faced discrimination from the civilians also. Thus, while the movement and the integrated army empowered and presented the Cubans of color in a more assertive role, the aforementioned initiatives and incidences continued to help perpetuate White privilege (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 159). This caused some soldiers of color to be skeptical about what really awaited them in the Cuba postindependence. The double standards of the society and the war were displayed within the army.

Race, the Exile Community in the United States, and the 1895 Fight for

Independence in the Late Twentieth Century United States. In addition to the efforts

of assembling a successfully organized, prepared, equipped, and integrated army within

Cuba, Martí also had the task of galvanizing support for the independence movement in

Cuba among the exile community in the United States. With two main centralized

locations of exiles in the United States, Florida and New York, Martí had to deal with

essentially the same issues on the island as within the exile communities—class divisions

and racial factors. Foner (1977) writes,

> Thousands of the Cuban exiles had been sharply divided between rival
> factions, and differed drastically about the nature of the revolution and the
> republic to follow. It was Martí's great contribution that he was able to
> build unity among so many conflicting interests. He accomplished this,
> moreover, without yielding to the prejudices of certain elements in the
> alliance… At a time when racist ideas were held by many who moved
> within the independence movement, Martí showed no hesitation in directly
> confronting the issue…forced to enter into battle against the myth of black
> inferiority… The Cuban *apóstol* insisted that anything that tended to
> divide blacks and whites could only be injurious to the common cause….
> (pp. 27–28)

The exile community in New York mainly consisted of White and educated

professionals. The majority of the Cuban exiles in New York were also educated in the

United States and therefore bilingual. They "tended to be professionals from the upper

and middle class, businessmen and plantation-owners…" (Hennessy, 1999, p. 80). Many

of the exiles in New York were said to have consistently exemplified "fundamentally

racist attitudes" (Poyo, 1989, p. 86). According to Gerald Poyo (1989), the exiles in New

York did little to support the efforts of the insurgents of the 1880s; they continued to feel

uncomfortable with the high visibility of Cubans of color in the insurrection (pp. 115,

117). In general, the wealthy in New York were found to be cold to appeals for financial contributions, while the working class community in the south appeared always willing to contribute more than what was expected and asked of them (Foner, 1963, p. 329). That the movement was dominated by Cubans of color was consistently denied, with it being argued that the number of the overall Cuban populace of color was declining. The prospect of anything otherwise would have "horrified many white Cubans of the established classes" in the exile communities (Poyo, p. 117). For this reason, many New York exiles feared annexation to the United States for worry that "annexation would in all probability increase the number of blacks on the island. Under United States tutelage black immigrants would be encouraged to move to the island and work in the sugar industry" (Poyo, p. 86).

A prominent member of the New York exile community was Tomás Estrada Palma. Estrada Palma was the president of the Republic of Cuba during the Ten Years' War (Foner, in Martí, 1977, p. 307). While in exile in the United States, he was the head of the Cuban *Junta Patriotica* in New York, and he administrated and taught at a Quaker school (Foner, in Martí, 1977, p. 307; Hennessy, 1999, p. 87). Estrada Palma also became a naturalized U.S. American citizen (Hennessy, p. 87). Estrada Palma "compared the Cuban struggle to the United States' revolution against Great Britain" and "…advocated the involvement of the United States as a guarantee of an orderly transfer of power and as a barrier against social chaos" (Poyo, 1989, p. 120; Hennessy, p. 87). He served as the head of the "diplomatic legation in the United States" for the provisional government established in Cuba in 1895, serving as "the provisional government's official agent"

(Poyo, p. 119).[48] With the death of José Martí, Tomás Estrada Palma was chosen as his

successor to lead the PRC (Hennessy, p. 87).[49]

> Members of the exile community in Florida
>
> were predominantly workers in the tobacco factories of Key West and
> Tampa. Key West was the oldest exile community since the emigration of
> workers after the 1857 financial crisis when many manufacturers
> transferred their factories to Florida to avoid US tariffs. (Hennessy, 1999,
> p. 80)

The exiles in Florida fervently supported the "militant nationalism represented by

Máximo Gómez and José Martí…" (Poyo, 1989, p. 71). They regularly provided

financial support for Cuban independence movements that embraced equality among the

races. Many Cubans of color were among the exile community in South Florida and

resented some of the Cuban exiles in New York, viewing most "as former slave holders

not much interested in their political participation or socioeconomic welfare" (Poyo, p.

83). Poyo (1989) writes that "many expressed serious reservations regarding racial

attitudes of many of their white compatriots. They believed that most white…leaders

were generally racist" (p. 82). "It was to the self-sacrificing working people of Tampa,

Key West, and Ocala that Martí entrusted the fate of the revolutionary movement"

(Foner, 1963, p. 329). Foner (1963) quotes Martí as referring to the working people as the

"backbone of our coalition" (p. 329).

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[48] Poyo (1989) writes that "…without even consulting the provisional government, Estrada Palma agreed to place the Cuban liberation army under the authority of United States forces" (p. 124).

[49] Estrada Palma went on to become the first president of the early Cuban republic following the 1902 departure of the military government of the United States "without having had any contact with the people" (Pérez-Medina, 1970, p. 295).

Following the death of Martí, many of the Cuban exile leaders of New York, including Tomás Estrada Palma, "altered the émigré movement's moral tone and fundamental strategy" (Poyo, 1989, p. 114). "While most had sincere admiration for Martí and gave their support to the PRC under his leadership, they were not comfortable with the majority working-class constituency that embraced and enthusiastically promoted his social ideals" (Poyo, p. 114). Upon Martí's death General Máximo Gómez was promoted over General Antonio Maceo as leader of the Liberation Army. It was determined inappropriate for a man of color to serve in a higher position than second in command (Helg, 1995, p. 73). Helg writes that the army was reorganized to keep Maceo and other leaders of color "in check" by limiting or removing them from positions of command (1995, p. 73, 75).

Many New York exiles also felt that the PRC was heavily influenced by the exiles in Florida; many distrusted Gómez and Maceo, and the Florida exile communities (Poyo, pp. 114, 117). "The New York leaders celebrated Martí's patriotic zeal and raised him as the very symbol of the nationalist struggle after his death in 1895, but they ignored his social ideology" and came to embrace a vision for Cuba that was "modeled after the United States" (Poyo, p. 117). Accordingly, Hennessy (1999) writes that as long as Martí was alive, tensions within the party were resolvable—between soldiers and civilians, those in Cuba and those in exile in Florida and in New York, and those who supported the U.S. intervention and those who did not (p. 86). With Martí, compromise and the greater cause for Cuba remained the priority, not just all the participants in the fight for independence. It was with his death that the divisions were widely exposed (Hennessy, p. 86).

Chapter 2 Conclusions

The legacy of slavery and a plantation system society was not wiped out immediately from the social order of Cuba when slavery was abolished. However, the movement for Cuba's 1895 fight for independence galvanized the support of an overwhelming number of Cubans behind a cause that sought to divorce Cuba from its colonial order and system.

Although there existed individuals among the elite of the Cuban society who admired the U.S. ways and sought to pattern Cuba accordingly, the spread of the U.S. ideology and way of life in the late nineteenth century contradicted with the mission of the PRC and most of those fighting the Second War for the Independence of Cuba, both on the island and exiled. Chapter 4 will illustrate this fact clearly. The leading thrust of the 1895 independence campaign was to rid Cuba of Spanish colonial control and the components that supported its structure. Such actions entailed dismantling the behavioral justices utilized by the Spanish colonial system to keep parts of the Cuban population in subordinate positions. Therefore, achieving permanent removal of the Spanish system required stripping the system of the tools that kept it in place.

This chapter has illustrated how the leadership of José Martí was critical to assessing and understanding this need. José Martí "analyzed American society with clarity and insight," warning that the United States merely looked upon Cuba as an "appetizing possession with no drawback other than its quarrelsome, weak, and unworthy population" (Ripoll, 1984, p. 1; Pérez, 1983, p. 94). Martí expressed that "his long efforts to gain Cuban independence from Spain would be meaningless unless they succeeded at the same time at averting U.S. annexation" (Ripoll, p. 51). Martí's vision of a post-Spain

Cuba was clearly different from that of the puppet and mirror-image society which the United States wanted to shape Cuba into. Among other things, the new Cuba was to produce an opening of security and economic opportunity for all classes. Universal suffrage and wealth of the society were to be shared by all (Foner, in Martí, 1977, p. 33).

Given Cuba's colonial and slave history, it would be incomplete to identify the United States as the originating cause of that country's racial discrimination and racial misperceptions; hence, this chapter does not attempt to do that. However, this does not negate the focus of this study, which is the role and influence of the United States in the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba with the United States serving as the model nation for such development. This chapter's exposure of the existing state of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba prior to the United States' official involvement and later occupation has also exposed the change in the direction being pursued by the rising leaders of a postindependent Cuba. By exposing the egalitarian pursuits and commitments of Cuba's leading independence fighters, the prospect of a Cuba free of social and racial injustices is presented. At the time of the U.S. intervention, Cuba was facing a crossroads, with the majority of its people interested in venturing in a new direction. The spirit of *Cuba Libre* was alive and strong, seeking total acceptance of all Cubans irrespective of skin color. Unity and strength in collective action topped the movement's agenda, with *Cubanidad*, the Cuban identity, having been broadened and being made all inclusive.

Thus, many did embrace Martí's image of "a future republic where the interests of all harmonized, a society color-blind as far as justice was concerned" (Foner, in Martí, 1977, p. 29). His republican vision inspired the expectations of the struggle and

ultimately the vision of the countless who responded to the fight (Pérez, 1983, p. 385). Many seized the idea of a new Cuba completely free of the controlling powers of an outsider and the divisive system introduced by the Spanish by way of the institution of slavery and the plantation system. Many of the people of Cuba, both of color and White, not just wanted to move forward—they wanted to move forward on their own terms. What remains to be, and will be, illustrated is how the prospect of the presence of the United States was seen as potentially causing a delay in accomplishing this.

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CHAPTER 3

The United States and Race, Pre-1898

The United States implemented robust national policies during 1898–1902. The nation's interests entailed a push for muscular foreign and domestic policies. In the domestic arena, especially, these took racial overtones because of a segregationist legislative doctrine. For example, the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson legally endorsed "separate but equal" doctrine, thus giving fuel to the prevalent racist and prejudicial practices in the U.S. communities. This beginning era of the Jim Crow Laws was a time of intense disenfranchisement for Americans of color—that of national segregation, followed by a wave of race riots in the country (Kemp, 1999).[50] For example, the disenfranchisement process involved the introduction of literacy tests in order to qualify to vote. Further, as a result of legalized segregation, many Americans of color were excluded from equal participation in public life and economic life. In the film, *Crucible of Empire* (Miller, 1999), Kevin Gaines agrees that the 1890s were a period of deteriorating race relations in the United States. Subsequently, he remarked, historians have referred to the 1890s as the lowest point for Americans of color (Miller, 1999). During the 1896–1902 period, race relations were precarious for people of color in the United States.

Thus, while Chapter 2 focused on revealing how the issue of race in Cuba was addressed prior to 1898, Chapter 3 concentrates on race relations and racial perceptions prevalent in the U.S. society prior to the U.S. intervention in Cuba. This chapter explores

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[50] This study will use the term *American(s) of color* to refer to the population traditionally referred to as Black American, Negro, African American, and Afro-American, and it includes people of full and/or mixed African ancestry, unless directly quoting resources based on the time period, secondary resources, and authors.

the post–U.S. Civil War society. It directs attention to the influence of race on U.S. laws, racial perceptions, and civil relations among the U.S. citizenry, as well as the ultimate influence all this had on the United States' international agenda and policies. The chapter exposes the racially driven policies and, often, violence present in the U.S. society as the basis on which the U.S. society and its wider ideals were rooted. The treatment of the United States of its own populations of diverse citizens is seen as indicative of what ideas, approach, and strategy were utilized in the development of U.S. policies regarding foreign diverse populations. As relevant to this study, the racial abuses exposed in this chapter are identified as the basis for some of the influences transposed to Cuba during the U.S. military government occupation of Cuba, 1898–1902.

Race and the Law

> The conclusion of the U.S. Civil War brought an official end to slavery,
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> with the Thirteenth Amendment[51] in 1865 banning slavery in the United
> States. In order to incorporate the newly freed slaves into free society,
> Congress proposed and the states ratified two more amendments—the
> Fourteenth, making the former slaves full citizens, and prohibiting states
> from denying citizens due process and equal protection of the laws, and
> the Fifteenth, prohibiting the state and federal governments from denying
> the right to vote on the basis of race, color, or prior condition of servitude.
> (Palmer, 2000, p. 287)

However, the end of the Civil War did not mark the automatic beginning of civil peace within the United States. The official end of the period of reconstruction after the Civil War in the United States was marked by the formal removal of federal troops from southern United States. The removal of the federal troops resulted in an overwhelming

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[51] "Text of the Thirteenth Amendment, Section One, its main provision: 'Neither slave nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.' Section Two: 'Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation'" (Palmer, 2000, p. 289).

intensification of racially motivated violence throughout the U.S. society, especially its

southern society. Many White Americans disagreed with the post–Civil War outlawing of

slavery, and the legislation protecting Americans of color and providing them with legal

rights.

> The Civil War Amendments appeared to form a straightforward and
> forceful resolution to the slavery issue, ending the institution and granting
> former slaves full rights, including the power to shape government
> through the vote. For the former slaves, however, the promise of rights,
> and the ability to exercise those rights proved different matters. (Palmer,
> 2000, p. 287)

Although chiefly regarded as racially motivated, the civil unrest that prevailed in

the U.S. society during the 1890s and the early twentieth century were also due in part to

the economic crisis of the 1890s. The United States experienced one of its all-time worst

depressions in 1873. The depression of 1873 put millions of American workers out of

work (Tompkins, 1996, p. VIII). The economic crisis contributed to the rise of class

conflict and the emergence of violent labor strikes. The unrest of this time period was

aggravated by the increased government corruption at the local government levels. The

democratic process was deemed a mockery by many as votes were purchased and sold,

and the needs of urban residents went ignored and unmet (Tompkins, p. VIII). The

culmination of the aforementioned distressing factors within the U.S. society during the

mid-to-late 1890s well into the 1900s contributed to the civil unrest and further

deterioration of the practice of U.S. ideas and policies as legislated post Civil War. The

disarray of the mainstream U.S. society, the uncertainty of its economy, noncommittal

disposition, and party politics resulted in the neglect of the rights of those American

populations who needed the protection and execution of the laws of the land the most.

"During the last decade of the nineteenth century…black Americans lived under the yoke of a new slavery" (Marks, 1971, p. viii). As George Marks (1971) affirms, "ninety percent lived in the South—landless and voteless peasants" (p. viii).

Race relations in general were an unsettling affair in the United States. The targeting and victimization of Native Americans by the U.S. Western Manifest Destiny resulted in the displacement and dependency of this population. By 1900, the Native Americans had been stripped of much of the territory previously granted them as per United States' treaties. At this time, the Native Americans had been abandoned to defend themselves against "further encroachment by mining companies and land speculators" (Tompkins, 1996, p. 313). Along the west coast of the United States, Asian Americans continued to face resentment and misunderstanding from the dominant White U.S. American population. Races relations between those of color and the Whites were overwhelmingly plagued by confrontation, abusive behavior, and the previously mentioned segregation. Mistreatment and disenfranchisement of the people of color in America was prevalent in both the north and the south, but most dangerously in the south.

With the post–Civil War initiatives, the Americans of color anticipated gains and participatory roles within U.S. American society. However, following the end of the government oversight during the reconstruction period, the presence and power of Americans of color within politics immensely decreased due to the southern Whites seeking permanent exclusion of Americans of color from all societal affairs. The late nineteenth century, particularly its final decade, was a time of shattered hopes and thwarted aspirations as the United States witnessed continued attack on the citizenship rights of all Americans of color and suffrage rights of men of color. For Americans of

color, the emergence of the "New South" after the reconstruction period resulted in the

waning of the political power of the population (Miller, 1999).

> The oppressive atmosphere of the late 1890s which quickened the Negro's awareness of belonging to a "nation within a nation" and encouraged an emphasis on racial separatism also accentuated what W. E. B. Du Bois described as the sense of 'twoness' present among all black citizens; as Americans and as Negroes, they possessed "two warring ideals in one dark body." (Gatewood, 1975, p. 7)

> The Civil War Amendments (also known as the Reconstruction Amendments),

principally, Amendments Fourteen (1865) and Fifteen (1868), were under consistent

assault from the solid Democratic southern state governments.

> With the Union restored, the interests of the Republican Party turned to other matters. The rights of former slaves were one of those matters, but only one. And the South, bitter over its defeat in the war, had little desire to support the freedoms of its departed workforce. (Palmer, 2000, p. 287)

Under assault was Section One of Amendment Fourteen, the amendment's key provision.

According to the text of the Fourteenth Amendment, Section One, of the U.S.

Constitution,

> "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." (Grittner, F. K., in Palmer, 2000, p. 327)

> Also under assault was the Fifteen Amendment, Section One, of the U.S.

Constitution, particularly its key provision, stating "The right of citizens of the United

States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on

account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" (Bernstein, in Palmer, 2000, p.

361). "The Fifteenth Amendment was the capstone of the effort to write the results of the

Civil War into the Constitution. Unfortunately, as with the Thirteenth and Fourteenth

Amendments, the Fifteen Amendment did not achieve its core purpose—barring racial

discrimination in access to the polls"[52] (Bernstein, in Palmer, 2000, pp. 362–363).

Referencing *The Toronto Mail* and *Toronto Empire* (Toronto, Canada), *The Gazette*

(Cleveland, OH) published the comments made by the Canadian publication regarding

the issue of color and the law in the United States:

> So far as the organic law of the nation is concerned, every Negro in the
> southern states stands on precisely the same level as his white neighbor.
> There is not a right which the constitution guarantees to the latter that is
> not guaranteed to the former. Yet the equality before the law does not
> exist. … The law is all right, but there is no power to enforce it. The
> prevailing sentiment among the people of the dominant race is that their
> country is the white man's country, and that their government is a white
> man's government; and the implication of course is that the blacks have no
> rights that the whites are bound to respect. The colored people are
> virtually disfranchised in several of the states already; and the southern
> people say they will never rest satisfied until they are actually
> disfranchised. It is this state of things that will probably impose the
> greatest strain upon the great American empire, which is just beginning to
> take shape. (in Smith, 1899b, p. 1)

As of 1900, more than two-thirds of Americans of color lived in the southern

United States (Tompkins, 1996, p. IX). The 1896 U.S. Supreme Court case of Plessy v.

Ferguson sanctioned practices of discrimination in public places, beginning in the South

and extending to all parts of the nation.

> Homer Plessy, who was seven-eighths Caucasian and one-eighth African,
> was prohibited from traveling on a railway coach for whites, under
> Louisiana statute requiring "equal but separate accommodations" for black
> and white passengers. The Supreme Court, in an 8-1 decision, ruled that
> this law did not violate the Equal Protection Clause. (Grittner, in Palmer,
> 2000, p. 341)

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[52] Section Two: Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation (Palmer, 2000, p. 361). The Fifteenth Amendment did not achieve its core purpose until the mid-twentieth century (Bernstein, in Palmer, 2000, p. 363).

This landmark decision legally supported the segregation of public facilities, transportation, housing, and education between people of color and the Whites in the U.S. society (Jaycox, 2005, p. 91). Essentially, the findings of the U.S. Supreme Court stated that "separate but equal" did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution[53] (Jaycox, p. 92).

> The Fourteenth Amendment was "powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based on physical differences." The Court reasoned that as long as the facilities provided for each race were separate but equal, there would be no violation of the Equal Protection Clause. (Grittner, in Palmer, 2000, p. 341)

The U.S. Supreme Court also informed that it "found no grounds to believe that 'social prejudices may be overcome by legislation'" (Grittner, in Palmer, p. 341).

> This ruling introduced the era of Jim Crow Laws.[54]

> The holding in Plessy paved the way for the enactment of segregation laws in the southern states. Commonly referred to as "black codes" or "Jim Crow" laws, the segregation laws were passed by state legislatures in the South in the 1890s.[55] (Heiberg, in Palmer, 2000, p. 233)

The Jim Crow Laws commenced a long period of lawful oppression of Americans of color. National segregation was succeeded by a surge of racially driven conflicts including race riots throughout the United States (Kemp, 1999). The Jim Crow Laws were officially enacted from 1876 to 1965. The laws sanctioned separate but equal treatment and accommodation for Americans of color. Jim Crow authorized segregation as law in most parts of the United States. The disenfranchisement process involved the

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[53] This ruling granted state authority by way of Constitutional justification for all forms of segregation in the United States until 1954 with the ruling of Brown v. Board of Education (Jaycox, 2005, p. 92).

[54] The Jim Crow Laws were enacted during 1876–1965, mandating separate but equal status for Black Americans.

[55] These segregation laws remained in force until the 1950s and 1960s (Heiberg, in Palmer, 2000, p.233).

introduction of literacy tests in order to qualify to vote. "Literacy tests and other means were employed not only to structure the immigrant pool but also to disenfranchise blacks who were already in the United States" (McCartney, 2006, p. 59). However, such tests were not the sole devices employed to remove the votes of Americans of color. "Among the schemes used were white primaries and poll taxes, and grandfather clauses were enacted to allow whites who failed to meet these requirements to continue to vote" (McCartney, p. 59). Americans of color were demoted to second class citizenry. They were natural born U.S. citizens and therefore legally entitled to the rights and privileges just like any other native U.S. American. However, they found themselves excluded from the same protection allotted as per the laws of their native country.

> The promise of Reconstruction lay in shambles; constitutional amendments designed to protect the rights of black citizens had become largely inoperative through a succession of anti-egalitarian decisions by the federal courts. The virtual disappearance of the moral idealism which had characterized the abolitionist movement and the indifference of the Republican party toward the black man's rights removed most restraints against the institutionalization of crude negrophobia. All the while, white supremacy polemicists formulated elaborate theories of black degeneracy which not only provided a rationale for proliferation of legal and extralegal Jim Crow contrivances, but also served as apologies for the increasing instances of lynching and other forms of racial violence. (Gatewood, 1975, p. 3)

The failure of the United States to protect its own citizens on account of the color of their skin and heritage factored an alarm for concern, which supports the focus of this study. While exploring the nation's international pursuits and ambitions, this review calls for immediate attention to the institutionalization of discriminatory laws within the United States. The United States condoned inequitable treatment and legalized such practices throughout its society. There existed an overwhelming unwillingness to treat all

U.S. Americans just and equal as per the U.S. Constitution. State governments intentionally sought loopholes to federal regulations and, as disclosed above, the federal judiciary branch subsequently endorsed unjust race-based treatment. This study thus considers the issue of how the U.S. laws addressed the issue of race, which is outlined in this chapter, and gives significant insight into the patterned behavior of the United States with diverse populations. The United States' actions within the nation portrayed biases involving race and culture that were easy to apply to populations of diverse backgrounds abroad.

Race and Violence

"The lynching era in the U.S. South…emerged after emancipation (1865 in the United States…), a war (the Civil War in the South…), the relative empowerment of persons of African descent, and an economic crisis" (Helg, 2000, p. 579). Slavery was replaced with the Jim Crow legislation in an effort by the Whites in the United States to maintain control over the U.S. social order and societal structure. Disenfranchisement and legislation mandating racial segregation enabled the Whites in the United States, particularly in the southern region, to pick up where slavery left off. Helg (2000) writes that violence against people of color in the United States reached unprecedented levels with the lynching during this time period (p. 576).[56]

> No longer protected by their value as property, as they were, invidiously,
> before the Civil War, or by Northern troops, as they were immediately
> after it, blacks found themselves increasingly vulnerable to widespread
> informal violence that was countenanced by the silence of the government.
> (McCartney, 2006, p. 60)

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[56] According to Marks (1971), between 1889 and 1901, nearly 2,000 Black men, women, and children were lynched, "often with unspeakable brutality" (p. viii).

With the practice of lynching, the Whites were able to maintain "a well-established

tradition of vigilante justice and political domination" (Helg, p. 580). "Lynchings of

blacks had the approval of the white community, and aimed at enforcing social

conformity by both punishing the individual and collectively repressing blacks" (Helg, p.

580). The unprosecuted lynchings that took place further demonstrated the

aforementioned failure of the U.S. justice system during this period of time. A June 11,

1898, editorial in the *Parsons Weekly Blade* stated:

> The lynching mill has started up again after a short Suspense and is
> grinding out one, two, and three victims per day. Louisiana, to keep in the
> lead of her competitors in this damnable bloody work, took occasion to
> burn a Negro at the stake, a sight so horribly sickening and revolting that
> the perpetrators thereof couldn't stand the scene. Texas strung up two or
> three; Maryland, one; Missouri, two; and Arkansas, one… This is a
> splendid home record for a great nation engaged in a war with another
> nation, because cruelty is laid at the door of the other fellow—good
> record, sure. Now, while Uncle Sam can find time to shoot Spaniards for
> their cruelty to Cubans, he ought to take a little of the time and make a
> thorough search among the persecuted part of the Americans about his
> own door mat. Take a peep, anyway. (p. 2)

According to Gale Research Incorporated, over 2500 lynchings of mostly males

of color took place in the United States during 1886–1889 (Tompkins, 1996, p. 275).[57] In

addition to the countless lynchings, race riots also went unabated. The race riots of the

late 1890s and 1900s were typically started by White mobs that invaded neighborhoods

of predominantly people of color (Jaycox, 2005, p. 142). Paul T. McCartney (2006)

writes that it was in the 1880s that the Ku Klux Klan rose to prominence with the

common practice of lynching (p. 60). White mobs terrorized people of color and looted

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[57] The estimated tally of documented lynches in the United States during 1885−1905 places the number as
exceeding the total number of legal executions during that same time frame.

their neighborhoods, often with the support of the local law enforcement (Jaycox, p. 142). Thus, in addition to lynching, violence against people of color during this time was exhibited through beatings, whippings, and terrorizing of people of color by mobs that wanted nothing more than to force the population of color out of their homes and land (Helg, 2000, p. 581). This form of mob violence particularly often served as a means especially directed against middle-class people of color in the U.S. south. "Unlike lynching…mob terror and rioting inflicted random violence on African Americans and their property in order to dispossess and oust them" (Helg, p. 581). Therefore, mob violence and riots were primarily directed toward destroying businesses and middle-class residential areas populated by Americans of color. This constant terrorism compelled most middle-class Americans of color to vacate their businesses and neighborhoods (Helg, p. 581). About the experiences of Americans of color, Dr. H. R. Butler (1899) wrote,

> We are subjected throughout our lives to mean and unjust discriminations. The protection of the courts is denied us at will. Protection in person and property is a myth. Black men are allowed no part in the administration of the merest justice and the universal sentiment is…that black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect. … This is the dominant feeling in the south to-day, and the national government tolerates it in the murder and slaughter of innocent men, women, and children. … The wrongs we suffer today are the unpardonable crimes against civilization and Christianity. (p. 2)

The Gazette (Cleveland, OH) reviewed an article published by the Berlin journal, *The Lokal Anzeiger,* "a leading organ of a powerful nation and of the white race" that regarded the United States as uncivilized (printed in Smith, 1899a, p. 2). The article that appeared in *The Gazette* stated,

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"*The Lokal Anzeiger,* a Berlin journal, commenting upon the lynching of…Negroes in the United States, sees affairs as they actually are in this country. It says: 'Every civilized state recognizes justice and humanity toward Negroes which in America is almost unknown and Negroes are treated like pariahs. Crimes against them are rarely punished, and a white man guilty of a crime against morality easily throws suspicion upon some Negro, who is immediately lynched.'" (printed in Smith, 1899a, p. 2)

The "Berlin journal does not hesitate to declare in feelings of horror and consternation its astonishment that a people professedly learned and Christianized as Americans, should be guilty of the shameful barbarities laid at their door…the Afro-American is easily made victim to charges of which he is often known to be innocent…." (printed in Smith, 1899a, p. 2)

White Americans at the time claimed that the destructive behavior toward people of color stemmed from the need to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment. It was alleged that with the removal of political equality (even though, as illustrated above, it was rarely honored), the Whites would "no longer feel threatened by Blacks" and therefore would not perceive a need to kill them (Tompkins, 1996, p. 275). The educating of people of color in the South also was an issue. Deemed the "root of 'the black problem,'" education was seen as the cause of people of color "not accepting their place in society and demanding political rights and 'social equality'" (Helg, 2000, p. 584). The circulated stereotype categorizing men of color as potential rapists of White women further impacted the middle class as there was no exemption for "the 'uppity blacks' who threatened the myth of black inferiority and had the potential to change the balance between dominant and dominated" (Helg, p. 583).

Legalized segregation therefore caused many Americans of color to be systematically excluded from equal participation in public life and, therefore, economic life. Terrorizing Americans of color, at the close of the nineteenth century, did not remain confined to the southern United States. With the issues of the South, Gaines states, the

1890s witnessed a resurgence of racism in the North as part of popular culture and

entertainment (in Miller, 1999). According to Gaines, minstrelsy experienced a rebirth in

the North. Gaines explains that minstrelsy derided the hopes of people of color for

equality with regard to rights and status. He states that the Whites would contend that the

people of color really did not want equality but, in essence, they wanted to be White. This

scorn played itself out in the form of songs and dance.[58]

> The nation, in fact, had acquiesced in the southern solution to the Negro
> Question. In 1890 Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge's "force bill," which
> was designed to protect the Negro's exercise of suffrage in the South,
> failed because the Republicans gave higher priority to economic issues
> and intersectional harmony.[59] (Gatewood, 1975, p. 3)

Race and Imagery

Historians have credited the influence of Social Darwinism with further

encouraging such societal practices of hatred involving racial images and perceptions

(Jaycox, 2005, p. 123). Social Darwinism had a profound influence on those in the U.S.

south, along with the ideology of White supremacy (Helg, 2000, p. 579). "The Darwinian

hypothesis of evolution through natural selection provided 'philosophic backing' for

preexisting American beliefs in the nation's inherent excellence" (McCartney, 2006, p.

48). Emma Dávila-Cox and Angel Smith (1999) corroborate that narratives within the

United States during this time were geared toward expressions of the nation's historical,

spiritual, cultural, and racial distinctness as a people (p. 2). With this focal point, it is no

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[58] Gaines mentions a "Coon" song that was popular at the time (in Miller, 1999).

[59] "The Lodge bill marked the last effort by a federal administration to protect Negro voting rights in the South until the passage of a civil rights act sixty-seven years later" (Gatewood, 1975, p. 3).

surprise that a willingness to embrace the emerging Social Darwinist doctrines existed.[60]

These doctrines consisting of racial hierarchies impacted society and social relations in

the United States even after the end of slavery and the commencement of reconstruction.

> Darwin's theory of natural selection, which was commonly invoked by
> reference to Herbert Spencer's popular phrase "survival of the fittest,"
> held that the weak members of a species are weeded out due to the
> incompatibility between their inherited characteristics and the
> environment into which they are born, so that only a species' strongest
> representatives survive and propagate. (McCartney, 2006, p. 48)

In *The Descent of Man*, Darwin explicitly endorses the idea that the strongest civilization

was in the United States, with its people existing at the apex of the evolutionary process

(McCartney, pp. 48–49). Populations consisting of English and German descent, and who

practice Christianity were civilized populations (Jaycox, 2005, p. 123). This propagated

belief system entrenched the U.S. society and therefore influenced the relations within the

society between those who met the standards of the alleged "civilized" versus those that

did not. "The prestigious *Encyclopedia Britannica,* in its American edition of 1895,

invoked the authority of science to validate its assertion that 'the inherent mental

inferiority of blacks' was 'an inferiority which is even more marked than their physical

differences'" (Gatewood, 1975, p. 2). This contributed to greater tensions, greater abuse

and exclusion, as well as resentment. Darwinism overwhelmingly contributed to

structuring and legitimizing racism at the end of the nineteenth century in the United

States (McCartney, p. 57). Augmenting the endorsed domestic racial hierarchy, "at the

turn of the century people from the United States portrayed themselves as superior to

people in all other parts of the world who had different skin colours and head shapes that

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[60] As previously mentioned, the Social Darwinist doctrines emphasized "the superiority of the
uncontaminated pure race, the existence of a hierarchy of races, and their application of ideas regarding the
'survival of the fittest' to conflicts between nations and 'races'" (Dávila-Cox & Smith, 1999, p. 2).

resulted in lower 'physical, mental, and moral development'" (Offner, in Dávila-Cox & Smith, 1999, p. 19). Kennedy (1971) adds that U.S. leaders were beyond

> convinced of the superior capacity for self-government on the part of the white, Anglo-Saxon people of the United States. They held dark-skinned people in low regard, for the latter had not yet acquired the requisite characteristics of self-control and political maturity upon which the capacity for self-government was based. (p. 306)

Within the United States, the overwhelming projected image of people of color was one that portrayed them as "others" to be feared (Helg, 2000, p. 576). This portrayal conjured a belief that their presence in the society was a threat. This roused violent acts against people of color which, as mentioned before, were prevalent during this period of time. Presenting the people of color as ones to be feared further assisted in the establishment of "a social hierarchy and boundaries of inclusion and exclusion" and in justifying the violence against them (Helg, p. 576). Further fueling this climate of fear in relation to people of color were widely spread ideas about stereotypes of the population. Men of color were most associated with such stereotyping as "at the turn of the century, the principal racial obsession of white society in the U.S. South concerned black males having sex with white women" (Helg, p. 577). Therefore men of color were presented as the ones to fear the most. "Southern stereotype of the black rapist built on narratives of supposed African savagery, sexual license, and polygamy to claim that without the restraining effect of slavery, blacks would 'regress' toward their 'natural bestiality'" (Helg, p. 578). This stereotype unilaterally stigmatized all men of color "into outcasts and singled out the alleged barbarism and animal sexuality of the entire male population of African descent," resulting in all becoming targets of violence (Helg, p. 583). Men of

color were considered "infamous beasts," with hundreds of hundreds being accused of rape or attempted rape of White women, and then being lynched (Helg, p. 578).

The circulating images throughout the U.S. society, as presented above, were, thus, prelude to the existing and later displayed beliefs that many U.S. Americans also held regarding the non-Anglo-Saxon populations beyond the U.S. borders. The question of mental development and maturity were applied to all populations not reflective of the U.S. White majority. As expounded in this study's discussion of the three interpretative frameworks, the United States' involvement and ensuing occupation is often explained as the nation's responsibility to rescue Cuba, a diverse population, from its state of mediocrity and cultural defects. The prevalent images in the U.S. society formulated the belief in the deliverance that the United States would bring to Cuba. Stereotypes prevailed pertaining to the Spaniards, and Cubans, in general—more so to the Cubans of color, considering the common ancestral heritage they appeared to share with Americans of color. Thus, from the beginning, the interaction of the United States with Cuba and, even, Spain was hierarchal in nature.

United States' International Agenda

> The period in which these events occurred was significant. This era
> marked the height of new imperialism elsewhere around the globe. The
> Europeans were busy neatly subdividing Africa during these years, and as
> Spain labored to cling to her few remaining colonies, the United States
> was looking beyond her continental borders to continue the expansionism
> that had marked the republic since its founding. (Pollock, 2002, pp. 1–2)

While violent upheaval and social crises were rampant domestically, internationally the United States sought to establish undeterred U.S. hegemony in the western hemisphere and increased U.S. economic interests. Both these ambitions would culminate in the

nation's overall goal of rising to a world power. The time period of U.S. American

history of international policy, which included the years 1898–1902, witnessed the

expansion of the nation's domestic pursuits of Manifest Destiny.

> By the 1890s…American nationalism was swollen with self-righteous
> arrogance. The Europeans were complaining about aggressive American
> commercial enterprise, while the United States celebrated its growing
> economic strength. The 1890s saw the creation in the US of countless
> patriotic societies (such as the Sons of the American Revolution and the
> Daughters of the American Revolution), mounting racism (as evidenced
> by the "Whitecap" movement and the swelling Ku Klux Klan) and the
> newly-sired cult of the national flag. Speakers at public functions
> competed to laud the power and virtue of the United States. (Simons,
> 1996, p. 183)

The importance that U.S. Americans attached to the nation's need to look outward

with its influence, and to direct and guide other nations in advancement was so huge that

it was among the widely circulated sentiments of the time. The United States' ambitions

of the 1890s pushed for a greater presence on a global scale. Rosenberg (1982) writes that

the entire rationale for overseas expansion was shaped in a domestic crucible (p. 42). It

became widely accepted that it was necessary for the United States to be involved

internationally both economically and culturally. "European…activities in Africa and

Asia and economic recession in the United States during the early 1890s convinced many

that only through expansionism could North American potentials be achieved" (Poyo,

1989, p. 121). As part of the nation's manifest destiny, it was the divine plan for the

United States to have a larger role on the international stage (Jaycox, 2005, p. 122).

Accordingly, expansionism became the appropriate moral responsibility and action.

"Globally extending the influence of American values (while maintaining control over

their implementation) has the added benefit of enabling the United States to fulfill its dual

mandate to God and freedom" (McCartney, 2006, p. 44). The economic crises of the 1890s further presented a need for the acquisition of foreign markets to preserve the domestic economy. The economy at the time was producing more than what the U.S. society could consume; therefore, new markets and investment opportunities abroad were ideal to alleviate this challenge (Jaycox, p. 122).

An additional aspect of the U.S. foreign agenda and justification for expansionism came with the belief of the need to spread Christianity. This religious element expanded the aforementioned social theoretical application of Darwinism. By the 1890s, Darwinism had become integrated into moral philosophy (McCartney, 2006, p. 50). The ideas of such defined moral philosophy left the United States' dominant population convinced of its superiority (Rosenberg, 1982, p. 40). The perceived need to establish Christian missionaries fueled the perception of the responsibility and duty of the highest evolved nations to civilize other populations still at the two evolutionary levels of savagery and barbarism (Jaycox, 2005, p. 123).

> In the United States, as in Europe, civilization, by the end of the nineteenth century, had come to be defined as a quality that inhered primarily in the white race. Other people could aspire to it, but they could achieve it only very gradually, over many generations and in a kind of permanent and unbreachable lag behind whites. (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 190)

Ultimately, as alluded to above, the "concepts of racial mission, so well rehearsed at home, were easily transferred overseas" (Rosenberg, 1982, p. 41). The United States often would depict itself in "manly terms" while generating the view of foreign countries and their people as "effeminate and childlike" (Offner, in Dávila-Cox & Smith, 1999, p. 21). The United States viewed itself as being called to "lead in the regeneration of the world" (Rosenberg, p. 41).

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The U.S. policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had specific political objectives. The U.S. role in the crisis of 1898 was the consequence of a century of dreams and expansion. Intervention abroad, with extensive political, economic, or military power, has continued to mark U.S. relations for over a century since the 1890s. The War of 1898 integrated almost all the main themes of U.S. history. The crises and conflicts of the 1890s involved westward expansion, discovery and exploration, maritime activity, labor exploitation, violence, racism, class conflict, idealism, missionary activity, security issues, the Monroe Doctrine, Manifest Destiny, and aspirations in the Gulf-Caribbean and Pacific basins. (Schoonover, 2003, p. 4)

The United States and Cuba

Specific to this study, the United States' involvement in Cuba, beginning in 1898, is reflective of the endorsed international policy of the nation at the time.

For the United States to empower its ideals with the sword and take up a crusade on behalf of those ideals was unprecedented. But the nation had been restless to achieve the greatness that it believed to be its birthright, and there before it was a chance to make the vision more concrete. The intervention would validate the highest ideals of the United States, if undertaken for the right reason, and Americans were loathe to pass on an opportunity to expand the influence of ideas and norms they believed to possess universal merit. The U.S. worldview in 1898 was pervaded with visions of national destiny, reinforced by a strong Christian duty, and these norms motivated the nation to fight Spain on behalf of the Cubans. (McCartney, 2006, p. 106)

Senator John Morgan (a Democrat from Alabama), as noted by McCartney (2006), stated, "The…horrors of persecution, rapine, and extermination visited upon the people of Cuba…[are] so incredibly inhuman and so disgraceful to the civilization of this age that it stuns the mind into disbelief that such things can be true" (p. 96). The Senator concluded that the people of America could not be pleased and could not permit such wrongs "within earshot of their frontier" (McCartney, p. 96). As further quoted by McCartney, Senator Morgan of Alabama believed that the American people considered intervention to be "a duty" that the people of America owed "to humanity, to Christian

civilization, to the spirit and traditions" of the United States and the American people, "and to the lives and liberties of 'our' people in Cuba" (p. 96). Having propositioned the purchase of Cuba during both Polk and Pierce administrations, for much of the nineteenth century, the Washington leaders ultimately positioned that Cuba was to remain under the ruling power of Spain "until the time came for her to be attached to the United States" (Benjamin, 1990, p. 9).

The United States' involvement and extended presence served to achieve the aforementioned internal goals, as well as to reflect the domestic practices with regard to subordinate populations. Southern U.S. slaveholders' interests were attracted by the potential expansion of the plantation system due to the favorable climate, proximity, and resources of the island nation. The Haitian experience also loomed largely over the U.S. policy as American and European racists feared that a successful insurrection might lead to the establishment of another "Black republic" in the Caribbean (Pérez, 1988, p. 109). This intense desire to prevent the "Africanization" of Cuba complemented the generalized "North American sense of its 'manifest destiny' to spread its people and institutions" (Benjamin, 1990, p. 10).

> Evolutionary doctrines…provided scientific legitimation for Americans' other, more longstanding, beliefs and thus became an organizing principle of American culture. At the same time, racism experienced a vicious renaissance in the 1890s, and contemporary theories of ethnicity endorsed racial hierarchy as both natural and necessary. (McCartney, 2006, p. 47)

Offner writes that nineteenth-century North American intellectuals propagated negative attitudes toward Spaniards and Latin Americans (in Dávila-Cox & Smith, 1999, p. 20). Historians have explicated the influential nature of existing ideological beliefs at the time and how those beliefs aided in structuring the behaviors of the United States.

Values were established and assigned to foreign nations and people based on the images

of the foreigners circulated throughout the U.S. society (Linderman, 1974, p. 114). Most

of these images were widely available and widely circulated through everyday school

textbooks.

> In nineteenth-century America the single most important source of such
> images was the grammar-school-reader. No people fared worse in the
> schoolbooks than the Spanish. In the American view, Spanish history was
> a syllabus of barbarism that left both participants and their progeny
> morally misshapen. (Linderman, p. 115)

Rarely was opposing information provided that would vindicate the portrayals of the

Spanish. The ideologies cultivated increasing American racial superiority, hierarchical

positioning, and aspirations to extend beyond its borders to fix others by instilling U.S.

values. "During the 1890s, racial prejudice, reinforced by class consciousness and

gendered imagery, influenced how most Americans viewed world events" (Offner, in

Dávila-Cox & Smith, 1999, p. 38). Most U.S. Americans perceived the Cubans as

infantile and inept for self-government who could benefit from the guidance of the

United States. Moreover, many U.S. Americans "disliked and distrusted the Spanish"

(Offner, in Dávila-Cox & Smith, p. 38).

This dovetailed with the North American perspective throughout the nineteenth

century that Cuba lacked the ability to govern itself "for reasons of geography, racial

composition, and cultural heritage" (Benjamin, 1990, p. 8). The United States' persistent

contrasting portrayal of Spanish civility versus that of the United States' aided the

grounds on which the war was argued as justified. The U.S. Americans presented the

Spanish as terminally corrupt (McCartney, 2006, pp. 87–88). Spain was reviled as "cruel,

backward, unenlightened, and monarchical; sometimes they faulted Spanish civilization

for being Roman Catholic" (McCartney, pp. 87–88). Along with being deemed a

monarchy that repressed its people, Spain was also universally consistently identified

with the inquisition, with its history depicted in terms of religious bigotry and political

intolerance throughout U.S. schools (Offner, 2004, p. 52).

> Americans considered their own civilization, by contrast, to be the
> pinnacle of human progress—advanced in its political values, religion, and
> racial composition. They characterized the horrible circumstances in Cuba
> as an inevitable consequence of Spanish rule and insisted that conditions
> on the island would be incomparably improved if Spain's civilization were
> replaced by America's. (McCartney, 2006, pp. 87–88)

United States' Domestic Issues' Influence on Its International Agenda

The convenience of its proximity to U.S. shores, and the economic,

expansionistic, and racial interest and concerns regarding the Cuban nation resulted in the

formal U.S. intervention in Cuba in 1898. As per the afore-discussed Collective

Interpretative Framework argument, there existed an entwined relationship between the

domestic affairs and behavior patterns of the United States and its foreign policy and the

resulting practices. The issues within the U.S. society and specifically its race problems

were displayed within the U.S. involvement and presence in Cuba. From its decision to

intervene, to its arrival, to the role of the key leaders critical to the war campaign and

rebuilding efforts, the United States' existing domestic perceptions were portrayed

evidently. The United States' domestic behavior was not limited to the parameters of its

physical borders. Those influential in the Cuban policy of the United States also

unabashedly conducted themselves in manners synonymous with the present-day bias and

national superiority prevalent in the United States. These influential policymakers

included Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, Secretary of War Elihu

Root, and Governor-Major Generals John Brooke and Leonard Wood. The actions of these policymakers and the influential roles that their positions allotted them will be addressed here. Each contained degrees of authority that enabled them to direct the social climate and societal structure of Cuban society during and after the U.S. occupation.

United States' General Perception and Treatment of Cubans: Preintervention and During Intervention

Although slavery had been eliminated in the South, the United States "remained racist toward blacks and Hispanics" (Schoonover, 2003, p. 53). The identity of the Cuban people was directly linked to that of the Spanish. Prior to 1895 and the United States' involvement in the Cuban affairs, few U.S. Americans counted the people of Cuba a distinct people (Linderman, 1974, p. 127). Given the opinions of the United States about the Spanish, the image of the Cuban people had to be crafted separate from that of the Spaniards. To garner support against Spain required that the United States present a differing view of the Cuban population, distinguishing it from the Spanish. Gerald Linderman (1974) writes that the United States was able to convince its Americans that the Cubans were a moral, enlightened, and kindred race (p. 115).

Prior to its formal involvement, the United States sought to convey the impression that Cuba was a White nation and the Cuban Army was predominantly completely White. The United States stressed that "better than three of four Cubans were 'like the Spaniards, dark in complexion, but oftener light or blond'" (Linderman, 1974, p. 131). In addition, the Americanization accompanied the emphasis that the majority of Cubans were White and of pure Spanish descent. Linderman (1974) agrees that this concept of Americanization presented the Cuban army as self-respecting, disciplined, orderly, and

concerned for its wounded, and as an organization very similar to the United States Army

(p. 132). "Contrary to the realities of this war, pictures circulating in the United States

showed Cubans meticulously uniformed and equipped, mounted and charging in

impeccable column with flags flying" (Linderman, p. 133). However, "the first physical

contacts of Americans with Cuban and Spaniard would test these images of good and

evil" (Linderman, p. 115).

By the time of the U.S. intervention following the initial contact, the Cubans were

considered as "generally indolent and apathetic…indifferent to religion…the majority

therefore immoral…" (Simons, 1996, p. 185). John J. Johnson writes of the role of U.S.

newspaper artists in perpetuating racist and demeaning stereotypes (in Carr et al., 2003,

p. 135). The newspaper artists would incorporate derogatory images in their

representations of Cuba with their newspaper cartoons.[61]

> Cuba and Cubans are portrayed as infants, carefree children, or rowdy,
> undisciplined youths, requiring the constant guidance and tutelage of the
> United States. Cubans are not only infantilized; they are frequently
> represented as blacks who are alternately cheerful, irresponsible, lazy,
> dim, and grotesquely deformed—reflecting racist stereotypes common in
> the United States…. (Johnson, in Carr et al., pp. 135–138)

Cubans were considered as having a nebulous conception of right and wrong. It

was maintained that the people of Cuba primarily tended "to seek pleasure not through

work, but through violence," which, Geoff Simons (1996) writes, was a reflection of their

"lack of morality" which consequentially resulted in their "great disregard for life" (p.

185). "Cuba was incompetent, from the size and composition of its population, to

maintain independent self-government" (Jenks, 1928, p. 9). "The Cubans were

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[61] Johnson adds that many of the images used in the representations of Cuba were typically used in
representations of Latin America in general (in Carr et al., 2003, p. 135).

insignificant black rioters or bandits who would be easily dispersed" (Linderman, 1974, pp. 127–128). They were seen as mongrels that lacked the capacity to govern themselves, with prominent clergy concluding that they were seditious, ignorant, superstitious, and overwhelmingly useless (Linderman, p. 128).

According to Aline Helg (2000), "it was not unusual for U.S. officials and travelers to portray all Cubans, including the white elite, as an inferior and Negroid people, and to use the theory of white racial supremacy to justify U.S. control" (p. 593). Cubans came to be portrayed as "unsophisticated, uneducated, and incapable of either successful military action or self-governance" (Pollock, 2002, p. 1). They were viewed as irresponsible and lacking awareness of what a good government consisted of (Pollock, p. 14). It was determined that Cubans fundamentally lacked the essential attributes for maintaining the order of a sound and productive society. "They were mercurial and unstable people who did not understand the principle of majority rule. Inexperience in directing their own affairs precluded the establishment of a government not given to arbitrary and corrupt administration" (Kennedy, 1971, pp. 309–310). The presence of the United States was necessary.

The Cubans were seen as needing the involvement of the United States to preserve their independence. The U.S. Under-Secretary of War, J. C. Brekenridge, declared,

> "It would of course be 'sheer madness' to annex such a dissolute and depraved people into the virtuous United States—until appropriate steps had been taken: 'we must clean up the country, even if this means using the methods Divine Providence used on the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. We must destroy everything within our cannon's range of fire. We must impose a harsh blockade so that hunger and its constant

companion, disease, undermine the peaceful population and decimate the Cuban army.'" (Simons, 1996, p. 185)

In 1899, while in Cuba, renowned artist, writer, and journalist Frederic Remington wrote

about the Cuban people:

> "…too much cannot be expected at once of a people who have always lived under Spanish misrule and abuse. Cuba is not a new-born country, peopled by wood-cutting, bear-fighting, agricultural folks, who must be fresh and virtuous in order to exist. It is an old country, time worn, decayed, and debauched by thieving officials and fire and sword. The people are negroes or breeds, and they were sired by Spaniards who have never had social virtues since they were overrun by the Moors. The Cubans have known no civic rectitude; they have had no examples of honest, plain-dealing, public men; they are, in the aggregate, the most ignorant people on earth, so far as letters go…the bands of criminal negroes which infest the cities, are a mere incident, and should be shot on sight—gotten rid of in the shortest possible way, like wild beasts, which is what will happen in the natural order of events." (Remington, in Ryan, 1997, p. 69)

The U.S. opinion remarkably changed from that of "a preintervention sympathetic

portrayal of heroic freedom fighters fighting a barbaric Spain to a representation of

Cuban patriots as shifty, comic black men dressed in bizarre uniform" (Johnson, in Carr

et al., 2003, pp. 135–136).

Key U.S. Leaders and Policymakers

President William McKinley. In 1898, William McKinley was the President of

the United States of America. Offner argues that there were many examples of racial and

class stereotypes that influenced the McKinley administration regarding the Cuba

situation (in Dávila-Cox & Smith, 1999, p. 29).[62] In the film, *Crucible of Empire* (Miller,

1999), Henry W. Brands states that although McKinley was not as unabashedly racist as

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[62] According to him, other historians also note that President William McKinley's administration did not object when state and local governments deprived free men of color the right to vote; nor did he object to the Supreme Court's approval of racial segregation (Offner, in Dávila-Cox & Smith, 1999, p. 19).

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many in his time, he subscribed essentially to the theories of White supremacy. With the

U.S. involvement in the war, "the McKinley administration advanced traditional

American values—racial prejudice against Latin Americans…wariness toward foreign

revolutions, a mission to spread American ways, expansion of naval power in the

Western Hemisphere, and promotion of business opportunities" (Offner, in Dávila-Cox &

Smith, p. 35). According to Offner, the administration held that Spain could not carry out

government reforms in Cuba because the Spanish people did not understand the concepts

of personal freedom and self-government as the Americans and British did (in Dávila-

Cox & Smith, p. 29).

It would be a combination of factors, including the declining state of human

conditions in Cuba, the war's adverse affects on the U.S. economy, and the desire of

many U.S. Americans for retaliation for the explosion of the Maine ship on February 15,

1898, that would persuade McKinley to act in favor of U.S. intervention.[63] William A.

Williams (1972) argues,

> …men like McKinley and other national leaders thought about America's
> problems and welfare in an inclusive, systematized way that emphasized
> economics. Wanting democracy and social peace, they argued that
> economic depression threatened those objectives, and concluded that
> overseas economic expansion provided a primary means of ending that
> danger. They did not want war *per se*, let alone war in order to increase
> their own personal fortunes. But their own conception of the world
> ultimately led them into war in order to solve the problems in the way that
> they considered necessary and best. (p. 38)

Accepting the widespread impacting reach of the continuance of the conflict,

McKinley "decided to confront Spain rather than allow the devastating war to continue,"

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[63] President McKinley already had experienced the ravages of war with the Civil War and knew intimately
the consequences, and so hesitated to rush into war. Given his prior experience, he much more preferred a
diplomatic solution to the entire circumstance. Offner (2004) writes that McKinley personally desired to
avoid war, but was willing to accept one if necessary (p. 61).

convinced that the human suffering justified the United States' declaration of war

(Offner, 2004, pp. 54, 61). However, McKinley opposed recognizing the insurgent Cuban

republic.

> The McKinley administration did not believe that the Cubans were
> capable of self-government, and it wanted a free hand in Cuba. It worried
> that recognition of a Cuban government would place an invading U.S.
> army under Cuban sovereignty and law. (Offner, 2004, p. 60)

The control and management of McKinley's administration would come to serve as a

modern basis from which race relations and racial perceptions would develop and take

form in postcolonial Cuban society. Thus, the example of the United States under the

McKinley administration became a model of what a free democratic society was to

resemble. This established patterned behaviors stemming from beliefs held regarding

populations different from the majority. The reach of the administration's influence

would continue post-1902.

Secretary of War Elihu Root. Elihu Root was originally an attorney; he was

appointed U.S. Secretary of War by President McKinley.[64] Secretary Root believed that

the role of the United States in the reconstruction and regulation of Cuba was essential to

Cuba's future success. He created the Division of Insular Affairs to conduct the oversight

of civil affairs in Cuba.[65] His plan for Cuba, as later conducted by Governor-Major

General Leonard Wood, "envisioned supervising the Cubans as they governed the island"

(Hitchman, 1968, p. 395). Root held "that government derived its powers from the

consent of the governed only if the people were capable of making free and just

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[64] Root served as Secretary of War under McKinley and Roosevelt, 1899–1904.

[65] The Division of Insular Affairs was "defined as that branch of the office of the Secretary of War to which
are referred all matters pertaining to the civil affairs connected with the governments of Cuba and the
Philippine Islands as distinguished from a purely military character" (Hitchman, 1971, p. 28).

decisions" (Hitchman, 1968, p. 399). He endorsed restricted suffrage in an effort to

guarantee the participation of a preferred electoral body. "The U.S. authorities openly

opposed any definition of citizenship that gave electoral rights to 'the illiterate mass of

people,' a group they defined as the 'sons and daughters of Africans imported into the

island as slaves'" (De la Fuente, 1999, p. 53; Wood, to Elihu Root, Havana, February 8,

1900; Wood, to Root, Havana, February 8, 1901). Following the first free elections

(postwar) in Cuba, Hugh Thomas (1971) records Root's response as follows:

> "…when the history of the new Cuba comes to be written, the
> establishment of popular self-government based on limited suffrage,
> excluding so great a portion of the elements which have brought ruin to
> Haiti and Santo Domingo will be regarded as…of the first importance."
> (p. 448)[66]

Considering that the population of much of Haiti and Santo Domingo composed of

people of color, the excluded elements whom Root was referring to were Cubans of

color.

Most notably, Root was behind the organization of the Platt Amendment. After

presenting his ideas to President McKinley with regard to the future relations between the

United States and Cuba, Root asked Senator Orville H. Platt (Connecticut) to lead the

proposal, and Platt along with Senator Spooner (Wisconsin) drafted what came to be

known as the Platt Amendment (Hitchman, 1968, p. 400).[67] The Platt Amendment was

essentially a provision incorporated into the fundamental law of Cuba by way of its first

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[66] The first free island-wide elections for municipal offices was held on June 16, 1900.

[67] Orville H. Platt, a Senator from Connecticut, was a powerful Republican and influential leader at the
time. Endorsing the amendment, Platt stated, "We have a right to insist that there shall be provisions in the
constitution of Cuba, or attached to it by way of an ordinance, which will clearly define the relations which
are to exist between the two countries…" (Platt, 1901, pp. 146–147).

constitution. The Platt Amendment granted the United States the right to intervene as it deemed necessary for the preservation of an independent Cuba and a stable Cuban government. The amendment forbade Cuba from entering into agreements and or contracts of any kind with any nation without prior consent of the United States; it provided for the United States to maintain a physical presence in Cuba to accomplish the aforementioned actions of the U.S. military government, thus legalizing their authority (Thomas, 1971, pp. 450–452). The U.S. government officials justified the placement of the amendment stating,

> …the war with Spain was undertaken to put an end to intolerable conditions not only shocking to humanity, but menacing our welfare, and our work was but half done when the authority of Spain was destroyed. We became responsible to the people of Cuba, to ourselves, and the world at large, that a good government should be established and maintained in place of the bad one to which we put an end…It is as much our duty to exercise our power in the maintenance of an independent, stable and peaceful government there as it was to exercise it in the destruction of a monarchical, oppressive and inhuman one… The real hope for a free Cuba is to be found in the friendly advice and guidance, and, if necessary, the assistance of the United States. (Platt, 1901, pp. 147, 156)

Eventually, it was Root who presented the ultimatum to the Cubans of accepting the Platt Amendment without alterations, which they did (Hitchman, 1968, p. 401).[68] Hence, in agreement with the prevailing thought of the military community, Root considered the people of Cuba inept. His actions thus reflected the United States' prevailing hierarchical perspective as it pertained to the long-term and trusted abilities of Cubans. Brigadier-General William H. Carter wrote that Root worked with "no thought but of the country's good" (Carter, 1904, p. 121). Loyal in his commitment, Root pursued the "best interests

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[68] Hitchman (1968) writes that the Cubans accepted the Platt Amendment in order to begin their republic and to eject the Americans from Cuba (p. 401).

of the army of the United States" (Carter, p. 121). His initiatives demonstrated an approval of molding the Cuban society along the parameters as outlined by the United States and, thus, reflecting the societal order of the United States.

Major General John R. Brooke. Major General John R. Brooke was appointed the first U.S. Military Governor of Cuba.[69] He took office on January 1, 1899. Governor-Major General Brooke believed that "Cuba was a land to be reclaimed from sin" (Thomas, 1971, p. 437). His approach was not for completely revising all of Cuba's existing codes; he would have the laws modified on an as-needed basis (Thomas, p. 437). He agreed that the Cuban people could not be trusted with self-governance (Pollock, 2002, p. 14; Pérez, 1988, p. 180). During the time he was the U.S. Military Governor of Cuba, Brooke has been recognized for having "made a much needed start with measures to feed the hungry and clothe the sick. He also opened schools, collected customs revenues and appointed a cabinet of Cubans to begin the functions of civil government" (Hitchman, 1968, p. 395).[70] It was Brooke who determined that "the Cubans should not be allowed to stage their planned victory parade in Havana on 1 January 1899" (Simons, 1996, p. 205). This clearly revealed to the Cubans their place in the new military government. Brooke's actions and attitude toward the Cubans was a further reflection of the influence of existing U.S. perceptions and ideologies as it pertained to non-Anglo-Saxon populations. Pérez (1983) quotes Brooke as referring to Cubans of color as "the lower, or negro, element" (p. 308). Brooke remained committed to maintaining the

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[69] Brooke was a major general in the United States Union Army during the American Civil War and the United States Army during the Cuban-Spanish-American War.
[70] Brooke was eventually replaced as his superiors felt that he was, to a degree, somewhat neglectful of his duties.

United States' authority over its Cuban conquered territory and strongly encouraged continued U.S oversight in Cuba. To help ensure the achievement of this, Brooke persisted in identifying the Cuban independence sentiment with race (Pérez, 1983, p. 308). "The annexationists represented Spaniards, Americans and 'many of the better educated Cubans.' A second group, consisting of 'the better class' of Cubans, favored a republican form of government under an American protectorate" (Pérez, 1983, p. 308). This circulated perspective served in promoting racial perceptions identifying Cubans of color as turbulent and ignorant (Pérez, 1983, p. 308). Brooke would later support, and provide counsel and recommendations to Elihu Root regarding the formulation of what would become the Platt Amendment (Pérez, 1983, p. 317).

Theodore Roosevelt. Prior to the U.S. intervention, Theodore Roosevelt served as Assistant Secretary of Navy in Washington, DC; however, desiring to experience some war action, he resigned that position so that he could assume a leading role in the fight in Cuba. By June 1898, he was leading the Rough Riders into battle in Cuba. Following the end of the war, Roosevelt was elected Governor of New York in November of 1898. While serving as Governor, he was tapped as a Vice Presidential running mate for William McKinley for the 1900 Presidential election. Within one year, Roosevelt was elevated to the leadership of President of the United States following the assassination of President McKinley in September 1901. Thus, due to his role in the Cuban-Spanish-American War including the wide popularity of his regiment, the Rough Riders, Roosevelt rose to prominence in a relatively short period of time, quickly rising to the highest position in the United States.

According to Brands, Roosevelt always fully believed in what Kipling described as the White man's burden (in Miller, 1999). Brands states that Roosevelt agreed that in the same way in which adults educated children, it was the responsibility of the most advanced races to bring civilization to the backward races (in Miller, 1999). It was understood that the White race was the superior race and was obligated to spread progression. "Like Kipling, Roosevelt seldom hesitated to promote the imperialist cause or to forward doctrines of racial superiority" (Editors, 2003, p. 7).

> The burden of carrying forward the "world's work," as Theodore Roosevelt put it, consisted in large measure of supervising the native peoples in these insular areas eventually to direct their own affairs through limited participation in government, and through a program of organized instruction in the schools. The inhabitants after an unspecified period of tutelage, would unlearn archaic or decadent Latin ways and substitute in their stead the way of life of their American mentors. (Kennedy, 1971, p. 306)

Moreover, given the social and economic situation of the U.S. society, Roosevelt believed that the United States needed a war to help it rise from the depression. In Cuba, Roosevelt regarded and therefore categorized practically all of the Cuban soldiers as people of color. Roosevelt endorsed the ridicule and poor treatment of the Cuban soldiers, agreeing that they were not helpful nor of any use. Gaines, in *Crucible of Empire* (Miller, 1999), exposes how Roosevelt even minimized the contribution of the U.S. American regiments of color in the Ninth Cavalry and Tenth Cavalry, with the storming of San Juan Hill. Regarding the issue of the role of the Ninth and Tenth cavalries, in its July 30, 1898, issue, *The Gazette* (Cleveland, OH) printed that "it was the Tenth cavalry that saved the 'Rough Riders' from extermination at the battle of San Juan Hill near Santiago, and the Ninth" (Smith, 1898a, p. 2).

> As the smoke clears away, it is a question which of the three, the Ninth, Tenth or Twenty-fourth regiments (the first two cavalry), did the most in the battle at Santiago. One thing sure, all did as good fighting as the "Rough Riders" whose complete annihilation by the Spaniards, the Tenth prevented. (Smith, 1898a, p. 2)

The Gazette later published thus in the August 20, 1898, issue:

> "It seems strange that such a small number of supposedly fair papers, published in this country, will fully credit the Afro-American troops in the charge at Santiago. It is a fact that the Afro-American troops in that battle bore the brunt of the fight and occasionally one can find some white soldier actuated by pure motives that will tell the whole truth." (Smith, 1898b, p. 2)

Gaines states that the Ninth and Tenth cavalries were critical to the success of the crusade, aiding in the rescuing of the Rough Riders, who with Roosevelt had been ensnared on the hill by enemy fire (in Miller, 1999).[71]

Major General Leonard Wood. On December 20, 1899, Major General Leonard Wood became the U.S. Military Governor of Cuba. He was appointed by Secretary Root. Wood was found to possess "the necessary patience and imperturbability to 'control and get on with the somewhat excitable and sensitive Cubans'" (Hitchman, 1968, p. 394). Wood agreed with Root that what Cuba needed was a firm government of, for, and by the people but under American military supervision (Wood, 1899, p. 593). "General Leonard Wood…vowed to create a polity 'modeled closely upon lines of our great Republic.' Wood brought in a host of experts to reshape Cuba" (Rosenberg, 1982, p. 46). President McKinley looked to Wood to "prepare Cuba for a republican form of government,

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[71] Gaines states that later one of the Rough Riders, Frank Knox, became Secretary of War during World War I at which time he openly praised the contributions of the regiments of color. Knox would concede that had it not been for the heroic actions of the Ninth and Tenth cavalries, the outcome for Rough Riders may not have been the same (in Miller, 1999).

provide good schools and courts, put the Cubans on their feet and leave the island as soon

as possible" (Hitchman, 1968, p. 394).

> In aiming to reconstruct Cuban society General Wood believed that the
> superior ways of the Americans made evident by his administration would
> shake the old Spanish system to its core. Yet he gave inadvertent support
> to that system by his favoritism of the "conservative" white elements of
> the population—the planters, merchants, and other members of the old
> aristocracy. (Epstein, 1978, p. 198)

In his writings to McKinley, Wood stated that the United States encountered "'a

race…that has steadily been going down for a hundred years and into which we have got

to infuse new life, new principles and new methods of doing things'" (De la Fuente,

1999, p. 53). This view basically coincided with the belief entertained by many "U.S.

soldiers that they had found in Cuba 'a race of ignorant savages'" (De la Fuente, 1999, p.

54; Wood, to McKinley, 1900). "Wood's disdain for Cubans may be attributed largely to

his contempt for the social and political system imposed by Spain and woven into the

fabric of Cuban society" (Epstein, 1978, p. 199). Epstein states Wood's behavior was

also racially motivated, with Woods perceiving the less educated as inferior, and

identifying the Cubans of color as the least educated sector of the population, thus also

positioning them as the most inferior (Epstein, 1978, p. 199).

Correspondences between Wood and Roosevelt also divulged Wood's racial

views. Wood would comment that it was the people of color who brought the United

States national weakness and humiliation (Brown, 1979, p. 186). He stated that he hoped

for the United States to remain "'a white man's country'"; the United States had enough

problems with the development of its population of color and should not want the

residence of anyone with whom its descendents could not "'intermarry without producing a breed of mongrels; they must at least be white'" (Brown, p. 186).

Among Wood's most noted accomplishments while serving as the Governor of Cuba was that he reformed the electoral system and process, and education, and was the lead in the establishment of a Cuban constitution. "Wood devoted a large amount of time and money to the legal and educational systems in Cuba because he believed that justice and a literate public were indispensable to a free republic" (Hitchman, 1968, p. 396). In reorganizing the education system, he adapted the schools "as far as practicable to the public school system of the U.S." (Thomas, 1971, p. 445). The new public school system regulation was modeled on the law of Ohio. The school equipment was purchased in the United States with the textbooks being translated directly from English and "with no attempt to make them comprehensible in Cuban terms" (Thomas, p. 446). Cuban teachers were trained in the U.S. teaching methods, with some traveling to the United States for further instruction and training (Thomas, p. 446).

Governor-Major General Wood sought to create a constitution similar to that of the United States' (Thomas, 1971, p. 448). He was supportive of limited suffrage as advocated by Secretary Root, and willingly and "deliberately disenfranchised the poor and rural sectors as a penalty for their indigence and illiteracy" (Epstein, 1978, p. 201). Those most disproportionately and unmistakably impacted by Wood's actions were Cubans of color. The constitution as per Wood's direction and lead was to be modeled after that of the United States. Special to the composition of the constitution would be the outlining of "definite relations and agreements between the U.S. and Cuba" (Thomas, p. 448). Governor-Major General Wood wanted to have the United States and Cuba

definitely bound, granting "the military commander representing the U.S.…if

necessary…veto power" (Thomas, p. 448).

> Throughout his tenure in Cuba, Wood believed that

> a longer occupation was necessary to develop Cuba. He has been called an annexationist, but advocated this only if the Cubans were to ask for it freely… In 1899, he preached that Cubans were not ready for independence, but teamwork could prepare them for it. (Hitchman, 1968, p. 401)[72]

According to Thomas (1971), Wood

> believed that after a brief period of independence, which would satisfy the sentiment for theoretical liberty, the Cubans would voluntarily ask to be admitted to the Union…annexation by proclamation had been his dream since the beginning…the Cubans would not consent to let the Americans go…. (p. 440)

United States' Domestic Race Issues and Cuba

U.S. Americans of Color and U.S. Involvement in Cuba. Despite such U.S.

government claims of concern and protection for the Cuban people, the United States'

citizenry of color addressed the hypocrisy of the U.S. involvement in Cuba. Southerners

of color, especially, found their nation's outrage over "'Spanish brutality' and enthusiasm

for a 'free Cuba'" stunning and incomprehensible (Marks, 1971, p. viii). For it was

> only one week after an explosion sunk the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor, a white mob in Lake City, South Carolina, shotgunned and fired the home and office of a duly-appointed black Federal postmaster, Fraser Baker, killing him and his infant son and wounding his wife, old son and four daughters. (Marks, p. viii)

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[72] "In 1901, he wrote of annexing Cuba because of her potential wealth and proximity to the United States" (Hitchman, 1968, p. 402).

Challenging the U.S. government, the organization, The American Baptist (Louisville,

KY), challenged that "'charity should begin at home'" (printed in Mitchell, 1898d, p. 1).

The *Richmond Planet* printed The American Baptist's statement:

> "In speaking of Cuba, the President says it is our duty to give the people of
> that Island the needed aid and direction in forming a government of their
> own that should be stable, just, beneficent, without revenge and in accord
> with the enlightened principles prevailing in our own land. This is right
> and proper, but charity should begin at home and the same principles be
> first firmly and permanently established in this Country." (Mitchell,
> 1898d, p. 1)

The Americans of color drew attention to the nation's disguised national interests. There

existed a "universal wave of disapproval" regarding the United States' efforts, with most

Americans of color angered by what they deemed "the slighting of American

citizens…the brother in black forgotten" while the nation sought the protection of

foreigners (Mitchell, 1898d, p. 1). *The Colored American* wrote,

> If America wants to expand her commercial resources and grab land for
> speculative purposes, regardless of the wishes of the holders thereof, let
> the fact be stated in plain terms. The pretense of civilizing somebody as an
> act of charity is a disgusting piece of cant and hypocrisy. (Editorial,
> 1899b, p. 4)

It was given as follows in the July 9, 1898, article, "The United States Can Protect

Cubans but Not Americans at Home," of *The Afro-American Sentinel:*

> "It would seem that the war with Spain would tend to allay race prejudice
> and bring closer together the races in the South. It has had an opposite
> tendency, for the number of lynchings has been steadily on the increase…
> Does it not appear ludicrous for the United States government to be
> waging a war in the interest of humanity and to bring about the cessation
> of Spanish outrages in Cuba, when it has such a record at home? It can
> protect Spanish subjects in Cuba. It cannot protect American citizens at
> home." (reprinted in Marks, 1971, p. 70)

The *Richmond Planet* in its August 27, 1898, issue again took the U.S. government to task in two editorials:

> The national government is weak at home and strong abroad. It can guarantee the protection of life, liberty and property in Cuba, Porto [Puerto] Rico and the Philippines, but is unable and unwilling to do the same within its own borders. (Mitchell, 1898b, p. 4)

The publication also questioned the government's humanitarian pursuits in Cuba by addressing its lack of action to "relieve suffering and downtrodden humanity" in its own nation (Mitchell, 1898c, p. 7). The article, "The Suffering Here Not Looked After—What Will the End Be?" asked why the United States was not as "zealous" for such relief "in her own midst…within her own domain" (Mitchell, 1898c, p. 7).

> … There is an important question. Why was, or is the war? It is said the United States began the war upon a humanitarian basis, to relieve suffering and downtrodden humanity in Cuba. The question naturally arises, why was she not zealous for such in her own midst? Has she not suffering-downtrodden humanity within her own domain? Are not lynchings and brutal outrages often evaded in the U.S.? The Constitution of the United States says decidedly that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. (Mitchell, 1898c, p. 7)

With the disregard of civil rights domestically, there were many people of color opposing the involvement of the United States in the Cuba matter, in general, and the participation of men of color in the war, in particular. The experience of broken promises led the Americans of color to conclude that the United States intended to repeat its actions in Cuba. The Americans of color argued that those advocating expansion "should convince the American Negro that the nation can and will protect the dark people of this country before they can expect them to become enthusiastic over the brand of civilization that is proposed to be carried…" overseas (Editorial, 1899a, p. 4). With the increasing race-related violence, government-supported discrimination, and disenfranchisement of

people of color in the United States, many believed that participating in the Cuban affair would distract the United States from tending to its own race-related issues. Many people of color perceived that the United States needed to attend to and protect the rights of its own citizens foremost before venturing abroad to protect others. Considering the actions of the United States, R. G. Ingersoll (1899) addressed what he referred to as "the sacred duty of a nation to its subjects" (p. 4). Ingersoll asked: "Has the United States no power to protect its citizens? A nation that cannot or will not protect its citizens in time of peace has no right to ask its citizens to protect it in time of war" (p. 4).

"Civilize America First," a January 14, 1899, article in *The Illinois Record* (Bloomington, IL) reviewed the daring speech of U.S. Senator William E. Mason of Illinois, in which Mason defiantly

> "asked the dignified senators if their method of civilizing the natives…was to send special instructors to teach them how to kill postmasters, their wives and children, if their complexion does not suit the populace, and…send…illustrated pictures showing the works of the mobs in Illinois, North Carolina and South Carolina…." (Hall, 1899, p. 2)

In this commentary, Chas E. Hall (1899) writes that the words of Senator Mason brought

> before the eyes of the American people conditions here at home which should engage their attention before they reach out and try to civilize a people ten thousand miles away. It is a question that has agitated the minds of ten million American Negroes, who look with fear and suspicion upon the motives of those most anxious to extend the strong arm of protection. (p. 2)

The article questioned the actions taken by the United States toward a foreign nation with inhabitants "not unlike the Negroes of this [U.S.] country, who are even yet denied the liberties of American citizenship (Hall, p. 2).

As a result, many Americans of color thought it would be foolish of them as victims of the United States' unfair practices to aid the United States in its pursuits. It was clear to these people of color that the line of reasoning being made in the case of the Cubans, alleging their unfitness to govern themselves, was the same as the contentions made to justify the unfair treatment of the Americans of color in the United States, especially the South. Moreover, many Americans of color were not convinced by the humanitarian claims made by the United States in trying to justify its intervention and future plans for Cuba. An August 20, 1898, editorial in the *Richmond Planet* wrote of the dissatisfaction of Cubans of color with the terms of the agreement signed by the United States and Spain. The article charged thus:

> The Cubans are dissatisfied. They will be more so when Uncle Sam takes charge. …The Cubans are reported to be dissatisfied with the terms of the protocol as signed by the representatives of the United States and Spain. …They have been used to accomplish a purpose and their usefulness is at an end. The wealthy Spaniards upon the island of Cuba will surely control its destiny. The white men of this country will combine with them in ensuring this control. The dark-skinned inhabitants of the island will be the victims of race-prejudice, and this combined with Spanish contempt will make their wretched lives miserable. It is indeed a gloomy outlook, with not a ray of light visible upon the horizon for their future. (Mitchell, 1898a, p. 4)

As for those people of color who supported enlisting for service in the war, they hoped that participating in the war in 1898 would improve the status and image of the people of color and, in particular, of men of color in the society. Many thought that by serving they would be recognized and accepted for their patriotic duty, following their return from the fighting in Cuba. In addition, many

> African Americans understood intuitively and intellectually that the organic forms of oppression at home were tied or linked to the situations of other oppressed peoples abroad. Moreover, African Americans saw the

concrete links between their own struggles for human rights at home and the struggles of peoples of color across the globe. (Lusane, 2006, p. xii)

Treatment of Cuban Soldiers. The treatment of Cuban soldiers, the majority of whom were considered Negroes (full-blood or mixed) by the U.S. officials and forces, was no different from the treatment of its own soldiers of color. Popular racial perceptions and actions in the U.S. society spilled into the U.S. military society.

American soldiers on their way to Cuba traveled across the United States in segregated train cars, and white American mobs attacked black American soldiers waiting to board Cuban-bound ships. After they arrived in Cuba, as ostensible allies of the multiracial Liberation Army, they served in segregated units, black ones under the command of white officers. (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 196)

"Although the Americans fought alongside the Cubans, the United States was not free of racial unrest," with its own population of color experiencing discrimination (Epstein, 1978, p. 196).

Richard Brown particularly writes of the treatment of soldiers of color and the attitudes of the American Generals toward them during this time period. The U.S. army was segregated, with soldiers of color solely being granted admission to the Infantry and Cavalry branches of the army. It was concluded by military leaders that "the Artillery, the Signal Corps and the other technical branches required too much learning and intelligence for Negroes to serve in them" (Brown, 1979, p. 178). Qualified soldiers of color "experienced great difficulty in winning a place as officers in the Regular Army" (Brown, p. 177). In addition, although accepted into the Military Academy, they encountered resistance from the White cadets, once admitted; they were not recognized

socially, not spoken to, ignored, and mistreated by instructors, beaten at times (Brown, pp. 177–179).[73]

> Basically, our military leaders believed in the theory of race which assigns certain qualities to certain racial groups. They have usually shown a propensity for confusing race and nationality, and many have believed in the superior attributes of the Anglo-Saxon "race." (Brown, p. 212)

Moreover, Gaines states in *Crucible of Empire* (Miller, 1999), the appearance of soldiers of color in uniform was seen as a direct challenge and threat to the White supremacy in the South. Uniformed soldiers of color presented a degree of social equality in the eyes of many southern Whites. As a result, Gaines states, as the soldiers would prepare to disembark in Tampa, many Whites in the South would attempt to humiliate, accost, and intimidate the soldiers, with incidents turning extremely violent in many cases (in Miller, 1999).[74]

Thus, just like the U.S. American soldiers of color were deemed inferior and persisted to be treated as such, Cuban soldiers, both White and those of color, were, as well. Being of Latin heritage automatically made their placement lower in the hierarchy of the races. They were all regarded as "'retrograde people' and 'incompetent'" (Offner, in Dávila-Cox & Smith, 1999, p. 20). Inevitably, much tension existed between the White U.S. soldiers and the Cuban soldiers, with the treatment of the Cuban soldiers by the U.S. units being racially driven and stimulated by ethnocentrism and racism. Again, contrary to the early image presented of the Cubans, at arrival, the United States felt that the Cubans did not resemble soldiers. "Their clothes were in tatters, their weapons a strange

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[73] Only three soldiers of color graduated from the Academy between the Civil War and the Cuban-Spanish-American War (Brown, 1979, p. 178).
[74] Gaines mentions that many soldiers of color did in fact feel empowered by their position in the military and with their being able to bear arms; altercations would result as they would defend themselves and resist the racist actions of the Whites (in Miller, 1999).

assortment, their equipment woefully incomplete" (Linderman, 1974, p. 137). Linderman

(1974) writes that Roosevelt determined that the Cubans would be of no use in serious

combat and, given their appearance, they "were evidently undisciplined" (p. 137).

Practically immediately upon arrival, the U.S. Americans "propagated images of

Cuba as a land of dark, sometimes violent and sometimes childlike, savages and of Cuban

insurgents as black men unwilling to fight, looking only for handouts, uninterested in

independence, and naturally prone to violent excess" (Ferrer, 1999a, p. 189). Simons

(1996) writes that the U.S. Americans who were still caught up in post-slavery racism

dismissed the impoverished Cuban soldiers, identifying many of them as Negroes (p.

203). Leonard Wood, later, elaborating upon the significance of the color of the soldiers,

wrote that

> the Cuban Army is made up very considerably of black people, only
> partially civilized, in whom the old spirit of savagery has been more or
> less aroused by years of warfare, during which time they have reverted
> more or less to the condition of men taking what they need and living by
> plunder. (Linderman, 1974, p. 138)

Senator Orville Platt of Connecticut argued that

> the negro imitates the whites with whom he is brought up, so in the United
> States he imitates the character of the Anglo-Saxon; in Cuba, the character
> of the Spaniard. In the United States he therefore naturally aspires to
> participate in government; in Cuba he seems to have very little such
> aspiration. He is industrious, docile, quiet, and cares for little beyond his
> immediate domestic and industrial surroundings. (Platt, 1901, p. 154)

Regarding the Cuban soldiers, General Robert Lee Bullard, a commander of the U.S.

army, opined that Cubans, in general, although polite and ready to please, behaved like

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children, were easily excitable, and unreliable (Bullard, 1907, pp. 417–419).[75] This

general perception of the Cubans was reflected in his opinion of them as soldiers, as he

also found that they lacked a sense of duty and were not inclined to work (Bullard, p.

419). Bullard (1907) wrote that the self-contained American was the envy of the Cuban

(p. 418).

Linderman (1974) writes that the American soldiers concluded shortly after

landing that the Cubans were no better than Spaniards; however, they later concluded that

the Spaniards were superior to the Cubans, and treated them as such (p. 144).[76]

Therefore, the Cubans of color were understandably suspicious of the United States, in

general, its true motive for intervention, and, as a result, suspicious of its soldiers. During

a visit to Cuba, the Honorable James Bryce (1902), a member of the United Kingdom

Parliament at the time, wrote, "I was told that the colored people are averse to union with

the United States, because tales of lynchings of Negroes in the South have reached

them…" (p. 451). However, the Americans of color understood the wariness of the

Cubans. On November 5, 1898, *The Washington Bee* wrote, "No wonder the

Cubans…look with fear and distrust upon American occupation and control. The way we

treat our own citizens in North Carolina and other southern states is positive proof that

their doubts are well founded" (Chase, 1898, p. 4). *The Colored American* added that the

treatment and attitude toward the Americans of color undoubtedly resulted in the raised

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[75] General Robert Lee Bullard commanded the American Second Army. During the Cuban-Spanish-American War, Bullard commanded the Third Alabama Volunteers, a regiment consisting of soldiers of color and White officers (Brown, 1979, p. 205). He would return to Cuba later, following the war, with the Army of Cuban Pacification during which he "observed the Cuban Negro" (Brown, p. 205).
[76] Linderman (1974) notes that this change of the stereotyped Spaniard dissolved following the praising of the courage of U.S. Americans by Spanish officers and the apparent appreciation the Spanish soldiers demonstrated toward the United States. The perspective of the Spaniards as the enemy transformed into the Spaniards as "brave foes" (pp. 144–147).

concern of the people of color in Cuba in "accepting the beneficent influences of American civilization" (Editorial, 1899a, p. 4). Ultimately, wary about the intentions of the U.S. Americans, the Cubans of color considered that the prejudice and mistreatment of the U.S. Americans of color by their own country "could augur a continuation of disadvantaged conditions for blacks in Cuba" (Epstein, 1978, p. 196).

Chapter 3 Conclusions

The end of the post–U.S. Civil War period did not provide the United States with peace. The U.S. society at the turn of the twentieth century was tumultuous, filled with racially driven governing initiatives and social violence. At the time of the United States' formal intervention in Cuba, the United States itself was in a state of turmoil, with regulations being passed that legally sanctioned discriminatory practices against the Americans of color in virtually every realm of the U.S. society life. Such race-based practices were motivated by circulating ideologies that promoted racial hierarchy and White supremacy within the U.S. society. This chapter chronicled the issue of race in the U.S. society before the Cuba involvement by exploring how race was dealt with by the U.S. laws and everyday society. Moreover, this chapter illustrated that the U.S. race relations and racial perceptions were shaped by the existing ideas and belief systems such as Darwinism. This chapter provided a preliminary presentation of how the existing ideas influenced not only the U.S. domestic affairs but also, as significant to this study, its international affairs.

The U.S. images of people of color within its own nation were applied to foreign populations also. The racial perceptions about the Americans of color along with other

minority citizens within the United States were transported by the U.S. American leaders, soldiers, and ordinary travelers upon the formal entry and occupation of Cuba during 1898–1902. The race issues that the United States faced domestically overflowed and greatly influenced its international policy and specifically its policy with Cuba. The powerful influence of critical leaders and policy makers at the time unabashedly incorporated the prevalent social biases and racial prejudices into the Cuban initiative. These leaders served as principal actors and not only carried race-based perceptions to Cuba but also portrayed the perceptions in their actions and attitudes. Thus, the mistreatment of individuals of color based on their race extended to Cuba. Since the treatment was deemed acceptable in the United States, it was considered appropriate to continue it in Cuba.

The transported perceptions and behaviors catered to the United States' position that Cuba was incapable of self-governance. It has been argued that the United States always desired Cuba, coveting its location as particularly strategic in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico (Paterson, 1998, p. 6). The U.S. attitudes toward the Cubans justified the U.S. control of Cuba. Moreover, in relation to the inferior perceptions, the U.S. racial concerns of an Africanized Cuba influenced not only the treatment by the United States of the Cubans, in general, but also the treatment between Cubans. The fears of the United States influenced how the White population in Cuba treated its Cuban population of color. Jules R. Benjamin (1990) adds that the idea of an independent Cuba was one that did not gain serious consideration among the North American leaders until the twentieth century, and, even then, many found it difficult to accept it (p. 9).

Thus, this chapter has continued to align the behavior of the United States within the selected Collective Interpretative Framework. The U.S. domestic affairs impacted the actions of the United States in relation to and within Cuba. The domestic climate emitted a social undercurrent that directed the affairs and influenced the developing social climate in Cuba after its 1898 independence. This chapter has intentioned to establish a relationship between the United States and the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba. Although this chapter focused on the existing race-related challenges in the U.S. society and the preliminary influence of the existing U.S. conflicts on Cuba, this chapter does not disregard the preexisting legacy of Spanish colonialism in the pre-1898 Cuba, which is outlined in Chapter 2. However, it is the U.S. presence and its direct governing control in the rebuilding of Cuba that aided in stumping Cuba's progression toward the *El Partido Revolucionario Cubano* (The Cuban Revolutionary Party) mission, as outlined in Chapter 2. The United States' involvement further cemented a society structure modeled after the United States. This chapter has served to emphasize that along with the legacy of the colonial and plantation system in Cuba, "…we must add the further negative impact of [the] U.S. influence and practical domination during the early years of the Republic, [which] led to discriminatory practices" (Brenner et al., 1989, p. 473). Brenner et al. (1989) contend that under the U.S. governing system, the Cubans of color "did not achieve the desired equality with their achievement of independence from Spain" (p. 473).

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CHAPTER 4

United States' Influence on the Development of Race Relations and Racial Perceptions in Cuba, 1898–1902

In 1898, the United States intervened in Cuba in more ways than militarily. Along with its physical intervention came the United States' customs, attitudes, and philosophical manners of managing and operating a society. The afore-discussed domestic issues present in the U.S. society were played out early on in the Cuban society. The U.S. method of conducting private, public, as well as professional and daily social affairs in Cuba was modeled after customary and acceptable behaviors within the United States. Most significant, the explicit and implicit policies of the U.S. military government revealed racially driven initiatives. The policies and regulations established racially biased measures.

Although Cuba was not entirely free from its own racial prejudicial distress, the stringent lines as defined and existent in the United States had failed at taking a strong hold in Cuba prior to the administering of Cuban affairs by the United States of America. Prior to the intervention of the United States, the Spanish code had established an official mandate dating back to 1885, when a Cuban of color was refused entrance as a guest into a café in Pinar del Rio that year. It was decreed by Spain in 1889 that segregation in public accommodations would cease to exist (Rout, 1976, p. 302). The Spanish government enforced punishments for any occurrences of discrimination. The Spanish order stated the following:

> If customs were the fruits of the ideas which inspired the laws, it was the
> duty of the supreme authority, mindful of its own, to combat the
> prejudices in the minds of the people from usages and opinions born of
> times which have disappeared never to return. For the success of such

important ends it was competent for the superior authority to consecrate itself to the maintenance and the respect of the rights which the Spanish constitution granted to every Spanish citizen and which reposed in the principle of equality. (Beckwith, 1901, p. A3; Pepper, 1899, p. 143)

Organizations soon formed, and advocators in the interests of Cubans of color appealed to those in the highest authority, requesting that provincial governors, officials, and their subordinates be required to abide by "the decrees and official dispositions previously made affirming the right of the colored classes to enjoy equal rights with the white classes, and prohibiting the establishment of distinction by reason of color" (Pepper, 1899, pp. 142–143). "The distinct recognition of the civil status of the African race under Spanish law was formally proclaimed by Captain-General Calleja in 1893" (p. 142). The official dispositions restricted proprietors of public places from discriminating against people of color. They also affirmed the privilege of those of color to travel on the railways on the same terms as the Whites (pp. 142–143).

During the Cuban-Spanish-American War, Cubans were accustomed to having to work together for a common cause. The explicit color line that came into existence, and which was legally endorsed by the U.S. laws, was not present in Cuba at the close of the 1898 war. Thus, with the arrival of the U.S. military during the war, followed by the inflow of U.S. American tourists at the close of the war, the cultural landscape of Cuba did appear out of order for the majority of U.S. Americans traveling to Cuba. In addition to the fact that Cubans of color are habituated to participating collectively in the liberation army and society—which was discussed previously—is the reality that the fluidity of interaction between the races in Cuba varied considerably from that of the U.S. society. As early as March 26, 1898, *The Illinois Record* published the views of an

American traveler to Cuba: "The colored people seem to me by nature quite the equal mentally and physically of the race in this country. …There is little or no race prejudice, and this has doubtless been greatly to their advantage" (Anonymous, 1898, p. 1). In 1899, Charles M. Pepper wrote from Cuba:

> That there is no color-line is remarked by every traveler. Caste feeling is not absent, social equality does not exist, but there is social toleration. The presence of the negro is not an offence to the whites. Race prejudice is not rabid. (Pepper, 1899, p. 153)

C. W. Cordin (1899) also wrote of his time in Cardenas, Cuba, in 1899, and he concurred that there did not exist a major color issue in Cuba. Cordin wrote regarding traveling on the train system and touring the island: "First, second and third class tickets are sold. You get just what you buy, no matter what your color is, and it is the same in hotels and with everything you get here" (p. 1). Anticipating the shock that most from the United States would experience, S. L. Beckwith (1901), also living in Cuba since the war, wrote "…it suits the Cubans and it is no business of ours. There was no color line in the revolution, and the Cubans desire none in peace" (p. A3). Fannie B. Ward (1899) wrote during her time spent in Cuba that it was the U.S. arrival and control that brought in the color line issue:

> Not least among the problems of reconstruction in Cuba is the social and political status of the colored "man and brother." In Cuba the shade of a man's complexion has never been greatly considered, and one finds dusky Othellos in every walk of life. (p. 1)

On this, Pepper, Beckwith, and Ward were in agreement, with Beckwith warning that "the American here has got to lay his racial prejudice aside, however distasteful, for the [Spanish] code will be enforced whenever violated" (Beckwith, 1901, p. A3; Pepper, 1899, p. 143).

It would prove to be difficult for the United States to willingly embrace the apparent acceptable social interaction and recognition of people of color, given the practice of little to no respect for those of color in its own country. For hundreds of years, the average American has been accustomed to thinking of "the negro as a slave and an inferior" (Gonzáles, 1898, 1899, 1922, p. 422). The documented and journal accounts of travelers to Cuba regarding the state of race relations reflect a different tone of what those in the United States were accustomed to. These accounts demonstrate a level of tolerance within Cuban society that did not exist within U.S. society. Based on what Chapter 3 revealed of U.S. society, the apparent warmer reception and greater participation of people of color in Cuba was otherwise widely unacceptable in the United States. Therefore based on the above disclosed accounts, the presence of the United States contributed to an increase in discomfort and tension between the races and societal norms in Cuba. Pepper (1899) argued that the

> existence of the blacks must be reckoned with in every phase of the reconstruction of the island. …The black race has no future separate from that of the other inhabitants of Cuba. It is essentially and integrally a part of that future. (p. 141)

Beckwith (1901) added, "The negro has here a defined status, socially, politically and industrially. Cuba cannot separate her black race from her future, as it is a part of that future" (p. A3). He found it to be unwise and foolish for the United States to try to engraft its prejudices in Cuba (p. A3).

> In Havana…nobody to the manner born has ever dreamed of objecting to this mingling of colors: therefore when some newly arrived foreigner declares that nobody but those of his own complexion shall eat in a public dining room, there is likely to be trouble. (*The Savannah Tribune,* March 04, 1899, p. 2)

Outlining the specific challenges that U.S. Americans would encounter in Cuba, both Pepper and Beckwith wrote that there could not and would not be discrimination in the areas of travel and public social settings (Beckwith, 1901, p. A3; Pepper, 1899, p. 143). Both wrote, "…there can be no discrimination in railway travel. The railroads have first, second and third class coaches, indiscriminately patronized by white and black alike. The question of price is all that determines the selection of a coach…" (Beckwith, 1901, p. A3; Pepper, 1899, p. 143). "The same in the restaurants and soda water and ice cream parlors. One sees negroes and white men, white and colored women, sitting alongside at the tables or standing together at the counter" (Beckwith, 1901, p. A3). The challenge to the Cuban race relations would play itself out in the days, weeks, months, and years during and following the occupation of the United States in Cuba. Reformation in Cuba under the leadership of the United States was to be driven by U.S. lifestyle and customs.

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the U.S. and its citizens practiced precise ways of handling the issue of race. U.S. society resorted to official racially driven government regulations and legal parameters that organized and structured public and community spaces along a racial divide. Such organization of the United States served as the foundation from which the U.S. came to structure the rebuilding efforts of Cuban society post independence under the tutelage of the U.S. military government. Based on U.S. actions the organization exemplified itself as a working system in the United States and therefore worthy of duplication in Cuba. In addition to familiarity, it was a system with which U.S. Americans were comfortable. The racial hierarchy and resulting

controlling order of the races provided a sense of safety and assurance that the position of

Whites was not endangered and would be maintained when outside of the United States

as well.

> Victory against Spain drew Americans to Cuba…unfortunately, whites
> brought Jim Crow along with them. They called the people of color of the
> island "niggers," and officials denied them their civil and political rights
> on the grounds they were racially "inferior." (Wormser, 2002)

With the United States at the helm, the reality of this reckoning was to take an

altering direction, one contrary to the thrust of *Cuba Libre.* As a result, distrust on the

part of Cubans of U.S. Americans prevailed in Cuba, the cause of which was attributed to

the Americans (Pepper, 1899). Referring to the distrust, Pepper (1899) wrote: "It has

been created by Americans urging their own ideas of inferiority, and telling the white

Cubans that the only hope for them is in ignoring the African race" (p. 157). He

maintained that it was "the American newcomers" who "raised the color-line" that might

be "converted into a harmful influence" on the island (p. 157). This harmful influence

will be presented with firsthand accounts providing evidence that the formal introduction

of U.S. ways and attitudes toward people of color and, particularly, Cubans of color

accompanied the formal introduction of U.S. Americans into the Cuban society. Using its

authority, the United States set the standards regarding the treatment of, and the social

relations with, the people of color in postindependence Cuba.

Research on a diversity of resources revealed firsthand accounts of race related

behavior and practices as being directly influenced by the presence of the United States in

Cuba. The information gathered from these resources serves to present a picture of how

life was altered and shaped during the military occupation of Cuba by the United States

from 1898 to 1902. The firsthand accounts are taken from personal diaries, memoirs, and reports, circulated newspapers, periodicals, and journal articles, as well as government documents. Additional pieces of information after the U.S. 1898–1902 military occupation of Cuba are included to illustrate the lasting impact of the presence of the United States in Cuba—even in later years in the Cuban society and life. Louis A. Pérez (1995) writes as follows:

> Conditions for Afro-Cubans did not improve with the establishment of the republic. In fact, for many, conditions had actually deteriorated. Their contribution to the cause of *Cuba Libre* had been on a scale well out of proportion to their numbers. Their compensation from free Cuba was well below the scope of their contributions. They had been promised political equality and social justice. They received neither. (pp. 211–212)

Many during this period contend that there existed more equality among the races in Cuba under Spanish rule than in America (Lynk, 1899, p. 129). The U.S. American visitors to Cuba wrote:

> …knowing the Spaniards as we do, having been through the entire kingdom, we knew they were far better friends to our race than the United States will ever be. We said all the time that all the deviltry of this country would be carried into Cuba the moment the United States got there. (Turner, 1898, p. 1)

Therefore, what will be illustrated includes what historians have maintained—that "the policies and actions of the United States not only exerted a profound influence on the society and economy of Cuba, but also on its political and ideological development," particularly in the area of race relations and racial perceptions (Williams in Smith, 1966, p. 187).

U.S. Style Racism and Discrimination in Cuban Daily Life

Writing on the state of Cuba, H. M. Turner with the *The Gazette*, Cleveland, OH, reported the account of the Reverend H. C. C. Astwood, Superintendent of Missions in Santiago, Cuba. As early as August 30, 1898, Rev. Astwood reported:

> The color line is being fastly drawn by our whites here, and the Cubans abused as Negroes. It has been found out at last, as I used to tell them in the United States, the majority of Cubans were Negroes, now that this fact has dawned upon the white brother, there is no longer a desire to have Cuban independence, but they must be crushed out. The political situation is alarming, and if President McKinley is not careful he will have a terrible job upon his hands. (Turner, 1898, p. 1)

Remaining after the war to garrison parts of Cuba, soldiers of the Twenty-third Kansas Volunteer Infantry wrote to their loved ones in the United States, sharing experiences of U. S. racism in Cuba.[77] Captain W. B. Roberts, of the Twenty-third Kansas Volunteer Infantry, in a letter to his parents dated October 3, 1898, wrote of an incident in Santiago, Cuba. Roberts wrote:

> When we are in Santiago we are reminded so much of home. There is a hotel there called the American, run by an American who is from St. Louis, MO. They try to draw the color line here in Cuba. The first time I was there I went to that hotel along with Captain Hawkins, of Atchison, who is very light in color. They thought he was white and so said nothing to him, but the proprietor was going to stop me. He said his boarders and white customers objected to eating with colored men and that he could not afford to ruin his business by accommodating me and I an American army officer in full uniform; and you should have heard me go after him. I told him I was an American officer and had associated with gentlemen all my life and did not now propose to disgrace myself or my shoulder straps by eating at a side table or in a side room to please a few second class white officers who never had money enough to take a meal at a first class hotel until they became officers in the volunteer army in the United States during this present war; that I asked no special privileges, but would have what is due me as an army officer or know the reason why that he need not

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[77] The Twenty-third Kansas Volunteer Infantry was "one of the only two regiments, officered by Negro officers that did garrison duty in Cuba" (Lynk, 1899, p. 120).

think that we colored soldiers who spilled so much of precious blood on the brow of San Juan Hill that it might be possible for him and other Americans to safely do business, and are standing now with bayonets upon our guns as sentinels to protect them in that business, were going to stand any discrimination on account of our color; and all I wanted to know was whether or not he would feed me. (Lynk, 1899, pp. 120–123)[78]

These accounts along with others to follow illustrate an immediate transferring of U.S. race relations and racial perceptions to Cuba s the U.S. established its presence inCuba. The accounts demonstrate not only a formal replication of U.S. ways of confronting race related issues but informing customs of such encounters as well. Again what had been and continued to be widely accepted in the United States was found to be encouraged and developing appropriateness in Cuban society.

Born in 1860, Esteban Montejo, a runaway slave and, later, soldier in the Cuban independence, recounted in 1963 his experiences: "The Americans didn't care too much for the blacks. They called them, 'Nigger, nigger.' And then they laughed. They kept on pestering…blacks…" (Montejo, 1963, 1994, p. 194).[79]

When the war ended, the talk started about whether the blacks had fought or not. I know that ninety-five per cent of the blacks fought in the war. Then the Americans began to say it was only seventy-five per cent. Well, no one criticized those statements. The blacks ended up out in the street as a result. Brave men thrown like savages into the streets. That was wrong, but that's what happened. (Montejo, 1963, 1994, p. 194)

Montejo recounted the disrespectful, insolent treatment of Cuban women of color by U.S. soldiers "who wanted to have all the *criollas* like they were meat in the market" (1963,

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[78] Captain Roberts continues that another (White) officer, who turned out to be a general, witnessing the incident rose from his seat and gave it to him. The officer demanded to the proprietor that he did not want to hear of any future incidents regarding such treatment of soldiers (Lynk, 1899, p. 124).

[79] Esteban Montejo lived during 1860–1973. At the age of 103, Montejo documented his life and experiences in Cuba with Miguel Barnet. It was later translated and published in English in 1968.

1994, p. 197). "I don't think they even respected their own mothers" (Montejo, 1963, 1994, p. 197). Montejo stated how the soldiers would regularly approach the women in a brash manner, mouthing sexual obscenities to them, "patting their behinds and laughing" (1963, 1994, p. 197). Concluding, he stated:

> Anyway, the Americans did worse things later on, and nobody said a peep...Later everyone said the Americans were the most rotten of all. And I agree, they were the rottenest. But you have to remember that the white Cubans were just as much to blame as the Americans because they let themselves be ordered around in their own country. …Even the littlest kid knew the Americans blew the Maine up themselves to get into the war. (Montejo, 1963, 1994, pp. 197, 195)

On traveling to Cuba during and immediately following the U.S. military occupation, Arthur A. Schomburg (1912) wrote: "During the colonial days of Spain the Negroes were better treated, enjoyed a greater measure of freedom and happiness than they do to-day. Negroes were esteemed for their talents and respected for their industry and integrity" (pp. 143–144). Schomburg argued,

> Many Cuban Negroes curse the dawn of the Republic. Negroes were welcomed in the time of oppression, in the time of hardship, during the days of the revolution, but in the days of peace and of white immigration they are deprived of positions, ostracized and made political outcasts. (p. 144)

Supporting Schomburg's early allegations, Bronfman (2002) writes how Cuban writers and commentators of color "blamed the U.S. intervention for Cuba's degenerating condition," adding that the United States "introduced, along with its 'civilization,' its barbarism and its narcissism" (p. 555). Jorge Ibarra (1998) further wrote that it was with the first U.S. intervention that "authorities sanctioned such old customs and racist practices as not allowing blacks or mulattos to stroll in the parks of some towns and cities, attend certain theaters or artistic performances, enter certain hotels and recreation

centers, and so on" (p. 141). Accordingly, *The Illinois Record* published that it was U.S. expansion that introduced race prejudice in Cuba (Hall, 1899, p. 2). In a February 18, 1899, article entitled "Americans in Havana," *The Illinois Record* printed:

> One of the strongest arguments we can make against expansion is the introduction into the acquired territory, of the great American race prejudice. Americans who wish to conduct business enterprises in Cuba will find…that the Cubans are unlike the American Negroes and will not submit to such unjust discriminations. (Hall, 1899, p. 2)

Supporting this position, Beckwith would later write how appeals to organize a distinct party based on race had little to no consideration "until Americans raised the color line…naturally some bitterness has been created by this attempt…then the race began to show some solidarity" (1901, p. A3).[80]

Chapter 2 accounted the role of Spanish colonialism, slavery, and the plantation society. However as the above accounts illustrate thus far, what is significant about the presence of and governing by the United States at this critical time in Cuba revolves around the overwhelming movement of the Cuban Independence. Chapter 2 outlines the interests and expressed ideals. Therefore the unraveling behavior and supported U.S. attitudes as it pertained to Cubans of color conflicted with the underlining ideals many Cubans within the independence movement sought for a post independent Cuba. Such displays of conflicting racially driven behaviors and attitudes reflected in the writings of U.S. Americans substantiate a degree of U.S. influence in the area of race relations and racial perceptions that developed in Cuba during its occupation of 1898-1902.

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[80] Later, Gatewood (1975) writes that "the failure of the colored party to occupy a position of power in the Cuban Republic was interpreted as evidence that the racial legacy of the American military regime was indeed to be perpetuated upon the island" (p. 177).

From 1898–1902, Americans of color in Cuba continued to write home confirming views of increasing U.S. style discriminatory practices throughout Cuba. In October of 1898, *The Gazette* accounted the actions of General Leonard Wood, then in command of Santiago, encouraging the practice of discriminatory policy in Cuba (Smith, 1898d, p. 2). *The Gazette* wrote,

> Gen. Wood…instructed a Spanish restaurant how to draw the color line after the most approved American fashion—by turning the place into a "club" for whites only. This was to prevent Afro-Americans and white army officers from eating in the same place at the same time. (Smith, 1898d, p. 2)

Expectantly, Americans of color would write of how the color line had become increasingly rigid under the administration of Gen. Wood, the later U.S. American military governor of the island. Gatewood writes of the Kansas City *American Citizen* announcing in mid-1900 how Cubans of color were "'sick of the color line' imposed by American military authorities, citing evidence their demand that such descriptive words as black, brown, and colored be eliminated from all official documents" (Kansas City *American Citizen*, May 25, 1900, reprinted in Gatewood, 1975, p. 176). *The Parsons Weekly Blade,* March 11, 1899, published thus:

> That white Americans are trying to instill the hellish principles of race discrimination in Cuba is shown by the Havana incident where a white American restaurant keeper refused to serve a Cuban officer because the man happened to be mulatto. His place of business was closed... He ought to have been kicked off the island…. (Editorial, *The Parsons Weekly Blade,* 1899, p. 2)

In response, attempts were made by some Cuban authorities to reprimand such discriminating practices with closures and fines. For instance, in the case of the incident as published in the March 11, 1899, issue of *The Parsons Weekly Blade*, Miles V. Lynk

wrote that the café was indeed "ordered closed by Señor Frederico Mora, Civil Governor of Havana, because of the refusal of the proprietor to serve drinks to a mulatto, the Cuban General, Ducasse" (1899, p. 124).[81] The incident took place at Holman's Washington Café in Central Park of Havana, Cuba. Lynk recorded the incident:

> Several friends of Ducasse were seated in the cafe taking refreshments, when he happened to be passing and they called him to join them. Mr. Holman however, refused to serve him. As the existing Spanish laws prohibit race distinctions, Señor Mora, to whom complaint was made, consulted Maj. General Ludlow, Military Governor of the Department of Havana, as to the action to be taken. Gen. Ludlow told him to enforce the law, and Señor Mora informed Mr. Holman that unless he wrote a letter of apology the cafe would be closed. Mr. Holman declined to write the letter, and Señor Mora issued the closing order. Mr. Holman, who is an American, says he will reopen, claiming that he is sustained by the American authorities. (1899, pp. 124, 129)

However, many policies—informal, as most were devised to convenience customs of U.S. Americans—were directly aimed at segregating Blacks. Illegal racial discrimination in clubs, restaurants, and public parks was consistently not officially opposed (Helg in Graham, 1990, p. 53). "The familiar sign in English, an alien tongue to most Cuban Negroes, 'only white will be served' appeared in more than one case" (Orum, 1975, p. 53).

> In Cuba…the present dispute arose when a restaurant keeper…refused a seat at his public table to the mulatto Colonel of a Cuban regiment. The Southerner was perfectly sincere in the declaration that he would see himself in a warmer climate than Cuba before he would insult his American guests "by seating a nigger among them!" To the Colonel it was a novel and astonishing experience, and is of course deeply resented by all his kind in Cuba, where African blood may be found, in greater or less degree, in some of the richest and most influential families of the island. (*The Savannah Tribune,* March 04, 1899, p. 2)

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[81] The Ducasse incident is also published in *The Gazette* (Cleveland, OH), March 4, 1899, issue, No. 31, page 2.

In notes taken and information gathered on a trip throughout the island (Santa

Clara, Cienfuegos, Trinidad, Morón Trocha, Tunis, Sancti Spíritus, Placetas, and

Manicaragua), General James Wilson (1899a), then Department Commander within the

military government of Cuba, reported that a "committee of colored people" addressed

him regarding discriminatory experiences in local shops in Trinidad. Wilson (1899a)

writes that he

> explained to this colored committee that he could not interfere in civil
> matters. …At the same time he advised the colored people to have their
> own places of amusement and if a proprietor would not permit them to
> enjoy his café or other place, to not patronize him, but go to another.

The Ledger, of Baltimore, MD, November 25, 1899, edition reported:

> Three Americans—Hanson, King, and Holland—have each been
> sentenced to two months' imprisonment and to pay a fine of $65 and two-
> thirds of the cost of the proceedings for placing over their saloon a sign
> reading: "We Cater to White People Only." Their place had been closed in
> January last by order of the civil governor, because they had refused to
> serve a colored Cuban general, but they had been allowed to open the
> saloon again on promising to serve the public without distinction of color.
> The defendants have appealed the case, the cost of which already amounts
> to $2,000. A letter has been published in a paper in this city, written by
> another colored Cuban general complaining that the owner of a barber
> shop had refused to cut his hair on account of his color. (Editorial, 1899, p.
> 1)

In a letter printed in *The Colored American* one month later, J. E. Greenlease (1899),

employed by the Governor General of Havana, wrote of another incident involving

another U.S. restaurateur from Alabama, refusing to serve people of color.

> When I came here ten months ago there was not a saloon nor a restaurant
> on the island that would refuse to serve a colored person, but since then
> several Americans have opened places here in which the colored man has
> been told he is not wanted, simply on account of color. One man from
> Alabama opened a place here and put a sign in the window: "We cater to
> white people only." …It is only our patriotic Americans who hail from the
> land of the free and the home of the brave who make exceptions to our

dark skins. Of course, there are lots of good and kind white people in America, but the class that are locating here are that class from the southern states, who are real Negro-haters, and it would be a great help to both the Negro and the white people of the United States if they could adopt some means…keeping that class of men off the island because they will surely make trouble, as the people here are not used to that kind of treatment and they will not stand for it. (p. 3)

In May of 1900, Timothy Thomas Fortune, editor of the *New York Age,* held

white Americans responsible for the unrest among Afro-Cubans, claiming that the black men of the island resented the discriminatory practices of the military regime. "There was not race distinction, as we know it," Fortune concluded, "before the Americans carried it there." (Fortune, reprinted in Gatewood, 1975, p. 175; originally in *New York Age,* quoted in Kansas City American Citizen, May 14, 1900)

This also drew upon the further significance of the influence of U.S. American tourists.

In the review of this time period, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.) did not ignore the role of U.S. tourists and the pressure experienced by local Cubans to shape their society so that it was conducive to the U.S. visitors. In its publication, *The Crisis,* such actions were remarked upon:

The blame for the rapidly spreading prejudice and segregation in Cuban can be traced…to the American Tourists. The tourist proper remains in Cuba from two days to two weeks… "They're all 'niggers' anyway," is said to be the tourist's favorite exclamation on noting the presence of Negroes almost everywhere. (Martin, 1932, p. 454)

The Colored American, Washington, DC, in its December 16, 1899, edition, further argued that the rising accounts of racial discrimination in Cuba were attributable to the immigration of Southern U.S. Whites who transplanted their attitudes and ways into Cuba, writing "Southern color prejudice has been introduced upon Cuban soil and is daily creating some kind of demonstration" (Editorial, *The Colored American*, 1899, p. 9).

Mr. Francisco Piñeira, a restaurant owner in the city of Havana, was among the countless restaurateurs who would not service Cubans of color due to that influence of U.S. Americans visiting or living on the island. An incident at Mr. Piñeira's place, as recorded, took place on March 1, 1901. The account detailed by Mr. Piñeira, explaining his actions, follows:

> …between 12 and 1, two gentlemen came to my house, one white, the other colored…One American of those who were sitting at a table eating called me and said: "I will not get up but the other gentlemen will if that colored man sits down at a table." (Piñeira to Wood, 1901)

In the interests of his business, left with no other recourse, Mr. Piñeira approached the two men and asked for them to move to another room if they wanted to be served. Both the men opted to leave the restaurant. Mr. Ponce, the Cuban of color involved in the incident, initiated legal action against Mr. Piñeira, which resulted in the city of Havana fining him $50 (USD) and closing his establishment for thirty days (Piñeira to Wood, 1901). Mr. Piñeira later argued in a letter to Gov. Gen. Wood that the actions of the Havana authorities taken against him were unjust given that he was willing to serve the Cuban of color, although the pressure of his American patrons often caused for conflicting service (Piñeira to Wood, 1901).

Such effects of the U.S. style discrimination in Cuba continued to be reported upon. In *The Colored American*'s March 30, 1901, edition, in the article, "The Gem of the Antilles: American Discrimination Practiced," Doe (1901) wrote from Havana:

> Already the damnable serpent of American race hatred is palpably insinuating its slimy and insidiously folds into all insular affairs befouling a civilization with its noisome touch that has hitherto been singularly free from such a contemptible infection. There would today be a wide field for colored stenographers, typewriters, civil engineers and horsemen were it not for this hydra-headed monster, but I regret to say there is not one. The

departments employing men of above professions are controlled by the two or three Negro-hating Southern democrats of very low birth and breeding who will permit no one except the Cuban and a few Spaniards to hold positions higher than that of stableman or cart or coach driver whose pay ranges from $30 to $40 a month. Whenever it is possible, these Negro-haters are constantly devising means to care for a set of low bred Southerners who drifted here in rags to build up their wasted fortunes, if indeed they ever had any—degraded camp followers they are…which brings intolerable discredit upon the government of intervention which…has a strange way of showing its devotion to the cause of humanity and equal rights. …It seems that there are certain combinations formed in some of the departments for the sole purpose of putting obstacles in the way of the Negro's getting a chance. …I believe that as a matter of politics and policy no less than of justice that some first-class colored man, representative in character should be at once appointed to an important position in this department whether the American occupation thirty days or ten years…. (p. 9)

From her personal memoirs of living in Cuba during 1900–1910, Irene A. Wright (1912) wrote of places refusing to serve people of color.

Northern magazines publish, now and then, pitiful stories illustrating crises which arise when North American prejudices against mixed blood meet Latin-American tolerance of conditions for which there is…no fiction can equal the facts. …Restrictions enforced against those persons who do not "pass for white" are upheld… There are clubs, cafés, restaurants, hotels, etc., to which those who are considered "colored" are not admitted. (p. 91)

Wright documents a number of incidents she witnessed while living in Cuba, including that of a prominent and wealthy politician of color who, upon sitting with intentions of being served in the dining hall of a hotel, was approached by the proprietress, an acquaintance of his, and told that

"…you know that in my business I am obliged to make certain rules which do not permit my waiters to serve you here. To show you, however, that it is because of business only that these rules exist, I have the honor to invite you to dine with me, in my private dining room yonder, as my very welcome guest." (p. 92)

The prominent politician courteously refused her invitation, stating that he did not want to embarrass her, kindly thanked her and assured her that she could still count him as among one of her sincerest friends (p. 92). Wright also records an incident in an American hotel in Cuba that was repeatedly fined "for charging negroes exorbitant prices for drinks" ordered at the hotel's bar "and then, when they have set them down, accidentally breaking the glass they used" (p. 92).

Recognizing the attitude and the resultant actions that were transplanted with the presence of the United States in Cuba, Lieutenant-Colonel R. L. Bullard (1907) spoke of the difference in treatment and regard for people of color in the United States versus in Cuba. "To the American at home, the negro as a social, political or even industrial equal is an affront, an offence, nothing less; to the Cuban he is not. We resent him; the Cuban does not. We will not accept him; the Cuban does" (p. 417). He further remarked of the difference of status and behavior toward Cubans of color, commenting that in Cuba the schools, churches, theaters, hotels, baths, street cars, and steamers are "all the black man's and the white man's alike" (p. 417). According to Bullard, the United States had already made a "wretched mess" in managing its "own negro problem"; he also warned the United States "against the policy of proceeding in ignorance" (p. 416).

Thus based on the afore accounts, it was the tone of the U.S. society as illustrated in Chapter 3 that directed the formal societal development and as a result informal societal attitudes and interactions in Cuba. These accounts reveal a racial hierarchy with which those most comfortable resisted an altering of despite the interests of many Cubans who participated in the fight for independence. Tensions mounted as a result of existing discriminatory treatment whether actual or perceived. In 1901, Mr. Joquín Lloveras of

Trinidad de Cuba wrote to then military governor of Cuba, Gen. Wood, requesting

protection for himself and his family. Lloveras alleged that he was ambushed by a group

of 200 or more people of color because he refused to give a room in his boarding house to

a "colored man" (Lloveras to Wood, 1901). Lloveras wrote:

> …I have been attacked by 200 or more colored men because I could not
> lodge Mr. Brinidis de Salas, also a colored man…and really I regretted not
> to be able to give him a room, because I did not have any one empty…the
> mob appeared before my house, shouting and asking for my head, asking a
> $500 fine for me, the closure of my house, and compelling me to leave the
> city within 24 hours. (Lloveras, to Wood, 1901)

Beyond the presence of the U.S. modeled race treatment and policies in public

places, one of the defining activities specific to U.S. society during this time period was

the lynching of people of color in the U.S. society. As mentioned in the discussion on

U.S. domestic policies and issues, lynching came to be a regular and recurring action in

the terrorizing of people of color. This habitual behavior against people of color, found

itself transplanted to Cuba as well. Aline Helg has written how the occurrences of

lynchings were praised by some as "a progressive manifestation of Cubans' North

Americanization" (in Graham, 1990, p. 56). In its September 11, 1899, article, "Race

Troubles in Cuba Threatened," the *Atlanta Constitution* reports of complaints in Cuba

that no Cuban paper condemned the recent attempted lynchings (1899, p. 2). *The

Richmond Planet* published news of lynchings in Cuba, including that of Sr. Sánchez, the

secretary of the municipal court in Unión de Reyer, province of Santa Clara. "He was a

Cuban and had committed no crime for which he could be tried by the law. The lynchers

shot him to death. Thus, it is seen that American occupation of Cuba is followed by

American atrocities" (Mitchell, 1899, p. 4). In his personal reflections on the state of

Cuba, James Bryce (1902) wrote that he'd been informed that the Cubans of color were "averse to union with the United States" because they learned of "lynchings of Negroes in the South" and were concerned about the possible increase in such incidents with potential permanent relations between the two nations (p. 449). Turbulence in race relations within the Cuban society manifested itself with increasing social ills and informal yet condoned policies. The policies were also displayed in more formal terms as the United States constructed a new order in the Cuban society.

Rebuilding Efforts of the United States, and Color

In January 1899, Philadelphia's *Tribune* carried the article, "Against Annexation; American Hypocrisy Scored" (in Marks, 1971). The article presented the following argument:

> Cuba will likely be less free now than ever before. …The Cuban soldiers that maintained the war with Spain for three years were brave and sturdy patriots until we found ourselves in a position to seize the island, when they suddenly became…a lot of ragtags too ignorant and indolent to govern themselves. …the Americans will bend every energy and resort to all sorts of intrigues in an endeavor to prove to the world that the Cubans are incapable of self-government and unworthy of independence in order to justify further aggression on our part. …No there will be no rest for Cuba unless by alleging a desire to teach her people to permit themselves to be domineered by the Americans. …We will justify a seizure of Cuba by alleging a desire to teach her people self-government…. (p. 97)

The article's tone concurred with the argument that the primary goal of the United States as it pertains to Cuba was to ensure its pacification, followed by it being reconstructed along lines satisfactory to the United States (Williams, in Smith, 1966, p. 188). Cuba's need of the United States and the United States' need to civilize Cuba saturated the strategic and systematic reorganization and rebuilding of Cuba and its society. Sentiments stressing such necessities continued to be reflected in U.S. American statements that

feared that an independent Cuba would be impossible (Stone, 1908, p. 394). However, "as an American colony she will blossom and bring forth her increase. …It is a question of time. Cuba will be the brightest spot in the colonial possessions of the United States" (Stone, 1908, pp. 394–395). "Cuba could move toward the specified goal of becoming a miniature America, and in some respects, it did develop in that fashion and direction during…American rule" (Williams, in Smith, 1966, p. 191). As a result, Cuba found itself more "race-conscious" than it was before its independence as it was steered toward a common image of the United States (Orum, 1975, p. 52).

In his 1899 review of the reconstruction of Cuba and the role of the United States, R. J. Hinton (1899) wrote:

> It is a settled policy that an American protectorate shall remain until order
> and industry are firmly established. In our sense of the words, there have
> been no such in Cuba before, because there has been no justice or wisdom
> displayed in administrative affairs. (p. 100)

Further, Hinton explicitly stated: "The division of the population will usually be made by us on the basis of color…" (p. 98). This supports Michael Pollock's (2002) argument that the United States' greater interests in racial hierarchy superseded its concern for inclusiveness in rebuilding Cuba (p. 20). Pollock writes that such orderliness sought by the United States heavily depended on ensuring that the "right people" were promoted to significant positions (p. 20). An article in *The Chicago Post*'s, January 6, 1899, issue entitled "Willing for Whites to Rule: Blacks at Santiago Only Desire to be Recognized" substantiated the United States' interest in order and preferential treatment in leadership selection over inclusiveness. The article accounted the addressing of Gov. Gen. Wood by

Major General Quintín Bandera, a leader of the revolutionary army and representative of the Cubans of color.

> Bandera said that 80 per cent of the Cubans in this part of the island [Santiago] are negroes and that the white Cubans are fearful lest they should get control of the affairs of the province. Bandera told General Wood that he was perfectly satisfied for the 20 per cent white to represent the Cubans of the province and did not object to their getting the majority of the loaves and fishes, but he did think the negro element should be considered in the matter of appointments. General Wood informed Bandera that he recognized the fact that the faction he represented was largely in the majority and that in appointments they would certainly be given what they were competent to do, but owing to the fact that the better appointments required men of education and the negro element being almost illiterate, the majority of the higher appointments had gone to educated Cubans. (Editorial, *The Chicago Post,* January 6, 1899, p. 3)

Orum (1975) stated that the "derogatory attitude of the U.S. occupation forces and those adventurers who followed in their wake was directed toward Cubans in general but non-white Cubans in particular" (p. 53). M. A. Pérez-Medina argued that ultimately the "aim was to maintain the Cuban Negroes in the same condition as the…Negroes of U.S.A." (in Cunard, 1934, p. 295). This interest on the part of the U.S. to maintain the status quo in Cuba as existed in the U.S. further demonstrates the opportunity of influence sustained by the United States in the developing stages of Cuban society as it was formally organized post independence. The transported beliefs and attitudes continued to be reflected by U.S. American authorities and civilians in Cuba. The practices infected every realm of Cuban society. This helped extend the previously addressed legacy of Spanish slavery and colonial order in Cuba. Essentially the United States aided in the reversal of the aforementioned late social structural changes enforced by the Spanish. The United States accomplished this with its duplication of many U.S. structures and policies in Cuba, thus cultivating many U.S. race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba under its authority.

Order, Law Enforcement, and Color

The reorganization of law enforcement was the catalyst toward the official re-ordering and regulating of the Cuban society. In an endeavor to make its position clear as the lead of societal development and the position of the Cubans in a subordinate place, the United States presented its government-instituted segregation of Cuba's law enforcement organizations. Cubans of color were disproportionately impacted by the reorganization of the law enforcement as they were intentionally ignored and thus targeted for isolation and exclusion. Pérez (1986b) states thus: "Like white veterans, black soldiers also suffered destitution and displacement after the war" (p. 148). However, Cubans of color confronted racism as well (p. 149). From early on, this additional challenge for Cubans of color had telling consequences (p. 149). In a letter to First Lieutenant Oscar F. Durfee of the Second Volunteer Engineers stationed in Cuba, Assistant Adjutant General Richards wrote: "As a rule, it is preferred that Native Cubans be employed in all grades below your own, but you are authorized to employ an American in any position of trust and responsibility" (Richards, to Durfee, 1899). Orum (1975) wrote that "although the Military Government did not officially erect racial barriers, there were policies that could only be interpreted by Cubans and Americans as racially motivated" (p. 54).[82] The United States used its authority to establish new organizations for law enforcement, beginning with a local police force, followed by Rural Guard (Guardia Rural), and, later, Artillery Corps.

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[82] "The Cuban republic 'with all and for the good of all' resolved neither the problem of national independence nor that of racial equality. Political dependence on the United States was enshrined in the Platt Amendment (passed by both houses of the U.S. Congress and signed by President McKinley in March 1901, and written into the Cuban Constitution as a condition for U.S. withdrawal in 1902). The political system set up by the U.S. occupiers and Cuban elites ensured that social inequalities remained" (Chomsky et al., 2003, p. 147).

The Police Force, Rural Guard, Artillery Corps, and Color

"The existence of a policy tending to isolate Afro-Cubans from the principal

decisions affecting the nation initially became evident during the first U.S. intervention,

with the establishment of a new armed forces institution to replace the Cuban liberation

army" (Ibarra, 1998, p. 141).[83] "Black veterans were victims of discriminatory hiring

practices and...were routinely excluded from the police and Rural Guard. Where it was

not a practice, it was policy" (Pérez, 1986b, p. 149). The U.S. style of White supremacy

was perpetuated by such hiring practices and exclusion. Esteban Montejo recounted, "Not

even one percent of the police force was blacks because the Americans claimed that when

a black gets power, when he's educated, it hurts the white race" (1963, 1994, p. 195). The

United States introduced measures that presented increased difficulty, particularly for

Cubans of color. Franklin Matthews (1899) wrote that the need to know how to read and

write was incorporated in the reorganization of the Havana police and its requirement for

hiring (p. 384). These criteria introduced additional obstacles, particularly for Cubans of

color who were of the greater percentage lacking literacy in the Cuban society. According

to "Report on the Census of Cuba," 1899, 43% of the total population among Cubans of

age 10 and older was able to read (United States War Department, 1900, p. 152). Within

those statistics, only 28% of the population of color was able to read (U.S. War

Department, 1900, p. 152).[84] "The entrance qualifications for…the Havana

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[83] The Cuban Army of Liberation was demobilized in 1899 (Pérez, 1986b, p. 317).

[84] According to "Report on the Census of Cuba," 1899, 50.8% of Whites were able to read (United States War Department, 1900, p. 153). By 1907, of the total of 8,238 police personnel and soldiers in Cuba, there were 1,718 who were of color (Cuba Oficina del Censo, 1908, p. 546).

police…effectively reduced the number of Negro applicants because of the high rate of illiteracy and poverty among Negro veterans" (Orum, 1975, p. 59).

The United States went on to add a national force called Rural Guard for increased law enforcement and monitoring beyond the local police force. Upon dissolving the revolutionary army in 1899, the United States purposed to create an armed force. Moreover, it purposed to create one that did not resemble the high representation of Cubans of color as existed in the revolutionary army. Historians maintain that with this intent, racial discrimination in the army was initiated by the administration of the United States (Helg, in Graham, 1990, p. 54). Early on, on July 30, 1898, *The Gazette* wrote how "Gen. Shafter did not treat Gen. García, the Cuban commander, properly at Santiago…" (Smith, 1898a, p. 2). *The Gazette* would later write in its September 3, 1898, issue:

> The whole trouble in Cuba between Shafter and García is the American stumbling block, the Negro. There are just a few more black soldiers in Cuban ranks than Shafter cares to deal with and recognize as men, hence the trouble. García thinks a man, a man regardless of color and Shafter doesn't. That's all. (Smith, 1898b, p. 2)

Accordingly, as Pollock (2002) writes, "reorganization of the Cuban Army systematically denied commissions to Afro-Cubans" (p. 20). "The United States had attempted to insure that if a Cuban Army was to be created it would not resemble the heavily Negro insurgent forces" (Orum, 1975, p. 62). With its dissolution, the revolutionary army was replaced with "a white-commanded Rural Guard" (Helg in Graham, 1990, p. 54). Hence, "when the army was disbanded, the black revolutionaries were unable to remain in the city. They returned to the country, to the cane fields, tobacco fields, to whatever, except to the offices" (Montejo, 1963, 1994, p. 195).

The Rural Guard of the island was organized under the direction of the United

States (United States Congress, House, 1901b, p. 62).

> While municipal policemen were under municipal authority, the Rural
> Guard was under control of the military governor. *Rurales* were charged
> with keeping the public peace and were available to judges and civil
> governors for apprehending suspects, transporting convicts and other law
> enforcement measures. (Hitchman, 1971, p. 30)

"The rural guard was an agent of the occupation, designed principally to meet the needs

of property owners and protect, in Wood's terms, the 'producing classes'" (Pérez, 1986a,

p. 327).

> This force was organized first in the province of Santiago in the fall of
> 1898, and subsequently it was organized in the provinces of Puerto
> Principe, Santa Clara, Pinar del Rio, and Habana… The rural guard was
> and is still very largely composed of soldiers and officers of the
> revolutionary army, care having been taken to select to as great an extent
> as possible men of efficiency and good character. (U.S. Congress, House,
> 1901b, p. 63)[85]

> Recruits into the rural guard, particularly the officers, were selected on the
> basis of social criteria, racial considerations, and ideological
> compatibility... Enlistment qualifications included literacy, good character,
> and excellent standing in the community—the latter two attributes
> corroborated by persons of adequate social standing. Applicants were
> required to provide letters of recommendation from at least two well
> known citizens of good repute—preferably property owners', stipulated
> the North American military advisor. (Pérez, 1986a, pp. 327–328)[86]

The Congressional House Report of the War Department (1901b) states that the officers

and selected men of the Rural Guard initially provided their own horses, and, in many

instances, their uniforms and equipment (p. 4). "The state paid for arms and ammunition,

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[85] In Matanzas, no force of Rural Guard was organized; but, instead of the Rural Guard, each municipality
of this province had a certain number of mounted police who exercised functions and performed duties
somewhat similar to those performed by the Rural Guard in other parts of the island.

[86] Complete requirements printed in *Reglamento para el gobierno interior del Cuerpo de la Guardia Rural*
(Camagüey, Cuba, 1899); Herbert J. Slocum to Adjutant General, July 2, 1901. N.A. / R.G. 140/ M.G.C.
(from Pérez, 1986a, p. 328).

but the *Rurale* provided the rest of his own equipment" (Hitchman, 1971, p. 30). This additional need to supply oneself with gear limited the involvement of many former revolutionaries of color who lacked basic apparatus. Many of the Cubans of color did not have such simple items as they fought the Spanish. There was literacy entrance qualifications that applicants were required to meet for acceptance in the guard. As with the police force, such qualifications limited the number of applicants of color due to the high illiteracy rates within that population (Orum, 1975, p. 59; United States War Department, 1900, p. 152). According to the 1899 census, of the 4,824 police personnel and watchmen, only 794 were of color; of the 598 soldiers, 73 were of color (U.S. War Department, 1900, pp. 462, 463).[87]

In addition to the above race-biased hiring requirements for both the police force and the Rural Guard, Thomas T. Orum (1975) argued that it was the intention of the U.S. military government to restrict the number of policemen of color while the U.S. forces were occupying the island (p. 59). The provided explanation for the organization of a White-only Havana police force was that it was done for the Americans and not for the Cubans, as the Americans in Cuba would not have conceded to the authority of people of color (Robaina, 1994, pp. 41–42). Tomás Robaina (1994) wrote that positions were provided for Cubans of color in the country and city areas where they would not come into contact with North American soldiers (pp. 41–42).

> In Santiago province, to the dismay of the white population, the United
> States was using Negro units to garrison the area. There were several
> incidents and General Leonard Wood, U.S. Commander of the province,
> requested that the Negro troops be removed since the "white people are

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[87] The 1907 census recorded that of the 8,238 police personnel and soldiers, 1,718 were of color (Cuba Oficina del Censo, 1908, p. 546).

extremely discontented with the presence of Negro soldiers, as they have already had a political struggle with the great preponderance of blacks." (Wood quoted in Orum, 1975, p. 51)

The placement of Cubans of color in areas where they would not frequent Whites set precedence that would intensify a norm of permitted and acceptable hierarchical authority between the races as patterned by the United States.

In 1901, the Rural Guard contained approximately 1,200 men and officers (U.S. Congress, House, 1901b, p. 64). However, by the end of 1901 and into early 1902, Gov. Gen. Wood sought to "create a small elite army of white Cubans" to maintain order and direct affairs in Cuba in the event of the withdrawal of U.S. forces (Epstein, 1978, p. 200). "General wishes 150 men, white Cubans, enlisted for a period of two years; same qualifications and conditions as recruiting United States troops as far as they apply. …These troops to be recruited, trained, disciplined, and under an American officer" (McCoy, 1901). The new Artillery Corps (Cuerpo de Artilleria) would be created as a result of the consolidation of the Rural Guard throughout the provinces, with the "designation of the combined forces of the Rural Guard and the 'Cuerpo de Artilleria' to be 'State Troops, Island of Cuba'" (Scott, to Rodríguez, 1902). However, the organization of a Cuban Artillery Corps "blatantly excluded Negroes" with Cubans of color again being explicitly restricted from enlisting (Orum, 1975, p. 62). "Blacks were to be denied entry into the elite corps, ostensibly because their believed lesser intellect made them unfit for the degree of responsibility required of men" (Epstein, 1978, p. 200). The specific call for White Cubans and their training of the new troops under U.S. command was deemed necessary to ensure that in the event of its exit, the United States would leave Cuba "in good hands" (Epstein, 1978, p. 200).

Displeasure with the U.S. explicit, race-driven guidelines resulted in outcry in municipalities across the island. As a result, the plans were amended to create "a fifty-man Negro company," however with the instructions "specifying 'all officers will be white'" (Scott, to Wood, 1901). The Artillery Corps came to consist of segregated companies. Adjutant General H. L. Scott, by the direction of the military governor of Cuba, later issued the modifications to General Alejandro Rodriguez, Chief of the Rural Guard: "…the organization has been divided into four provisional companies of fifty men each, three white and one colored…" (Scott, to Rodríguez, 1902). The stipulation that all officers were to be White remained (Aultman, to Adjutant General, 1902; Orum, 1975, pp. 57–92; Pérez, 1986b, p. 149). Americans of color also took issue with the U.S. policies being instituted in Cuba. The Americans of color condemned Gov. Gen. Wood's order barring colored Cubans from the artillery organization; they condemned President McKinley too for his consent. In an editorial, "…the Cleveland [*The Gazette*]…reminded those so critical of Wood that the ultimate responsibility for drawing the color line in Cuba lay with the general's superior, President McKinley" (Gatewood, 1975, p. 176).

> In spite of the protest of the white Cubans, Gov. Gen. Wood, an American (white), insists upon barring the colored Cubans from the new Cuban artillery organization which is soon to be formed to garrison the Havana forts when the United States troops are withdrawn. Wood is very close to President McKinley, who, in repeatedly elevating the former in the last few years has broken all army records since the war of the rebellion. He is this country's chief representative on the island and would not dare take such a step unless it was sanctioned by President McKinley and Senator Hanna. The McKinley administration is not only ignoring the disfranchisement of four or five hundred thousand Afro-Americans in the south, but it is also adding to this vital injury the distressing insult of mistreating colored Cubans and building up an American color-line in that country, something heretofore practically unknown there…. (*The Gazette*, 1901, p. 2)

"The prevailing view was that the military authorities had introduced prejudice into a society where racial relations had previously been harmonious" (Gatewood, 1975, p. 175).

Suffrage Regulations

The exclusion of Cubans of color in any negotiations with the United States in the formation of the nascent Cuba was further exhibited in the suffrage conditions and the eligibility requirements for Cuban voters in the first elections on the island. It was encouraged for Cuba to "establish a government founded, not necessarily upon universal suffrage, but on suffrage so conditioned that any man might entitle himself to the ballot by intelligence and thrift…" (Editorials, *The Outlook,* 1898, p. 653). Given the little opportunity for Cubans of color in the area of educational attainment, the act of limited suffrage, arguably, affected those of color the most (Epstein, 1978, p. 200). Epstein (1978) noted: "The first island-wide election for municipal offices was held on June 16, 1900" (p. 200). Wood (1901) had promulgated a decree that required voters to possess one of the following qualifications:

> (a) Ability to read and write; (b) ownership of real or personal property to the value of $250, American gold; (c) service in the Cuban army prior to July 18, 1898, and honorable discharge therefrom, whether a native Cuban or not. (pp. 327–334)

General Wood mandated:

> …the intervening government…limiting the suffrage to such as can read and write, pay taxes or have participated in the Revolution. …These orders will be obeyed until the country becomes independent. At that time all Cuban citizens will be free to express their opinions on all questions, and their decisions then can be substituted for any decisions that the United States may have made. This is in direct compliance with my counsel and advice, and I expect it to be obeyed. (Wood, to Grant, 1900)

Moreover, it was believed that the restricted suffrage should be maintained even after the

U.S. occupation. Writing to Secretary Root, Wood stated:

> I agree with you that… Universal suffrage should be withheld for at least
> ten years during which time, if the present school system is maintained,
> the great majority of the people will have learned to read and write. To
> grant universal suffrage at the present time would be to surrender the vote
> to an element absolutely without any conception of its responsibility or
> duties as citizens. (Wood, to Root, January 19, 1901, Leonard Wood
> Papers, L.C.M.D.)

The United States' involvement was considered critical by officials in command to

maintain a civilized and orderly Cuba. Justifying the United States' measures, officials

argued that "without outside intervention the 'colored' vote would soon have amounted

to a third of the total, and before long to a half, and finally have preponderated over the

white element…" (Johnston, 1909, p. 500). For sustained oversight, Wood refused to

permit an island congress, but did allow for delegates to govern provincial councils

(Wood, 1901, pp. 327–334; Epstein, 1978, p. 201). Each provincial government, although

independent to others, was to be directly responsible to Wood (Wood, 1901, pp. 327–

334; Epstein, 1978, p. 201).

Those of color on the island were displeased with the U.S. mirroring suffrage

system. Writing of his time in Cuba eighteen months following the end of the war,

Narciso G. Gonzáles, the editor of South Carolina's *The State*, wrote:

> In Santiago province, where the negroes preponderate, there is a
> considerable popular demand for universal suffrage in the coming
> municipal elections, the men of that race regarding the restrictions
> proposed as a discrimination against them…The restrictions, by the
> way…are almost identical with those in South Carolina. (1898, 1899,
> 1922, p. 417)

Gonzáles argued that one could

perceive that the whites are resolved to rule. …The only political chance
for the negroes is to follow white leadership, in which case they may get a
few of the offices: otherwise the political situation will soon be what it is
in the South. (1898, 1899, 1922, p. 424)

The Americans of color also voiced dissatisfaction, holding Gov. Gen. Wood

"responsible for suffrage regulations during the municipal elections of 1900 which they

described as worthy of the most prejudiced politicians in Mississippi and Louisiana"

(Gatewood, 1975, p. 176). Americans of color understood the lasting damaging impact

such U.S. regulations would have on the immediate and long-term structure of Cuban

society. They knew the disparities that would result and perpetuate as it pertained to

control, law formation, civil and essentially human rights and protection for people of

color in Cuba. As Chapter 3 illustrated, Americans of color knew firsthand the

devastating impact of political silencing and little to none government participation had

on an entire community.

However, supporters of such U.S. imposed suffrage restrictions requested that

such limited suffrage regulations be applied in the United States, as well. An April 19,

1902, article in the *Atlanta Constitution* stated:

In Cuba General Wood has insisted upon a suffrage law that shuts out
from the ballot boxes the ignorant, shiftless and purchasable elements of
the population. He declared plainly that such people without political
sense and without practical stake in the good government of the island had
no natural, moral or political right to make governors and legislators, to
levy taxes and expend the public treasures, against the interests of the
intelligent, industrious, and tax-paying minority of the people. (p. 6)

The article continued with complaints questioning why the south in the United States did

not have such limitations to suffrage, considering that its population was similar to that of

Cuba. The article alleged that not limiting suffrage in the U.S. south left "the intelligent,

property-holding, and patriotic people of these states…dominated, harried, robbed, and humiliated by a great horde of Africans…" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 1902, p. 6). Therefore, the desire for suffrage limitation as in Cuba revealed the intention of such limitations to be applicable to that of the populations of color in both countries.

> Why are the people of the south entitled less to sane and clean government, than the peoples of Cuba… Why should ignorance and vice run riot in the state capitols of Virginia and Georgia…any more than in the palaces of Havana…? (*Atlanta Constitution*, 1902, p. 6)

Wood demonstrated a deliberate objective to intentionally disenfranchise the impoverished and rural segments of the Cuban society which was highly destitute and illiterate. This population, also, comprised primarily Cubans of color. Hence, "Wood sought to disenfranchise 30 percent of the male voting-age population, that segment of mainly black…Cubans" (Epstein, 1978, p. 201). The instituted limits inhibited Cuba from beginning its independence march driven by the intent of *Cuba Libre*. William A. Williams agrees that "…the nature of the limits imposed made it impossible for Cuba to achieve…goals…or objectives…defined by its own traditions and aspirations"; with the result being "an informal empire in which…the political consequences…involved the exclusion of the great majority of Cubans from any meaningful participation in formulating or choosing between alternatives for their own society" (Williams, in Smith, 1966, pp. 189, 190).[88]

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[88] It was the interest of Gov. Gen. Wood for Cuba to remain subject to the United States' control and constitution. Wood wrote: "'…we stand for free government, free commerce, and free men,' but the 'free government' should be under our national control, and subject to the beneficent principles of our constitution" (Wood to McVeagh, 1899).

U.S. Education System and Color

"Nowhere did the Americans attempt to have a greater impact on Cuban life than in the area of education. As in other colonial efforts, the Cubans were not consulted" (Pollock, 2002, p. 21). When it came to educating, it was the interest of the United States to change the Cubans' ways of thinking, their behavior, actions, and beliefs to match that of the United States'. The transport of the U.S. influence to Cuba would be strengthened by a program of academic instruction (Kennedy, 1971, p. 313). "The purpose of the American-directed education in the islands was to help the people there become as proficient as possible in the techniques of modern civilization" (Kennedy, 1971, p. 313). The U.S. constructors of the new Cuba held strong beliefs "in the evils of illiteracy" and in the role of literacy in molding and sustaining a civilized society (Epstein, 1987, p. 4).

Like much else in the early rebuilding of Cuba, the establishment and progress of public education in Cuba is widely attributed to Gov. Gen. Wood. For Wood,

> "education was to purify Cuban minds. Wood used schools to disabuse the islanders of their Spanish ways and prepare them for assuming the burdens of enlightened citizenship. He sought no less than a cultural revolution—a total reconstruction of society, with education [as] the main tool."
> (Epstein, 1987, p. 3)

Wood firmly believed that educating the Cuban society would completely reform it. "Given an opportunity, he reasoned, Cubans would flock to the schools. Once educated, they would recognize the superiority of American over Spanish values and patterns of behavior, and would perform as sober and responsible people" (Epstein, 1987, p. 3). Schooling came to be the foundational element in Americanizing the people of Cuba.

> Under the guidance of Lieutenant Matthew E. Hanna, a public school system that conformed to laws patterned after those in Ohio was developed. The curriculum included instruction in English from the

earliest grade on, and subjects were taught from translated American textbooks. Harvard University was recruited in the effort to Americanize the island by agreeing to train Cuban teachers during their summer vacations, and more than a thousand eventually journeyed to the United States for advanced training. (Epstein, 1987, p. 4)

The aims of the schools were set after the plan of the Indian School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania (Brown to Military Commander, 1899).[89]

> The work of education in Cuba…reflected the seriousness with which American expansionists attempted to inculcate the "superior" Anglo-Saxon way of life. American institutions…were extolled as being without peer…Cuba…offered opportunities wherein American expansionists could carry out their self-imposed task of bringing the benefits of civilization to less-advanced peoples. (Kennedy, 1971, p. 314)

David A. Ralston (2007) writes that the U.S. government "renovated the educational sector by implementing a U.S. structured learning style that required the teaching of the English language" (p. 657).

The Cuban Education Association was established, through which "study abroad" programs were instituted. Academic study in the United States was made available to Cuban students. "This organization which functioned for a two-year period, beginning in

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[89] The film, *In the White Man's Image,* documents the founding and operation of The Carlisle Institute, also known as the Carlisle School for Indians (*In the White Man's Image,* 1992, 2007). The program was created by Captain Richard Henry Pratt, and under his tutelage the schools operated as a "white image experiment" for Native American children, beginning in 1879 (*In the White Man's Image,* 1992, 2007). Capt. Pratt held that to transform a people, one must start with the children (*In the White Man's Image*, 1992, 2007). Conducted as boarding schools, the institute was established for the purpose of changing Native Americans into "real Americans" and assimilating them into American society (*In the White Man's Image*, 1992, 2007). The official mechanism to do the same was with the use of education. The expressed goal was to "stamp out" the law, religion, language, legions, memories, and essentially the culture of Native Americans (*In the White Man's Image*, 1992, 2007). It was believed that the Native Americans' salvation existed in relinquishing their culture (*In the White Man's Image*, 1992, 2007). Every fragment of the Native Americans' past was stripped from them, beginning with their being assigned new names followed by their hair being cut, their being forbidden to speak their native languages, and their not being allowed to visit their families for up to 5 years. They were no longer "Indians"—rather, they were to live as an imitation of White men; they were taught "Indian history" from the White man's point of view. The institute's mission (and Pratt's motto) was to "kill the Indian and save the man" (*In the White Man's Image*, 1992, 2007). Native American children were transported to the institutes across the country; there were 26 such boarding schools modeled after Carlisle in existence by 1902. The schools continued into the 1930's.

the latter part of 1898, directed youths to institutions of higher learning in the United States" (Kennedy, 1971, p. 313). However, the association encountered challenges with having Cuban students of color accepted in the United States. The association found that many participating universities were not open to students of color attending their institutions, and, therefore, it had to be mindful of which institutions to petition for these students.

> The president of the University of Missouri, for instance, advised that while "there is no law forbidding Negroes to enter our university, if one should attempt to do so, he would surround himself with no end of trouble owing to the status of public opinion in the state. You understand therefore," he concluded, "that the offer is not extended to Cubans that may be Negroes." (Jesse, to Harroun, 1898, Cuban Educational Association Papers, December 1, 1898, quoted in Kennedy, 1971, p. 314)

As for academic institutions in Cuba, the Spanish decree that all public schools were open to all persons dated back to 1893 (Rout, 1976, p. 302). However, regular educational operations were interrupted by the ongoing conflict, and, as such, an organized educational system was not formally in place until the involvement of the United States. Thus the education system in Cuba according to the Spanish code was interrupted by the reformation of the system by the United States. With the United States' organization came reports of segregation in public school settings, one of the first of which was the establishment of "a school for the colored people," reported in a February 1899 report (McKinney, to Brown, 1899).

In a report on the industrial, economical, and social conditions existing in the territory covered by his department—as requested by the Division Commander—General James Wilson, then with the Commanding Military Department of Matanzas and Santa

Clara, wrote to the Headquarters Division of Cuba, September 7, 1899, regarding the

segregation of the schools in Trinidad, Cuba, and the disapproval of the residents:

> The colored people are generally a strong and vigorous race. They are
> modest, docile, well-behaved and industrious. Race antagonism…has not
> shown itself in any public business except at Trinidad, where the colored
> people are about equal to the whites in number, and many of them are
> merchants, artisans and tradesmen. This is the only city in which separate
> schools are maintained for the different colors. (Wilson, to Headquarters
> Division of Cuba, 1899b)

General Wilson wrote regarding the separation that Cuban laws made no legal distinction

in school privileges and organization for Cubans (Wilson, to Headquarters Division,

1899b).

The President of the English-instructing schools established in Trinidad, Cuba,

also reported to the Military Commander of Trinidad that "schools for the colored

population" had been established (Brown, to Military Commander, 1899). Instruction for

the students of color took place in private residences "through the kindness" of locals as

there were no buildings set aside for the students of color (Brown, to Military

Commander, 1899). At the close of the report, Brown states that while

> the present needs of these schools are well supplied, the only
> recommendations I would submit are the addition of an assistant teacher in
> the Boys School (colored), the number of boys being too great for proper
> attention by only two teachers, and if possible the use of a building for the
> Colored Schools. (Brown, to Military Commander, 1899)

In notes taken and information gathered on a trip throughout the island (Santa

Clara, Cienfuegos, Trinidad, Morón Trocha, Tunis, Sancti Spíiritus, Placetas, and

Manicaragua), Gen. James Wilson (1899a) further reported on the segregation in the

district of Trinidad within the public schools. Following his being addressed by a

"committee of colored people," Wilson writes of their expressed grievances with their

circumstance: "The colored children are not allowed in the white schools, and if they are sent there the superintendent suspends them." He confirms that "under Spanish law and dominion there were no separate schools, but since American occupation the schools had been separated" (1899a). Opportunity for districts such as Trinidad to behave prejudicially against Cubans of color lay in the formal provisions outlining "who may be admitted to public schools": "The several boards shall make such assignment of the unmarried youth of their respective districts to the schools established by them as will in their opinion best promote the interests of education in their district" (U.S. Congress, House, 1901, p. 1646).

Discrimination in education was not limited to student segregation; it also included the hiring practices of the district school boards of school instructors.

> American unwillingness to consider cultural differences presented several long-term problems. Teacher selection followed the same path as political appointments. A patronage system resulted in widespread corruption and nepotism on local boards. …The teacher corps did not reflect the diversity of the country. (Pollock, 2002, pp. 21–22)

The final report of the commissioner of public schools of Cuba exposed the imbalance in the number of instructors of color in the public school system throughout the island. Commissioner Hanna's final report spanning the period beginning September 1, 1901, and ending with the termination of the military occupation of the island, May 20, 1902, illustrated how over that period of time only 3.3% of the instructors within the Cuban school system were Cubans of color (Hanna, to Wood, 1902).[90] In September 1901, there were 3,533 teachers throughout the island of which there were only 118 teachers of color

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[90] The locations included in the commissioner's report were the following: Havana, Santiago de Cuba, Matanzas, Santa Clara, Puerto Principe, and Pinar del Rio (Hanna. to Wood, 1902).

(Hanna, to Wood, 1902). By February 1902, of the 3,476 teachers throughout the island, only 117 were of color. Thus, at the time of the departure of the U.S. military government, there were actually fewer instructors of color (Hanna, to Wood, 1902). In the 1930s, the Commission on Cuban Affairs reported that many teachers of color continued to have a difficulty in being placed, in part due to the lack of political influence (Foreign Policy Association, 1935, p. 32). The Commission also reported that although within the academic setting of universities the races merged, outside of the classroom they would conduct their social functions separately (Foreign Policy Association, 1935, p. 32).[91]

Such U.S. practices reflected U.S. race driven interests to maintain the population of color in an illiterate ignorant capacity, dependent upon its White counterparts and unchallenging to the desired intellectual racial hierarchy. Chapter 2 corroborated such interests discussing that an educated population of color was perceived as a menace, subjected to constant suspicion of potentially causing disorder amongst the races. Chapter 3 exposed the aspect of the White supremacy agenda to keep people of color uneducated as they were deemed non-threatening to the racial order. Ensuring quality equal education of the races would conflict with U.S. interests to delay full inclusion and involvement of Cuba's population of color in Cuban affairs and decision-making process. Instituting a U.S. style of educating in Cuba served as a foundation during the initial formative years of Cuba's academic and intellectual development.

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[91] It also remained extremely difficult for students of color to enter the University of Havana: In 1899. only 6% of the country's professionals were of color; in 1907, 7%; and in 1919, under 12% (Ibarra, 1998, p. 141).

U.S. Cuban Immigration Policy and Color

According to Helg, the racist dimension of the U.S. involvement in Cuba is also best illustrated by the changing immigration policy (in Graham, 1990, p. 56).

> General Leonard Wood, appointed military governor of the island, demonstrated his feelings on the racial issue by prohibiting the immigration of any persons of African descent into Cuba. In effect, independence meant a continuation of the old patterns of racial discrimination and the introduction of the Yankee variety as well. (Rout, 1976, p. 302)

The immigration laws of the United States were enforced in Cuba throughout the U.S. military occupation (Wood, 1902).

An April 14, 1899, publication by the Division of Customs and Insular Affairs declared U.S. immigration laws applicable in Cuba. As per orders of the military governor it became unlawful for immigrants from the West Indies, primarily Jamaica, to enter Cuba without prior official permission (Prohibition of Jamaican immigrants, 1899). This regulation purposed to prevent "Negro migration to Cuba" from other islands in the Antilles (Pepper, 1899, p. 149).

> These strict regulations have been absolutely necessary to protect…the Island of Cuba from the worthless and dangerous immigrants who come from Jamaica. Almost without exception such immigrants are negroes of the most primitive type—trifling, transient, ignorant, vicious and unskilled in any kind of labor. When imported as laborers these Jamaican negroes soon…drift to this City [Havana] where they swell the laborless, lawless classes. …It is safe to say that a very large portion, if not the larger portion, of the vicious, law-breaking element of Santiago de Cuba, is comprised of Jamaican negroes. (Irwin, 1901b)

Pepper (1899) also wrote that it was the American occupation and the application of its immigration laws that "prevented the influx of…blacks from Jamaica" (p. 149). The immigration law under U.S. regulations explicitly forbade their entry:

…"to be in effect in the territories under government by the military forces of the United States"…the Military Governor directed the rigid enforcement of…"paying especial attention to immigrants coming from Jamaica and other islands in the vicinity of Cuba."…"…immigrant laborers more especially those from Jamaica"…should not be permitted to land without specific authority form the Military Governor of Cuba. …It would therefore seem that regulations, and the settled policy of the Military Government of the Island, would forbid the importation of the class of laborers referred to in within protest. (Irwin, 1901b)

Documented correspondences exist of companies including The Central Railroad Cuba Company specifically requesting permission to transfer White laborers into Cuba in compliance with the immigration law. "On behalf of The Cuba Company…I respectfully request that authority be granted…to permit the transfer…of thirty-seven white laborers, natives of Canary Islands…" (Manduley, to The Military Governor of Cuba, 1901). Application for approval of transfer of laborers to Cuba due to their being White was also pursued by other companies including the Spanish American Iron Company and The Cuba Company: "…request authority to import six hundred twenty laborers Port-Ricans white, able bodied, selected" (Irwin, to Adjutant General, 1901a). The application was recommended for approval given the laborers were "white and desirable" (Irwin, to Adjutant General, 1901a). Such measures were taken by companies to oblige the U.S. military government and avoid delay of business.

When it was rumored that The Central Railroad Cuba Company was planning to petition to have labor admitted from Jamaica, the Collector of Customs issued a statement to the company admonishing that the presence of 4000 "Jamaican negroes" would "prove a serious injury to the prosperity" of Cuba, and that there were already "too many negroes," and so more "would lead to continual violence and disorder" (Irwin, to Adjutant General, 1901b). Soon after, William Van Horne, president of The Central

Railroad Cuba Company submitted a correspondence denying that the company was

going to transfer 4000 laborers from Jamaica:

> I…acknowledge receipt of your communication…in which you ask me to
> state what truth there is in the rumor that this Company was about to bring
> 4000 Jamaican laborers. It is with great pleasure, that I avail myself of this
> opportunity to state that said rumor is false, and without foundation. The
> Company has never intended to import Jamaican or American negroes to
> work on the railroad nor anywhere else. We do not deem it advisable to
> bring or contract laborers of that kind for the Company in this island.
> There are a great many Jamaicans here, but very few are employed by us
> because we do not deem them suitable or capable. I will be very thankful
> to you if you will make this statement public and to assure everyone who
> may make inquiries in connection with the rumor that it is absolutely false.
> (Van Horne, to The Military Governor of the Island, 1901)

Thus, the immigration of White immigrants continued to be endorsed throughout the

early republic and later by Cuban authorities. In fact, following independence, "Spaniards

who settled in Cuba enjoyed the protection of the U.S. military government and did not

lose their land or properties" (Helg, in Graham, 1990, p. 56). Wilson wrote to Dr.

Eduardo Díaz: "I favored…the filling up of the island with white people to a greater

extent…" (Wilson, to Díaz, 1906). "Encouraged by Cuban authorities, approximately

900,000 Spaniards and Canary Islanders emigrated to Cuba between 1900 and 1929,

enabling this community to strengthen its position in trade and industry" (Helg, in

Graham, 1990, p. 56). Overall immigration hostilities and resentment were primarily

directed toward "Afro-Caribbean and Chinese immigration" (Helg, in Graham, 1990, p.

56). The Cuban authorities would maintain that another revolution or a racial war would

result from the influx of immigrants from countries such as Haiti and Jamaica. It was

claimed that "Afro-Caribbean immigration reversed the Cuban process of ethnic

evolution toward a predominantly white population" (Helg, in Graham, 1990, pp. 56–57).

As a result, the blame of most problems in Cuba fell on Haitian and Jamaican immigrants. According to Helg, Haitians and Jamaicans "became…easy prey for unscrupulous employers, racist policemen, rural guards, and witch hunters" (in Graham, 1990, pp. 56–57).[92]

In 1902, Wood moved a resolution to secure the immigration policy in Cuba even in the absence of the United States:

> Section 1: I, Leonard Wood, Military Governor of Cuba, by virtue of the authority vested in me, direct the publication of, and hereby re-enact in such form as to enable their continued enforcement…the provisions of law relating to immigration, which have been in force in Cuba since April 14, 1899, by authority of the President's order of that date making Immigration Laws of the United States applicable to Cuba. ...In order that the Island might not be left without a suitable immigration law, and in order to avoid any misunderstanding as to the fact that the immigration laws had been and were in effect, at the time of the withdrawal, Order #155 was published on May 15, 1902. This order is the present immigration law of the Cuban Republic, and is substantially the same as the immigration law of the United States. (Menocal, 1902; Wood, 1902)[93]

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[92] "Moreover the immigration law imposed on Cuba by the United States in 1902, which prohibited Chinese immigration and restricted that of nonwhites, was strengthened by the Law of Immigration and Colonization of 1906. The new legislation encouraged the settlement of families from Europe and the Canary Islands, as well as the immigration of day laborers from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and northern Italy" (Helg in Graham, 1990, p. 54).

[93] The Minister of China to Cuba soon disputed the Chinese Immigration Restriction in Cuba as embodied in Civil Order 155, Department of Cuba, May 15, 1902. To justify the regulations, the United States argued that: "…the Immigration Law of May 15, 1902, does not permit its interpretation to be so restrictive as to absolutely prohibit the immigration of all classes of chinamen, with the exception of the diplomatic officials…" (Garcia Monte, 1902). The United States argued that "…section VIII of the…Immigration Law, permits the landing of those chinamen who come to this Country either on business or pleasure if they comply with the necessary requisites" (García Monte, 1902). According to section seven, the restrictions on the Chinese were thus only for Chinese laborers venturing to come to Cuba, and any found unlawfully residing within Cuba would be immediately repatriated. Further, the law applied to the operator of "any vessel who shall knowingly bring…any Chinese laborer…shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars for each and every such Chinese laborer so brought into Cuba, and may also be imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year" (Menocal, 1902).

According to the commissioner of immigration, "the solution of both the social and economical problems in the Island of Cuba depends principally on endowing it with a population of 8 or 10 millions of white inhabitants" (Menocal, 1902). Illustrated again is the significance of the initial and enduring impression that U.S. instituted regulation would have in establishing an hierarchy in Cuba. The United States' authoritative position and power over Cuban affairs is demonstrated with the above replicated U.S. immigration initiatives. Further, U.S. intention to preserve distant control over Cuba is foreshadowed by these policies instituted by the United States. In yet another area, the U.S. demonstrated actions that would serve to perpetuate U.S. race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba. However, it was not just in the area of immigration policy that the United States was determined to secure authority post its military government control. The United States sought lasting influence with invasive oversight and management of the election of Cuba's first administration.

The Election and Administration of Tomás Estrada Palma, and Race

"The U.S. invoked the Platt Amendment to intercede in guiding the selection of the first Cuban President, Tomás Estrada Palma" (Ralston, 2007, p. 657). The election of Tomás Estrada Palma witnessed no changes with regard to race treatment and the resulting race relations in the Cuban society. Research revealed that the Palma administration was marred by discriminatory practices, as well. The conditions of Cubans of color under the Palma administration showed no signs of improvement, and there was sustained exclusion of Cubans of color in both civilian and military life. The Cubans of color continued to be denied fair and equal access to teaching, law enforcement, and civil department positions. "There is considerable complaint among negroes that they are

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ignored in appointments, getting nothing but small and subordinate positions, and any restlessness is mainly confined to them" (Gonzáles, 1898, 1899, 1922, p. 416). In a June 9, 1902, article in *La Lucha*, it was reported that a "committee of representatives of the colored societies" met with President Palma to discuss the status and treatment of Cubans of color, and called on him to "assert their rights" and enforce "compliance with the Constitution."

> Señor Campos Marquetti the spokesman declared that the colored men appeared before the President to claim and assert their rights to hold offices and to complain against the neglect evinced by the government towards a race that valiantly spilled its blood in defense of the Cuban cause. (*La Lucha,* 1902)

President Tomás Estrada Palma requested that they "sacrifice themselves for a few years to allow prejudices, the outcome of deficient education, to die out" (*La Lucha*). Señor Campos Marquetti proceeded to outline the continued racially driven obstacles faced by Cubans of color under the Estrada Palma administration. Campos Marquetti stated thus:

> … the colored teachers who were in the competitive examinations…were despoiled of that honor because of their color…colored men had been excluded from the police of the city [Havana]; that none but a few owing to the influence of Señor Juan Gualberto Gomez, had been employed in the civil departments, that the scanty number employed as officers and subalterns in the Rural Guard had been eliminated; that when the Cuban artillery had been formed it was decreed that only whites of distinguished families should be admitted; that they protested against said order and a colored company was formed. (*La Lucha,* 1902)

President Tomás Estrada Palma stated that he supported the employment of Cubans of color based on their capabilities and that he advised the chiefs of the departments within his administration to do likewise. However, as Señor Campos Marquetti accounted, there continued to be incidents where preference was still "given to the whites over the colored men"; he observed that they merely sought justice, adding,

"Mr. President we struggle because we know that tyranny begets rebellion; that preferences establish hatred and that contempt excites to contentious and vengeances things we all condemn, and it is for this that we are here desiring to know finally what you propose to do." (*La Lucha,* 1902)

Confirming continuing accounts, in a March 2, 1903, article, "Race Question Growing in Cuba," *The New York Tribune* reported on the observations of R. W. Kimball (1903) of Toledo, made while traveling in Cuba:

> The color problem in Cuba is a live issue according to R. W. Kimball of Toledo, who has been traveling all over the island in the interest of a machinery supply hose. Recently…he gave his views about the subject. "The Cuban negroes," he asserted, "are up in arms against white usurpation of office. The blacks claim that, since they did their share of the fighting, they should have some reward. They say that since the new government has been formed the whites have monopolized officeholding and have discriminated against them. I think in a few years there will be the same negro opposition in Cuba as prevails now in our Southern States. Since Cuba has been free the foreign born Spaniard and other whites will have nothing to do with the negro or black native Cuban. Places where they both mingled freely before the war now are closed to the blacks who naturally don't like such treatment. No matter how influential a black Cuban may be, they don't want his society, and he is no longer invited to places where he has had a standing welcome. This color question in my opinion, is becoming one of the hardest and most serious problems that will confront Cuba. It is even now a dangerous issue, and the government will have to handle it very tactfully." (p. 7)

Wright (1912) writes of how President Palma "pointedly denied Mrs. Morúa [the wife of Senator Martín Morúa Delgado, a prominent Cuban of color] recognition which would have been accorded her as her due, because of her husband's position, had she been white instead of black" (p. 93).[94] President Palma would also not permit Mrs. Morúa to attend the private gatherings he hosted. Even so, Wright states,

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[94] "Senator Morúa was a mulatto, but he ranked himself as a negro" (Wright, 1912, p. 93). Under President Gomez, the second elected President of Cuba to succeed Palma, "Morúa became president of the senate, and, very shortly before his death, secretary of agriculture, the first negro to hold a cabinet office" (p. 93). Morúa was also the last Cuban of color elected president of the Senate in 1909 (Rout, 1976, p. 303).

it was not to Mr. Palma's private parties Morúa demanded that his wife be admitted, but to state functions—balls and dinners on public occasions when the president's official family were expected by right of office—for then, he [Morúa] insisted, the palace was indeed not a private residence, but the executive mansion, and not Mr. Palma, but the president of Cuba, received. (p. 93)

In the area of education, the Palma administration did not continue with the importance conferred on public education by the American military administration of 1899–1902 (Helg, in Graham, 1990, p. 53). "The public school system, from primary education to university, was certainly not segregated, but racial discrimination operated on the secondary level, in which the great majority of *colegios* were private and refused nonwhite students on racial or economic grounds" (Helg, in Graham, 1990, p. 53). Regarding the legacy of Palma and what he referred to as "a stupid racism imported by our brilliant youth from the United States," Pérez-Medina wrote of the "extreme severity" with which children of color were examined (in Cunard, 1934, pp. 296, 297). He wrote that as a result the students often abandoned their studies. "The student generally finds his studies complicated by unjust disapproval, or he is charged an exorbitant matriculation fee in the university or in institutes, which he, as a poor student, is unable to pay" (in Cunard, 1934, p. 297).

President Estrada Palma's inaction contributed to more social damage in the Cuban society, with Cubans of color being at the receiving end of many of the consequences of the social deterioration. Occupational discrimination prevailed throughout the island, with Alberto Arredondo (1939) also writing of life after Palma:

> The black could not be a trolley conductor, clerk or salesperson in any department or…stores, railroad conductors, employees of commercial establishments, or of foreign enterprises. They found opportunities to practice as nurses, typesetters, hat makers, and etcetera, closed to them.

> Even in industries as that of the tobacco, the better paid positions were closed to the black. For him, the most brutal jobs were open, such as dockworkers/ longshoremen, and inferior positions such as shoe shiners, newspaper sellers, cart-drivers…etc. …In the sugar industry, they were cane cutters and wagon/ cart-drivers. …In teaching positions they were discriminated against. They faced huge obstacles to obtain teaching positions in the city, they were always appointed to field-towns. They were always the first to be dismissed from positions and the last to be nominated to positions…. (pp. 146–148)[95]

Arredondo wrote of how even when hired for menial jobs in the sugar and tobacco industries, the Blacks faced discrimination from fellow workers who were not of color or were mixed. These workers held the workers of color in contempt as they blamed them for the low wages as well as for the displacement of other White or mixed workers (pp. 147–148).

"In the same way that white Cubans were discriminated against in the workplace in favor of Spaniards, white workers were favored over black workers" (Ibarra, 1998, p. 141). Supporting Arredondo's argument of continued exclusion, Ibarra also wrote how the "colonist policy of excluding blacks from jobs in clothing stores, shoe shops, jewelry shops, and eating establishments was maintained" (p. 141). According to Ibarra (1998),

> any contact between the well-to-do and blacks was avoided in elegant establishments. This discrimination was applied as well in administrative and technical jobs in U.S. companies, telephone and telegraph companies, electric companies, sugar mills, and so on. Most employees in public offices of the state were also white. The hardest and worst-paid jobs, meanwhile, were reserved for the black population. (p. 141)

The N.A.A.C.P. wrote that with all the intimacy of Cubans in ordinary human contacts, in formal society they functioned separate and distinct (Martín, 1932, p. 454). "The social

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[95] All translations of Arredondo completed by Tiffany Y. J. Bryant (2009).

elite divide themselves into clubs, and these clubs are rigidly exclusive, not solely with regard to social standing but with regard to race…" (Martin, pp. 454–455).

Correspondences of the U.S. Provisional Government of Cuba, which directed Cuban affairs following the Palma administration, corroborate the continued discontent and frustration of Cubans of color during this time period. Cuba's chief of the secret police reported a prevalent "uneasiness of the colored race, on account of their not getting a proportional part of the public offices and not being considered in the politics of the country in proportion to the numerical representation of the revolutionary forces" (Provisional Government of Cuba, 1907a). The reports chronicled the frustrations as "increasing and manifesting" in strength resulting with the "formation of associations and committees, both of an open and secret character" (Provisional Government of Cuba, 1907a). The continual rise of unaddressed concerns was emphasized as requiring attention. Correspondences documented nearly a decade following Cuba's declaration of independence explicitly stated that the understood dissatisfaction of the population of Cuba was due to their "practically not received benefit" since the postindependence establishment of the republic (Provisional Government of Cuba, 1907b). Such disgruntlement was in response to the practice of prejudicial measures as modeled and encouraged by the United States and within Cuban society. Pérez (1986b) has concluded that the Estrada Palma administration failed to amend and restore conditions for Cubans of color and, as a matter of fact, exacerbated them (p. 150). Following Palma's first term, "as the government purged the civil service ranks to make room for Moderates on the eve of reelection, countless hundreds of blacks found themselves dismissed" (Pérez, 1986b, p. 150).

Commentaries regarding the political and social situations of Cuba during this time period were not optimistic. According to Johnston (1909), "…the negro is losing ground, politically and socially, and unless he is content with his present status of farmer, labourer, petty tradesman, minor employee, and domestic servant, there will arise a 'colour' question here as in the United States" (p. 500). Schomburg (1912) wrote: "…Negroes began to realize…that the white Cubans had determined that they should not have any representation save what was bestowed upon them as a charity… The Negro has done much for Cuba; Cuba has done nothing for the Negro" (pp. 143, 144).[96] The N.A.A.C.P. wrote:

> Gradually, but effectively, their voice in politics is being hushed, daily they are being, not bluntly insulted, just simply ignored in the economic struggle. Things do not look so bright for the Negro in Cuba at present; he has almost reached the end. But we who have already traversed that path know that it will prove just the beginning. (Martin, 1932, pp. 454–455)

Many Americans of color continued to draw attention to the evolving race-related issues in the Cuban society. As late as 1910, *The Savannah Tribune* published an article regarding a confrontation at a Cuban resort over its refusal to serve two colored members of the Cuban Congress. *The Savannah Tribune* maintained: "The Americans in Cuba have carried there the race prejudice that exists in this country. The Cubans will not stand for it" (*The Savannah Tribune*, June 08, 1910, p. 4).

Ralston (2007) has also written that "American racism became increasingly more rampant over the decade of the 1920s as the U.S. presence grew in size, resulting in Cuban politicians protesting the U.S. intervention" (p. 657). By the 1930s, in a report on

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[96] "It is necessary to say that in 1912, after the 'war of May 1911,' a law was passed by congress, preventing any Negro from becoming President of the Republic" (Pérez-Medina in Cunard, 1934, p. 297).

the problems of Cuba, the Commission on Cuban Affairs agreed that increased race

prejudice in Cuba was "attributed partly to the…influence of the American point of

view" (Foreign Policy Association, 1935, pp. 31–32).[97] As late as November 1, 1933,

Diario de la Marina, a Havana newspaper, published a commentary on the then recent

public declaration of the Kuban Ku Klux Klan (KKK) (Urritia, 1933, p. 2).[98,99] The

Kuban KKK (KKKK) publicized that the races should not genetically mix. They

explicitly stated that in Cuba there should exist "the pure white" and "the pure black"

(Urritia, p. 2). "The mixed" resulted in the weakening of the people (Urritia, p. 2).

Gustavo E. Urritia (1933) provided information regarding the intentions of KKKK, which

reveals that the organization called for the rectification of "the history of Cuba" and "the

human" through the segregation of the races (p. 2). KKKK stated that a mixed race

"should not exist in Cuba," but rather only "two races." Moreover, Urritia wrote, KKKK

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[97] The Commission attributed the other part of the increase in race prejudice in Cuba to economic distress (Foreign Policy Association, 1935, p. 32).

[98] All Urritia translations by Tiffany Y. J. Bryant (2009).

[99] "The Ku Klux Klan was originally organized in the winter of 1865-66 in Pulaski, Tennessee, as a social club by six Confederate veterans. In the beginning, the Klan was a secret fraternity club rather than a terrorist organization. (Ku Klux was derived from the Greek 'kuklos,' meaning circle, and the English word clan.) The Klan spread beyond Tennessee to every state in the South and included mayors, judges, and sheriffs as well as common criminals. The Klan systematically murdered black politicians and political leaders. It beat, whipped, and murdered thousands, and intimidated tens of thousands of others from voting. Blacks often tried to fight back, but they were outnumbered and outgunned. While the main targets of Klan wrath were the political and social leaders of the black community, blacks could be murdered for almost any reason. Men, women, children, aged and crippled, were victims. A 103-year-old woman was whipped, as was a completely paralyzed man. In Georgia, Abraham Colby, an organizer and leader in the black community, was whipped for hours in front of his wife and children. His little daughter begged the Klansman, "Don't take my daddy away." She never recovered from the sight and died soon after. In Mississippi, Jack Dupree's throat was cut and he was disemboweled in front of his wife, who had just given birth to twins. Klansman burned churches and schools, lynching teachers and educated blacks. Black landowners were driven off their property and murdered if they refused to leave. Blacks were whipped for refusing to work for whites, for having intimate relations with whites, for arguing with whites, for having jobs whites wanted, for reading a newspaper or having a book in their homes…or simply for being black" (Wormser, 2002).

advocated that the two races should exist separate from each other, thus strongly

establishing a "rigid line of color" in Cuba (p. 2). The concern of Urritia entailed that of

how KKKK intended to accomplish such distinct existences between the races. His

concern was regarding the methods regularly used in the United States by the American

KKK. He asked in the article if the Kuban KKK, too, was going to resort to such "violent

methods" and "force" to achieve the "pure ethnic utopia" they sought (p. 2). Urritia

argued that there was no "pure race in civilization" and Cuba was no different, it being

racially mixed (p. 2). The existence and active presence of a Kuban KKK illustrated the

reach of the United States' lasting influence on race relations in Cuba nearly thirty years

following the end of its initial occupation of Cuba. Such continued division and race

relations have been regarded as being enshrined in the Cuban society by "neocolonial

racism" as instilled by the United States (Ibarra, 1998, p. 142). According to Ibarra

(1998), the segregation and marginalization of Blacks within the Cuban society, and

further endorsed by the United States' presence, contributed to the division of the Cuban

people from 1898 to 1933 (p. 149). Later accounts such as these further substantiate the

significance of the U.S. during the formative years of Cuban society from 1898-1902.

The actions and initiatives as put forth by the United States during this time of

reconstruction in Cuba became part of an early foundation of the Cuban society.

The United States as the Model

Erwin H. Epstein (1978) argues that immediately following the Cuban-Spanish-

American War, the United States administered the affairs of Cuba by establishing

institutions based on U.S. models throughout the years (p. 203). This viewpoint is

supported by historians who further argue that it was with heavy-handed methods that the

United States "foisted their own system of values on a subordinate population," depriving the people of Cuba "the opportunity to bring about change on their own initiative and to shape Cuba's future according to a plan that was uniquely Cuban and fitted to the character and desires of the people" (Epstein, 1978, p. 203). Mainstream publications endorsing the U.S. control of Cuba and advocating for Cuba's educational and judicial system to be supervised by U.S. Americans illustrate a national aspiration to turn the Cuban society into an image of the United States (Editorials, *The Outlook,* 1898, p. 653). In its September 3, 1898, issue, *The Gazette* wrote, "Cuba's Government: Its form will, of course, be dictated by this country" (Smith, 1898c, p. 4). Arguing that "Cuba should adopt an American system of government," a contractual agreement sanctioning the United States' authority and managing relations between the two countries was thus widely encouraged (Editorials, *The Outlook,* 1898, p. 653). Research shows that "Cuban society…evolved as a Cuban-American society in which Cuban traditions, ideas, and ideals underwent continuing and skewed mutation in the direction of American culture" (Williams, in Smith, 1966, p. 190). Research also shows that the area of race relations was not exempt from the influential hand of the United States. Pérez-Medina wrote of the aforesaid exclusion of Cubans of color, emphasizing on the reality "that it is permitted, with no serious consequences, to encourage a stupid racism imported…from the United States" (in Cunard, 1934, p. 296). Nonetheless, it was perceived that the way of the United States was the way to victory—the prize to be achieved. The United States was the model by which Cuba was to be molded and developed. The United States resolved itself as the measure by which the standard of life in Cuba would be determined and fashioned after.

This position of the United States as the model is reflected in the language of

Horatio S. Rubens (1898), Counsel of the Cuban Junta, who wrote as follows:

> The Cubans have looked to the United States as the great model and
> protector of American republics… Once free, there are many Cubans who
> may doubtless desire to follow the example of Texas; but even as an
> independent republic, Cuba will always be bound to the United
> States…since the speedy attainment of her independence shall have been
> the result of the friendly alliance and intervention of this [United States]
> country. (p. 569)

However, with or without the support of the Cuban elites, the United States did not seek

inclusion and had no intentions of including Cuba in the rebuilding of its own nation.

From its inception, the perpetual order of the Cuban society postindependence was to be

based upon the order of the United States. Recall the perceived incapacity the United

States maintained that Cuba held with regard to its lack of ability to govern itself and

even understand the structuring and ordering of a society. Recall the 1901 Cuban

Constitution which under the direction of the United States was created explicitly after

the U.S. Constitution, including "a Bill of Rights modeled after the U.S. Constitution's"

(Bronfman, 2002, p. 551). Widely publicized in the U.S. newspapers, it was agreed that

> a Constitutional Convention or Constitutional Committee…might be
> organized to co-operate with a committee appointed by the [U.S.]
> President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to frame and
> submit to the local constituency a Constitution for the government… Such
> a Constitution might provide for a government formed on American
> models and embodying the American spirit…. (Editorials, *The Outlook*,
> 1898, p. 653)

"American policy thus launched Cuban society on a voyage into a cul-de-sac"

(Williams, in Smith, 1966, p. 191). The research substantiated this perspective and

revealed that the U.S. control of Cuban affairs essentially sought to institute a pseudo-

independent Cuba as it awaited the forming of a Cuba patterned after the United States.

In particular, the political involvement resulted in Cuba becoming "little more than a satellite of the United States" (Rout, 1976, p. 302). Cubans were conditioned to believe that its population of color was the reason for the downfall of its society, and, therefore, endeavored to mimic United States' actions for acceptance as a civilized society, both regionally and in the global community at large. In 1901, Beckwith (1901) wrote: "Unless an overwhelming wave of Americanism with race prejudice on the crest sets in, the future opportunities will continue as in the past. That there is distrust at this period is undeniable. It has been created by Americans…" (p. A3).

Thus, the United States cultivated and encouraged prejudicial practices in Cuba with its standards of civility. The United States' example encouraged a hierarchical society based on race. The United States trained Cubans in continued discriminatory treatment against people of color in the establishment of the order of its new society. The conditions did not improve for the people of color; rather, to an extent, the conditions worsened for them with the United States' imposed standard for a civilized society. The United States therefore found the support of the elite critical to the long-term success of its social and political ambitions (Pérez, 1986b). The United States recognized its need for the elites in order to successfully maintain authority over Cuba as it desired (Pérez, 1986b). "For the Afro-Cubans, the intervention and occupation ended their hopeful dream of equal opportunity in a new inclusive Cuba, and in return, if not to, to a subservient role based on North American racial values" (Pollock, 2002, p. 20). For Americans of color,

> …the new republic, modeled after the United States, had incorporated the
> bad as well as the good features of the American system; in the words of
> T. Thomas Fortune, it promised to make "our priceless principles" the

"priceless curse" of dark-skinned Cubans. (*New York Age,* quoted in
Kansas City American Citizen, May 4, 1900, reprinted in Gatewood,
1975, p. 177)

Cuban commentator Emilio Céspedes Casado is quoted arguing that the United

States was the driving cause for the eventual social ills in Cuba and should not have been

the model which Cuba aspired to replicate (1906, p. 7; Bronfman, 2002, p. 555).

However, Gonzáles, based on his travels and the time lived in Cuba, held that there did

exist a color line in Cuba prior to the presence of the United States, howbeit in an

informal manner. "I have freely admitted in The State from time to time that, among

the…Cubans and Spaniards in Cuba, the negro is allowed a measure of social equality…"

(Gonzáles, 1898, 1899, 1922, pp. 417–418). Gonzáles stated that although the order of

the society along racial standards was not formally established by law, the Cubans of

color did not frequent certain establishments because they knew they were not welcome.

Neither law nor poverty forbade them, for many negroes in Cuba have
accumulated means and refusal to serve them would have been
punished…the negroes knew that they were not wanted in these places,
would be snubbed and ignored by their guests, and therefore very sensibly
avoided them. (1898, 1899, 1922, p. 419)

He wrote that there was "little difference between the status of the negro in Cuba and in

the North…" (1898, 1899, 1922, p. 422). Pérez-Medina later wrote: "The colonial

bourgeois try hard to deny that there is a Negro problem, and that Negroes are despised,

but their own acts are contradictory. Negroes are excluded from commerce, industry, the

university, the magistracy, diplomacy, etc." (in Cunard, 1934, p. 297).

Arguably, there were Cubans in behavioral agreement and compliant of U.S.

regulations, for varying reasons: they were trying to rid the nation of the United States'

presence using compliance; also, some had embraced White supremacy and hierarchy of

races. Moreover, because the Spaniards were selected by the United States to lead the society, the way of the Spanish colonial system continued uninterrupted. Commenting on the United States' treatment of the Spanish, *The Gazette* printed: "Never before in history was there a case where a defeated and captive enemy received such generous treatment as we gave the Spaniards. Other nations are astonished" (Smith, 1898e p. 2).

However, as mentioned earlier, often what played out in the public arena was different from the more personal interactions in the private arena of many Cubans. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that the U.S. way of living had left its mark. The report, within the 1930s, of the Commission on Cuban Affairs disclosed that although there was not any "legal discriminations against Negroes," custom decrees as presented earlier persisted without correction (Foreign Policy Association, 1935). The Commission reported that it was a widely accepted and continuous practice that "in many parks and plazas the Negroes shall occupy a section apart from the whites" (Foreign Policy Association, p. 32). "Colored people are not admitted to white clubs or quintas. At times they have been prohibited from bathing in certain public beaches, although such prohibition is illegal" (Foreign Policy Association, p. 32). The Commission stated that there were few doctors, lawyers, intellectuals, or successful business people from Cubans of color, and that there were many industries in which they were not employed, including the commerce and foreign enterprises (Foreign Policy Association, p. 32). Moreover, within the industries where Cubans of color were employed, they held positions where they could earn (Foreign Policy Association, p. 32). Remarkably, the Commission conceded that there did not exist any adequate evidence to illustrate that the positioning and status of Cubans of color within the professional, industrial, and employment fields

in general was the result of aptitude (Foreign Policy Association, p. 32). This provides

space for the consideration of social and political factors as contributable to their access

to such advancement. "Altogether, while the Negro population of Cuba has been

assimilated to a much greater extent than that in the United States, Negroes have made

much less social and cultural progress" (Foreign Policy Association, p. 33). Thus, for

over thirty years following the exit of the United States, Cubans of color continued to be

subjected to racism and face "diverse conflicts in society" (Ibarra, 1998, p. 150). Cubans

of color continued to be "by far the most rejected, exploited, and marginalized group in

society" (Ibarra, p. 150).

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CHAPTER 5

Conclusions

Race has a long-lived presence in the Cuban national discourse.[100] From slavery, throughout the history of revolutions in Cuba, the people of color have occupied and maintained an active place within Cuba's national evolution. African slaves first arrived in Cuba in 1524; soon after, they initiated their first revolt as an endeavor for acceptance with the Cuban landscape. This first revolt, which took place in 1533, would serve to ignite the birth of the future struggles by the Cubans of color for freedom and inclusion in the Cuban society. The colonial rule by Spain would eventually cause Cubans of all colors, free or slaved, to identify with each other's respective fight and to join forces. This joint effort would bring the Cubans to a common opposition against political oppression, and racial and economic suppression. Renowned leaders including Céspedes, García, Maceo, and Martí galvanized the people of Cuba for personal and national independence and social revolution. The nation's independence would collectively rid Cuba of its colonial Spanish occupiers, while personal freedoms provided by ending slavery would result in a domestic social revolution. This social revolution would entail realigning the racial hierarchy in Cuba as established by the plantation system. Martí rose to the forefront in leading the final fight for Cuban independence in 1895. Martí invoked inspiration and zeal with his vision of a *Cuba Libre*. Many identified Martí's image of "a future republic where the interests of all harmonized, a society color-blind as far as

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[100] This has been defined in the "Introduction" of this study: The author of this study regards national discourse as a national or dominant held position or narrative for and/or about a given topic or issue. The author of this study finds that such a national position underlines the widespread and accepted circulating perspective, reasoning, treatment, expression, and understanding of a given topic, issue, or idea within the national society. This study specifically investigates a leading narrative as it pertains to the issue of race in Cuban society.

justice was concerned" (Foner, in Martí, 1977, p. 29). Many Cubans also embraced the idea of a new Cuba that would be free of foreign control. They longed for the dismantling of the institution of slavery and the plantation system, a divisive system introduced by the Spanish.

During this same time period, the United States was in the midst of its own internal turmoil—its own civil war, if you may. The United States was experiencing constant domestic unrest involving the issue of race relations. This unrest was demonstrated by mob riots, lynchings, beatings, property burnings, and legalized segregation and discriminatory treatment, along with other considerable and rampant racially driven acts. The U.S. Americans of color found themselves unprotected by their government and racially terrorized in their own country by fellow U.S. Americans. The race issues that the United States faced domestically overflowed and greatly influenced its international policy and specifically its policy with Cuba. The powerful influence of critical leaders and policy makers at the time, including McKinley, Roosevelt, Root, Platt, Wood, and others, unabashedly incorporated the prevalent social biases and racial prejudices with their Cuban initiatives. These leaders served as principle actors transporting these racial perceptions to Cuba and displaying such racial biases in their actions and attitudes. As a result, the U.S. mistreatment of individuals of color extended to Cuba. The treatment was deemed acceptable in the United States and therefore appropriate to transport to and continue in Cuba. Hence, the existing U.S. ideology and way of life contradicted with those of the many fighting the war for the independence of Cuba, both on the island and in exile. The formal intervention in Cuba in 1898 and the later U.S. occupations would bring direct U.S. influence over Cuban affairs.

However, the relationship between the United States and Cuba preceded the intervention of the United States in Cuba. From very early on, the United States and Cuba shared a history of very close cultural and economic ties. Knight states that many Cubans fought in the American War of Independence (Miller, 1999).[101] According to Ferrer, throughout the nineteenth century, there existed an increasing number of Cubans who came to the United States for higher education and, while living in the United States, became naturalized citizens (Miller, 1999). Pérez further states in the film, *Crucible of Empire,* that the North American culture forms were transplanted back to Cuba because of the frequent movement of individuals between the two countries (Miller, 1999).[102] It was these existing and increasingly intimate relations that Martí encouraged vigilance about monitoring.

The fear and suspicion of what the United States would bring (and leave behind), because of its physical presence, plagued the minds of many Cubans beyond Martí. What would come of the Cuban society and culture as a result of such invasive involvement of the United States was thematic during the time. Thus, with the United States' occupation and control, Cuba remained subjected to external control and direct influence. The national identity development and evolution of Cuba as a free nation continued to be limited with the military government power exercised by its occupiers. The social relations with and among the people of Cuba that were critical to the formation of its

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[101] Knight speaks of a Cuban named Juan Mireas who, along with Richard Morris of Philadelphia, supplied George Washington with flour and sugar from Cuba, and arranged transshipment of arms and Spanish arms for the American War of Independence (Miller, 1999).

[102] Pérez provides the example of the game of baseball being brought back to the island in the 1860s by Cubans who learned the game while living in the United States (Miller, 1999).

nation, however, could not fully be experienced. The managerial power, role, and

domestic policy as established and practiced by the United States in Cuba left Cuba

vulnerable to the ways of the United States. The transforming state of affairs in both the

United States and Cuba throughout the twentieth century fashioned the relations between

the two nations.

> In both form and function U.S. policy responded to the changing nature of
> North American interests in Cuba. These shifts corresponded to changes in
> Cuban society that were often the product of North American hegemony.
> Social formations, political structures, economic systems, cultural forms,
> and, in the end, the very character of the state in Cuba were affected
> decisively by the North American presence. The social system became
> more complicated, class structures ore clearly defined, and social conflict
> more distinctly articulated, ultimately altering the character of the national
> discourse. (Pérez, 1997, pp. xvii–xviii)

The Goal

Thus, this dissertation set out to answer its primary research question: How did

the United States' involvement in the formation of early Cuba, during 1898–1902,

influence the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba? The

investigation of the primary research question also included simultaneously an inquiry of

existing themes regarding race and race relations in Cuba, in early Cuba, during 1886–

1898, before its independence from Spain. The research problem addressed two main

facets: First, the history of race relations and racial perceptions in early Cuba (1886–

1898), in preindependence (1898–1902) Cuba, and in the United States at the turn of the

twentieth century; and, second, the contributive role of the United States' presence and

involvement in Cuba to the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba

in light of the United States' race issues during 1898–1902. Within the principal focus of

the research question and the revelations of the two main facets that the research question

addressed, the fundamental intent of the dissertation was to expose the United States'

influence on the cementing of U.S. style racial perceptions and race relations displayed in

Cuba post 1898.

Preliminary research revealed critical factors which supported the premise of the

influential role of the United States. These factors cushioned the stance of the leading

role of the United States, its organization, control, and management of every element of

Cuban society and the development of inner social relations, specifically race relations.

The supporting factors, as pertaining to the focus of this study investigating the influence

of the United States, were also addressed: the United States keeping the Spaniards and

the elite White Cubans in key leading positions following the end of the war; the United

States' established mandates, guidelines, and expectations with regard to the ordering of

the Cuban society and the established conditions considered acceptable according to the

United States; and the pressure felt by the Cubans to comply with the United States in

speeding up the vacating of the U.S. military government in Cuba. This study

acknowledges that the supporting factors that have been provided do not negate the role

of Cuba's Spanish colonizers. Based on the research conducted, this study has

acknowledged that preexisting race-related conditions in Cuba preceded the formal

involvement of the United States. These conditions have been identified as the residual

effects of the previously established institution of slavery and plantation system as per

colonial rule. However, the purpose of this study was to disclose the influence of the

United States and to provide specifically focused research regarding how the United

States influenced the development of race relations and racial perceptions in Cuba post

1898, with the U.S. rebuilding of Cuba.

In addition to the research, to accomplish this, the study selected to utilize a collective interpretative framework to inform and direct the arguments and the presented research. The collective framework emphasizes elements of the liberal-progressive, Marxian, and postcolonial perspectives while also extending beyond the primarily accepting idealistic interpretations of the U.S. policy accentuating democracy, humanitarianism, and the financial state of the United States. The framework aptly relates the United States' domestic affairs and behavior patterns to its foreign policy. It incorporates Paterson's (1998) national level of analysis of the U.S. intervention in Cuba emphasizing how the U.S. ideology served as an integrated set of prevailing ideas in the United States and cultivated the context in which its international policy was developed. Further, this study's incorporation of a national level of analysis focusing on race relations and racial perceptions displayed the benefits of the collective framework's emphasis on domestic order. At the turn of the twentieth century, the United States was experiencing widespread civil unrest and racial conflict. The U.S. government legalized discriminatory practices in the society and, in doing so, condoned limited to no protection of the civil rights of its own citizens. As this study discussed, the existing U.S. affairs did not reflect favorably upon the touted humanitarian 1898 intervention of the United States in Cuba.

Summary of the Findings

The presented research, especially in Chapter 4, addressed the U.S. style racism and racially driven initiatives, during 1898–1902, that influenced the race relations and racial perceptions in many fields in Cuba: in the area of public life in the Cuban society; in the United States' rebuilding of Cuba, involving the U.S. establishment of order and

law enforcement in the Cuban society which consisted of the creation of a Cuban police force, Rural Guard, and Artillery Corps; in the United States' establishment of suffrage regulations; in the United States' establishment of a Cuban education system; in the United States' institution of the immigration policy in Cuba; and in the United States' oversight and conducting of Cuba's first presidential election and Cuban affairs post U.S. occupation. In addition, the presented research addressed the lasting effects of the U.S. governing in Cuba by looking at the state of race relations under the administration of Tomás Estrada Palma, Cuba's first president.

Chapter 4 further demonstrated that the Cuban society was being fashioned to mirror that of the United States. Official reports and government-filed complaints displayed the practice of segregated public facilities and places under the U.S. military government in Cuba. Personal letters, diaries, and journal accounts spoke of life for Cubans of color as paralleling that of the U.S. Americans of color during this time period. People of color were not welcomed in places frequented by the Whites and were repeatedly refused services in daily Cuban society. Research showed that the United States' plans for bringing structure and order to the Cuban society by reorganizing its law enforcement were also laced with racially driven actions. Chapter 4 exposed how the United States' establishment of a local police force, Rural Guard, and Artillery Corps all incorporated the use of explicit racially biased admission requirements. Cuban census data and U.S. Congressional reports between 1898 and 1902 (and, later, during 1906) illustrated the disparities in the hiring of White Cubans and Cubans of color in the area of law enforcement. Official government files and correspondences documented accounts of the U.S. leadership within the U.S. military government specifically requesting and

mandating hiring practices for White Cubans only. In addition, the hiring criteria were set to intentionally rule out fair consideration of Cubans of color. Published articles certified the U.S. interests and lack of desire to have Cubans of color posted in positions of authority on the island.

Intentional efforts to exclude the admission and participation of Cubans of color in Cuba's future were also demonstrated in the suffrage eligibility guidelines as outlined by the U.S. military government. The suffrage policies were remarked as emulating U.S. requirements, particularly in the U.S. South. Thus, such standards were racially biased and instituted to ensure that only the desirable individuals of the Cuban population would meet suffrage qualifications. Given the immediate despair of most Cubans of color following the war, many faced the great challenge of rebuilding their lives from nothing. Therefore, the financial as well as literacy and landownership requirements immensely restricted the participation of Cubans of color in the electoral process and ultimately their having a voice in the early establishment of their country.

The public education system as pioneered by the U.S. military government was fundamentally said to grant all Cuban minors access to an education. However, military government records and documented formal complaints exist that illustrate the failure of the U.S. military government of Cuba to ensure that the open education policy was followed throughout the island. In provinces where there existed a predominance of Cubans of color, there are records of segregated schools, minimum teachers provided to instruct children of color, and the lack of school buildings for students of color, with their having to receive instruction in the homes of local residents. Again, the policy of not monitoring education guidelines and holding provinces accountable for lack of

compliance also mirrored the U.S. style race-driven behavior in Cuba as was present in the U.S. education system. Moreover the curriculum was reflective of U.S. ideology, as illustrated in Chapters 3 and 4, was racially biased during this time. The curriculum was constructed according to U.S. doctrine and beliefs as oppose to Cuban ideals and nationalism.

In the area of immigration, the fact that the U.S. immigration policy at the time was explicitly ordered and transported to guide Cuban immigration policy illustrates the direct influence of the United States on Cuban race relations and perceptions. Applying the U.S. immigration policy in Cuba established a criterion in Cuba regarding which foreigners were deemed acceptable to reside, work, and visit Cuba. The military government documents explicitly refer to specific groups of color including Jamaicans, Haitians, Bahamians, and others as savage-like, violent, and prone to bring damage and trouble to Cuba if admitted. The exclusion of Chinese immigrants also contributed to the cultivation of perceptions of civilized versus uncivilized and desirable versus undesirable in Cuban society. The reality of the United States mandating the continued practice of U.S. immigration policy post U.S. occupation, in 1902, demonstrated the United States' intention to ensure that Cuba continued to grow and develop in a direction most favoring and comfortable to the United States' interests and likes.

This continuance of the U.S. policy post U.S. occupation further exemplified the United States' interests to maintain authority in some fashion over Cuba. Such actions were also reflective of requiring the Cubans to agree to the Platt Amendment as well as the invasive involvement of the United States with the establishment of the first official governing administration of independent Cuba. In doing so, the United States took

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actions that secured the most favorable candidate for U.S. interests as Cuba's first

president. President Tomás Estrada Palma continued the practices of the United States.

The people of color did not experience much change or acceptance with their newly

elected president. As a naturalized U.S. citizen, Estrada Palma was a Quaker and lived in

the United States, overseeing his own school prior to being elected president. He

understood very well the ways of the U.S. society and what was satisfactory for the

White U.S. Americans. Under Estrada Palma's administration, there remained the

practice of racially biased actions, including hardly any appointments of Cubans of color

to public positions and in professional hiring, refusal of service in public establishments,

and continued practices of exclusion even by the order of President Estrada Palma

himself. The nonimprovement of race relations under the Estrada Palma administration,

as learned by and in compliance with the U.S. standards, would further aid in the

cementing of racially driven practices and actions in the Cuban society. This would be

displayed in the Cuban society for years to come, including the eventual creation of a

Kuban Ku Klux Klan (KKKK).

Thus Chapter 2 uncovered research supporting the response to the main research

question regarding the influence of the United States in cementing race relations and

perceptions in Cuba. Further, Chapter 2 disclosed the strained race relations and

perceptions of the people of Cuba that predated the formal involvement of the United

States in the Cuban affairs. Helg has argued that "even if the United States had not

occupied Cuba after the Spanish-Cuban-American War and implemented some

segregationist policies, there is little doubt that the Creole elite was not ready to share

power with the Afro-Cubans after independence" (Helg, in Graham, 1990, p. 47). The

research investigating the existing race-related issues corroborated Helg's position. There was no immediate erasure of the history of the Spanish colonial rule and the system of slavery resulting in automatic equality for Cubans of color. Supporting the research, Helg (1995), also brought attention to the role and responsibility of some Spanish, White Creole elite and separatists, and their poor treatment of Cubans of color in the Cuban society prior to the 1898 U.S. intervention. As is relevant to this study, it may be noted that many White Cuban elite traveled to the United States and became familiar with the ways of the United States. These Cubans particularly admired the success of the United States and wanted to replicate that in Cuba. With interests to be just as, or more successful than, the United States, many of these Cubans concluded that Cuba would need to model the behavior and operations of the United States. Thus, in addition to the social and political independence that the United States had, the Cuban people wanted the financial success that the United States sustained, as well. Hence, there were White Cubans who supported the existence of a racial hierarchy and order of Cuban society. Additionally, besides those who agreed with the existing racial inferiority beliefs, the research showed that there were also many White Cubans who were supportive of racially motivated actions and regulations to further personal interests. Helg (1995) writes, "U.S. occupation frustrated the white Cuban political elite's effort to attain the power and wealth it had expected to gain with independence" (p. 123). Many were tired of being subjected to outside authority and opposed the physical presence of the United States in their country and in their national affairs. They resented the parent–child relationship established by the United States and its use of its power to maintain that relationship. Therefore considering the standards, monitoring, and expectations of the

United States regarding the requirements for Cuba to prove itself a country capable of self-government, many White Cubans felt compelled to live appeasing to the United States.[103]

The research illustrated that there were Cubans whose actions displayed agreement and compliance with the U.S. regulations for a variety of reasons: compliance so as to rid the nation of the United States' presence, the embracing by some of White supremacy, and agreement in a hierarchy of races. The selection of Spaniards by the United States to lead the society further demonstrated how, to some degree, the Spanish colonial system continued uninterrupted. However, as mentioned above, often what was displayed in the public arena was different from the more personal interactions in the private arena of many Cubans. Ultimately, it is undeniable that the U.S. way of living and governing left its mark on the rebuilding of the Cuban society post 1898. For while this study acknowledges the residual effect of the Spanish colonial society and the plantation system, it also illustrates how the establishment of a U.S. style government system with replicated U.S. regulations in Cuba resulted in explicit patterned behaviors and attitudes. The study has shown how the United States' extensive involvement and control of Cuba influenced the development of race relations and racial perceptions as Cuba sought to rebuild and redefine itself post its 1898 independence.

Overall, the research shows that "Cuban society…evolved as a Cuban-American society in which Cuban traditions, ideas, and ideals underwent continuing and skewed mutation in the direction of American culture" (Williams, in Smith, 1966, p. 190). The

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[103] As a result, "many white Cubans tacitly endorsed U.S. discriminatory policies, which benefited them" (Helg, 1995, p. 123).

U.S. control of the Cuban affairs essentially sought to institute a pseudoindependent Cuba as it awaited the forming of a Cuba patterned after the United States. In particular, the political involvement resulted in Cuba becoming "little more than a satellite of the United States" (Rout, 1976, p. 302). The research in chapters 3 and 4 show that the area of race relations was not exempt from the influential hand of the United States in conforming Cuba to the U.S. culture. Chapters 2 and 4 illustrate that the Cubans were conditioned to believe that its population of color was the cause for the downfall of their society and, therefore, they endeavored to mimic the United States' actions for acceptance as a civilized society, both locally and in the global community at large.

Again, emphasizing the significance of the historic exchange between the United States and Cuba, particularly during the years 1898–1902, the findings of the study support a plausible link between early Cuban society and the presence, involvement, and influence of the United States in the structuring and rebuilding of the Cuban society with regard to race relations and racial perceptions. Chapter 4 illustrated the areas where the United States legally sanctioned discriminatory practices in Cuba through its policies and example: these areas include law enforcement, education, immigration, the electoral process, and others mentioned above. Although there did not exist explicit race regulations in areas such as public space and places, suffrage, and education, official correspondences and the resulting informal consent reflected a high degree of the U.S. endorsement of such practices.

> Most children went to schools which were *de facto*, though not *de jure*, segregated. …The legal system of the Republic banned all institutional forms of racial discrimination at the beginning of the twentieth century. But subtler ways of discrimination customarily exercised against Afro-Cubans…persisted. These racial prejudices and discriminatory practices

were incorporated into the policies of social clubs and commercial establishments that catered to the Cuban high stratum and the American tourist. (Knight, in Cohen & Greene, 1972, p. 296; Knight, 1974, p. 351)

Further, by venturing to examine the social impact of the U.S. policy instituted in early postindependent Cuba, Chapter 4 shows how the spread of democracy by the United States to the island nation was not free from the institution of present-day U.S. ideological and societal practices. Chapter 4 displays how due to the extensive involvement of the United States in the building of the Cuban Republic, the U.S. structures served as the basis for reconstruction and recovery. In most cases, the policies of the United States' military government in postcolonial Cuba "validated the use of color as a condition of livelihood" (Pérez, 1999, p. 323).

Relevance of the Research Findings

Knight (1974) writes that the voice that has been given to the issue of race relations during the early republic period has often been determined by the author who is telling the story (p. 360). Hence, what the writer of the history is told determines the way it is presented and preserved. The history regarding the U.S. intervention in Cuba in 1898 is no exception. As, when considering the United States' involvement in the Cuban-Spanish-American War and its resulting occupation of Cuba, the traditional emphasis has been on the U.S. economic protection, the U.S. humanitarian and security concerns, and the pursing of the divine responsibility of civilizing barbaric, uncivilized nations. Such traditional emphases have been laid based on the liberal-progressive, Marxian, and postcolonial perspectives. However, as discussed, the approach of this dissertation, a collective interpretative framework, ventured beyond these traditional emphases. This framework introduced the nuance of the issue of race during 1898–1902. This study has

linked the three perspectives traditionally utilized when analyzing and interpreting the

United States' involvement and influence in Cuba. It has incorporated the liberal-

progressive, Marxian, and postcolonial views with an interpretative approach that

highlights the relevance of race, thus introducing the significant influence of the domestic

policy on the international plan of action and interest. The framework that informed the

study considered the traditional interpretations with an analytical lens that equally

considered the issue of race and race relations. The focus of this study explicitly

addressed the influence and role of domestic issues, beliefs, and practices prevalent in the

U.S. society at the time as potentially defining international policy. It presented the

motives and the resulting actions of the traditional perspectives as ultimately influenced

by the heated issue of race and race relations in the U.S. society at the time.

The addressing of the race relations, racial perceptions, and practices developed in

Cuba as a result of the U.S. influence considers the intimate historical relations between

Cuba and the United States. The historical state of race relations in Cuba before and after

its 1898 independence, as thematically presented in chapters 2 and 4, respectively, offers

insight regarding "the promise of and the constraints on…programs of social

reformation," the impact of the legacy of colonialism, and the depth of ideology when

pursing change "particularly concerning race, race relations, and racism" (Saney, 2004, p.

117). Further, chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation shed light on the United States'

ideology of "racism or race thinking" as "central to the history of the United States and to

understanding [the] United States behavior in international relations" (Paterson, 1998, p.

8). Additional work covering the topic of this study will be contributive to scholarship

involving race, race relations, and the legacy of racism in the Americas and the world at

large (De la Fuente, 2000; Saney, 2004). As Linderman (1974) states, "the belief that specific personality traits inhere in all members of designated nationality groups is still today a part of our intellectual baggage" (p. 119). Although the findings of this research do not intend to explain away problems or direct blame on external factions, such as the United States, in this case, it does intend to promote accountability and responsibility for disregarded and unconsidered consequences of policymaking derived from self-serving policy initiatives. Rainey (1975) fittingly writes that "nations are not captives of their history, but previous successes and failures form a context within which decision makers evaluate current initiatives under consideration" (p. 19). This research and other similar research have the ability to potentially impact international diplomacy and policymaking.

Contribution of the Research

As a contribution to the field, this research confirms a relevant connection when considering potential policy implications, policymaking, and cultural and social influence when the governing body is nonresidential, offering an increased awareness of "the complex interconnections and trade-offs that permeate…foreign policies" (Gavin, 2007–2008, p. 172). It illustrates the critical need to link historical studies to contemporary policy questions and issues and promote scholarship as a venue for valuable information and guidance for policymakers (Gavin, p. 177). It demands a greater assessment of the shaping of international policy, of the long-term policy significance of a current policy issue, and considers the political and cultural legacies that conflicts create. Thus, the research promotes the evaluation and reconsideration of past policy initiatives in a serious way, with scholarship respected as useful and as helping to ground research and analyses in the larger concerns of society (Gavin, pp. 165–166). Its findings contribute information

for policymakers, elected officials, and community organizations to utilize to "identify patterns and trends that shape the policy environment," "recognize and go beyond the surface-level picture of an event to access the deeper logic moving things," and have "a more finely tuned sense of the consequences of both events and ensuing policy responses" (Gavin, p. 177). Moreover, the study confronts Cuba's claims of no race existence and therefore no race issues existing prior to the presence of the United States. It is a direct challenge within the discipline of traditional primary focus and it has little to no consideration of the domestic issue of racial perceptions and race relations in the United States at the time of the United States' decision to intervene and its following rebuilding of Cuba. The findings of the research indicate a premise, and the documented incidences and resources illustrate the reality of the same.

In closing, although the research may not have provided conclusive results, it has, however, provided substantial material to serve as a basis from which an expansive and overdue analysis can develop. Exploring the period 1898–1902 provided a historical laboratory from which data can be used in evaluating factors that have taken shape and the way in which these factors have evolved. These factors include national identity, institutions, and values. The findings provide foundational arguments regarding, first, the fundamental influence of the United States on the societal affairs, particularly race-related ones, in Cuba and, second, the overall influence of the domestic policy on the international policy and the need for cultural sensitivity.

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Appendix A: Archive and LOC Research Experience

Upon commencing this project, my goal was to research and uncover unreported information including official government documentation, personal notes of U.S. government officials and writers, and period articles and reports that exposed the United States as having a key role in the development of race relations in Cuba from 1898 to 1902. I was advised to conduct research at the National Archives in Washington, DC, and Maryland, as well as at the U.S. Library of Congress' Manuscript Division in Washington, DC. Equipped with a travel grant from my department, Department of International Relations and Geography, at Florida International University, I carried out research at these sites.

For unknown reasons, I encountered difficulties with uncovering the above-mentioned desired information. Foremost, there was not much information specifically listed applicable to race relations in Cuba during this particular time period when Cuba was under the tutelage of the U.S. government. I found this odd, given the state of the domestic affairs in the United States at the time and the nation's prevalent issues with race and racism. Moreover, I was surprised to find that the resources referenced by other authors whose topics were similar to mine were no longer in their designated place. Upon exploring further, I would soon discover that those previously referenced documents were no longer where they were supposed to be, and most of them were replaced by a yellow slip noting that the item had been removed. This was difficult to comprehend, considering that a few weeks prior to my research trip I had contacted the National Archives and the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress regarding the files I would research and verified their location status. Apparently, if the information was listed

as being present and available in their respective databases, they believed such status to be accurate. Not discouraged, I attempted to search for relevant material under various headings, beyond the specifically noted race-related, indexed topics. I innovatively decided to cross-reference and trace letters, memos, and documents mentioned in other archived sources that related in some manner or, to a degree, mentioned a race-related issue, incident, or regulation. Unfortunately, I encountered the same obstacle as mentioned above, regarding previously referenced and then removed items. With my cross-reference approach I discovered that most of the letters, memos, personal diaries, and documents were either removed and replaced by yellow slips, pulled for no public review, never received although noted in the respective indexes as having been received, or apparently just disappeared without notice and became untraceable.

I experienced inability to find the relevant resources at National Archives I (DC). The archivists and librarians noticed a trend with my requesting items that were unfindable and inquired on numerous occasions, "just what exactly are you researching," commenting that apparently someone did not want further research done on the topic or something more to be discovered. For example, there were many items missing from the Papers of Leonard Wood at the Library of Congress. From Wood's papers were missing two entire series of personal diaries, dated April 1897 to May 29, 1898, and July 15, 1898, to May 1902. As alluded to above, there were materials that had been previously used and quoted by authors writing on the topic that were no longer available, including items from the Military Government of Cuba files at National Archives II in Maryland. Correspondences, reports, and items from the later Military Government of Cuba, specifically, items regarding civil life and affairs which were housed at Archives I in DC

had been pulled and were not available for public viewing. When I inquired with a lead archivist regarding why, she informed me that she did not know why and was unable to tell me when the material was going to be made available to the public. There were also provincial reports and correspondences mentioned in other items that, upon cross-referencing and tracking, were not located where they were supposed to be and were therefore untraceable. The provinces of interests just happen to be the provinces with the largest populations of color during the time period under study, including Santiago and Trinidad, Cuba, with this material being also housed at Archives I in DC. Reports and correspondences that would have provided additional information regarding the race relations and regulations during the time were missing. Additional personal disappointment pertained to the items that were removed and replaced by yellow slips, as the yellow slips had removal dates, all of which were 1960–1962. According to the archivists and librarians, because of the time span, they were unable to account for who pulled the files and where the files were located. In addition, in repeated instances, the information listed in the indexes had penciled comments (where the information should have been; the comments were apparently made by a previous researcher) in the margins and/or on random pieces of paper that stated that the information was lost or missing.

Pressing on, I cross-referenced what I could, focusing on reported incidents in specific Cuban provinces as noted by the local governing officials in their reports. I researched personal papers and diaries of individuals affiliated with the U.S. government but whose papers, diaries, and journals were not officially the property of the U.S. government at that time as they were traveling and living in Cuba on their own. I also researched newspapers published during the time period under study. Taking this

approach enabled to me to incorporate the multiple sources and gather what I find as sufficient information to begin a grounded conversation regarding race relations in Cuba and the influence of the United States during its first official occupation and control of the island, during 1898–1902.

APPENDIX

<u>United States Archives and Library of Congress Research Experience</u>

Upon commencing this project, my goal was to research and uncover unreported information including official government documentation, personal notes of U.S. government officials and writers, and period articles and reports that exposed the United States as having a key role in the development of race relations in Cuba from 1898 to 1902. I was advised to conduct research at the National Archives in Washington, DC, and Maryland, as well as at the U.S. Library of Congress' Manuscript Division in Washington, DC. Equipped with a travel grant from my department, Department of International Relations and Geography, at Florida International University, I carried out research at these sites.

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