TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS AND NATION-BUILDING: THE PROTEST OF BARÁGUA AND THE TRANSITION FROM PLANTATION SOCIEDTIES TO THE MODERN NATION-STATE IN CUBA AND THE AMERICAS

BY

ETHEL R. HAZARD

DISSERTATION

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Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Arlene Torres, Chair
Associate Professor Nils Jacobsen
Associate Professor Andrew Orta
Associate Professor Martin Manalansan
Associate Professor Gale Summerfield
The formation of transnational ties, and the forging of transnational relationships between non-governmental organizations and politically marginalized groups, is often interpreted as a late twentieth century cultural phenomenon. This work challenges that supposition by examining the cultural practice of transnationalism during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Cuba and other parts of the Americas. The historical process of nation-building, taken by a body of Cuban dissidents primarily from eastern Cuba, and their allies in the United States and the other islands of the Anglophone Caribbean, presents a new view of interpreting the rise of nationalist movements in the Americas. The practice of nation-building fostered by this group of social actors occurred culturally and historically alongside the emergence of a civil sector that included the growing importance of locally developed social institutions. The proliferation of political clubs, literary salons, and other civic organizations, analytically results in the reformulation of interdisciplinary questions regarding territorial belonging in the colonial, national, and imperial space of modern national and post-colonial territories in the American region. Expressions of locality and translocality are seen as critical markers of group and individual identity that problematizes national belonging between and among economically, politically, and socially marginalized groups. Both the disciplines of history and cultural anthropology are better served by understanding the significance of migration and the creation of diasporic communities as resulting from nationalism as practiced during this period. Moreover, contemporary development policy that analyzes emergent civil sector institutional relationships and how these relationship impact gender, race, ethnicity, and economic identity transformations is also served.

This dissertation utilizes the historical event, La Protesta de Barágua/The Protest of Barágua during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Cuba as the organizing and analytical framework to examine the cultural complexity of nation-building as practiced through the creation of translocal relationships both individually and institutionally and the grievances articulated by within these marginalized communities and their institutional forms. The ethnohistorical lens that this specific event provides is one whereby, the experience of transition from plantation society to modern nation-state as experienced by marginalized groups such as Chinese migrant indentured laborers, poor and elite women, free people of color and slaves, is critically examined. This work does not seek to participate in “national-history” making, but instead gives insight into the consistent cultural flows of people and ideas within a dialogic chain of communication that was systemic and mutually influential. Hence, for these groups to gain greater political inclusion within the modern nation-state, a hemispheric process, articulated in political thoughts and actions, utilizing anti-colonial, nationalist, antislavery, and abolitionist political ideologies and rhetoric, was used by members of the dissident community in this work. Spanish colonial records, dissident political pamphlets, and a re-examination of secondary sources in Latin American and Caribbean history and cultural anthropology, each serve as the evidentiary basis for this work. Therefore, the hemispheric significance of La Protesta de Barágua/The Protest of Barágua, is interpreted as an articulation of not merely a culturally specific Cuban event, but within broader hemispheric struggles by other dissident groups that called for the immediate abolition of slavery as a critical step for creating equality among each of the constituent parts of the citizenry within the nation.
DEDICATION

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION
THE PROTEST OF BARÁGUA IN TWENTIETH CENTURY EXPRESSIVE CULTURE

According Afro-Puerto Rican cultural critic, public intellectual, and philanthropist Arthur Schomburg, “[T]he world knows little of (Antonio) Maceo, the ablest and noblest of American-born cavalry leaders, unsurpassed by any which the new world has produced” (Schomburg 1931:156). Antonio Maceo was the most successful military strategist during the Ten Years War (1868-1878), who along with other residents of eastern Cuba initiated the Protest of Barágua.

From 1868 until 1878, Cuba was engaged in its first War of Independence referred to as the Ten Years War. Designating the exact beginning and end of the first War of Independence, depends on whether one examines the events precipitated by this war as an anti-colonial struggle against Spain or as a struggle over national inclusion and political rights for people of African descent, Chinese indentured laborers, and elite and non-elite women. The Pact of Zanjón and the Protest of Barágua were two events in the Cuban nationalist struggle that mark a major sectarian split. This split emerged from a political and ideological divide regarding the future of Cuba. Whether Cuba was to remain a Spanish colonial possession that utilized slave and indentured laborers or whether free coloreds, Chinese indentured laborers (primarily male), elite and non-elite women were to be free and equal members of the emergent nation. These two events are historically presented as indicators of unprincipled concession (Zanjón) for inclusive nationhood, or as an indicator of principled intransigence (Barágua) (Ferrer 1999:218n.89).

General Antonio Maceo's words, thoughts, and political ideas found in the Protest of Barágua articulated a contested cultural and political terrain seen in the idea that national history is not the exclusive spiritual autobiography of the national bourgeoisie. As a mulatto, or "free-
brown,” male-child of a woman who herself was the child of migrants from the island of Hispánola, his protest concretely outlined his and others grievances. From his upbringing in eastern Cuba, Antonio Maceo and his family’s practice of nation-building conveyed the cultural depth and historical richness of transnationality that pre-dates the nineteenth century, when the political and economic relationships between European political powers and American independent nations and colonies were undergoing a period of transition and a process of permanent transformation.

The Protest of Barágua in words, deeds, actions, contains references not merely to the sectarian split in the Cuban nationalist struggle, but referred to an intervention aimed at including members of the future citizenry economically, politically, and culturally. Without the Protest of Barágua, slaves, free colores, Chinese indentured, and women would continue to face the unequal power arrangements in Cuban society experienced within the plantation society. The action of the Protest of Barágua refers to political dissent while also voicing a political vision of a desired Cuban future. Referential and semantic meanings are easily found in the expression of Cuban nationalist sentiment. As historian Louis Perez has claimed, Cuban national identity in the nineteenth century, involved negation and affirmation as one and the same imperative, often as the same set of acts and attitudes. In this pursuit Cubans appropriated all means available, a process in which they looked out and forward but hardly ever looked in and back. In a discourse otherwise rich and ranging, dedicated almost entirely to identity and nationality…there had to exist already a notion of cubanía to which were added variations as a means of affirmation. Something had to exist for these forms to take on the meanings they did in this particular context (Pérez 1999:93-95).

The particular context of cubanía for Barágua included a hemispheric political consciousness that included, the American revolutions in Latin America, the Haitian revolution, and increased the political inclusion of people of African descent in the House of Representatives after the
United States Civil War. Barágua posed the possibilities of independence for these marginalized groups. Continued cross-currents of people and ideas between the island, the United States, the Caribbean, and Latin America throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century, became central to the meaning of being and becoming Cuban (Pérez 1999:87).

Regional and transnationally relevant symbols are used within expressive cultural forms to convey emotions and sentiments such as that of nostalgia or longing. Nostalgia can be embedded in localized narratives of nationhood that presents the tensions and challenges involved in the poetics of social interaction, specifically within the processes of nation and state formation referring to a collectivity of people with an understanding of shared belonging and a mode of governance that is agreeable and not egregious. For example, in a “guajira son” titled, “Oriente,” written by Cheo Marquetti and performed by Félix Chappotín y Sus Estrellas,¹ there is a vernacular conveyance of the poetics of place that contextualizes the “unofficial” history of a regional identity manifest in the action of the Protest of Barágua. In the son, the characterization of oriente, eastern Cuba, as “the land of first light,” sung by Marquetti, a deeper symbolic meaning is found that goes beyond the lyrics and music.

The region of Cuba referred to as oriente in this popular expressive cultural form, holds historical and symbolic meanings relevant to the nineteenth century challenges of nationhood faced by Afro-New world populations and those who were allied with their political project. Moreover, the use of symbols that possess vernacular meanings (vernacular referring to locally grounded everyday usages) are imbued with power generated from collective activity of which building an inclusive Cuban nation was such a process. Historically, the region of oriente was

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¹ According to the record on the Puchito label, Félix Chappotín y Sus Estrellas was composed of singers Miguelito Cuni, Rene Alvarez, Cheo Marquetti, and Gina Martin. Luis Martinez Grifan would accompany occasionally on piano. Chappotín gained early fame as a trumpet player in Arcaño y sus Maravillas, headed by Arsenio Rodríguez in the decades of the 1940’s. “[L]a trompeta, en la boca de Félix Chappotín, quien a partir de escalas de la época del swing hace unas improvisaciones netamente cubanas” ([T]he trumpet in Félix Chappotín’s mouth breaking open the swing scales made some clearly Cuban improvisations.”
home to Cuba’s largest free colored population and contained the greatest number of *palenques*, or maroon communities on the island. Cuban scholars, who studied runaway slave settlements and their preponderance in eastern Cuba, incorporated a mythic element for explaining the vast number of *palenques* in eastern Cuba compared to other parts of the island during the multiple periods of Spanish colonial expansion but particularly during the late seventeenth century.

Undocumented with standard historical evidence, but perhaps ethnographic evidence now lost, these scholars based the reason for the number of settlements in oriente over the centuries, on an “African legend,” which claimed that all lost Africans traveled toward the rising sun to find the land of their ancestors (La Rosa Corzo 2003:14).

The *son* “Oriente,” begins with a trumpet or coronet solo by Chappottín that mirrors the vocal phrasing common to *ladino* and Moorish instrumentalizations and vocalizations in Spain\(^2\) and possibly those of Enrique Peña, a coronet player in the mambi army commanded by General Antonio Maceo, who was a member of the Abakuá,\(^3\) during the Final War of Cuban Independence (1895-1899). The solitary poetic voice of Marquetti’s, found in the vocal solo that uses descanted harmonies, sings about death, battle, struggle, and passion, “in the land of light”-

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\(^2\) Giro (1994:27), “Cuartetas con estribillos llegaron bien definidas a Cuba desde España, aunque por su formas verbales se notan indicios de las expresiones de los negros de España, y Portugal. Numerosas canciones del período colonial tienen cuartetas o coplas con estribillo, casi siempre cantadas por un solista o guía” (Cuartets with estribillos definitively arrived to Cuba from Spain. In its verbal forms, there are indications of blacks from Spain and Portugal. Many songs from the colonial period had cuartets or couplets with *estribillos* and almost always a lead singer as soloist or guide).

\(^3\) The Abakúa is an African New Word society whose actual membership is part of the secret agreement met by its male members. The Abakúa have been targets of political repression and military violence in the colonial, early national, and neo-colonial eras often associating them with illegal activity and informal economic participation. To cite Kenneth Routon to explain the cultural history, “The Cuban Abakúa societies, which purportedly resemble the graded secret societies of southeastern Nigeria, are mutual aid organizations comprised exclusively of men that have been in existence in the port cities of Havana, Mantanzas, and Cárdenas since at least 1836. During the second half of the 19\(^{th}\) and early 20\(^{th}\) centuries these societies exercised considerable economic power throughout the control of the local stevedore and manufacturing labor in the country’s principle cities...The Abakúa’s attempts to control local stevedores and urban terrain however, have not only been driven by their desire for economic power. Their struggles over the ports and inner city barrios are also informed by a magical economy and ritual cosmology” (Routon 2005:371-372). In an unpublished paper presented for the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Anthropology Department Colloquium in 2004, cultural anthropologist, Stefan Palmíe offers a discussion about the presence of Abakuá members near transit zones and their brokering of labor and commodities. He states, “These organizers of the appropriation of Afro-Cuban labor, increasingly international trading companies, in a sense, rode the current of transatlantic economic conjunctures. For they secured the supply of manpower at the point where the streams of Cuban sugar and other export articles intersected the incoming flow of trade goods, slaves and capital...their position rose and fell with their ability to draw on and manipulate to their profit, the local labor-resources of the harbor-near barrios. It was this intermediate position between international merchant capital and the commoditized black labor it sought after, that may have drawn such rising entrepreneurs.” Musician Félix Chappotín was possibly an Abakúa based on the distinct musical influences present in his music often through the use of rhythm and ritual language. His son Miguel Chappotín, who I heard play in Habana in 2000, was the eldest member of the Cuban traditional music group Yoruba Andabo. Miller states, “Most of the original members of the rumba group Yoruba Andabo, founded in 1961 by stevedores from the wharves of Havana were Abakuá members or their descendants” (Miller 2000:178).
“the land of first light,” “the land of Maceo,” and the land where “poetic plans” are revealed to Cubans. In this chorus, poetics is not divorced from politics for the son locates former historical events in its form (music) and mode (son) of expression. The singer demonstrates a mode of expression called the estribillo in his vocalization, characteristic of the Cuban son across time.

This solitary human voice leads and guides the rest of the ensemble in the estribillo. The refrain, “Oriente, A me voy a morir. ¡Caramba! Yo me voy a matar” (Oriente, I am going to go to die. Oriente. I am going to go to kill/stay), that Marquetti sings, serves as the song’s central theme and its punctuated answer and response to the lyrical content. Other voices of the ensemble come together and repeat oriente as a calling forth of the place in the social imaginary of the recorded performance. Through this examination of the song “Oriente,” one can infer that an understood vernacular meaning and a shared symbolic referent exists between orientales in the past, Marquetti the singer, and the audience present for the recording of the track. This is clearly noted in the live recording of the track that reproduced human voices that cheered and made sounds of urgent continuance.

According to the son, Oriente is the land where the camellia—“the flower with the best perfume,” lives and grows. “Las mas perfumen. Las dos flores del rey” (The best perfume. The two flowers of the king/wiseman), is sung as if the singer were in a state of reverie having just engaged the human sense that stores the deepest human memories, a memory of the scent of the camellia.4 And the phrase, “the two flowers of the king/wiseman,” arguably provides a semantic referent to Antonio Maceo when Marquetti sings “Maceo lloré (cried/called forth)” como un salutacion a los orientales (Cried out a salutation/invitation to the people of oriente).” What

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4 Hall (1982:45-46), “[S]mell evokes much deeper memories than either vision or sound…Here is a sense that must have performed important functions in our past…Odor is one of the earliest and most basic methods of communication.” and Ackerman (1991:6-7) “Smell is he mute sense, the one without words. Lacking a vocabulary, we are left tongue-tied, groping for words in a sea of inarticulate pleasure and exaltation…Smells coat us, swirl around us, enters our bodies, emanate from us. We live in a constant wash of them.”
significance to the culture and history of the Cuban nationalism does this son hold in its use of the camellia as symbol in reference to Maceo and the inhabitants of oriente in the 19th century?

The symbolic referent of the camellia goes beyond Cuba, Antonio Maceo, and the Cuban nationalist struggle. In a discussion about late nineteenth century Brazilian abolition, Silva notes the cultural and political transition of the symbol of the camellia flower. The camellia, a powerful regional symbol, served as a symbol for the radical wing of abolitionist movements, particularly, according to Silva, in Brazil during the nineteenth century.

[T]he now apparently innocent camellia, be it natural or artificial, was one of the most powerful symbols of the abolitionist movement in Brazil. It was the symbol of the movement’s radical wing: the group that, in the 1880’s, embarked on a direct action program against the regime, encouraging escapes and setting up quilombos. The camellia was also used as a type of password by which the abolitionists could be identified, especially when they were engaged in dangerous, or illegal, activities such as supporting escapes and finding hiding places for the fugitives (Silva 2007:114).

To continue explicating the relevance of the camellia to the Cuban son, and the multiplicity of meaning found in their use, I would also like to discuss a drawing by José Guadalupe Posado. Posado’s drawing serves as a visualization of the significance of Antonio Maceo in early twentieth century Mexico. Posado’s drawing presents an interesting and germane aside due to the fact that two camellias flank a drum and trumpet in a 1903 collection of new modern songs (Franco 1963:49).

On side “B” of the Chappottín album that released with “Oriente” on the “A” side, is a bolero titled, “La Protesta de Baragua.” The lyrics from the song are taken from the poem written by Cuban jazz pianist, Luis Martínez Griñan (see Appendix A). The bolero retells the emotion and sentiment embedded in the actual historical event by the same name. As a listener and member of the audience, we hear of the “repulsion” felt by Antonio Maceo, “El Titan Bronze,”

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5 A quilombo is a Brazilian usage of the process of establishing a maroon community like the palenques of eastern Cuba.
during his meeting with Martínez Campos, the Spanish military officer “in the mangos of Barágua.” The singer’s voice emotes disbelief at the affront that Martínez Campos could have even drawn the conclusion, or entertained the unlikely thought, that the Pact of Zanjón ended the fight\textsuperscript{6} for equality by all Cubans. The pronouncement, “We shall be free people. We shall fight until death,” is voiced at the end of the bolero. The pronouncement references the perceived values of the community of eastern Cuba contained within the singer’s utterance. For a moment, to harken back to the song “Oriente” on side A, the listener is reminded that oriente is where “I go to die or to kill/stay” and where Maceo was “assassinated.” These fields of discourse contain a “rhetoric of longing” and addresses nineteenth century Cuban nationalism and its fragmentary political project. Both songs express in the vernacular of eastern Cuban references and semantics, a regional vernacular historiography that localizes the historical event of Barágua but expresses the transnational experience of subjugation expressed by the Protest of Barágua.

**THE PROTEST OF BARÁGUA IN FILM**

Contemporary film also demonstrates how Cuban and Latin American history has omitted the Protest of Barágua. In the late twentieth century, Afro-Cuban filmmaker Gloria Rolando produced the documentary, “My Footsteps in Barágua.” The film explores the transnational connection between the Spanish speaking Cuban, orinales, and the new

\textsuperscript{6} Translation of any poetic use of language is not exact. When moving from Spanish to English, the Spanish infinitive form luchar, has contexts based on dictionary usage (Larousse Pocket Spanish-English/English-Spanish 1994) in which its various forms can and do refer to battles, struggles, and fights in both noun and verb forms in English. A seemingly unimportant distinction to make here but one, I have been cautioned about for not understanding the linguistic distinction between a fight, a battle, or a war. My apprehension in allowing one word to stand for the other without qualification is due to a fieldwork experience in Kingston Jamaica in 2005. In a discussion with staff members at a local community center, adolescent males were “fighting,” daily for a period of approximately ten days. At the moment of the conversation, the staff members and I were aware that one young man had brought in a homemade sling-shot that day. When I used the phrase, “fight,” each of the five staff members immediately corrected my characterization. Due to the duration of the disagreements between factions of the young men, the consistence of physical violence, and the added dimension of a confiscated homemade weapon (sling-shot), the situation was no longer perceived by them as “fighting.” In their conversation with me and in the conversations with the young men, the perception of both groups (i.e. the staff members and the male youth) was that they indeed, were engaged in “warring” with each other. One worker explained to me, “In a fight, two parties have their disagreement and they settle it with words or blows. There’s a victor and a looser and everyone goes on about their business afterwards. But in a war, there is no settling it until one or the other party’s is dead. This sling-shot proves that on their minds was war.” If a distinction both semantic and contextual exists between United States English and Jamaican English, then there is the possibility that my not being a native Cuban Spanish-speaker may mean that I miss the finer distinctions of the forms of luchar and other relevant and significant meanings.
transplanted Anglophone *orientales*, arriving after nearly fifty years after the historical event of the Protest of Baráguas.

Within these expressive cultural forms, the regional significance of both the Protest of Baráguas and the historical dimension of the practice of nation-building and migration are observable. Specifically, they are as follows: 1) a continued referencing of the symbolics of place embodied in Oriente; 2) the deployment of the transnational symbols of abolition found in the *son* and the camellia; and 3) the regional significance of Antonio Maceo as a social actor whose collective efforts transected the national boundary of Cuba and the temporal boundary of the past. Antonio Maceo symbolizes the totality of elements that successfully secured the transition from a plantation society to a modern nation-state in the Americas within the historical vision of people of African descent in both the Anglophone and Hispanophone Caribbean and Latin America. The songs, drawings, and films, also note the transition of Cuba from a plantation society to a modern nation-state by historicizing and criticizing liberal thought and its interchange of a revolutionary morality (Lewis 1987:293) that locates the beginning desire of Cuban nationhood and the economic migration of low skilled Anglophone Caribbean people in the space of Baráguas. What was the Protest of Baráguas and why should it and the actions of Antonio Maceo formulate the expressive content of song, art, and film during the twentieth century?

**PROJECT BEGINNINGS: THE SCHOLAR, THE FIELD, AND THE ARCHIVE**

The early beginnings of this dissertation project emerged from insights that I gained from my participation in a National Endowment for the Humanities Seminar for University Professors entitled, *Las Américas de José Martí* in 2002 at the University of South Florida in Tampa and the Institute for José Martí Studies in Havana, Cuba. The ten-week seminar included formal talks by
scholars both from Cuba and the United States in which the hemispheric linkages forged by José Martí within Cuban anti-colonialism and nationalism. I was surprised to learn of the extensiveness of José Martí’s personal, political, and professional associative ties to individuals and communities in Latin America, New York, Tampa, and Key West. This new knowledge urged me to re-examine the culture and politics of slaves, exiles, and other systems of collective belonging in which identity is referenced like the nation, the community, gender, racial, and ethnic groups.

Though familiar with the historical and ethnographic issues resulting from analyses of the formation of the African diaspora due to the Atlantic slave trade, I was not then yet familiar with the extensive individual, collective, and institutional ties forged during the nineteenth century by Latin Americans white or non-white. The middle and late nineteenth century was a period when the United States as an independent nation in the hemisphere, faced increasing Native American resistance to territorial dispossession, economic dependency and later resettlement, emerging skirmishes of political and economic sectionalism, a violent civil war financially and militarily supported by European governments, and the reorganization of the national cultural infrastructure rethought to incorporate (or not incorporate) people of African descent and women. At the end of the century, the political, economic, and armed resistance of Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos and other Pacific Islanders to territorial occupation, corporate capital expansion, and cultural imperialism marked the political transition of the United States as a

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7 Specifically, I was made intellectually curious by the talk given on June 20, 2002 by Dr. Louis Pérez, a historian at the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill. His talk on June 20, 2002 entitled, The Martí Project Reconsidered, stated the separatist project elicited by José Martí wasn’t the only nationalist project in Cuba during the nineteenth century and that we as scholars interested in Cuban history and culture, should explore the possibility that subjects of race and women’s civil inclusion were a part of other projects coterminous with Martí’s. Methodologically, the talk urged cultural and historical researchers to pay more attention to gossip, legend, folklore, myth, and popular culture as a means for better understanding Cuban history. He stated that sentimental attachments, cognitive categories rooted in culture, and “realms of the familiar,” present the possibility of a people in setting themselves apart from others that isn’t merely an “imagined community,” but are real memories, modalities and expressions of the quotidian experience. He also pointed out that the orbits of José Martí’s 19th century political project included the overlay of orbits that commodities traveled within shipping routes. I interpreted Pérez’s discussion as a way to combine method, interpretation, history, and ethnography to recover, lost, ignored, or never interpreted human experiences in the region.

8 This period refers to the United States from 1845 to 1900.
hemispheric and international power. From the middle to the end of the century, the United States faced contests to state power whereby, the cultural experience of nationhood and citizenship were re-imagined within new modes of civic participation.

During this same period, independent Latin American nation-states faced contests to national power by also by indigenous populations, shifting modes of governance in the hemisphere that included monarchical republicanism, dictatorships, elite parliamentarian democracies, internal oligarchical rule, and populism in multiple articulations. Elite and non-elite residents in the Hispanophone, Anglophone, and Francophone Caribbean developed a regional and international consciousness that combined anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism that affected understandings of culture, global economic participation, and the islands’ political position in the world. As a prolific nineteenth century cultural analyst with a hemispheric consciousness, José Martí’s life and written work consistently presented keen observations of this time period and the populations affected by the transformation of modern American societies which were becoming vastly different from Europe.

During the 2002 seminar, I was also presented with additional information that pointed to the value of exploring other conjoined and parallel struggles that operated on principles and beliefs not explicitly articulated by Martí. I discovered that there were other Cuban anti-colonial, separatist, nationalist visions that did not take either a romantic, or a transcendent view of Cuban nationhood. Martí’s own political work was designed to incorporate free coloreds and former slaves into a transcendent racial and gender neutral view or vision of nationhood. To learn that a different vision existed of a Cuban nationalist future meant, other historical and ethnographic

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9 Dr. Pérez states, “Independence was not the end for Martí but the means for patria…All potential competing categories---race, gender, class----became subsumed under patria; contingent on and mediated by patria. Building from that experience, this project explores not the competition of human categories of difference, but presents a clearly articulated vision that paralleled that of José Martí.
realities were present in a growing American regional consciousness that made explicit race, gender, and the complexity of economic and political status.

From that seminar, my intellectual questions emerged from a desire to learn about the people who understood and forged political alliances that recognized how social and economic status in a plantation society was indeed connected to gender, race, and ethnic identity in a way unacceptable to a modern Cuban nation-state. However, the new knowledge presented me with analytical and methodological quandaries that I was determined surmount. How does one study the political activity of social actors who regularly transversed local, national, and international spheres? How does a cultural anthropologist interpret and represent the ideological basis of nationalist political thought, practice, and sentiment in a way that articulates the experience of cultural transition and social transformation? What are the methodological and evidentiary challenges to conducting a multi-sited ethnohistorical project in which entire categories of human subjects (e.g. slaves, free coloreds, women, and Chinese indentured workers) were present in historical actions but left behind few, immediately available, autonomously created records? Moreover, how does one address the sheer cultural complexity of race, ethnicity, class, and gender within intra-regional relationships and the associative ties necessary to create and build an inclusive Cuban nation-state?

At the end of the seminar, my insights changed into questions metered in the archives and the footnotes of secondary sources. To incorporate the cultural complexity found in the institutional and associative forged by these human actors, I had to lend my own critical eye to theoretical paradigms common to gender studies, Cuban studies, African diasporic studies, migration studies, post-colonial studies, and political theories concerning nationalism and nation-state formation. A single theoretical paradigm was not sufficient for representing the actions
taken by a complex body of constituencies whose approach to nation-building included multiple levels of political engagement (local, national, international, ethnic enclaves, etc.). This meant that I had to seek out the utility and value of these theoretical paradigms to develop a useful theoretical construction for researching and writing about a circum-Caribbean, transnational political project in the past from my limited archival present.

What emerged is a dissertation that examines a local historical event referred to as the Protest of Barágua and places it into a context of late nineteenth century hemispheric thought, action and culture, not because I wish to impose this on the data, but because the individual and collective human actors did so. The Protest of Barágua began in 1879, at the end of the first organized armed battle for Cuban independence, the Ten Years War (1868-1878). The event politically denotes an ideological split and a sectarian division in the conceptualization and practice of Cuban nationhood. The sectarian split later results in segments of Cuba’s future citizenry become structurally disenfranchised from governing bodies, and customarily marginalized due to their association with savagery, primitivism, and incivility. Economically, the event denotes a rupture between the future economic goals of artisans, Chinese indentured laborers, small commodity producers, small landholders, and urban slave and maroon populations on the eastern part of the island. The sugar and coffee exporters and landholders who greatly identified with the imperial aspirations of colonial forms offered by Spain at the end of Barágua are able to maintain the primacy and legitimacy of national authority. Culturally, the event denotes an action important to examinations of imperialism and nationalism for it places the abolition of slavery as a condition of nation-statehood and did not ignore women’s political agency and future civic participation. In this way, Barágua’s explicit focus on the immediate
abolition of slavery in Cuba also presents an implicit opening for increased inclusion of women in an emergent civil sphere.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION AND THESIS STATEMENT

This dissertation shows how La Protesta de Barágua was more than a protest against a “reformist” colonial agenda within an anti-colonial political movement but, was an action that characterized a regional push for the greater civil inclusion of Afro-New World people within modern American nation-states in the late nineteenth century. Therefore, I argue that la protesta was not an isolated Cuban specific event, it was a regionally significant event that presents a unique vista for examining social, political, and economic transitions from plantation societies to nation-states from the vantage point of people at the margins of social power in both the colonial system and the emergent nation-state.

This work makes clear that the purpose of taking an ethnographic approach in both analysis and interpretation requires an in depth understanding of the cultural complexity of colonialism, imperialism, and nationalism as a tripartite link in understanding the transition from plantation societies to modern nation-states by people of African descent in the Americas and the alliances they made and resulting network. Moreover, during the nineteenth century, their political modes of action and mobilization included the actions and ideas of many individuals and institutional bodies that served to bring their grievance of political exclusion to the level of international politics.

A cultural critic whether anthropologist or historian, whose mode and method of analysis includes an analysis of gender as constitutive of these transitioning social relationships, needs to be aware that cultural complexities in both past and present human social relations are always
significantly more complicated than presented in texts whether written, visual, or auditory.\textsuperscript{10} Both primary source documents and the historiographic record contained in ethnographies and histories are deserving of complex analysis and criticism to provide reorientations of old ideas and to present new information. The cultural critic’s elisions such as those concerning the ideological and material contributions by both socio-biological and symbolic women, points to the confluence of methodological practice and interpretative inquiry in the production of history, or in this case, transnational ethnohistory.

History, with a capital “H,” (Trouillot 1995) is a subject within the European philosophical tradition that concerns itself with the crafting of narratives (Chakrabarty 2000:98) that seek to shape and define both individual and group experiences. The life of the individual always contains a narrative of convergence that includes an explication about the continuity or discontinuity of values, beliefs, practices, customs, and traditions within that specific culture or other cultures of contact. However, individual lives do not serve as models; only stories do that (Heilbrun 1988:37). The importance of how one narrates these convergences (i.e. that of individual and group and those individuals that travel between multiple groups). Also, the narration of convergences, at a transitional moment in a local setting, demonstrates how the individual represents their social world and the world of the cultural group of which they claim to be apart while, that world and their identity are in a period of transition. History, with a capital “H,” only represents stasis and stability in its mode of written expression as a means for presenting the evidence of human experience.

The evidentiary basis of human experience within history is based on experiences lived by people (Scott 1991:782). The active use of the historical imagination in the crafting of a

\textsuperscript{10}For a discussion on theory relating to reading and interpreting visual landscapes in space see Michel De Certeau (1985). For a critique of visually driven knowledge acquisition in the western philosophical tradition Oyeronké Oyewúmi (1997).
historical narrative makes a direct intervention in the content of the past (Palmié 2002:6 Kelley 2002:9; Bakhtin 1986:39, 1981:320-323) where the agency of the dead are deprived of agency in the present. The crafting of historical narratives in a European philosophical tradition, places agency on the contemporary writer not the actions of others in the past. Dipesh Chakrabarty states that the writing of history is part of a Western derived analytical method used to remember the past. In this project, I use Chakrabarty’s understanding of the historical past as inscribed within a Western historical time-knot that locates experiential knowledge and temporal knowledge within convergent spaces. He states,

[W]e live in time-knots that we can undertake the exercise of straightening out, as it were, some part of the knot (which is how we might think of chronology" (Chakrabarty 2000:112).

Nationalism and nation-state formation is often represented as a linear process. Rather than straightening the lines of the time-knot of history proposed by Chakrabarty, I attempt to show the twists, turns and tangles that inscribe temporal knowledge not to a single local but a transnational problem space. Chronological thinking, often linear in its exposition, denotes a problem that under girds Western historical writing during a moment (or moments) of transition, such as the transition from the chronotope (Bakhtin 1981:85) of the colonial empire marked by the plantation, towards an “intrinsically” different chronotope of modern interstate relations marked by the nation-state. The Protest of Barágua opens that problem space and present real historical challenges.

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11 Bakhtin develops a philosophical distinction between his concept of chronotope that of Kant. Bakhtin makes the claim, “Kant defines space and time as indispensable forms of any cognition, beginning with elementary perceptions and representations. Here, we employ the Kantian evaluation of the importance of these forms in the cognitive process., but differ from Kant in taking them not as “transcendental” but as forms of the most immediate reality” (Bakhtin 1981:85n.1). My argument is that Cubans writing during the nineteenth century regardless of political position concerning anti-colonialism or abolition, operated with a culturally distinct and different chronotopic concern of nationhood. Moreover, people of African descent in Cuba and their allies possessed a distinct and different chronotope from their former allies who sought to merely reform “colonial time.” I wish to present the idea that they sought to break from colonial time as condition of immediate (not gradual) abolition through armed struggle and relied upon individual and institutional alliances.
For people of African descent in the Americas, the nineteenth century’s age of revolutions, presents a plurality of historical realities, rather than linear, unitary notions of time and progress noted by the move from plantations to nation-states. Cultural, political, economic and hence, civic engagement formulated the platform of their actions. The experience of both colonality and nationhood mark a fragmentary experience that is not exclusive to this region or context. "[T]he plurality that inheres in the now, the lack of totality, the constant fragmentariness, that constitutes one's past…stands [in for] our capacity to deploy the historicist or ethnographic mode of viewing that involves the use of a sense of anachronism in order to convert objects, institutions and practices with which we have lived relationships turned into relics of other times” (Chakrabarty 2000:242-243). It is the sense of anachronism, mentioned by Chakrabarty, that I as a contemporary scholars need and use to understand the plurality involved in a fragmentary subjectivity that is incorporated into my interpretation of the move from the system of political and cultural organization of the colonial empire and the plantation to that of national systems of state power and unequal citizenship. It is also Chakrabarty’s sense of anachronism that that is important for the use of theory to illuminate historical possibility not fully understood due to the transnational experience of Barágua. I find myself utilizing contemporary theoretical concepts, taking positions held by contemporary theorists, to describe and understand a process of events and practices by both individuals and groups, to better understand the experience of transition from plantation slavery to the modern nation-state---as experienced by marginalized groups.

My unraveling the time-knot of a particular Afro-New World past, noted within the Protest of Barágua does not preclude referencing the present or the future directly or indirectly. As I just stated, the theoretical tools that I use were not part of the cultural “tool-box” of these
previous social actors. The ethnographic and historical content of this project unravels not merely time but the categories of personhood marked in time—historical time that was both colonial and national as the migrated and relied upon institutions of thought and practice changing in the hemisphere. Both the present and the future are dialogically involved within a textual chain of speech communication that contains a plan of political action within a culturally distinct discursive field that inscribes and writes the past through real human action. The historical authority that I possess is merely that of an analyst, critic, and scribe. Moreover, the dialogic set of social relations at play in the Protest Barágua, and its resulting events, demonstrates the contradictory relationship that the event and the social actors engaged in the event, have each contributed to the theoretical and factual registers found in Cuban historiography (Chakrabarty 2000:6) a historiography during this period that entailed contradictory relationships that were multi-layered and transnational in scope. My direct intervention in this dissertation is to present a distinct and different narrative of nationhood produced by these social actors that includes a discussion of the direct contribution and participation of previously ignored groups and under-theorized subjects and events, accounting for and composing the Protest of Barágua.

This dissertation project required me to develop a complex archival and interpretative methodology resulting from the practice of movement and migrations by the historical actors. Since I argue that people of color and women during the nineteenth century and political dissidents disaffected by the Spanish colonial state like Jose Martí and others, maintained a pattern of out-migration and built political ties that went beyond national territorial boundaries, my process of identifying evidence to substantiate that claim required me to travel across national archives, libraries, and research centers.
The archival research for the dissertation is reliant on a combination of both primary and secondary sources to present “social ambiance,”\textsuperscript{12} and what other historian refers to as context, and cultural anthropologists refer to as either ethnographic scope or field of inquiry. Hence, primary sources for this project were obtained in Cuba, Spain, Jamaica, and the United States. Archival research was conducted in short sessions ranging from ten days to twelve weeks beginning in 2002 and ending in 2009. In Cuba, records were obtained from the Jose Martí Institute in Havana (JMI). In Spain, records were obtained from the Ministry of Overseas territories (SUM) and the Spanish National Library in Madrid (SNB). In Jamaica, records were obtained from the National Library of Jamaica (NLJ), Jamaican Archives (JAR), and the Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies at the University of the West Indies in Kingston (UWI). In the United States, the Schomburg Institute for Black Culture in Harlem (SBC) served as both archive and repository of both primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources used in this dissertation were obtained from both the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign and the University of Louisville in Kentucky.

In chapter two, I address both the cultural and historical implications found in the Protest of Baráguia as an expression of \textit{Cubanidad} by Cubans of African descent and their non-white allies. The increased civil inclusion by people of African descent in both Cuba and other parts of the Americas identifies the actions of the participants and their political and economic project as one that places gender, racial, ethnic, and economic inequalities based on social status as a condition for Cuban nationhood. The economic, cultural, and political importance of nineteenth century nationalist movements is discussed to construct a regional approach to understand the Protest of Baráguia as a unique and early expression of forging national identity to gain greater political and economic status in the emergent civil sphere of American colonial and nation-states.

\textsuperscript{12} Pérez talk, June 20, 2002.
As a political project organized by cross-racial and ethnic participants, and one that did not utilize women as secondary actors but as primary partners. This chapter presents the reader with an outline of the unequal social conditions that affected residents of Cuba, but also hemispheric political relations at that time.

In chapter three, I present the internal political dynamics of political transition in Cuba during the nineteenth century. Since, the Protest of Baráguia occurs at the end of the First War of Cuban Independence, the Ten Years War (1868-1878), and having demonstrated that the event provides a glimpse of the cultural experience of social transition and transformation, this chapter provides the reader with information regarding the process of political transition and extends to the discussion of the Spanish American War. As modes, techniques, and forms of governance changed by the Spanish colonial state, social institutions also changed. Military repression and the practice of surveillance by the Spanish colonial state precipitated the transformation of Cuban cultural and social institutions such as the family and collective bodies of assemblage like cabildos, civic organizations, and political clubs and during the Spanish American War. This chapter concludes by demonstrating how the process of political transition from a plantation society to a modern nation-state included the transformation of these institutional forms not as obsolete but as changing from cultural to increasingly political forms.

Chapter four demonstrates historically how the Protest of Baráguia was part of a dialogic chain of communication that included the tripartite link of anti-colonial, anti-imperial, antislavery and ideology of mambises. The competing political content of each of these ideological expression affects how and why the Protest of Baráguia should be understood in an American regional context as the political expression of greater civil inclusivity by marginalized groups. The Protest of Baráguia is interpreted in this chapter as an expression of desire for...
greater civil inclusion by free coloreds, Chinese indentured laborers, former slaves Spanish
descended women, women of color, and upper and middle class women in the United States. I
examine the discursive strategies previously mentioned and how they are deployed to
circumscribe or enhance the political aims inherent in Barágua.

The historical uniqueness of the Protest of Barágua due to the deployment of an out-
migration strategy is examined within the practice of nation-building in chapter five. This form
of political practice resulting from the protest fosters greater understanding of how nationalist
movements in the Americas during the nineteenth century are understood and can be better
understood. Out-migration is viewed as a mode of gaining economic autonomy and as a strategy
for nation-building by participants in the Protest of Barágua. Specifically, by building a network
of tobacco producing communities in multiple locales within the Americas, community
formation is tied to the pursuit of nationhood that did not ignore economic livelihood.
Community formation is an expression of translocality not well understood within analyses of
political engagement for the formation of diasporic community subjects and ethnic enclaves
positions racial identity against ethnic identity when notions of territorial belonging is
questioned. The chapter concludes by demonstrating how the Protest of Barágua exists as an
important expression of transnational political practice not previously associated with nineteenth
century diasporic communities.

When examined historically, the Protest of Barágua includes the practice of nation-
building from outside of the territorial confines of the nation of Cuba and makes it important for
understanding the creation of associative ties transnationally. As a historical event, the protest
demonstrates the limits of present historical and ethnographic analytical practice that does not
show the complexity of nationhood, nor population. Moreover, the philosophical tendency in
history and the social sciences that pays little attention to female social actors and their contribution to political social transformations is discussed for the building of community in both material and immaterial ways always includes women. Overall, the chapter suggests the critical value of this past historical event in relation to contemporary conceptualizations of human rights and increased civil engagement by marginalized groups.
CHAPTER TWO

THE PROTEST OF BARÁGUA IN 19TH CENTURY CUBA:
AN AMERICAN REGIONAL APPROACH

A HEMISPHERIC APPROACH TO THE AMERICAS DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

The commemoration of the Protest of Barágua in an expressive cultural form by Cuban musicians during the mid-twentieth century indicates the importance of the event to the making of Cuban national history and to the political landscape of the American hemisphere. The symbolics of place contained in the *son*, “Oriente” and the *bolero*, “The Protest of Barágua,” portrays how the expression of nostalgia, demonstrates the social importance of how a historical event impacted group identity. For people of African descent in the Americas, and those groups who allied with them to foster social transformation, the nineteenth century presents a plurality of historical realities, rather than a linear, unitary notion of time and progress. In the historical and cultural space of plural historical realities, plural political positions, economic interests, and modes of engagement occurred as well.

In the nineteenth century, participants in the Protest of Barágua rejected the actions taken the Spanish military leader Martinez Campos and the Spanish colonial state. The actions of Antonio Maceo are valorized and the political exchange of both men presented in the song, illustrates how each represented different political constituencies within the event of the Protest of Barágua. The place of Oriente province “under the mango tree” metaphorically and literally served as the cultural site where the articulation of these political differences was expressed. Specifically, the musicians utilized the symbolic significance of place to present their cultural and ethnic distinctiveness as Cubans along with conveying to the community of listeners, both past and present, the cultural distinctiveness of *orientales* and *santiagueros* within their

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13 Santiagueros are residents of the capital city of oriente, Santiago de Cuba.
localized politico-historical narrative. This narrative in music and song serves as a counter-narrative to the historical understanding of nationhood. The Cuban musicians through the use of lyrics and music mark the distinctiveness of their political and cultural identity in a discursive field that inscribes what they understand to be their historical past within real human action of the nineteenth century. This process of demonstrates the significance of the time-knot of fragmentariness wrought in transition and in the relationship between a Western linear temporality of separated past, present, and future that these Cuban musicians did not share. The act of commemoration is also a re-instantiation of the past based on its relevance to and for the future. Moreover, the two songs, when analyzed together, conveyed the ideological basis for their struggle against the Spanish colonial-state and the barriers to inclusion by people of color and other marginalized groups. The music, lyrics, form and style, each contain transnationally relevant symbols reliant upon a popular mode of expression that represents cultural and historical remembrances. This performance shows how Cubans musicians within the act of remembrance and commemoration take the factual register of the event and repurpose history in a cultural different form like music.

It is this temporal period, stage, or phase of the Protest of Barágua, that historian Louis Pérez has characterized as being “between reform and revolution” but where I see the greatest amount of reformulation and reinterpretation of both past and then present understandings of individual and collective visions of personhood, citizenship, and nationhood. The Protest of Barágua expressed a desire for popular groups, who were marginal to institutional modes of power, authority, and social status, to obtain access to economic, social, and political capital. One finds in the narration of the details of the Protest of Barágua cultural convergence and identity transformation at a transitional moment of human history in a local setting physically
inside of the future national territory but politically outside in eastern Cuba. In this process of history-making, unmaking, and remaking, Cubans represents their social world and the world of the cultural group of which they claim to be apart while, that world and their identity exist in a period of transition. Their crafting of their social worlds utilizes a historical imagination reliant on the political narrative of Barángua that makes a direct intervention in the content of the past and subsequently becomes important to contemporary understandings of political processes. This and other expressive mode of cultural production illustrates how Cubans of African descent in Félix Chappotín y Sus Estrellas, author their history with a different chronotopic understanding of historical time. As Bakhtin states,

[W]e get a mutual interaction between the world represented in the work and the world outside the work. This interaction is pinpointed very precisely in certain elementary features of composition: every work has a beginning and an end, the event represented in it likewise has a beginning and an end, but these beginnings and ends lie in different worlds, in different chronotopes than can never fuse with each other or be identical to each other but that are at the same time interrelated and indissolubly tied up with each other (Bakhtin 1981:254-255).

An analysis of the discursive practices utilized by these participants within the Protest of Barángua, contextualized within the historiography of the Americas in the nineteenth, can lead to a shift, away from "the dogmatic focus on national cultures and traditions which has characterized so much Euro-American cultural thought (Gilroy 1991:188). For example, in his analysis of Western philosophical traditions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Trouillot asserts that blacks and non-whites "were forced to enter into various philosophical, ideological, and practical schemes" (Trouillot 1995:76) and in their narratives one will find a different philosophical vision, the articulation of a different ideological position, and narratives that articulate ontological variance.
The commemoration of the little known and understood event in Cuban history and the resultant cultural practice of nation-building by the historical actors, expressed the desire to establish an inclusive Cuban nation-state that accepted that within their position of social inequality in the colonial state their contributions were significant. These goals and ideals were transmitted across time and across space within a complex discursive field that includes the songs and music previously mentioned, other written works, and speeches and lectures as well. These goals and ideals also traveled with the human actors who regularly migrated throughout the Americas. Building from ideas contained in Julius Scott's work on the late eighteenth century, slaves, sailors, and free people of color frequently transected imperial borders (Scott 1996:137; 1991:49). The transport of contraband and legal trade routes in Jamaica transected Spanish and British imperial boundaries while building social and cultural institutional ties that possessed multi-regional power and influence (Koshy 2005; DiCarlo 1998; Kasdan 1965) relevant to needs of the inhabitants locally. Throughout the Americas, Cubans of African descent and their political allies who were marginalized colonial subjects, built alternative, interconnected regional communication and economic networks (Zacaïr 2005; Lazo 2005) that expressed their experience of translocality during the transition from the colonial state to the nation-state. Regional 19th century nationalist movements and the accompanying independence struggles, along with the internal national struggles for full civil inclusion by women, racial, ethnic, and culturally marginalized groups, contested the archaic colonial structures, customs and beliefs that justified, codified, and legitimized the patterns of oligarchical rule of European descended criollo male elites both on the island and in Spain.

As I stated in chapter one, these social actors produced many types of documents, such as newspaper articles, political pamphlets, novels in the antislavery genre, and essays. Each of
these documents as much as the music and songs previously mentioned, serve as cultural and historically produced artifacts that elaborate on cultural practices witnessable in the practice of nation-building. For participants in the Protest of Barágua, their practice of nation-building included the development of an extensive field of discourse within multiple modes of expression that had trans-Atlantic and transnational reach.

The fields of discourse that articulate the beliefs and practices found within the cultural traditions of African descent in the Americas throughout the nineteenth century, and the other marginalized participants in the Protest of Barágua, occurred in a back and forth contestation circuit of communication in which a dialogic chain of communication and population migration was established. The circuit of contestation within a dialogic chain of communication produced utterances that expressed important the problem of their marginalized position. Their utterances found within the protest and its multiple communities of reception and co-creation, relied upon the language of national inclusiveness and belonging to construct the rationale, terms, and meaning of their political dissent. Within the dialogic chain of communication of the nineteenth century Americas, chain that included Europe and the Americas, the Protest of Barágua was the subject of both private and public conversations in Cuba, the United States, and other locales in the region.

The cultural distinctiveness of tradition among people of African descent in the Americas combines a historical understanding and cultural practice theoretically articulated in the work of David Scott who argues for an expansive few of their human agency. Scott argues that African New World traditions in the plantation societies of the Americas, 1) secure connections among a past, a present, and a future; 2) are often inscribed within a different set of ideological investments that reflect ones own specific historical and political condition; and 3) link
narratives of the past to narratives of identity that fashion specific virtues in the cultivation of specific dispositions, specific modes of address, specific styles-of dress, of speech, of song, of the body's movements (Scott 1991:278-279). Thus, my examination of the symbolic importance of place and politics that the Protest of Barágua is ensconced within recognizes a modern expression of their historical capacity built upon a sensory-experiential logic, not a fixed-bound historical or geographical logic. The two songs and their cultural and historical content, symbolically represent the hemispheric struggles by marginalized groups during the nineteenth century and articulates a specific disposition of hemispheric marginalization that in the twentieth century.

Moreover, analytically, the Protest of Barágua presents a case in which to understand the experience of cultural transition in a post-emancipation society in the Americas as experienced by human actors. Neither cultural anthropologists, nor nineteenth century historians of the Caribbean and Latin America, theoretically connect the practice of American nationalist movements in the Anglophone and Hispanophone regions during the nineteenth century, to understand how slaves, freed, coloreds, and other immigrant laborers. In the specific case of Barágua, Chinese indentured laborers, poor and elite women, along with Spanish immigrants, experienced the cultural transition. This process, seen in the Protest of Barágua, shaped the cultural expression of a desire for national belonging along with the fashioning of markers of ethnic and national identity that distinguished eastern Cuba from western Cuba pointing to the limits of a homologic representation of national belonging that minimizes historical differences in political culture and group cultural understandings.

During this period of transition in Cuba, the Spanish colonial government, the governments of the United States and independent Latin American nation-states were each
involved in developing, maintaining, or establishing political and economic ties with Cuba. The three macro-level political modes of organization seen in the forms of the colonial state and independent nation-states, played a substantively consequential role in shaping the political terrain for how adherents to the Protest of Barágua expressed political dissent and waged the protest with its ensuing strategy of out migration. The hemispheric scope of the Protest of Barágua includes the recognition that the experience, response, and rationale for dissent entailed the establishment and cultivation of associative ties on multiple levels simultaneously, specifically ties that went beyond and transected colonial and national boundaries. Human actors involved in the protest whether Spanish colonial officials, antislavery novelists, military leaders, each expressed a structurally and culturally distinct political position regarding social control of Cuba and its inhabitants.

For Spain and England, hemispheric control over the Anglophone Caribbean islands and the Gulf coast region of the United States, included control of the sea lanes that supported their maritime interests and the transportation of their consumable goods. The social livelihoods of Cubans on the island, Spanish descended elites, large and small landholders, slaves, freed colores, and Chinese immigrant indentured laborers, were also constitutive of maritime trade, travel, and traffic. Economic complexity in Cuba and the other plantation societies of the Americas included a system of cultural complexity that conjoined labor and social status within collective and individual categories of subjecthood that defined individual and collective engagement with the colonial state via the combination of ones social status based upon one’s economic role. The colonial subjecthood of individuals was represented by the economic role that collectivities played. The pursuit of “independence” included a claim to power with an expressed goal to reorient and expand trade markets, commodity production, and territoriality.
Nationalist independence struggles throughout the world and the Americas, have functioned as "the history of the national bourgeoisie" and indeed, this process is often written about as "the spiritual (auto) biography of the elite" (Latin American Subaltern Studies Group 1993:119). However, the recognition that in the Americas of the nineteenth century, anti-colonial struggles also included the fight for Antillean, and earlier in the nineteenth century, Latin American regional autonomy, should also include the recognition political mobilization against chattel slave regimes were also part of many of the earlier transatlantic political projects.

The political terrain in American plantation societies included not only the relationships between colonial governing bodies and independent nation-states, the political context more immediately included the metropole-colony relationship. Implicit divisions and exclusions of individuals and categorical groupings of people were configured and based upon tacit allegiances to how each fit in the colonial social order in the manner that colonial society wished to incorporate them (Mehta 1997:66-67). In interpreting the political culture of the Americas, Richard Morse points out that in Protestant colonial areas of the Americas incorporation was interpreted as establishing a social order of complete uniformity, whereas in the Spanish controlled areas incorporation of the overseas territories was bringing together what should rightfully be joined (Morse 1989:101). Conceptually, the incorporation of colonial territories in the Protest controlled areas is understood via the Latin phrase \textit{e pluribus unum}” and in the Spanish controlled areas \textit{ex uno plures} is the phrase that best captures this process (Morse 1989:110). “[T]he pact linked Spanish Americans to the crown but did not merge them with the Spanish nation” (Morse 1989:109), in which nation referred to those in habitants of continental Spain.
Within the metropole-colony relationship between Spain and Cuba, the role of the colonial state was such that it established, adjudicated, and granted rights and privileges to inhabitant of the territory. However, not every human being was guaranteed the right of petition or access and specifically, free coloreds, Chinese indentured laborers, and slaves were excluded. Colonial administration designated and classified people in which their role or purpose in the social order was defined, established the rationale for exclusion (Mehta 1997:74). The Spanish colonial state implemented policies and took actions that systematically constrained the expression of and utilization of rights by Cubans regardless of status or social role. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Spanish colonial state relied upon a system of surveillance, penalization, and incarceration that ensured that political dissidents were disciplined for activities that were contrary to the political and economic interest of the colonial state. For example, in 1836, when the Spanish Governor of Oriente province, Manuel Lorenzo proclaimed self-government in Oriente province based upon Spain's 1812 constitution, he faced militaristic repression.

The 1812 Spanish Constitution was Spain’s first and most liberal document of political organization that established the parameters and boundaries of colonial Iberian governance. The 1812 Constitution established the principles of universal male suffrage and national sovereignty, and presented the ideal of creating a constitutional rather than absolutist monarchy whereby conventions of colonist selected by the Spanish cortes were semi-regular. Freedom of the press, decreased in the powers by nobility and the Catholic Church resulting in land reform, and the economic practice of a greater sense of free enterprise were all expressed in the constitution. Most importantly, the Spanish Constitution of 1812 transformed people of Spanish ancestry and
indigenous populations in their colonial territories into colonial subjects of a colonial state rooted in a doctrine sovereignty that made Spain the arbiter and final word on disputes and grievances.

_Ayuntamientos_, local governing bodies, were established for populations over one thousand, but it did not include the slaves or free coloreds as part of that populous of colonial subjects. The convergence of political and economic interest by Hispano-Antillean elites in the region with those interests of Iberian elites in Spain, show how political power and cultural notions of _Hispanidad_, Europeanized, and whitened the social infrastructure of island (Schmidt-Nowara 1999:22). The 1812 Spanish Constitution was a clear representation of Cuban _criollo_ political interest that was not antagonistic to the Atlantic slave trade illegally in operation in Cuba and the economic benefit to the Spanish treasury. Women, not in attendance at the Cortes of Cadíz where the constitution was adopted, were excluded making implicit their colonial role as one that assigned them to the private sphere of colonial domestic life and not the public sphere of politics and commercial concerns. Women, akin to slaves were consigned to marriages based on the commercial success of their husbands and his lineage. Poor women of Spanish descent in colonial Cuba were consigned a life of religious piety and charity where they are cloistered within the Catholic Church, away from society. They were not permitted to be officeholders in the _ayuntamientos_. Ultimately, they were not considered a politically distinct group but one that was conscripted to the position and status of the men in their families, specifically their fathers and husbands. Moreover, men who were not of proven Spanish lineage on both sides of their family were excluded from participation. The delegations established meant that Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines required special laws as overseas territories, but only those deputies selected were presumed capable of drafting them (Schmidt-Nowara 1999:24). “Thus in Cuba
and Puerto Rico, slaves and free people of color not only were not eligible to vote or to stand for office, but technically they were not represented either” (Schmidt-Nowara 1999:23).

Tulio Donghi offers an argument that points to the important historical features of the Iberian colonial world as it pertains to Iberian held concepts of state and nation. As Donghi states in detail,

When considering Spanish America in particular, it is a matter not of debate but of record that the rise of the nation as an imagined community and that of nationalism are two discrete phenomena whose separate starting points in time can be dated with some precision…The occasion for such a discovery was the change of the reigning dynasty in Spain, imposed by Napoleon when he placed on the Spanish throne his brother Joseph, who he had previously made King of Naples to the apparent satisfaction of the Neapolitans. What followed was an insurrection launched in the name of the Bourbon King Ferdinand VII, and it was in the course of this insurrection that Spain had to tackle, both at the theoretical and practical level, the problem that an absolute monarchy faces when having to wage a desperate war for survival without that essential linchpin in its structure, the king…This void was vaster both in reality and in collective imagination, than we are retrospectively inclined to recognize (Donghi 2000:35-36).

Donghi clearly indicates that within the colonial Spanish empire, in-country colonial subjects and “extra-territorial” colonial subjects fought against monarchical rule that permitted a dynastic transferal of power that could only be engaged through the colonial cortes. El cortes were the social institution within which the monarch possessed the sole and resolute power of pronouncement. The monarch set the times when “extra-territorial” grievances could be heard, and granted audiences only to those petitioners whose matters were deemed important to the maintenance of power in the colonial-state.

Manuel Lorenzo’s proclamation of territorial sovereignty for Oriente province and the abolition of slavery in 1836 in Spain, happened at a time when the British were freeing slaves in its Caribbean colonial possessions (Schmidt-Nowara 1999:21). Spain had abolished slavery in 1811 within its national territories (e.g. not Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic).
The political project of Santiago de Cuba in 1836 confirmed the fear of slave emancipation by the Spanish colonial state and those elites with convergent economic and political interest thereby labeling dissident ideas as contaminating political influences that need to be contained. The document questions continued political loyalty to the interests, goals and objectives of the Spanish colonial government and western Cuban elites by the men in Santiago de Cuba while articulating a political sentiment and dissident position. The feminine symbolism at play in the subjectivity of a familial relationship represents both parties (e.g. metropole and colony) as incapable of meeting the interest of the other and subsequently circumventing a full role in a political public. The document also utilizes a gender distinction in political organization that associates the feminine of a lesser temporal status (e.g. the daughter) with a social condition of intolerable subjection in need of liberty.

Agency as expressed in the discourse found in this document is one that presents the rational (male) elite, embodied in the characterization of Cubans in Santiago as daughters. The daughter wields the moral force of justice, while the mother (Spain) objects or predicates over the daughter. It is an articulation of how domesticity and colony become conjoined conceptually in a reformulation of roles, duties and rights. Though the municipal government of Santiago stated that public order and commerce was happy and well organized under the direction of Don Manuel Lorenzo, the constant threat of palenqueros and the proximity of eastern Cuba to Haiti was enough for Captain General Miguel Tacón to mount a military expedition to suppress Lorenzo’s regime in Santiago de Cuba (Schmidt-Nowara 1999:23).

Eastern Cuba was the antithesis of the national historical perspective that has chiefly taken the historical vantage point from Havana or Mantanzas outward towards continental South

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14 IBID. "los proyectos de 1836 y que confirmaba los temores de emancipacion sentidos ye manifestados por casi todos los hombres leales que encerraba Santiago de Cuba"
America, and of course towards, Spain and England. Pointing out eastern Cuban political distinctiveness is not a means for historically ignoring the historical dialogue that ensued between colony and metropole or between Havana and Santiago de Cuba but, is one that indicates an expressed desire for greater structural and economic inclusiveness by small landholders, artisan and skilled tradesmen, and the largest population of free coloreds on the island. In the Americas during the late nineteenth century, the illegal slave trade in Cuba, the colonial control of the island by the Spanish, and the potential annexation of the island as a "southern colony" of the United States, all served to move African New World people and their allies towards political struggles concerned with establishing cultural sovereignty and greater civil inclusion at the local and national levels. For example, under the 1817 Anglo-Spanish treaty, the Havana Mixed Commission was a co-managed court in which suspected slave vessels detained under the Spanish or British flags, permitted all slaves on board to be liberated Africans. Under the provisions of the treaty, the two governments agreed that the emancipados should become free people in the territory where the adjudication took place. In 1835, the cases brought before the Havana Mixed Commission showed a renewed interest among British statesmen for the well-being of illegal human cargo. The treaty stipulated,

[T]hat emancipados would henceforth come under the authority of the capturing nation rather than under that of the nation in whose territory the court was located. Spanish officials also came under the obligation to provide the Havana Mixed Commission with updated registers of emancipados every six months. It is significant that at this juncture, which coincided with the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, the British government ceased to hand over emancipados to the Spanish authorities and began paying for the relocation of hundreds of the to several of its Caribbean possessions. Early on, the British island colony of Trinidad figured as the preferred destination, with 1,173 emancipados sent there in 1833-35 alone. In 1840 at least one shipment of 327 emancipados arrived in labor-hungry Belize. By the late 1840’s and early 1850’s the dwindling flow of British-liberated emancipados shifted to Jamaica. Almost 200 emancipados left Cuba for the neighboring island under the auspices of the British government between 1849 and 1853 (Martinez 1998:15).
What is not immediately presented as an important political consideration within the articulation of anti-colonial dissent is the fact that human beings were also considered commodities and despite international treaties signed by the Spanish colonial government and the British government, free coloreds, slaves, and Chinese indentured laborer each recognized the ease with which uncompensated labor and inhumane treatment was a condition of their experience of colonial rule. Though Spanish colonial law stated that emancipados were the custodial responsibility of a trustee who was required to feed, clothe, provide medical care, instruction in Catholicism, and train them in a viable occupation for a period of five years, the period of trusteeship could be legally extended for three additional years, a cultural reality experienced by many Chinese men in Cuba.

By the 1840’s Cuban colonial subjects were dependent upon foodstuffs from the United States and a significant portion of the illegal slaves imported to the island came from United States slave traders (Pérez 1995:107). Economic tariff and duty escalation policies between Spain and the United States created a social context of higher taxes and higher prices for staple and luxury goods all of which were absorbed by large and small planters (e.g. sugar and coffee producers). The Haitian Revolution of 1804 and the subsequent collapse of its sugarcane industry, as with the overproduction of sugarcane in the British West Indian islands (e.g. Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad), made Cuba the largest producer of sugarcane in the Caribbean and throughout the Americas (Knight 1970:28).

“The Haitian experience loomed large over U.S. policy calculations, and at another point the perceptions of Cuban planters and North American policy makers converged. The prospect of Cuban independence at a time where greater numbers of
slaves were imported illegally raised the specter of possibility of “another black republic in the Caribbean” (Pérez 1995:109). Fanning the fear of slave rebellion on the island by the Spanish colonial government and proslavery elites in Cuba, posited that if slaves were freed and *gente de color* were permitted to hold jobs in the civil sector, then private property, personal security, and the general well-being of “all” on the island would be lost. However, this Cuban “all” were both male Spanish immigrants and colonial subjects of Spanish descent—not Chinese indentured laborers, free people of color, or slaves.

Throughout the nineteenth century, an illegal slave trade continued in Cuba. To present another example, in a dispatch to the Spanish Minister of State, Lord Palmerston, the presiding member of the British Foreign Office in Havana in 184515, stated the following:

As to that portion of Señor Miraflores’ letter wherein he affirms that the Spanish Government cannot understand how the Government of Her Britannic Majesty can seriously recommend a measure which would be very injurious to the natives of Cuba...I have to commission your Lordship to state to Señor Miraflores that slaves constitute a great portion, and certainly of no slight importance of the people of Cuba, and that any measure adopted to promote their emancipation would be in harmony with the recommendations made by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty to the effect that measures be adopted to enlist the sympathies of the people of Cuba with the object of ensuring the connexion of the said island with the Spanish Crown: and it must be evident that if the coloured population become free, the fact would raise a most powerful element in opposition to any project to annex the island of Cuba to the United States where slavery still exists...[I]t may certainly be affirmed that free labour is cheaper than slave labour; and it is beyond question that a free and contented working class is a safer neighbour for the wealthy than ill-treated and aggrieved slaves (Edinburgh Review 1873:405-406).

By not enforcing agreements made between Spain and England that ended the illegal slave trade in Cuba, in the eyes of the diplomatic community headed by England, Spain was remaining

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15 The British Foreign Office was the office concerned with the enforcement of the suppression of the African slave trade to Cuba.
politically archaic as an institution of governance within the international system of nation-states. The continuance of plantation slavery in Cuba hampered the legitimacy of Spain’s European diplomatic relations with Great Britain where the antislavery movement was the strongest, and enabled the regional justification and expression of political dissent seeking the immediate abolition of slavery as a reasonable condition for nationhood.

To present an example of the macro-relationship between the Spanish colonial state and the British parliamentary monarchy, in March of 1873, Lord Granville, the British Foreign Minister stated that,

Iberianism had no appeal among leading politicians or even republicans…[H]e also warned that the country [Spain] appeared to be fundamentally unstable (Granville in Bartlett 1994:82).

Granville’s foreign policy position cited here during the Ten Years War, notes that England would not intervene in the Carlist Wars\textsuperscript{16} erupting in Spain at that time and presents a view that the Spanish colonial-state was perceived by the British as being politically unstable. The potential consolidation of Spain and Portugal into a Federal Iberian Republic, or the presence of military insurrection during the Ten Years War in Cuba, threatened England’s maritime interest in the hemisphere an. The British government’s diplomatic position resulted in a passive political position that viewed the perceived the strong possibility of an inevitable collapse of Spain’s control over its colonies in the Americas.

Even within formal, European, international, diplomatic and political circles, a non-interventionist approach was unavoidable as Granville discovered when British war ships seized two Spanish ironclad ships under the control of an insurgent regime in Cartagena, Colombia and dispatched the vessel to Madrid (Bartlett 1994:82). As Granville’s statement demonstrates, Latin

\textsuperscript{16} The Carlist Wars were the last of Europe, specifically Spain’s civil wars during the nineteenth century beginning in 1833 and lasting until approximately 1876. These wars were political battles against liberalism and traditionalism and included fights over rightful succession over the Spanish monarchy.
American nation-states that supported the act of belligerency by Cuban nationals during the Ten Years War cooperated not with European governments (and certainly not Spain and Portugal) and did not share the same political view of regional political mobilization during the Ten Years War. For example, the Latin American nation-state of Chile recognized Cuban’s international right for maritime belligerency on April 30, 1869, Peru on May 13, 1869, Bolivia and Colombia on June 10, 1869 (Macía 1871:37). These nations sided with the insurgents in Cuba, and understood their actions as being akin to their own in establishing territorial sovereignty and gaining greater juridical control in opposition to continued monarchical rule from Spain through the cortes that did not include them or address their grievances. However, it is important to not loose sight of the fact that within the independent nations of Latin America, and on the islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, Spanish descended elites possessed regional political power between and among each other.

Many nineteenth century independence, anti-slavery, and pro-slavery struggles occurred within, between, across, and through, the geopolitical boundaries of contemporary South America, Central America, the United States, and many islands throughout the Caribbean. In a discussion about the dissemination of British West Indian ephemera during the early nineteenth century, David Lambert argues that among the planter class, “visual and textual artifacts circulated around the Atlantic world, and were disseminated by supporters of “West Indian interests who sought to influence metropolitan opinion and defend colonial rights” (Lambert 2005:408). Lambert demonstrates how British West Indian petitions operated as a form of political technology where marginalized colonial interests were represented in the internal and textual contents, but also in the production, transmission, and delivery of the items (Lambert 2005:415). This process of adjudication illustrates a mode of textual simultaneity important for
understanding how these objects demonstrate a difference in reason and rationality requisite on possess no intrinsic authority on behalf of their political interests.

Cultural studies scholar Jossiana Arroyo connects the metaphor of the book that talks, the transient word, and the discursive technologies deployed within national literatures as an apt metaphor that fuses orality and writing whereby, this practice of utilizing the written word in a multitude of settings, contexts, and consumed by many audiences of reception, becomes a technology of representation that presents to the reader, a representation of transcultural identities (Arroyo 2005:6, 11). Arroyo interprets colonial contexts, as engaged in a dual relation of colonialism and nationalism in which national literatures emerged from unequal shifts in power, as well as forms of knowledge that were not egalitarian as they were mediated and imposed by the word and the book which became tools of the dominant culture (Arroyo 2005:6). As mentioned earlier, for Cuban participants in the Protest of Barágua, expressive cultural forms are historically contextualized artifacts and can provide useful information about the cultural experience of political transition.

For Latin American nation-states, the Ten Years War and the resultant Protest of Barágua was perceived as a legitimate war against Spanish tyranny in the colonies, or overseas territories. “In including within their programme the abolition of Slavery (sic) the Cubans have acted consistently with the whole tenor of all petitions addressed to Spain at various periods” (Macía 1871:36). Earlier in the pamphlet, just cited Juan Macía states that “the Cuban people” claim the right of self-government; 2) demand the immediate abolition of slavery; and 3) claim the freedom of the press, of opinion, and of commerce (Macía 1871:1). Macía’s rhetoric echoes the political principles noted by political historian Richard Morse, whereby faith in the larger
mystical social body was under the process of dissolution (Morse 1989:104), and the colonial state needed to fear the irascibility of future generations of colonist.

The irascibility of future generations is further addressed directly by Macía within his articulation of *mambí ideology*, characteristic of participants in the Protest of Barágua. As Macía states,

> Denying them, she (Spain) must expect only perpetual hatred, and continued warfare, maintained with unflinching zeal by the present generation of Cubans and bequeathed, if necessary, as a holy inheritance to their children (Macía 1871:1).

The use of the phrase of “holy inheritance” serves as both counter and rebuttal to the colonial view of “colored” racial identity as an unholy stain - *el signor de ignominia*.17 A holy inheritance makes sacred those attributes transmitted across generations, particularly continued warfare against a colonial government that denied the set of rights previously mentioned, including immediate abolition which included the economic and personal right to one's wage earning ability. As Macía continued, “The Constitution of the Republic declares in its 24th article that all the inhabitants of the Republic of Cuba are absolutely free,” staking a claim of legitimacy for the Cuban revolutionary government (Macía 1871:36) as the purveyor of full inclusion for marginalized colonial subjects. The words of pamphleteer and journalist Juan Macía, the Cuban *mambí ideology* sought to put an end to the holy inheritance of nepotistic power transference relevant to both the governance structure of colonialism and the cultural condition of social and economic engagement under Spanish descended *criollo* leadership.

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17 Martinez-Alier (1989:74-75), “In the Cuban context colour stood for African descent, but in the view of some white parents and numerous officials it was also ‘the mark of slavery which has descended from his parents. Physical appearance and family pedigree are both no more than a means of recognizing the same thing, i.e. an individual’s social origin. The view that the white Cuban’s prejudice is not a prejudice against people of a particular physical appearance as such seems to be supported as well by the use of the Spanish concept of purity of blood, which was the product of the earlier efforts of the Spanish Crown to achieve a national unity through religious unity. Once a substantial amount of racial mixture had taken place, purity of blood was surely a more rigorous criterion of classification than purely physical appearance.”
From the vantage point of people of African descent in Cuba regardless of whether their social status was that of slave or free, independence and the anti-colonial struggle waged during the Ten Years War also meant an end to the illegal and legal slave trade in Cuba, not merely a recapitulation of Western Enlightenment political ideals actualized in the nation-state. In understanding how and why Cuban *mambises*’ and *mambisas*’ political struggles in the nineteenth century differed politically from other African New World people and their European political allies, Gordon Lewis points out that the Cuban anti-slavery ideals differed from those contained in either the Francophone or Anglophone Caribbean. He argues for the distinctiveness of their locally produced antislavery ideology that he claims was the ideological basis of the Cuban Revolution. *Ideología mambisa*, even as articulated in the pamphlet by Juan Macía, included the following seven points: 1) the belief that freedom could be reached only by armed struggle through the use of the machete; 2) the destruction of private property may be necessary for successful libertad; 3) the right of property should not conflict with higher moral principles; 4) concessions with Spain are out of the question; 5) personal ambition must give way to collective unity; 6) independence for Cuba was the means for entry into the modern world; and 7) freedom meant moral principles of new national citizenship (Lewis 1987:293-294). The Protest of Barguá at a human, individual level and collective level, signified most readily for *emancipados*, slaves and Chinese indentured laborers, and arguably for women as well, an end to being property.

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18 Here, I want to make the point that the machete a commonly held weapon for revolutionary purposes, and tool of oppression in agrarian sugarcane production. I also want to index an interesting parallel between the machete and the pike that John Brown acquired from members of the Concord Six in the Harper’s Ferry rebellion. Both are examples of the utilization of readily available resources that nineteenth century American revolutions often reference the rifle, the cannon or the gun.
The symbolic and political importance of the mambi as human representative of a political ideology, shows that in the struggle for what was understood as radical abolition\(^\text{19}\) and independence, means that the mambises were more than national-folk heroes, or merely iconic representations of revolutionary spirit. For Afro-Cubans, Cubans of African descent, and radical\(^\text{20}\) Cuban revolutionaries in the nineteenth century, the mambises were former slaves legally or illegally trafficked to the island, maroons who escaped servitude but were militarily repressed, and female and male ancestors of slaves, who fought to reestablish their right to live without techniques of punitive physical violence, forced sexual cohabitation, torture, or death.

Though represented within a universalizing discourse of nation-building, I also argue that Cuban mambises understood that they possessed no right to adhere to communally defined practices of cultural sovereignty without social change that included their cultural, social, economic, and political interests. Securing these rights required not merely an antislavery or anticolonial ideology to secure their rights, but also their unpopular political participation. The macro-process of economic, political, and cultural transition represented in the move from the Cuban plantation society within the Americas, towards the modern Cuban nation-state, was entirely a process of conscription, not voluntary surrender as previously interpreted by historians concerned with 19\(^{th}\) century Cuban nationalist projects (Perez 1983; Ferrer 1999) that did not substantively include the regional significance of the Protest of Barágua. Therefore, the exercise of historical (contextual) consciousness through political participation, demonstrated the capacity

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\(^{19}\) Radical abolition in the ideological position and cultural context of nineteenth century Cuba refers to immediate abolition not unlike strategies deployed by New England and mid-Atlantic states during the Revolutionary War with England, or deployed by Union and Confederate regiments during the United States Civil War. Radical references the position of immediate abolition as in the other historical and cultural cases mentioned. I cannot and do not offer a firm position on whether the substance of a “radical” abolitionary project resulted from the desired immediacy or the use of armed violent political struggle.

\(^{20}\) Here my use of the phrase “radical Cuban revolutionaries” is meant to refer to a certainly radical political position held by participants and adherents to the Protest of Barágua. I use the term radical in distinction and contrast to the reformist position held by participants in the Pact of Zanjón.
and desire for recognition of the contributive efforts made by marginal groups within a system of inclusive nationhood.

Indeed, the collective and individual actors who participated in the Protest of Barágua did not voluntarily become inscribed within modern Western categories of administrative and legal discourse (Asad 1997:340). Instead, they were objects of conscription limited by the administrative and legal discourses that had preceded their actions of collectively organizing across colonial and national boundaries. The context of conscription reorganized the very conceptual and institutional conditions of the possibility of social action and its understanding by scholars in anthropology and history (Scott 2004:119). In Cuba, after the Ten Years War (1868-1878), the administrative and legal discourse included notions of sovereignty and governance in the modern nation-state along with customary justifications as to what roles were appropriate for whom, in the practice of governance within a colonial-state engaged in the practice of international diplomatic relationships. The merographic elements of the protest of Barágua, as an iconic event within a regionally significant historical process, along with the conceptual and practical constraints present in the context, offer more than a critique of different vantage points to analyze the event, but offers insight into the different social worlds of participants and responders. Here, I am arguing that the “national community,” though in transition, created from the anti-colonial political struggle with Spain, did not include each of the same elements for a desired nationhood for all participants.

The relationships that each group brought to the common cause of an independence struggle included different relationships in the colonial regime. For European descended criollos, and those individuals, families, and plantation owners involved directly with the production, processing, and exportation of sugarcane, Iberian anti-colonial struggle was held as
the primary and principal struggle. For the marginalized groups the immediate abolition of all forms of urban and plantation slavery was a condition of their collective independence. Each collectivity of socio-political actors held different senses of social order in the “nation-to-be,” specifically on issues that included structural, economic, and customary parity within the national social order and for women slave, free, poor, or elite, included an alteration in the conditions of their marital, conjugal, and economic status as well. Full civil inclusion was perceived as a condition and promise of nationhood embodied within their national citizenship rights. Where colonial subjecthood failed to achieve parity, independent nationhood would not, as perceived by them at the time. It was the act of political struggle that brought their different senses of order into relationship with each other and not a shared singular vision of nationhood.

Modern ideas about liberty (whether abolitionist or republican or abolitionist and republican), helped to transform the conceptual and ideological conditions in which a willing subject was constituted (e.g. the Cuban citizen), new choices were constructed (e.g. different modes of engagement with the economy), a new horizon of cultural options, were assessed and the future nation operating on these values and implementing these principles of governance became possible and thinkable (Scott 2004:123).

Briefly, I have articulated the complex web of international influence that shaped the sphere of engagement for the participants in the Protest of Barágua. Therefore, it is important to also demonstrate in this chapter, that the Cuban independence struggle couched within the expression of the Protest of Barágua was not an isolated set of events limited to political events in Cuba only. Metropolitan European powers were systematically engaged in the island’s political struggles as well. The engagement of Spain, England, and the United States locates the protest and its participants within the hemispheric field of nineteenth century nationalist ideals in
the Americas and within a web of social relations that included not only residents on the island of Cuba, Spanish and English metropolitan powers, but also the United States, the Anglophone Caribbean, and the newly independent Latin American nation-states.

In this chapter, I demonstrate the scope and uniqueness of Barágua’s participants’ tactics and strategies for nation-building, and I contextualize the vocalization of the Protest of Barágua within the political history of American region during the late nineteenth century. Disenfranchised groups whose social status in the colonial state was limited, constrained, compromised, expressed modernity in the Protest of Barágua in thought, ideology, words, and human action. This perspective that recognizes the vocalization and articulation of a view of modernity from the marginalized groups, engages the work of Michel-Rolph Trouillot who argues that within the Caribbean (broadly defined), a regional sense of modernity emerged from the combination of political position and economic participation collectively by nations and colonies, but also by human actors cognizant of their social position (Trouillot 2003:43).

The expression of nostalgia embedded in the local expression of the Protest of Barágua as a historical event with cultural relevance, presents the tensions and challenges involved in the practice of nation-building; specifically within the processes of nation and state formation that referred to a collectivity of people who sought a shared sense of belonging within a new mode of governance and through the ideals presented by Trouillot of “individual betterment through work, [and] ownership.” Their practice of nation-building represented by their individual stakes in the sectarian split that was the Protest of Barágua and their use of out-migration and extra-territorial community formation demonstrate regional connectedness not exclusively with metropolitan governments but within social networks established during the colonial era.
African New World people, and other non-European groups have a history that is intimately connected to the congeries of events and developments understood by the phrase European expansion (Palmié 2002:41). The cultivation of the bourgeois self and the affirmation of modern rationality were contingent on a series of discursive displacements and distinctions upholding boundaries of embodied race and reason that as I have demonstrated above exclude these actors from the international circles with direct state influence. The subversive potential of physiology and social agency of the racial or cultural other, of which participants in the Protest of Barágua were, consisted not in the revulsion that their struggle inspired, but rather in its irresistibility (Palmié 2002:196), irresistibility based on subjugation. The gendered nature of modernity, in which consumption of the other through within the plantation regime of labor, culture, and sexual subjugation, and its sensory logic of expression, articulates Western economies of desire and structures of racial and sexual difference as defined within the parameters of a global economy productive of highly unequal distributions of empowerment (Palmié 2002:37). Modern African New World culture and symbolic systems are based upon the gendered nature of modernity that expresses a mode of carnality reliant on the instrumentalization of non-Western bodies in the service of generating Western senses of (male) selfhood (Palmié 2002:36) whether that sense of (male) selfhood emerges from public political modes of engagement or within the private confines of the plantation household.

Abolition and nationhood were conjoined in both anti-colonial and national hemispheric struggles by participants in Barágua because it served as the only means for ending the continued consumption of bodies like their own to perform labor without compensation and experience social inferiority.
Situating the historical event of Barágua, as an expression of constructing cultural belonging in the new nation-state, shows the experience of transition at multiple levels and in many forms of social life not exclusively political or diplomatic relations. The regional significance of the historical figure, Antonio Maceo, his mother, other members of their immediate family, and other social actors whose collective efforts transected the national boundary of Cuba and the temporal boundary of the colonial historical past, shows an under-explored range of human experience in the post-emancipation experience of transition. The analytical and theoretical lens that I use to examine the Protest of Barágua provides an in depth understanding of the experience of social transformation and cultural transition that is not routinely associated with nationalism in the Americas, but is more often attributed to late twentieth century economic migration or human displacement due violence whether state sponsored or not.

THE 19TH CENTURY AND AMERICAN NATIONALISM

My attempt at understanding how this expression of Cubanidad by Cubans of African descent, their non-white allies, and women during the nineteenth century, requires an analytical framework that both constructs and considers the hemispheric problem space. Fernández-Armesto notes in regard to patterns of these transits and transitions in the Americas, the modern history of the region, in contrast to Europe, Asia, or Africa, is one of transition from north-on-south to south-on-north dependency across time and space (Fernández-Armesto 2003:57). Bi-directional flows of dependency across the centuries of contact connected and continue to connect both hemispheres in an interlocking, common history of political action and struggle based upon the movement of cultural artifacts and culture bearing objects and subjects mentioned above (e.g. ideologies, people, commodities, and people as commodities, etc.).
Anthropologist Sidney Mintz has also taken this same perspective when arguing for a hemispheric view in New World and African New World anthropology when he states that "the different histories of individual New World peoples have affected their perception of themselves and others (Mintz 1970:5). Mintz argues that a hemispheric view is about social relations and processes that are analytically caught "between the hemispheric history of industrialism and the smashing of slave based capitalism, and is between the United States and the rest of the hemisphere" (Mintz 1970:11). Building from ideas contained in Julius Scott's work on the late eighteenth century, slaves, sailors, and free people of color frequently transected imperial borders (Scott 1996:137; 1991:49). Trade and maritime policy and practice in Jamaica during the nineteenth century regularly transected Spanish and British imperial boundaries while slaves, free people of color, and sailors built social and cultural institutions that possessed multi-regional power and influence (Koshy 2005; DiCarlo 1998; Kasdan 1965).

Throughout the Americas, Cubans of African descent and their political allies who were marginalized colonial subjects, built alternative, interconnected regional communication and economic networks (Zacaïr 2005; Lazo 2005) that expressed their experience of translocality during the transition from the colonial state to the nation-state. Regional 19th century nationalist movements and the accompanying independence struggles, along with the internal national struggles for full civil inclusion by women, racial, ethnic, and culturally marginalized groups, contested the archaic colonial structures, customs and beliefs that justified, codified, and legitimized the oligarchical rule of European descended male elites and challenged the continuation of these beliefs and practices within Cuban households.

The different worlds that each structurally positioned group echoed, includes what I perceive as regional similarities in the democratic practice of establishing a just nationhood,
opposed to an unjust, ossified, reformed colonial order. By region, I am referring to an American region broadly defined for it is during this period where interstate relationships among communities of nation were being forged that did not include low status colonial subjects. Colonial inequalities were not to stand unchallenged, nor were those inequalities addressed within the reformed colonial enterprise of the Pact of Zanjón. Still, the transition from a plantation society to a sovereign nation-state meant differences in the maintenance and exercise of new and legitimate social rights as a condition within the transformation and change of social status. As historical process, Barágua offered a criticism of social inequalities inherent in colonial society and offered a challenge to reformist patrimonial control sought by once former allies. It is clear that participants in Barágua sought change in their social power by not remaining marginalized colonial subjects.

Human participation in the process of social transformation was witnessable in the mode and the means of the actual participants in creating their vision of inclusive nationhood. The practice of nation-building transnationally was integral to the tactics and strategies used by participants directly and indirectly in the protest. The ideological epistemology of practice expressed by these social actors broadens our understanding of cultural transformations and historical action for the experience of transition relied upon a cultural knowledge of the transected boundaries of political influence and power by the colonial state and colonial elites, and transformed that knowledge into a platform for re-engineering translocal ties for political purpose.

The cross-hemispheric trade, travel, and politics, characterized the cultural patterns taken by these Cubans and others to cross-fertilization growing elements of dissent. Their expression of dissent targeted greater civil inclusion as a means of formulating their idea nationhood. The
pervasiveness of cross hemispheric social relations has been noted by anthropologists (Yelvington 2006; Trouillot 2003; Slocum and Thomas 2003; Torres 1998; Marcus 1995; Mintz 1977) as a means for addressing contemporary social realities that fosters relationships between individual, groups, and institutional entities. Latin American social historians, who sought to understand the impact of political and economic transformation, have included in their historical works examinations of the cross-traffic and travel of people throughout the region (Reid-Andrews 2004; Curry-Machado 2003; Schoonover 1991) for these modes of transit, travel, and transportation, brought ideas, objects, and commodities that later shaped social policies in specific nation-states.

Yet, the anthropological question of how do scholars, writers, and other cultural critics observe and record cultural change and transition is important for understanding how and why the Protest of Barágua, as historical event, political action, resultant sectarian split, and the articulation of a distinct ideological position in the nation-to-be, established alliances that included cross-racial, ethnic, economic, and gender groups. Moreover, at the level of historical action by real people, who were adherents to the ideas expressed in the Protest of Barágua and participants in the struggle for Cuban independence, a regionally unique set of ideas and principles within human history, gives pause and implores us to consider how contemporary scholars interpret the relationship between nation, state, and citizenry found within ideas of inclusive belonging and political dissent.

The adherents to Barágua expressed ideas and principles critical of the organization of colonial and national power during the 19th century. Their critical stance resulted from the direction that nationhood took after the Ten Years War because that vision of nationhood did not convey full and meaningful inclusiveness. Hence, it is important to analyze the actions taken by
the human participants within the Protest of Barágua, not only the poetic mode of expressive
culture not interpreted here as inconsequential, but also the tangible and material steps taken by
them as well as part of their tactics and strategy for building the Cuban nation from outside of the
territorial and juridical confines of the Spanish colonial state. In a desire to convey the human
experience of social transition, the Protest of Barágua, ethnographically and historically,
demonstrates both the tactics and the strategies used by people to gain increased civil inclusion
and abolish those elements of colonial power that continued to hamper their economic
livelihoods, the expression of their cultural identity, and their personal freedoms within the
institution of marriage as then lived. The Protest of Barágua was an explicitly political form of
collective organization that stands both outside and within understandings late nineteenth and
early twentieth century collective social organization.

However, contemporary ethnographies and histories identify this mode of collective
organization within the formation of migrant communities, the emergence of national political
parties, and in the expression and practice of popular nationalism. In cultural anthropology and
historical works that utilizes an ethnographic lens such as works by Ted Gordon (1998), Laura
Putnam (2002), Peter Wade (1993), Goldstein (2003), George Reid Andrews (1980), people of
African descent are rooted in specific national territories (e.g. Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia,
Brazil, and Argentina respectively). In African American, Africana and Pan-African Studies, the
formation of the first Pan-African Congress in the early twentieth century is presented as the
beginning for these types of cross-regional intellectual and analytical ties. Still, I contend that
there are only a few recent exceptions (e.g. works less than fifteen years old), that make direct
attempts to examine the nature of the relationship between Hispanophone and Anglophone ethnic
populations and their struggle for national independence.
During the late nineteenth century, immediately after the Spanish American War (1895-1898) in Cuba and the Philippines, we also find that significant numbers of Caribbean, Central American, and Latin American peoples of African descent migrated to the United States as well (James 1998). As historian Winston James notes,

The number of black people, and especially Caribbeans, who migrated to the United States increased dramatically, from a trickle of 411 in 1899 to a flood of 12,243 per year by 1924, the high point of the early black migration. From a population of twenty thousand in 1900, the foreign-born black population in the United States has grown to almost a hundred thousand by 1930. Over a hundred and forty thousand black immigrants-exclusive of black visitors or tourists-passed through the ports of America between 1899 and 1937 (James 1998:12).

As Winston James pointed out, their relationships with each other regularly crossed colonial and national territories. For examples of this type of research, see the edited volumes by Dzidzienyo and Oboler (2005), Philippe Zacaïr (2005), Brock and Fuertes (1998), and Brenda Plummer (1998) which utilize an analytical lens in which relationships between and among people of African descent is the central analytical focus.

The Protest of Barágua occurred during a time period where these popular forms of expression of national identity were being created. Abolition and anti-colonialism were linked in the Protest of Barágua as an expression of dissent in which the paradox of legitimacy was not housed exclusively in the political power of Spain challenged by the anti-colonial struggle of the Ten Years War, but also within the practice of cultural exclusion by Havana based elites and those Spanish descended criollos who signed the Pact of Zanjón. Even within the Ten Years War, political tensions that converged with race qua color differentiation did emerge. Tomás Estrada Palma, president of the "Cuban rebel government," refused to establish a military precedent that would alter racial qua color hierarchy in the military leadership of the insurrection by punishing those soldiers and officers who made public claims that the ultimate goal of the war
was to establish a republic "like Haiti" and therefore they refused to be led by Antonio Maceo or other men of color (Helg 1995:48). Also, Calixto García, technically co-commander working with Maceo, assumed primary leadership of the Ten Years War, and prohibited Maceo from assuming direct command of his expedition into Oriente.

García's own fear echoed those of others that the expedition may be perceived as a "race war" (Helg 1995:49). In May of 1878, Calixto García met Maceo in Kingston, to formally relieve him of his command of Eastern Cuba, stating that, "The Spanish are saying that this is a race war and here, in Kingston, the white Cuban émigrés have their fears" (Stubbs 1995:57). In an interview with the *New York Herald* in November 1880, a few months after his immigration to Madrid, García stated that the obstacle facing Cuban independence, pivoted on the fear of white Cubans, "of a servile war with the negroses and mulattoes if Cuba became free" (García in Ferrer 1999:93). It is not known what specific European diplomatic channels or other political connections existed for García to successfully subvert Maceo's command and quell fears in Spain that the insurrection was not a "race war."

Thus, the cease-fire and surrender agreement entered into by mostly white *criollos* at the end of the Ten Years War (1868-1878), referred to in Cuban historiography as *El Pacto de Zanjón* (The Pact of Zanjón) was perceived by inhabitants of eastern Cuba as an illegitimate treaty. In 1878, General Antonio Maceo, did not surrender to the Spanish and left open the possibility to resume struggle on behalf of all Cubans who understood the abolition of slavery as a condition of actual independence. On March 25, 1878, in what can be assume to have been a regionally produced newspaper called *Piloto del Mogote Bucuey* (Pilot of the Mogote Bucuey), Maceo explained his position and those of the six men beside himself that formed the new Cuban Revolutionary government (Franco 1975:151). The written pronouncement of *la ideología*

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21 In reviewing locations in eastern Cuba, there is a location called Mogote in eastern Cuba.
mambisa reinscribed the political project of an anti-colonial political struggle that emphasized equal citizenship at the onset of the abolition of slavery. He stated,

To the Inhabitants of the Eastern Department

Since the time of the unfortunate and base design which brought this Department a new policy in harmony with the total neglect of the Centers by the New York Junta, whose policy has been to separate us completely from the President and the Camagüey Junta, we have agreed with the leaders Flor Crombet, Belisario Grave de Peralta, Pedro Martínez Freire, Vincente García, José Maceo, Guillermo Moncada, and others not to enter into the peace agreement that the Central Department has made. We have had ten years of suffering and hardships without number; our army is strong, hardy and experienced…Our policy is to free the slaves, because the era of the whip and of Spanish cynicism has come to an end and we ought to for a new Republic assimilated with our sisters Santo Domingo and Haiti.

The great spirit of Washington, LaFayette and Bolivar, liberators of oppressed peoples, accompanies us, and is one with us, and we believe that we will accomplish our work of regeneration. In habitants of the Eastern Department, your Major General Maceo is counting on your cooperation.

My duties to Patria and to my own political convictions are above all human effort; for these I shall reach the pedestal of freedom or I shall perish fighting for the redemption. Do you think that a man who is fighting for a principle and has a high regard for his honor and reputation can sell himself while there is still at least a chance of saving his principles by dying or trying to enforce them before he denigrates himself? Men like me fight only in the cause of liberty and will smash their guns rather than submit.

“NO INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT THE TOTAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, THE ONLY GUARANTEE FOR A LASTING PEACE!”

In the references to Washington, LaFayette, and Bolivar, Antonio Maceo, and certainly the other men who drew up the actual words to the protest was referencing revolutionary leaders in the United States (George Washington), leader in the French Revolution (the Marquis du LaFayette), and a Latin American liberator (Simon de Bolivar).

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22 J.A. Sierra, translation, [www.historyofcuba.com](http://www.historyofcuba.com)
In each of these historical figures we find implicit, not explicit references to the strategy that became the Protest of Barágua. George Washington is the United States leader who led military expeditions in an anti-British colonial struggle. Simon de Bolivar represents the Latin American leader who sought to build a confederation of Latin American nations in his plan of *La República de Gran Colombia*. The Marquis du LaFayette, established a colonial estate with slaves that he purchased and resettled them to Cayenne, French Guiana where they were provided with education and equal representation under a communal law code (Gillard 1930:360). By invoking the three leaders of republican and national political projects, Antonio Maceo signifies his desired goal of liberty, fraternity, and equality.

Cuban historian Jose Luis Franco was the first to refer to *La Protesta de Barágua* as an important historical event that impacted Latin American, European, Caribbean, and North American politics (Franco 1978). He demonstrated the importance of colonialism and nationalism in the Caribbean context, echoing Donghi how the Spanish nation (including extraterritorial possessions) and nationalism (criollo independence) impacted political policy. The Pact of Zanjón and the Protest of Barágua operate in Cuban historiography as representations of unprincipled concession (Zanjón) and principled intransigence (Barágua) (Ferrer 1999:218n.89). I show how the intransigence of the Protest of Barágua was not merely human intransigence but an expression of political interest that amplified *both* revolutionary and popular political ideals through the acts, actions, and words of Antonio Maceo, and the other *mambises* who vowed to resume their fight for independence (Franco 1978:53).

The militaristic oppression of Spain for acts of dissent in print and public assemblages, meant that voicing their grievances outside of Cuba was also a testament to their divergent political view of nationhood and located them outside of colonial and national state networks of
contested and agreed upon political power. Interestingly, their grievances were moderately entertained within the Spanish cortes, an institution wholly inaccessible to them as individuals who lacked the proper political status at the time.23

The event of Barágua ultimately denotes a sectarian split between mambises and former-insurrectionists who at the end of the Ten Years War (1868-1878) realigned their political interests and desire for imperial authority with the Spanish colonial government forming a Hispano-Antillean elite political bloc. Gendered configurations of power and authority within the identity and ideology of being and identifying as mambises as opposed to insurrectos, was shared and conferred across gender, racial, ethnic, and cultural boundaries after Barágua. In Latin American historiography, insurrectos are overwhelmingly identified with white, criollo males not a multi-racial and multi-ethnic political interest block.

The protracted period between 1879 and 1895, a period of fifteen years from the Final War of Independence (1895-1898), marks cyclical shifts of agitation, engagement, and re-engagement with the anti-Spanish colonial struggle and the formal abolition of plantation slavery. Yet, the active desire to establish and create a racially, ethnically, and economically inclusive modern Cuban nation-state, whereby economic contributions—both individual contributions and those of specific gender, racial, or ethnic groups—were unilaterally recognized as co-equal and subsequently guaranteed the equal exercise of citizenship.

It is in this way that the immediate abolition of slavery in Cuba was “unthinkable history” at the moment of Barágua, and therefore, an unnecessary precondition to “civilized” nationhood.

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23 This is an important point to make for should one examine the regional significance of the French Revolution and the Haitian revolution in tandem with Franco’s perspective on trans-regional impact. This point made demonstrates the key differences of how Spanish colonial organization and Cuban dissident political interest, historically differs not only from each other, but from other colonial governance systems in operation during the historical period. For example in the work of Caribbean historian, C.L.R. James, The Black Jacobins, he notes sectarian divides even among the political left Jacobin Party (e.g. Robespierre and the Mountain versus the Brissotins-Girondists) who were “firmly against the Rights of Man for Mulattoes” (p.111). Moreover, he notes the actions taken by the Haitian political leader Toussaint L’Overture in leading the negotiation for inclusion under the declaration of the rights of man by practicing diplomatic relations as the envoy of slaves during the French colonial assembly (p.104) as a necessary tactic. See James, Chapter 4.
Direct public support for the immediate abolition of slavery was the political pivot point upon which the sectarian identities of insurrectionist and *mambi* shifted away from each other and became a less homogeneous political interest block than during the beginning of the Ten Years War. A *mambi* political worldview included a futuristic vision of a nation without urban or plantation slavery, without a colonial government structure that limited forms of cultural expression (music, theater, the literary arts, journalism, and essays, etc.), did not penalize and punish disagreeable public criticism or commentary with imprisonment, and did not offer economic preference based on a racialized hierarchy of proximity to Spanish heritage.

Public office and political appointments in Cuba were themselves little more than the colonial extensions of the patronage system in Spain…*Peninsulares* monopolized more than public positions. They also dominated private property. Spaniards controlled trade and commerce, they presided over banking and finance, as well as industry and manufacturing. They owned the factories and many of the farms, managed the plants and plantations, were retail shopkeepers and wholesale merchants, as well as moneylenders and land brokers. Spaniards were preponderant in the professions and trades, as artisans and apprentices, in the offices as clerks, and in the fields as day laborers. They dominated the economy, and most of all they controlled the jobs. And whether by formal contract or by informal consensus, Spaniards preferred to hire Spaniards, a private practice that coincided with public policy…Peninsular employers extended an avuncular patronage to their countrymen-giving rise among Cubans to the derisive sobriquet of *sobrinismo*, the practice, quite literally, of uncles in Cuba employing nephews from Spain (Pérez 1988:135).

*Mambises* were actively excluded in the reformist Spanish colonial-state and their futuristic vision of an inclusive Cuban nation, had to include a conscious political recognition of their structural, cultural, economic and social marginality to institutional paths of mobility. Institutional access to professions, universities, major business networks, licenses, and extra-community professional resources without associative ties of unequal patronage formed their republican vision of *Cubanidad.*
In his statement of protest, the selling of principles without the total abolition of slavery, as was achieved in Puerto Rico (without independence of course), referenced the control of state governance by “our sisters” in Haiti and Santo Domingo. The use of a kinship term that notes a sibling relationship and shows an associative tie to other territories in the region. Hence, the Protest of Barágua is not merely an isolated historical event buried within the archive of secondary sources, but is an expression of a changing regional political consciousness. The passage, “Our policy is to free the slaves, because the era of the whip and of Spanish cynicism has come to an end and we ought to for a new Republic,” links this form of Republicanism to anti-colonialism.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BARÁGUA IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

The possibility that a translocal and transnational protest could be had due to the political results at the town of Barágua, meant that its participants held a different view of the national future that did not build nation only internally, but externally as well. I wish to present the argument that the expression of sectionalism as expressed within the practice of Cuban nationhood, required participants in the many factions to imagine independence and national sovereignty differently, a point taken up in detail by Cuban historian Louis Perez (1983) in analyzing the actions taken by members of the different formalized political parties operating in Cuba and Spain before the formal creation of the Cuban Revolutionary Party. Also, historians Ailine Helg (1995) and Alejandro de la Fuente (2001) both argue that the structural impediment experienced by Afro-Cubans and the persistence of racial transcendence resulting in racial discrimination were each factors in Cuban national politics well into the mid-twentieth century.

Moreover, within these imaginings of nation, the new and different accompanying freedoms they offered, also included imagining the nation differently from not only the colony
but from Cubans who possessed different modes and levels of engagement with the Spanish colonial state. Cuban nationhood offered a different mode of engaging economically. As Perez states,

Economic distress revived demands for political solution of colonial grievances…[T]he most devoted autonomist had little to sustain faith that inspired the creation of the party in 1878. The planter bid for political leadership in the colony after Zanjón had situated the propertied elite directly between the crossfire of the contentious extremes of the separatists and the suspicion of loyalists. It was a position that reflected accurately the anomalous social reality of planters and the inevitable ambivalence of a class dependent on American markets for prosperity but relying on Spanish military for security (Pérez 1983:36).

Eastern Cuban *mambises* did not have access to the political possibility of the Spanish colonial state being a purveyor of their military security, but saw the colonial state as the adjudicator of military penalization, incarceration, and surveillance. Eastern Cuba was clearly the military and re-organizational target following the end of the Ten Years War and the signing of the Pact of Zanjón. As historian Ada Ferrer notes,

For former slaves freed at Zanjón, and perhaps especially for those still enslaved and anxious to win their freedom like their predecessors, the new insurrection represented a second chance to fight for the end of racial slavery under colonial rule…As soon as the second insurrection began on August 26, 1879, members of the newly formed Conservative and Liberal (Autonomist) parties offered their services to Spain to help defeat the new Cuban effort…More revealing however, was the attitude taken by members of the Liberal or Autonomist Party…As one Liberal newspaper declared just days after the start of the rebellion: “The Party condemns with energy every disturbance against the [public] order [and] every threat to liberty”…The withdrawal of elite white support for the insurrection, critical in and of itself, became even more important precisely because it occurred as the movement’s base of support deepened among other sectors of the rural eastern society, especially among the slaves and former slaves impatient to finish the business of emancipation…This new rebellion, then was to put it simply—blackler than the first one: many white Liberal veterans of the first war rejected it publicly; slaves and former slaves embraced it; and black and mulatto officers gradually assumed its most prominent military positions (Ferrer 1999:76-77).
The success of the eastern brigades, served to weaken the military presence of the Spanish colonial state on the island, but not enough in 1879 mentioned in the passage quoted from Ferrer to successfully stave off both Spanish military rule. In order to re-establish colonial order and rule, it became important for Spanish officials and armed forces remove and resettle rural residents in eastern Cuba.

The destruction of so much rural property in the east, combined with the voluntary and involuntary movement of rural dwellers to nearby cities and towns, profoundly altered the physical and social landscape of the eastern countryside…Faced with decline and desolation in the countryside on the one hand and with an overflow of rural refugees in provincial cities and large towns on the other, Spanish authorities in eastern Cuba elaborated ambitious designs for reconstruction. Central to their project for reconstruction was the plan to establish new settlements and to resettle preexisting, but now abandoned small towns…[O]ne month following the peace treaty of Zanjón, more than two thousand persons from the insurrection presented themselves to Spanish authorities; they joined numerous others who had arrived in the months before and who found themselves, though pardoned, without homes and without any means of subsistence (Ferrer 1999:102-103).

Here we have an example of the utilization of a policy of reconfiguration for Spanish colonial control and the restoration of the cultural condition servitude.

The post-emancipation experience of people of African descent in the Americas is little understood which presents the importance of this study to gain greater hemispheric knowledge of these experiences. Riddled with a continuum of inquiries and critiques, scholarship in the social sciences, history, and cultural studies that have sought to study populations of people of African descent and their cultural practices and traditions, often treat the analytical complexity wrought from these population’s historical and ethnographic engagement as an intellectual conundrum, a pariah subject, or merely as a series of loaded questions, answerable only through the construction of models that denote or connote^{24} traits, attributes, cultural features, and patterns.

^{24}I am making the distinction between models of African New World culture that associate meaning and value to the presences of certain traits (connotation) and others that name traits and apply specific meanings to those trait (denotation). See Yelvington (2001).
Quantification, empirical reasoning, and surface observations saturate many studies in the fields of cultural anthropology and history rather than ones that take an approach of deep description within analysis of local, national and regional history. Cultural anthropology based in the American particularist tradition, relied upon the methodological practice of quantifying the “observable” presence of traits, rather than describing or analyzing systems of transmission or exchange. The analysis and description of systemically organized relationships of exchange and transmission has characterized more recent approaches in both anthropology and history (Davis 2007; Andrews 2004; Feldman-Bianco 1992; Gardner 1995; Appadurai 1991) because these approaches recognize the importance of scale experienced at both the human and temporal levels. Historical events are never merely historical and do not have one dimension of action or consequence.

The plantation household, the local/municipality, the internal regional locale, and the territorial domain of colonial power housed in the colony, are all important for critically understanding how hemispheric and other associative relationships were forged, contested, and transformed. As stated in chapter one, the cultural complexity of colonialism, imperialism, and nationalism as a tripartite linkages in the Cuban and broader 19th century American context, is important to mention here, to understand the transition from plantation societies to modern nation-states as cultural practice by people of African descent in the Americas and the alliances they forged and networks established as a result of the Protest of Barágua. The colonial, imperial, and national ties shape the ethnographic and historical complexity found in my analysis of the sectarian split of the Protest of Barágua which influenced and shape the human experience of transition from one mode of collective social organization to another one. I show that
these associative ties were not tangential to cultural transformation but informed them and were shaped by them.

Within the relational ties of politics, practice (formal and informal labor), and group determination (juridical and customary modes of identification), marginalized groups often sought a means to leverage and jockey successfully for new and different social positions, greater and different forms of power in their perceived accessible temporal future. Their cultural practice created through their ability to establish multiple forms of collective ties and the consolidation of human networks that operated as institutions expressed transnational political relation within connected translocalities. It is in this way, that the local political project in Cuba engaged global political projects in Europe and other nations in the Americas.
CHAPTER THREE
THE POLITICAL TRANSITION OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS
IN 19TH CENTURY CUBA

FAMILY: DOMESTIC HIERARCHIES OF POWER IN THE CUBAN PLANTATION SOCIETY

Periods of political transition require that individuals and groups undergo shifts, experience negotiations, and sometimes, actualize transformations of their key social institutions. The transformation of nineteenth century Cuba from an American (broadly defined) plantation society into a modern nation-state altered the political culture expressed by Cuban participants in the Protest of Barágua. The Protest of Barágua was both a written expression of the sectarian split between their goals of inclusive citizenship and the Hispano-elite block on and of the island. The Protest of Barágua marks the means, the mode, and strategy taken by those who held grievances expressed within representatives of the Spanish colonial state and with the Hispano elites governing commerce, political bodies, and the everyday modes of social engagement.

The Protest of Barágua included an accompanying set of political practices that was reliant upon out-migration and the formation of transnational social networks throughout the Caribbean, Latin America, the United States, and England. The family, the colonial state, and indigenous cultural organizations changed from explicitly cultural communal forms into collective bodies of political mobilization. Organizations such as cabildos and other associative organizations shaped the cultural context of how and why participants in Barágua understood and acted upon their vision of inclusive citizenship within their act of protest.

This chapter is divided into three sections that discuss the institutional mobilization of political, economic, and social power through collectively held resources present in the family, the colonial state, and the institutional cultural forms found within nineteenth century Cuba at the time of the Ten Years War. Domestic hierarchies of power were routinely at play in the
plantation society of Cuba. My analysis of the internal dynamics of these hierarchies offers ethnographic background for an explanation of the political realities that were ameliorated through the Protest of Baráguia. If the Protest of Baráguia is to be interpreted as a historical event with a hemispheric scope of importance, then understanding the domestic sphere in Cuba, and the grievances held by gender, economic, and racialized ethnic groups, are equally important to this understanding. Also, if the Spanish colonial state and the Hispano-elite political block in Cuba formalized a reformist agenda through the Pact of Zanjón, that agreement and the agenda to reestablish social order in Cuba ensured the maintenance of the Spanish colonial state. Under what conditions did the marginalized groups who participated in the Ten Years War and the Protest of Baráguia find themselves when launching their complex, transnational protest? The reinstatement of a domesticity of colonial control by Hispano elites entailed the actual social and political exclusion of high and low status women, free and enslaved people of African descent, and Chinese indentured laborers. Within colonial discourse after the Ten Years War, the domestic hierarchies of power found in the social institutions not created by marginalized groups, structurally situated them with new identity formations that remained without access to shifting modes of political and economic power that the reform measures entailed.

Colonial discourse inscribed order that located people based upon the intersections of racial identity, gender identity, and the political and economic status of slaves as chattel and property. Colonial privilege required that governance systems in Latin America separated whites, indigenous people and blacks. Through juridical means, the colonial discourse constituted a normative subjectivity that premised the illegitimacy of slave identity while fostering the same for the *mestizo castas* (Chavés 2000:190). The discourse of honor became a relational notion that identified European heritage at the same time it elevated European
womanhood as the more desirable form based upon codes of conduct premised within male social position. As Chavés states,

Thus it was a recurrent theme in colonial discourses that the codes of honor of white women demanded of the chaste sexual behavior, whereas women of “black blood” were free of honor requirements and thus were predisposed to “sexual ardors.” this dichotomy allowed the creation of a hierarch of female roles that in turn, served to uphold social exclusion along racial lines (Chavés 2000:190-111).

In the plantation society, slave women lacked a personal/individual and familial juridical claim over the dominion of the household in which they worked and lived. Slave women in the plantation society held limited authority over their work tasks in the plantation household. In the customary system of the plantation, they did not possess a valorized and socially accepted sense of social honor afforded the plantation mistress or any European descended women regardless of their marital or economic status.

The gender hierarchy in place in plantation society instantiated a secondary role to European descended women in relation to European descended men. European descended women did own slaves in urban and rural settings, however, when the issue of commanding and selling the slave labor base for commodity production, the plantation mistress did not possess direct authority over land or labor---her husband did. The formal, legal, institutional power and authority afforded the plantation mistress, rested solely in her husband and her male family members. Due to his marriage rights over her and her dowry, males possessed the material basis of familial honor, which often included slaves and other forms of capital, while females possessed only a symbolic form of social honor that required them to live in social isolation only within prescribed areas of family, kin, and the physical space of the home.

Slaves were caught in a plantation labor system where negotiations for their personal well-being and that of their mates or offsprings, was inscribed within the spousal relationship of
plantation owners. Plantation mistresses only had the power of personal appeals to her husband’s primary decision-making authority that was socially unchecked in the nineteenth century because the code of masculine household governance and control was normalized. My historical observation of the multi-tiered complexity of experience faced by African New World women can be expanded in order to argue, that for slave women in the plantation societies of the Americas, the domain of the household was simultaneously public and private, rarely offering a innate adjudicator or mediator. The social isolation of the woman of Spanish or European heritage was placed in contrast to the slave woman’s accessibility. Also, due to the function of the plantation as the space for procuring an economic livelihood not for themselves, but for their owners who could either be men or women, slave men and women were faced with the reality of leveraging power that was temporally, spatially, socially, and politically constrained and required consistent negotiation and reinterpretation. Continuance of codes of domestic hierarchies via the Pact of Zanjón, elicited the response of Barágua for establishing more open social does of behavior not juridically enforced.

Though feminist historians have argued that to present the historiographic evidence of women’s experience requires scholars to make methodological interventions in how we classify, interpret, and collect archival data (Burton 2003; Scott 1999), the analytical conflation of collective forms of agency and resistance to gender oppression in “private” settings “forecloses upon the possibility of appreciating other, perhaps, more immediate collective forms of agency and resistance (Sarkar 2004). African New World history and culture has yet acknowledged or thoroughly investigated the possibility that women (whether high or low European status, enslaved or free) were exiled from past institutional mechanisms for power, status, and authority

25 I make this claim not without the recognition that free coloreds owned slaves and the practice of concubinage in the Americas occurred whereby, a slave woman held a modicum of control over the physical space of the household in which she resided. Yet, issues of direct title to property while legally enslaved, the juridical or official recognition of the conjugal union, and laws governing primogeniture etc., often mitigated immediate and direct control of a household by women who were enslaved. See Lazarus-Black (1992), Chaves (2000), and Moitt (2001).
based on gender inflected networks that made male to male relationships more politically legitimate than female to female ones. We can also see that even in the most primary male to female relationship, that of marriage, male inscribed power possessed legal and juridical rights of primacy in the colonial system.

The complexity of gender roles as recorded by Caribbean ethnographers, begs feminist theorists to “de-Westernize the premises” (Trouillot 1992:27) used for contextualizing the experiences of women of African descent in the Caribbean because of the confluence of public space and private space within a plantation system. Moreover, as has been argued by African American feminist scholars concerned with plantation societies in the United States (Guy-Sheftall 2003; Terborg-Penn 1996), the Caribbean and Latin America (Shepard 2002), firm and fixed boundaries of a public-private separation did not fit the cultural context of both regions because, the confluence of legal status, gender identity, racial, and ethnic identity excluded women (specifically women of African descent) from the power to enforce and maintain those boundaries and they were legally, perhaps not socially or personally, devoid of having an adjudicator. They were excluded from the code of respectable womanhood. Finally, these scholars recognized political differences in regional and localized womanhood that shaped the culture of the nineteenth century and the political processes of colonialism, nation-state formation, and the rise of the civil sphere where their participation was the simultaneous expression of their desire to alter the social operations of a colonial society.

Women of African descent were caught in the triangulated nexus of class (as the confluence of economic and social status), gender, and racial domination. Unequal power relationships intersected with each of these other factors of social difference. As historian Elizabeth Fox-Geonvese writes about the internal gender and racial dynamics among slave and
slaveholding women in nineteenth century plantation households,

Slave women, seeing themselves as rightful delegates of the order that the master guaranteed, also held the mistresses to correct behavior...The argument always took the form of “It’s all for your own good!” The chafing of the mistress and the testing of her servant remained a series of interminable struggles over this-and-that and were most unlikely to take the form of a frontal attack. Submerged in the flow of everyday life, they constituted a jockeying for position within a defined world more than a systematic opposition to it (Fox-Genovese 1988:142).

The jockeying for leveraging points within a social system that inscribed power and authority within European descended manhood augmented the gender hierarchy between and among slave and plantation mistress. In plantation households, ecclesiastical law and customary practice represented the “wife to” the plantation owner, as higher, more respected, and better protected.

A structural division of power between slaves and slave owners located the plantation mistress as secondary power holder to the power held by her husband. As Fox-Genovese explains, slave women understood and leveraged the gendered lines of racialized power and authority in the plantation household. Slave women fully recognized ultimate authority was held by the planter who owned their bodies and labor. Moreover, the planter male within his social circle could and did use both for economic profit and personal pleasure. Fox-Genovese’s historical focus of centering the discussion on women in plantation societies fosters a nuanced discussion of the micro-dynamics of power, authority, and social control that explains the pivotal role women played in the plantation labor system. Moreover, Fox-Genovese helps us understand that plantation owners could exercise a similar degree of control akin to ownership over their wives through both customary practice and legal rights that permitted them to be the final and often sole decision-maker in domains that regulated wealth and property-- even the property and wealth wives brought to the marriage.

To bring out the significance of Fox-Genovese’s point about the deployment of
leveraging strategies further, it is important to note, that in the domain of the labor process, that included work tasks and sexual submission, the gendered dimension of power was based upon the social, political, and customary condition of slaves and mistresses as subjugated groups who shared institutional disenfranchisement from the power of male to male relationships. This micro-physics of power and contestation affected slave men and slave women differently due to the confluence of gender and power and because the customary proscription of the sexual accessibility and availability of women was also present in the gender hierarchy. The sexual acquiescence of women to men, whether as plantation mistress or as slave, hinged on the gender and racial infused combination of marital duty and chattel’s inability to refuse. A wife could hold an opinion and state grounds for refusal, but slaves, as chattel, held no formally recognizable opinion nor possessed a legal or customary right of refusal. Slaves did not possess the same mode of social personhood as wives, and were objects under both custom and formal law in plantation societies. It was often the responsibility of slaves to handle the public affairs of their owners by being present outside of the household compound.

Colored and slave women were frequently seen in the streets of Havana and other cities, actively participating in commerce, unlike their white, middle and upper-class criolla counterparts. For colored and slave women, their colonial subjection and filial relationship to honor had to be mediated and formally adjudicated by them (Chaves 2000:117). In Cuba and other parts of Latin America, we find that all slaves during the 1880’s often took up juridical claims against their owners for issues of excessive cruelty (Scott 1985:170), petitions for freedom often based on wrongful enslavement (Chavés 2000:113), and a defense of their rights due to their colonial or national territory’s breach of international maritime laws governing the slave trade (Andrews 2004:81). The normativity of colonial discourses in Latin America
conjoined social and customary practices in all plantation societies regardless of whether the territory was an independent nation state. Privilege over property was maintained in the plantation household and shaped the culture of domesticity in social relations.

The gender hierarchies that presents “proper” and “acceptable” behavior in terms of the occupation of public space, marks cultural differences not only in the utilization of public space but also important distinctions within the separate communities of tradition. For Cuban women of African descent and other colored women, the participation in urban commerce in the streets may not have had a moral or religious proscription against it. The economic power they have derived from market activities improved their social and political status in a society that prized male honor and female social isolation by putting them in contact with men of varied status, granting them access to currency or other goods, and forging public associative bonds.

In addition to the difficulties faced by scholars attempting to understand the cultural complexity of experience faced by all women during the nineteenth century, finding historical evidence and developing interpretative frameworks of women’s advocacy and activism is also difficult. For scholars working in a contemporary period, the problems found in representing women’s political engagement and mobilization throughout the world, has brought to bear a reevaluation of the meaning, practice, and representation of transnational feminist solidarity networks (Desai 2002; Basu 2000:70), that like the plantation household of the past, contained power inequalities in an international system of nations. A single plantation engaged in the production of a specific commodity was not an isolated production space even when the property itself was held by a single owner.

Plantations and the resulting commodities were economic sites that produced products that were exported to foreign markets or supplied domestic markets. As chattel, slaves were
similarly treated as commodified objects. I understand plantations not as merely private households, but also as agrarian factories whose owners received their profit by engaging in the export of commodities that were valued in an international and a domestic market of exchange. Within the relational ties of politics, practice (formal and informal labor), and group determination, women (and women’s groups) often sought a means to leverage and jockey successfully for position and power defined by their social position or station, and by their access or lack of access to public space. It is in this way, that local political projects of familial relations in plantation societies, engaged the transnational political project of inclusive nationhood. For the scholar interested in the historical manifestation and expression of gender relations, a multiplicity of interpretive strategies lies at the forefront of scholarly analysis and criticism. Scholarly analysis and cultural criticism has required the recognition that one category or discursive repertoire does not fit all contexts (Scott 1999), political agendas (Mohanty 1999), grassroots movement or mode of political participation (Hesford and Kozol 2005; Naples 2002).

The plantation household formally and informally was a space that was systemically organized around internal and external economic needs (and desires). The historical experience of women, both slave and free encompassed their historical engagement or disengagement as global political actors confined to the circuits of power and influence that existed in greater measure inside the household than outside.

However, the family exists as a basic collective category of political organization and kinship theory (Delaney 1995:178). Systems of relatedness were regularly expressed symbolically in textual forms that asserted different expressions of familial modes of relatedness with the social conditions of African Americans in the United States. The plantation slave system, and their desired political and territorial independence, challenged the extralocal
processes that shaped them (Naples 2002:269), such as those mentioned in the previous chapter regarding the diplomatic and economic alliances established between European and North American nations.

As cultural critic and analyst Paul Gilroy notes, the historical situation of blacks in the Western world often, "points to new intermediate concepts that exist between the local and the global" (Gilroy 1991:188). The translocal networks formed by adherents to the principles and practices of the Protest of Barágua required and relied upon institutional configurations of human actors to create hemispheric awareness and advocacy. The overall rhetorical strategies used by Cuban adherents to Barágua, the Spanish colonial state, and Hispano-elites in Cuba, linked Cuban colonial subjects to groups who occupied similar structural positions in other national or colonial territories. These representations of relatedness, I have argued, are merographic depictions that occur within fields of intersecting, and sometimes competing discourses. During the period of the Protest of Barágua, the tensions of Cuban domesticity experienced by gente de color was expressed in written expressive modes. Just before the final war of independence, José Mayner y Ros writes,

In the life a providence of the [Cuban] community, in happiness and respect of society, in peace and tranquility of the domestic home place, everything, absolutely everything, depends on the mutual union, faithful observations of this great law of social affinity and universal union that should exist especially among men that by reasons of birth, tradition, aspirations, and ones own dignity, should consider themselves brothers. Men that identify in ideas and justifications for the same causes, they can find by the middle of the revolution that neither the reasons, the sufferings, the patience, the justice, and although the threat they could never secure.26

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26 Ibid. 126, En la vida y porvenir de los pueblos, en la felicidad y respecto de la Sociedad, en la paz y tranquilidad del hogar doméstico, todo, absolutamente todo, depende de la union mutual, de la fiel observacion de esa gran ley de afinidad social y union universal que debe existir especialmente entre hombres que, por motivos de Nacimiento, tradicion, aspiraciones y propia dignidad, deben considerarse hermanos. Hombres que identificados en ideas y justificados por las mismas causas, buscan por medio de la revolucion lo que ni las razones, los sufrimientos la paciencia, la justicia y ni aun las amenazas pudieron conseguir jamás.
The experience of exclusion from the “domestic home-place” as articulated by Mayner y Ros, was such that, the mutual union of “brotherhood” was denied to them by others who shared the same location of birth and tradition. The domestic hierarchies of power based in the plantation system served to organize how political, economic and social power was later to be organized in the post-national period.

For participants in the Protest of Baráguia, their strategies, thoughts and actions, encompassed the utilization and inclusion of a network of social relations that extended throughout the hemisphere and not just within the island. Associative ties were forged between individuals and organized collective bodies, and were based upon a shared understanding of a political past that included the plantation both as labor and cultural system. A collective hope of a political future that garnered complete national inclusion was the reason for protesting against the political block represented in the Pact of Zanjón. Individual action did not and could not complete the circuit of transmission that connected populations of political sympathizers.

The anti-slavery and abolitionist movements of Great Britain and the United States, heads of states in independent Latin American nation-states, free colored and former slave populations throughout the Americas, and Cuban and other Caribbean migrant enclave communities in the United States, Central America, and continental South America expressed a desire for “social affinity” that was fully present. The goals and missions across organizations fostered parallel actions of political mobilization, and sometimes through social means, strived to achieve a credible national future in their shared envisioning of national belonging. In Cuba after 1879, groups excluded from the alliances forged by and between Hispano elites in Cuba and Spain, and within the governmental and diplomatic channels maintained by Spain, England, and the United States, were reliant upon their networks of relations. These relationships were integral to
proceeding towards a future that defined them individually and collectively as societal contributors of equal merit, value, and necessity. I wish to present the argument that the expression of sectionalism as expressed within the practice of Cuban nationhood, required participants in the many factions to imagine independence and national sovereignty differently, a point taken up in detail by Cuban historian Louis Perez (1983) in analyzing the actions taken by members of the different formalized political parties operating in Cuba and Spain before the formal creation of the Cuban Revolutionary Party. Moreover, within these imaginings of nation, the new and different accompanying freedoms it offered were also imagined differently. Cuban nationhood offered a different mode of engaging economically. As Perez states,

> Economic distress revived demands for political solution of colonial grievances…[T]he most devoted autonomist had little to sustain faith that inspired the creation of the party in 1878. The planter bid for political leadership in the colony after Zanjón had situated the propertied elite directly between the crossfire of the contentious extremes of the separatists and the suspicion of loyalists. It was a position that reflected accurately the anomalous social reality of planters and the inevitable ambivalence of a class dependent on American markets for prosperity but relying on Spanish military for security (Pérez 1983:36).

Eastern Cuban *mambises* did not have access to the political possibility of the Spanish colonial state being a purveyor of military security, but saw the colonial state as the adjudicator of military penalization. Eastern Cuba was clearly the military and re-organizational target following the end of the Ten Years War and the signing of the Pact of Zanjón. The success of the eastern brigades, served to weaken the military presence of the Spanish colonial state on the island. In order to re-establish colonial order and rule, it became important for Spanish officials and armed forces remove and resettle rural residents in eastern Cuba.

> The destruction of so much rural property in the east, combined with the voluntary and involuntary movement of rural dwellers to nearby cities and towns, profoundly altered the physical and social landscape of the eastern countryside…Faced with decline and desolation in the countryside on the one hand and with an overflow of rural refugees in provincial cities and large towns
on the other, Spanish authorities in eastern Cuba elaborated ambitious designs for reconstruction. Central to their project for reconstruction was the plan to establish new settlements and to resettle preexisting, but now abandoned small towns. In order to encourage such settlement, colonial officials authorized the granting of state lands to former insurgents and to civilian families who had been living in rebel controlled territories or in rebel prefectures...[O]ne month following the peace treaty of Zanjón, more than two thousand persons from the insurrection presented themselves to Spanish authorities; they joined numerous others who had arrived in the months before and who found themselves, though pardoned, without homes and without any means of subsistence (Ferrer 1999:102-103).

The Ten Years War culminated in a disaggregation of Spanish colonial state power from the domain of the metropole. As the living conditions of the inhabitants in Cuba declined, but the conditions faced by eastern Cuba included systematic repression that interned and resettled them away from their former homes and villages. As the living conditions of the inhabitants in Cuba declined, the conditions faced by eastern Cuba included systematic repression that interned and resettled them away from their former homes and villages. Here we have an example of the reconfiguration of Spanish colonial control and the restoration of servitude.

STATE: SPANISH COLONIALISM AND POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE COLONY OF CUBA

For Latin American residents incorporated into Spanish Christendom, the Neo-Thomist beliefs offered theoretical formulation of the ideals and the many sociological realities of the Spanish patrimonial state (Morse 1989:104). The political tradition of domination and social control found in both the practice and belief in patrimonialism (Morse 1989:105; 1964:158) linked the region’s emergent nation-states in regular political contests of power that challenged the organization of regions, territories, and smaller estates that comprised the patrimony of the area. Sugarcane plantations operated as local domestic jurisdictions with each site being subject to the authority of its male head as discussed in detail in the previous section.
The male head of the plantation household operated as the juridically final word in all events regarding his property governed by public law and local custom. Within the municipal bodies of the *ayuntamientos*, men who were descended from Spaniards on both sides could hold office, thereby not challenging the rationale used for the systemic instrumentalization of power. The men involved in these new governing bodies in Cuba post-Zanjón, instantiated themselves, their political interests, and their economic desires within the changing but still unequal body politic of the reformist Spanish colonial state. All property human, agricultural, manufactured, etc. were perceived as being available for the benefit of the male leader and his household of dependents. Slaves and Chinese indentured laborers were legally and customarily required to provide the plantation owner with the benefits of their labor, while free coloreds were subjected to the jurisdictional and customary control of *criollo* leaders and other males who possessed social status and authority greater than their own. It is in this way that patrimonialism, in a Weberian sense, existed in the formation of governmental institutions.

Non-whites with no socially recognized claim to European lineage or parentage were not permitted full economic engagement. The cultural transition from the colonial state to the nation-state imposed a hierarchy of continued colonial status. As Etienne Balibar notes in analyzing the anthropological dimension of the nation-state as cultural form,

This hierarchy bears the profound trace of the way in which the colonizing nation, imbued with its civilizing mission, categorized “cultures’” and “ethnicities” in order to delimit and control the possibilities of moving from the status of an indigene to that of a newly emancipated citizen (Balibar 2004:38).

These marginalized groups lacked a fully autonomous civic social personhood in the new nations that mere independence failed to provide. Moreover, their institutional power was limited after the protest of Baráguna. Though it is my main argument that people of color during the nineteenth century and political dissidents disaffected with the Spanish colonial state maintained
a pattern of out-migration and built political ties that went beyond national territorial boundaries, the content of the written work of Mary Peabody Mann and Gertrudis Gomez de Avellaneda and the political culture of the two writers inform my argument that the political rhetoric of antislavery offered a different vision of a national future as that expressed by participants in Baráguia. This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four, yet, it is important to note here that these early writings presented a localized view of the repressive nature of the Spanish colonial state through their characterization of the plantation slave.

Avellaneda and Peabody’s antislavery novels transversed the boundaries of the Spanish colonial state and voiced the parameters of political dissent. The Ten Years War (1868-1878), and the resultant Protest of Baráguia in 1879, occurred after the United States Civil War (1861-1865) which ended the antislavery movement in the United States, but did not end African American efforts in the United States for increased political inclusion in federal, municipal, and other local institutions. In her examination of the political culture of Richmond, Virginia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Elsa Barkley Brown states that historical assumptions about gender relations in political arenas internal to the African American community and external to the community are a part of a bifurcated political system (Brown 1994:121) that constrained and inhibited but did not stop African American women from exercising political rights that they believed came with being members of the community and should have come with being citizens of the state (Brown 1994:124). As she states,

Scholars’ assumption of an unbroken line of exclusion of African American women from formal political associations in the late-nineteenth century has obscured fundamental changes in the political understandings within African American communities in the transition from slavery to freedom (Brown 1991:108).
Moreover, in Cuba during the nineteenth century, the racialized gender hierarchies inscribed within the colonial order, did not permit Afro-Cuban women to follow a specific, European, Iberian inflected cultural pattern of public-private or public domestic. One can offer the proposition that the success and pervasiveness of the institutionalization of written history-making coincides with the material wealth of the British empire at the expense of the Iberian empire. Competing structures of imperialism and colonialism characterize the form, style and content of history-making presented in the political culture of late nineteenth century Cuba.

Colonization, antislavery, and abolitionist movements in the United States became the institutional practice where political alliances could be forged in addressing the domestic hierarchies of power within the plantation regime and continued through Spanish colonialism. The actions of dissent in these institutional bodies served as vehicles for minimizing the repressive nature of state power and practice in the law while also circumventing and rallying against the practice of human chattel holdings. It is among adherents to the principles of abolition and antislavery articulated in the United States that Antonio Maceo and others forged their associative ties and built transecting institutions that offered to present to an expanded public, the condition of their domestic life in Cuba that questioned the practices of the Spanish colonial state.

As stated in chapter two, the Spanish colonial state was routinely characterized in British diplomatic channels as anachronistic, backwards an immoral. In the United States, the abolition of slavery after the civil war culminated in the adoption of the 13th amendment in 1867. However, the prohibition of an internal slave trade, the abolition of the practice of slavery in all United States territories and the District of Columbia, and a requirement that government
representatives make decisions not in conflict with the Declaration of Independence were the
principles of the American Anti-slavery Society leading up to the Civil War in the 1860’s.

When Garrison gained control of the American Antislavery Society in 1840, it
had out lived its usefulness and was little but a name. Those who were most
disturbed by his injection of women’s rights into the movement reorganized as the
American and Foreign Antislavery Society…In a practical sense, the old national
symbol of antislavery effort ceased to exist, and another was reared in its place ---
an independent political party. Concerted effort for moral reform was supplanted
by direct political action. (Dumond 1969:87-88).

The abolition of slavery in Cuba extended the mission of the American and Foreign Antislavery
Society into a new realm of international advocacy that was no longer a back and forth between
Europe and the United States, but now included the last of the Spanish colonial territories in the
Caribbean with slavery having been abolished in Puerto Rico in 1873, and the abolition of
slavery in Haitian controlled Dominican Republic in 1844.

For elite European American women, the antislavery movement in the United States presented
them with the social opportunity to interact as political leaders in the public sphere. For African
American women involved in the antislavery movement, public participation was inscribed
within a system of principally male representation of the larger communal interest and they were
not embraced as political and social equals in either the garnering of women’s rights or in
antislavery. Racial inferiority conjoined with gender hierarchies common to both the Cuban and
the United States domestic political culture.

Slavery, as an economic system was of small account compared with slavery as a
system of racial adjustment and social control. In its broader aspects, slavery was
the apotheosis of the principle of Negro inferiority, a functional philosophy which
overreached the geographical limits of bond labor and conditioned social
attitudes. The outward manifestation of such a functional philosophy…is called
public opinion (Dumond 1969:52).

Even in the expanding public sphere, African American women in the United States held
nominal institutional positions in United States institutions and organizations however, their
advocacy placed the centrality of immediate abolition on their national agenda as an act of dissent and contestation of state sanctioned enslavement.

In the late 1850’s Frederick Douglas and many of the former abolitionists supported the Free Soil Movement and the John Brown raid on Harpers Ferry indicative of a growing domestic belief that the combination of political partisanship and armed insurrection were the only solution for placing the abolition of slavery as part of nationhood. As early as 1871, José Martí wrote about the presence of disease, violence, long-term incarceration and physical brutality in Spanish prisons referencing the replacement of the scythe for the whip (Marti 1999[1871]:31). Conservative political leadership in Spain from the 1860’s onward augmented the authority of military tribunals in Cuba and actively rescinded liberal reforms such as freedom of the press, freedom of association, and the public vocalization of dissent (Perez 1988:119-120). The growing practice of routine incarceration of political dissidents, both male and female, had become regularized over the scope of the nineteenth century. These issues are important for understanding those aspects of institutional change precipitated by an end to Spanish colonialism. In Concord, Massachusetts, the friends of freedom, the Concord Six, or the “secret six,” included leaders such as, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, Henry David Thoreau, Bronson Alcott, Frank B. Sanborn, Dr. S. G. Howe, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and others (Du Bois 2000:123). These men helped fund John Brown’s rebellion in Harper’s Ferry, West Virginia by supplying Brown with 1,000 knife blades or pikes, and an undisclosed amount of cash in 1857.27 In addition to the support of Brown’s expedition in New England, the Cuban

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27 “On the 6th of March he wrote to his son John from Boston: “My call here has met with a hearty response, so that I feel assured of at least tolerable success. I ought to be thankful for this. All has been effected by quiet meeting of a few choice friends, it being scarcely known that I have been in the city” (Du Bois 2001:136).
newspaper printed in New York, *El Mulato*\textsuperscript{28}, stated in an English language article, “This government that vaunts its freedom and civilization, and that declares this land to be an asylum for all seekers of liberty,-how it is acting to the poor slave,” referencing the Kansas-Nebraska act before the United States congress in 1857 (Lazo 2005:143). A hemispheric sense of territoriality emerged among people of African descent both in Cuba and before the Civil War and amongst those who also supported an immediate end to slavery.

The Reconstruction period (1863-1877) in the United States was marked by increased participation by people of African descent in the legislative body, greater political and violent repression in local areas of southern states, and labor struggles that pitted European immigrant groups against them and African Americans in industrialized northern states. Most importantly, this period signified in the United States and in Cuba an expression of modernity in which social mobilization took on broader meanings of a collective symbolic behavior that connected former slaves and free coloreds as individuals and groups to the expanding social body in an emergent civil sphere that had expanded from the local to the regional.

This social body was not merely perceived as national, but regularly transected official geo-political boundaries that elucidated and made valuable their common hemispheric consciousness and political commitments. My argument is not that there was a unified totality of African American and African New World political consciousness and sentiment, but only that key leaders and populations of people of African descent related their plantation experience to other populations in the hemisphere. Familial disruption, devaluation of labor power, persistent

\textsuperscript{28} *El Mulato* was a Cuban exile newspaper founded in 1854 in New York that published 13 issues between February and May 1854. According to Lazo, it was an abolitionist newspaper where its editors identified the paper as socialist. It was a newspaper that openly criticized the capitulation of the Cuban exile community in New York that identified solving Cuban independence by being annexed by the United States. The paper subscribed to a form of republicanism based upon European republican struggles of the day and it sought to ally itself with the abolitionist movement in the United States and Europe at a time when gradual abolition was preferred. Carlos de Colins, a Mantanzas born political operative who worked on the expedition of Narisco Lopez smuggling communications from New Orleans to Cuba, served as editor. Francisco Agüero Estrada took over as editor for the tenth issue. Lorenzo Allo Bermudez, a lawyer who studied at the Colegio Seminario de San Carlos in Key West under Felix Varela was a regular contributor to the paper. Juan Clemente Zenea also wrote for the paper and was both a poet and a pamphleteer as many of the men (see Lazo, chapter 4).
racialized violence, criminal penalization, and disregard for their economic contribution to the operation of the nation-state or colonial territory in their respective localities, were the elements of their shared commiseration and advocacy against the Spanish colonial state. The hemispheric consciousness that emerged was certainly regional in actions of political advocacy but utilized broad institutional coalitions to make public the change in rights and status of enslaved people. The status of enslaved people also impacted the perceived unjustified exclusion of free people of color in positions and professions that offered social mobility.

For example, after gathering over five thousand signatures on a petition presented to President Ulysses S. Grant, members of the New York Cuban Antislavery Committee prepared a resolution in December 1872. This resolution was produced during the Ten Years War, and was prepared by Samuel Scottron and the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet. The resolution indicated a shared feeling of solidarity for the Cuban independence struggle, sought the abolition of slavery, and an end to the illegal slave trade common in Cuba (Brock 1994:17). As I have indicated in the discussion of above, a growing sense of political kinship emerged between African Americans in the United States and those who participated in the Protest of Barágua. To utilize information contained in Juan Macía’s political pamphlet, the chattel principle and how elite perceptions of the right to property, the necessity of tutelage and instruction, the justification of social inequality based on a “natural” order, and the perceptions of slaves as human beings lacking intellectual capacity were prevalent in Cuban society and subsequently justified revolution in Cuba. He states,

A slave is a chattel---a piece of merchandize---a beast of burden---a dumb cipher in the court of justice---an animated hoeing machine in the field---a kenneled dog at home---a leper and a pariah in the house of prayer—and an outcast from the graveyard of the whiteman.29

29 NLJ, Macía (1871), inside sleeve.
In this statement, Macía’s anti-slavery and anti-colonial pamphlet drives home the point domestic exclusion through the objectification of slaves. For example, the *Dred Scott vs. Sanford*, United States Supreme Court decision in 1857 is a prime example from which to observe the social repercussions of “chattel” transport between and across plantation societies when proslavery and anti-slavery political interests were embroiled in direct conflict.

The resolution prepared by the New York Cuban Antislavery Committee contained a special report that assembled essays, committee minutes, speeches, letters, poetry, etc., and was ultimately sent to the United States Secretary of State, and members of the international diplomatic corp including senators, and consuls throughout Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States. Seven years earlier than the actual written Protest of Barágua, African Americans in the United stated the following:

*Whereas,* We colored citizens of the United States, having become possessed of the rights of freemen, after many years’ experience of the degradation and evil effects of human slavery, remembering full well the cruelties of family separation, of the lash, constant toil and pain, of inequality before the law; we are therefore deeply impressed with the condition of the five hundred thousand of our brethren in the island of Cuba, who are now in a state of slavery, undergoing the same sad experience of ourselves in the past, being separated mother from child, husband from wife, brother from sister, and toiling constantly under the lash of the tyrant master and

*Whereas,* We have watched with deep interest the struggle going on in that island for the past four years between the Cuban patriots and the Spanish Government; it is therefore

*Resolved,* that it is with feelings of great apprehension and concern that we view the indisposition or inability of the Spanish government to enforce any measure in favor of the abolition of slavery in the Island of Cuba being aware that every measure in that direction has heretofore met with the most violent opposition of the Spaniards in authority on that island.

*Resolved,* That after a careful survey of the situation, as collected from official correspondence and other information and evidence of the condition and disposition of the respective combatants, it is our opinion that the success of the Spanish arms will tend to rivet more firmly the chains of slavery on our
bretheren, re-establishing where it does not now exist, resorting the horrors of the African slave trade and the Coolie traffic, and indefinitely, postpone the abolition of the worst of evils that ever disgraced an enlightened and Christian age, that the success of the Cuban patriots will immediately give to the whole inhabitants of the island, freedom and equality before the law

Resolved, That the Spanish Government in that island, by their barbarous edicts and inhuman butcheries, have fully demonstrated their want of human sympathy, and their inability to entertain that appreciation of the rights of others which should appear conspicuous in the conduct of all Christian people, and give us no hope, in the event of their success, of the final freedom of the inhabitants of the whole island (Cuban Antislavery Committee 1872: 3 emphasis mine).

Greater civil inclusion experienced by people of African descent in the United States after the Civil War, or as they referenced themselves, colored citizens of the United States included advocacy for a modern form of industrial and economic progress. For those who held a proslavery position in the United States, they sought to establish a slave empire “with Havana at the center, and slave states in Mexico and Central America” (Dumond 1969:106). The preparation of this resolution and the accompanying petition signatures marked a period in which “African-American support for the Cuban spirit of revolt was not simply based on anti-slavery and racial ties, but stemmed from national self-interest of the desire to expand greater civil inclusion.

Within the United States, Cuba, like western and central Africa, and other territories in Americas (e.g. Caribbean islands, Central American nations, etc.), became a part of the discourse. Cuba was either a place to emigrate to or was initially viewed as a place where racial and economic integration based on equality was perceived as more or less likely” (Brock 1994:14) than to that experienced in the United States. Throughout the nineteenth century, the government of Haiti offered its island nation as a space of political and economic refuge. An emergent desire for equality before government institutions whether national or local, was
premised on a belief in the rule of law, and enabled these men to compare their newly achieved citizenship status at the end of the United States Civil War, to the social and political status of Cubans who sought their own. Yet, the recognition of their own conflict ridden citizenship status did not ignore processes of racialization noted in their explicitly expressed colored subjectivity that expressed an experience of separateness in the manifestation of the citizenship status in practice, law, and thought. However, this did not interfere with advocating for citizens in yet, another plantation society, Cuba. Being closed out of international governing bodies, marginalized groups in Cuba who sought to have their grievances ameliorated, found a waiting alliance for their domestic issues in the work of these international organizations and its members.

For example, in 1878, minister in the House of Commons in England, Charles Dilke, asked whether the British government had stipulated in its diplomatic relations with Spain, advocacy for the accelerated abolition of slavery in Cuba\(^{30}\) (Franco 1963:36). In ascribing domestic connectedness between their condition and the condition of Cubans, the political importance of the use of the term “colored citizen by members of the New York and Boston Cuban Antislavery Committees, is important for understanding how and why they deployed color to “stand in for” political social relations.

A few years before the outbreak of the Final War of Cuban Independence, in a pamphlet published in 1890, Jose Mayner y Ros, a member of the Jamaican Junta of the Cuban Revolutionary party stated,
Men of color that today enjoy every freedom, form part of the émigré communities, they don't hate the whites, far from this, they find in knowledges and superior actions of the whites the natural advance that forms today the base of the progress and happiness of the nations. The colored race is not stubborn, it is obedient in his collectivity, to various degrees. From his breast has left men of great stature like artists, writers, poets, mechanics, etc. These men are far from hating the white man from who has received all of the knowledge that they possess and who ought to have all of the valor that today they desire his advice and his protection in order to improve, elevate and progress on the path of life; and these men are always on the side of order because his position and the respect that they are worthy of nothing that can be disputed or much less negated…

Political leadership of the nation was clearly at stake for the *mambi* vision of a political future. Mayner y Ros clearly recognizes that “men of color” should be the social and structural equals to white *criollos* regardless of their familial ties. Mayner y Ros points to the fact that men of color contributed to the knowledges of the modern world indicating that he perceived their capacity for leadership and governance. He also articulates that the reason for division among all social classes in Cuba is based on the perception that “men of color” are perceived as unworthy of the same freedoms that whites possess. Ultimately, Mayner y Ros' statement shows the confluence of class and color at play in the Americas, providing an example of how color indexes political affluence through the competition and maintenance of social relations. As Trouillot states,

[T]he “color question” is etched within the framework of an international hierarchy that was formalized well before Haitian independence…color categories embrace characteristics that go far beyond the perceived phenotype into the field of social relations. These can include income, social origin, and level of formal education, customary behavior, ties of kinship or marriage, and other characteristics. And different combinations of these social traits can move a person from one category to a more or less proximate one (Trouillot 1990:109-113).

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31 NLJ, Mayner y Ros (1890), pp.138-139.--Los hombres de color que gozan hoy de todas las libertades, que forman parte de las emigraciones, no odia á los blancos, lejos de eso buscan en los conocimientos y superior ilustracion del blanco el Adelanto natural que forma ho la base del progreso y felicidad de los pueblos. La raz de color, no obstante, obedece, en su totalidad à varias gradaciones. De su sueño han salido hombres de alta talla como artistas, literatos, poetas, mecánicos, etc. Esos hombres lejos de odiar al blanco, de quien han recibido todos los conocimientos que poseen y á que deben todo lo que valen ho, desean su consejo y su protección para mayor adelantar ó progresar en el camino de la vida; y esos hombres estarán siempre lado del órden porque su puesto y el respecto á que son acreedores nadie s los disputará y much ménos se les negará.
In the form of the political pamphlet, he voiced the desire for institutional inclusion in the new Cuban nation by utilizing a vernacular or colloquial term that expresses racial identity via color and class position. All three of which are intertwined in the political struggle of Cuban nationalism within its social customs and practices in the domesticity of Spanish colonial systems and the social codes of behavior supported by the Hispano-elite block.

In the full body of the committee’s report, a similar resolution conferred by the “colored” participants and allies in the Boston Cuban Antislavery Committee stated,

Whereas, We the colored citizens of the United States, **having become possessed of the rights of freemen**, after many years’ experience of the degradation and evil effects of human slavery, remembering full well the cruelties of family separation, of the lash, constant toil and pain, **of inequality before the law**…we are therefore deeply impressed with **the condition of the five hundred thousand of our bretheren in the Island of Cuba, who are now in a state of slavery, undergoing the same sad experiences of ourselves in the past**…[I]t is with feelings of great apprehension and concern that we view the indisposition or inability of the Spanish Government to enforce any measure in favor of the abolition of slavery…the success of the Spanish arms will tend to rivet more firmly the chains of slavery on our bretheren, re-establishing it where it does not now exist-restoring the horrors of the African slave trade and the Coolie traffic indefinitely postpone the abolition of the worst evils that ever disgraced an **enlightened and Christian age**, that the success of the Cuban patriots will **immediately give to the whole inhabitants of the island, freedom and equality before the law**…(Boston Cuban Antislavery Committee 1872:5 *emphasis mine*)

It is in the Boston Committee’s report that the “Coolie traffic” and African slave trade were linked and hence, did not disaggregate the experience of Chinese indentured laborers from their vision of political advocacy and wrongful conditions of enslavement. *Mambises*, both Chinese and other groups were perceived by these two groups of colored citizens in the United States as patriots whose actions would confer freedom and equality to “the whole inhabitants of the island.” There were regional historical examples where slaves actively sought out owners to purchase them to ensure their removal from plantation contexts deemed less favorable as well as
plantation owners actively selling slaves.32 Also, the term “bretheren” does not exclusively reference the struggle of “brothers in arms” as discussed by Ada Ferrer. It is a recognition of shared political kinship that references a sibling-defined relationship of a shared civil state of existence, whereby being in a “state of slavery” or *eslavitud*, was a condition in which neither the Coolie, nor the African slave possessed a “freeman’s” right of individual or collective personhood. Cuban participants in the Ten Years War, pre-Zanjón and pre-Barágua sought through both institutional alliances, written and verbal dissent, and through armed struggle, to develop modes, techniques, and forms of governance that challenged the Spanish colonial state.

Military repression and the practice of surveillance by the Spanish colonial state precipitated the transformation of Cuban cultural and social institutions such as the family and collective bodies of assemblage like *cabildos*, civic organizations, and political clubs and before and during the Spanish American War. It is this process of change and transformation at the end of the Ten Years War that marginalized groups who were adherents to the historical possibilities of Barágua articulated that the transformation of these institutional forms were not obsolete modes of collective human organization, but were ones that needed to change from an implicitly cultural purposes to increasingly political forms of organization and purpose.

Contemporary historical interpretations should recognize that *fraternidad*, as much as it describes male action and activity, also describes *hermandad de mujeres* as its covalent category that furthers the project of understanding gender within social relations (Gutmann 1997:402). Brotherhood and sisterhood are referenced by these two terms placed in tandem with each other and *hermandad de mujeres* refers to a mode of commiseration and shared political acceptance among women that did not necessarily exclude men.

Anthropologists of various subjects will recognize the taken-for-granted nature of men and manhood in much work to date. A quick perusal of the indices to most ethnographies shows that "women" exist as a category while "men" are far more rarely listed. Masculinity is either ignored or considered so much the norm that a separate inventory is unnecessary. Then, too, "gender" often means women and not men (Gutmann 1997:402).

The two terms index a sibling relationship conjoined in shared political consciousness and practice. And unlike the mother-daughter relationship articulated by Macía, there is not an instantiation of temporal and vertical structural power. As Chandra Mohanty has argued, it the analytic strategy and its explanatory potential that effects the discourse that utilizes, “its own authorial subjects as the implicit referent to encode and represent cultural Others (Mohanty 1991:55). After all, “how could Cuban soldiers hesitate to give their lives for the insurgency when their mothers, their sisters, fiancés, wives, and their daughters were compelled by them to participate, were willing to do so on their own accord, and often did (Prado-Torreira 2005:5).

Therefore, patrimonialism, in a Weberian sense, is not exclusively an individualistic embodiment of (male) power, but also refers to social institutions in plantation societies that were created and conferred, maintained privilege to the nineteenth century, Spanish descended male head of household involved in merchant activities or the agricultural production, processing, and refinement of sugarcane, the most valuable commodity produced in nineteenth century.

As I stated in chapter one, Eastern Cuba was a region that possessed few large sugarcane plantations in comparison to those in western and central Cuba. Also, the area had a greater number of small land holders, and many more free persons of color who regularly interacted with Cuban maroon communities (Corzo 2003:10). Rafael Serra Montalvo, an African Cuban writer and journalist makes this point in his essay, *Contruir y Destruir* (To Build and To Destroy), written in 1894 and originally published in the Havana newspaper, *La Igualidad (Equality).*
The builder, tires out due to fatigue, gives up the joy of his rest: and with his soul guaranteed by the invisible and supreme veil, sleeps the peaceful sleep of the just. The destroyer neither prospers nor sleeps, because insomnia and desperation devours his existence. The builder is valiant like a lion. The destroyer is a godless creature and hunter like the tiger. The lion, despite the certainty of his power and the inflexibility of his valor, regularly forgets that he is the king of the forest. The tiger by contrast with all of the perversity of character, is always insatiable and cruel. It annoys him to see the blood of his victim and without conclusion about the prey of destruction, gives principle to the other.  

Cuban participants in the Protest of Barágua overwhelmingly were small farmers from eastern Cuba who possessed extensive knowledge about black tobacco production. With these Cubans, the agricultural technology involved in black tobacco cultivation and cigar manufacturing was exiled as well. Interestingly, it is this secondary export commodity, tobacco, which according to Fernando Ortiz represents the nativist liberatory spirit of the Cuban nation and is the key for the rural peasant necessary to garner economic resources (Gambrill 2002; Ortiz 1995 [1947]) to create a modern Cuba. Still, it is both the practice and the implementation of patrimonialism that informs the history of the Americas and serves as the foundation for organizing power in territory, personage, and institutions.

A systematic examination of the historicity of codifications of patrimonial power and its disputed dominions of governance practice and incorporation enables scholars to examine the emergence and transformation of these forms of power specifically through the emergence of modern nation-states during the nineteenth century.

The patrimonial ruler at the level of the Spanish colonial state is ever alert to forestall the growth of an independent landed aristocracy enjoying inherited privileges (Morse 1964:157).

The reforms offered by the Spanish Constitution of 1812 demonstrate this principle along with

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33 SBC, Serra Montalvo,140-141, “El constructor, rendid por la fatiga, cede a la dicha la descanso: y con su alma guarandada por invisible y supreme velador, duerme feliz el suelo de lo justos. El destructor ni prospera ni duerme; porque el insomnio y la desesperacion devora su existencia. El constructor es valiente como el león. El destructor es impio y rastreo con el tigre. El león, a pesar de lo seguro de su valor, olvida con frecuencia que es el rey de los bosques. El tigre, por el contrario, con todos los caracteres de la perversidad, siempre insaciable y cruel, se irrita más, al ver la sangre de su víctima, y sin concluir sobre una presa la obra de destruccion, da principio con la otra.”
Manuel Lorenzo’s desire to implement its policies in oriente. However, for both Weber and Morse, the institutional organization of a moral order of human existence is inscribed within state practice concerned with the political interest of governance and rule—the purpose of bureaucracy. At the close of the Ten Years War, the actions taken by Antonio Maceo and the others who supported him was characterized outside of the moral social order and therefore labeled by them as “insurrectionists” and not “maritime belligerents.”

Morse also takes "an anthropological perspective" to show how certain precepts for organizing society included beliefs based in religious scholasticism in Latin America. Also, colonial rule as Morse states in "modern Spanish America," was an institutional equivalent of temporal human life in all its fullness…and contained only in embryo such possibilities as the rationalistic "statist" state of seventeenth century mercantilism, the bourgeois free enterprise state, or the nineteenth century "imperialist" state (Morse 1964:140). Political interest merged with economic interest but not without the need to include religious ideology in the process of institutionalization and the institutional organization of political power. In the final section of this chapter, I will discuss how the transformation of cultural institutions that were based associative ties of communal relations became explicitly political.

CULTURE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

Cuban labor historian Jean Stubbs has stated that, "the historiography of Cuba and Jamaica,” during the late nineteenth century at the time of the Cuban independence struggles and at the time of the Protest of Baráigua, lends itself to further investigation about "the fine line between vodún, freemasonry, and Afro-Cuban cabildos" (Stubbs 2003:116n.55). The benefit in exploring this "fine line" contributes to understandings of nineteenth century African New World history and about "informal" spaces where political collaboration occurred and the resultant
cultural institutions that have been viewed by anthropologists as spiritual-religious and therefore, not overtly political and economic in their actions or orientations. *Cabildos* and other fraternal associations existed in the domestic life. These organizations should not only be understood as a Cuban phenomenon but inscribed within a transnational African New World tradition that includes religion.

For historian Phillip Howard, these organizations are important because they "promoted a sense of group identification and solidarity among their members and thus played a valuable role in African culture before the appearance of Europeans" (Howard 1998:21). Though translocal communications networks aided in the formation and maintenance of formal social institutions like revolutionary clubs, anthropologists and historians of the American region have paid little attention to formal associations, clubs, and groups. Cuban labor historian Jean Stubbs has stated that, "the historiography of Cuba and Jamaica lends itself to further investigation about "the fine line between vodún, freemasonry, and Afro-Cuban *cabildos*" (Stubbs 2003:116n.55). The benefit in exploring this "fine line" contributes to understandings of nineteenth century Afro-New World history and about "informal" spaces where political collaboration occurred and the resultant cultural institutions that have been viewed by anthropologists as spiritual-religious and therefore, not overtly political and economic in their actions or orientations.

Philip Howard presents a historical account of Cuban *cofradías, cabildos*, and mutual aid organizations that served both a cultural and a political need (Howard 1998). These organizations, "manifested a consciousness of kind: an identity that mitigated, to a certain degree, differences of language, ethnicity, and customs, an identity that allowed them to discern the common problems of all people of color confronted on a daily basis" (Howard 1998:xvii). Consciousness of kind is argued by Howard to be rooted in shared oppression regardless of
individual racial qua color status markers of moreno, pardo, or mulatto; or political-economic status markers of criollo slave, bozale, or gente de color. Howard recognizes the political linkages that existed between British abolitionists and Afro-Cubans that fostered the escape of black slaves to British controlled territories (Howard 1998:83-84). Building from ideas contained in Julius Scott's work on the late eighteenth century, slaves, sailors, and free people of color frequently transected imperial borders (Scott 1996:137; 1991:49) as they created the boundaries of their communal domesticity. For example human and commercial cargo resulted in how the island of Jamaica functioned as a trade, military, and commercial hub in the Caribbean including multiple waves of migration from the Francophone and Hispanophone Caribbean. The political culture operable in Jamaica transected Spanish and British imperial boundaries while building social and cultural institutions that possessed multi-regional power and influence (Koshy 2005; DiCarlo 1998; Kasdan 1965).

Particularly, in the eastern part of Cuba, Afro-Cuban mutual aid societies, colored militias, and British officials worked to end the illegal slave trade to Cuba and convinced slaves to resist the conditions of their oppression (Howard 1998:86). Cabildos often maintained collective ownership of meetinghouses to ensure privacy and African cultural continuity. Though principally composed of men, some cabildos had queens who bore the house's flag in public ceremonies and during carnival. Queens of the cabildos were often economically autonomous women. Santería houses were also communal institutions formally recognized by Afro-Cubans and included the active participation of women. For example, the iyalarisha, Obá Tero, arrived in Cuba about 1840 or 1850, and may have been illegal human cargo taken from Egbado in Yorubaland (Ramos 2003:43). Soledad Crespo, a Lukumí priestess arrived to Cuba via Sierra Leone and was smuggled inside a barrel. Timotea Albear, known as Latúan, was the
emancipated slave of Colonel Albear, a civil engineer who resided in Cuba in the 1860’s (Ramos 2003:47).

_Cabildos_ should not only be understood as a Cuban phenomenon and _vodún_ should not be seen as only coming from Haiti or the other locales in the Americas with a Francophone, African slave influence. Both should be inscribed within a transnational African New World tradition whose culture emerges from a sense of order that is not exclusively European in derivation, particularly in ways and reasons for collective organization in political pursuits constrained by the colonial state. For historian Phillip Howard, these organizations are important to examine in a Cuban context, because they "promoted a sense of group identification and solidarity among their members and thus played a valuable role in African culture before the appearance of Europeans" (Howard 1998:21).

In fact, this work analyzes early forms of political organization and communal agency among slaves and free people of color. Political organization, among these groups, was significant during both the colonial and national eras. His choice of time period makes possible a detailed exploration of the role of these organizations in the Cuban independence struggle, the abolition of slavery, and the brokering of equal rights for Cubans of color within the Protest of Barágu. Cabildos and Santería houses were transformed into institutions of learning and political consciousness development. For example, in 1893, Jose Marti describes Tomas Suri, a seventy year old member of an old African secret society that champions higher rates of literacy and those who work and serve to “conquer liberty for black people” (Marti 1993:324-325). Marti wrote about the work being performed by La Liga, a community-based school found in Cuba, New York and Key West and likely was composed of members of both the Abakua and
the Nañigos (Peña, no date, n21:32-33). This serves as an example the conjoining of political and cultural purposes.

Marginalized groups who participated in the Ten Years War and the Protest of Baráguia found adherents to their struggle both within their cultural developed organizations and institutions. The organizations and institutions were based upon associative ties that grew entail political alliances for greater inclusion by women and non-white men closed out from the Spanish colonial and Hispano-elite block. The cultural complexity of the protest included direct advocacy on the part of members of the American and Foreign Antislavery society, but specifically the New York and Boston Antislavery Committees. The experience of transition from plantation society to that of modern nation-state required that individuals like Tomas Suri, a former Cuban slave in exile in Key West, Florida, Jose Mayner y Ros a journalist in Jamaica, Rafael Serra, a journalist and head master of La Liga in New York, and Juan Macía a pamphleteer, to garner transnational public sentiment and understanding. The transformation of their key social institutions like cabildos, Santería houses, and African derived secret societies challenged pervasive views of public engagement. For women of African descent public participation included the loss of social respectability but included the potential for access to male circumscribed domains of power. The analysis of sectarian differences within the family, the state, and culture demonstrates a translocal experience of marginality during the period of transition from a plantation society to that of a modern nation-state.
Members of both sides of the sectarian split that was the Protest of Barágua were participants in a chain of communication that spread throughout the Americas. Diplomatic channels, Cuban exile newspapers, political pamphlets and petitions to government officials and within Cuban transmigrant communities, each were links in a chain of communication that expressed the rationale, reason, and purpose of maintaining political distinctiveness. These textual modes of communication found their way into the tobacco factories of Tampa and Key West as materials read by lectores on the factory floor. Essays that found their way into newspapers were often speeches given by political leaders at rallies, dinners, or when addressing groups.

Pointing out eastern Cuba’s political distinctiveness within this chain of communication, is not a means for ignoring the historical dialogue that ensued between colony and metropole or between Havana and Santiago de Cuba. The political distinctiveness of eastern Cubans is important for understanding the differences in the political culture of the region before the Ten Years War, and how that distinctiveness shaped the content of their grievance against the Spanish colonial state, and the mechanism through which they built external alliances. Residents of eastern Cuba built alliances with supporters of immediate abolition in Cuba as seen by the suppressed efforts of Manuel Lorenzo in 1836 discussed in chapter two. Eastern Cubans and participants in the Protest of Barágua had local trade and transport routes between that part of the island and Jamaica, which also garnered relationships with agents of the British government who sought an end to “anachronistic” governmental forms and political control by the Spanish monarchy and cortes. Eastern Cubans in the practice of out-migration also established ties with
other people of African descent who formed antislavery committees as seen by the example of the New York and Boston Antislavery Committees in the United States.

In the examples presented, the very dialogic nature of history (Palmíe 2002) and the dialogic nature of the texts as utterances produced by los mambises, positions both the event of the Protest of Barágua and the multiple-layers of utterances of that protest, within a textual chain of speech communication whose plan and realization of its plan (Bakhtin 1996:105) included the formation of a commodity chain (Go 2003:187) that included black tobacco production, cigar manufacturing, and the development of a genre of nineteenth century Cuban antislavery protest literature written mostly in Spanish, but often translated into English. Moreover, Cuban exiles and their allies in the United States, Latin America, and Hispanophone Caribbean ethnic enclaves, utilized the written word, in newspapers, poems, political pamphlets, music, and antislavery novels to organize and gain greater public legitimacy for territorial control of the island.

These modalities and genres of communication, cultivated a sentiment of rightful inclusivity as a condition for modern nationhood. Their use of language in print was as important as their use of arms during the Ten Years War. Lazo’s examination of Cuban exile newspapers throughout the nineteenth century, states the importance of how members of the Cuban exile community in the United States used language in print for the political purpose of establishing community in exile and advocating for Cuban independence. He states,

They sent out their articles and poems as weapons in a battle for Cuba, seeking to stand again on Cuban land and convince readers that they should fight for a new government on the island. In other words, these writers attempted to establish an ideological connection between reader (subject), Cuba (ground), and republicanism (government) (Lazo 2005:22).
The written word deployed the ideological basis of protest and understood Cuban republicanism as including all groups marginalized under the Spanish colonial state. The experience of exile meant that the utterance of abolition within the anticolonial political project engaged in by the signers of the Pact of Zanjón, also voiced political ideas that circumscribed the multiplicity of political projects participated in by people of African descent, Chinese indentured laborers, and women regardless of social or racial status throughout the Americas. The Protest of Barágua notes a sectarian split between the interests of Hispano-elites who sought a reformist mission with the Spanish colonial-state and the political, cultural, and economic pursuits of these marginalized groups. However, the necessity and operation of the transnational network of associative ties based within institutions and organizations, fostered alliances that grounded a mobile public sphere in the social realities of Cuba in comparison with other plantation societies of the Americas.

The mobile public sphere was not a part of a singular locale because the idea of nationhood, the practice of national revolution, and the actualization of greater civil inclusion, circulated and took on local meanings and political manifestations. The mobile public sphere, transversed many colonial, imperial, and national territories, and went beyond the community of Cuban migrants and exiles and served to connect the political trajectories of their future path to civil participation. In fact, the creators of these tools within the chain of communication often circulated both text and personage within ethnic enclaves.

For example, the Club of the Two Antilles, formed in 1892 in New York, included Arthur Schomburg (Arturo Schomburg), then in his mid-twenties, as the recording secretary for the organization that advocated for Cuban independence. In October of 1895, Colombian General
Hanibal de Castro, addressed the group. His words voiced the sentiment of connection, and expressed the boundary and bond of his associative ties. He state,

Antileans, Sons of Puerto Rico and Cuba, true representatives of the Motherland, today from Orinoco in South America to Baffin’s Bay in the North there is no person who, with his ideals, does not sympathize and support the Freedom of all peoples. For my humble part, I greet these emigrants who have shown us so many proofs of patriotism in their efforts for Liberty. In my dear Motherland of Colombia…I met General Maceo on his last expedition, along with a number of young men who accompanied him, including Adolfo Peña, Saenz, and others whose names I do not remember. There, I offered my services to Cuba…[I]t would be my pleasure to keep my word as I offered Maceo.34

The meetings of the Club of the Two Antilles, regularly included speakers who shared information regarding issues of political inclusivity. In the by-laws of the organization it states,

This club humbly places itself in the rear guard of all patriotic associations which have been or will be created by the Antillean immigrants, but clarifies that at the moment of the definitive struggle, it shall with total efficiency and decisiveness, encourage the common task without awaiting a request for assistance.35

The presence of General Castro, Arturo Schomburg’s recording of the speech and other items in the minutes, and the presence of the record for historical and ethnographic examination, speaks to the chain of communication and circulation that incorporated text and personage within an ethnic enclave of New York where annexation and United States political intervention was not desired by those members who understood their struggle as one encompassing Cuba and Puerto Rico, the Antilles more broadly,36 and other racialized groups. Relationships with military representatives from independent nation-states of South America, provided members of this ethnic enclave with support to achieve their goal. Moreover, at the conclusion of this meeting,

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36 In this set of minutes, there is mention of the Boriquen Club of which Arturo Schomburg was also a member. However, Hoffnung-Garskof discusses the sublimation of Puerto Rican political projects for those of Cuban ones in the following way, “There were ties between his activities in New York and some local centers of activism on the island. And at the very least an imagined Puerto Rican nation resided at the center of his politics. But, placing Schomburg within the groups, net works, and associations that shaped his early migrant experiences, it is clear that Cuba figured more prominently in them than Puerto Rico. In the 1890s, Schomburg, along with a multi-racial group of working-class Puerto Rican exiles, adhered to the larger Cuban community in New York. They helped build a nationalist politics of class and race that resonated more closely with the deep social conflicts in Cuba than with the relative calm in Puerto Rico. For this handful of Puerto Rican exiles the alliance with the Cubans was in itself an important, and much con tested, symbol of both their nationalism and their progressive racial agenda. (Hoffnung-Garskof 2001:6)
the Club of the Two Antilles sent 26 rifles and 15 machetes to Cuba. The statement by the organization’s president, “All the means that a people seek and use for their liberty are just and acceptable and we have done what no other nation has done: freed the prisoners so that they can return to make war against us.”

The depiction of the cultural realities through the practice of customary behaviors and beliefs found in the Cuban antislavery novels, provide information that is multi-referential. By multi-referential, I am arguing that the narratives and the context of their productions, and the experiences of the writers themselves, refer to multiple translocal sites and the transnational political context of nineteenth century nation-building. These antislavery novels construct and reconstruct the historical imagination of its authors along with the institution of plantation slavery from a micro-perspective, but simultaneously refer to the macro-political context of transition plantation society to modern nation-state. The authors of the two Cuban antislavery novels, \textit{Sab} and \textit{Juanita}, exist in the interstices of history, the humanities, and the social sciences because the slave protagonists in both novels become evidence of thought, behavior, and action pertaining to the cultural dimensions of plantation slavery. The actual novels, the preparation of them by female authors, and their characterization of slave protagonists serve to provide insight into the social world of the Cuban plantation society, albeit from the vantage point of elite women of Spanish and North American, New England upbringings.

Literary devices such as plot construction, social and moral conflict based on race relations in a social system that both authors agree is an “unjust” one, characterization and utilization of male and female slave protagonists, and sometimes, the mixing of multiple genres of popular literature common during this era, all provide a textual landscape with many of the elements of the historical landscape. These novels are not historical evidence as much as they

\textit{37 Ibid, SBC, p. 50.}
represent a historical artifact, and element of material culture that provides substantive analytical information. In the few Latin American antislavery novels that have been examined (Doris Somers 1988; Schulman 1977; Barnet 1973), the reader and cultural analyst are able to discover the experiences and the social and moral conflicts faced by the characters of African descent discussed in the novel. This information provides cultural inferences regarding aspects of plantation life as experienced by Latin American slaves, a region with few known recorded slave narratives when compared to the Anglophone areas. Still, the novel, as an example of material culture, serves as a representation of a historical context little understood historically or anthropologically due to the few first hand sources produced in the voices of former slaves whereby their thoughts and experiences of a Latin American plantation society is detailed. Glimpses of a crucial period of state orchestrated repression and open political dissent surrounding the abolition of chattel slavery and an end to colonial rule were the “hot-button” issues of the age and can be found in the antislavery novels.

As British cultural studies scholar Paul Gilroy notes, the historical situation of blacks in the West often in the nineteenth century, "points to new intermediate concepts that exist between the local and the global" (Gilroy 1991:188). I have demonstrated how people of African descent involved in the practice nation-building resulting from the Protest of Baráguia, relied upon translocal networks, with a mobile public sphere that transected colonial, national, and imperial boundaries rootedness in exile but consistently operating between the local and global. These concepts of an interstitial social identity was frequently articulated by the human history-making subjects in the written word, spoken word, or in actions informed by both or either. Rarely is this existence between local and global unearthed in works about populations of African descent in Latin America. In scholarship concerned with the historical transformation of American
societies, from colonially governed plantation societies to modern nation-state, people of African
descent are absent when historically their experiences included coterminous\textsuperscript{38} systems of social
control and power. Many nineteenth century independence, antislavery, and proslavery struggles
occurred within, between, across, and through, the geopolitical boundaries of contemporary
South America, Central America, the United States, and many islands throughout the Caribbean.

In a discussion about the dissemination of British West Indian ephemera during the early
nineteenth century, David Lambert argues that among the planter class, “visual and textual
artifacts circulated around the Atlantic world, and were disseminated by supporters of “West
Indian interests who sought to influence metropolitan opinion and defend colonial rights”
(Lambert 2005:408). Lambert demonstrates how British West Indian petitions operated as a
form of political technology utilized by the planter classes. Their colonial interests were
represented in the internal and textual contents, but also in the production, transmission, and
delivery of these items (Lambert 2005:415). Petitions presented by planters directly to the
British colonial government represented a textual mode of political expression that sometimes
met the goal of ameliorating disagreeable or egregious social situations in the colony. Jossiana
Arroyo connects the metaphor of the book that talks, with “the transient word,” a discursive
technology deployed within national literatures as a metaphor that fuses orality and writing
(Arroyo 2005:6, 11). The fusion of orality and writing has been provided in example by the
Chappottin bolero of La Protesta de Baráguia and the son Oriente. This practice becomes a

technology of representation that presents to the reader, a representation of transcultural
identities (Arroyo 2005:6, 11) of the writer as speaker and textual producer. Arroyo interprets

\textsuperscript{38} Both the macro and micro-historiographies of the Americas are distinctively different from Europe, Africa, and Asia, in the way in which the
colonial state, and the nation-state sometimes overlapped in time. Cuba, Brazil, and Puerto are regularly presented as examples of this process of
overlapping governance structures. What is missing in regional scholarship, is a systematic regional examination (a generation of slavery
historians in the 1960’s and 1970’s provide local examples) of the direct importance of the presence of overlapping governance structures and the
local society’s economic and customary reliance on the use of enslaved laborers.
colonial contexts, specifically the contexts of intersection of Spanish colonialism and United
States economic imperialism in Puerto Rico and the United States *a fin de sicle el* for the cultural
production by ethnic communities in both the Caribbean and United States. Their textual
experience was engaged in a dual relation of colonialism and nationalism in which their national
literatures emerged from unequal shifts in power within a migrant community context. Their
expressions, forms and modes of indigenous knowledge were not egalitarian as they were
mediated and imposed by the word and the book that became tools of the dominant culture
(Arroyo 2005:6). What were the patterns and paths of circulation of these Hispanophone
political technologies found in word and text? How did participants in the Protest of Barágu
utilize these political technologies to cultivate sentiment in the mobile public?

Few regional historians have yet to analytically articulate the importance of these
delimito intersections of people, place, and the materials that were their political technologies
(Lazo 2005). The geographical routes and their intersections linked acts of imperialism,
colonialism, and the exercise of political power over national and regional elites (Schmidt-
Nowara 1999). Lodging a similar critique, cultural anthropologists have yet to ethnographically
analyze the importance of the cross-cultural articulation between and among African New World
populations during the late colonial and early national periods of Latin America, or within
contemporary ethnographic situations.39 For a project that examines the early modern
beginnings of American nationalism, it is important to understand the ambiguous, multi-nodal,
and multi-modal position of people of African descent and how they developed a social

39 In cultural anthropology and history the historically based ethnographic works by Ted Gordon (1998), Laura Putnam (2002), Peter Wade
(1993), Goldstein (2003), George Reid Andrews (1980) examine populations of people of African descent rooted in specific national territories
(e.g. Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Brazil, and Argentina respectively). In African American, Africana and Pan-African Studies the
formation of the first Pan-African Congress in the early twentieth century is presented as the beginning for these types of ties. Still, I contend that
there are only a few recent exceptions (e.g. works less than fifteen years old), that make direct attempts to examine the nature of the relationship
between Hispanic and Anglophone ethnic populations or their relationships with each other that regularly crossed colonial and national
territories. For examples of this type of research, see the edited volumes by Dzidzienyo and Goblet (2005), Philippe Zacaïr (2005), Brock and
architecture of dissent reliant upon the fusion of oral modes of cultural expression alongside
written ones.

Cuban participants in both the drafting of the Protest of Baráguas and the actions of los
mambises who fought in the eastern Cuban campaigns, demonstrate the dialogic nature of history
as human practice and the fusion of the written with the oral. The dialogic nature of verbal texts,
like public resolutions, positioned the event of Baráguas and the event of the utterance of protest
through time and across imperial, colonial, and national spaces. The communities of reception
of these utterances located the event of Baráguas within a textual chain of speech communication
by people who understood their collective structural, cultural, and civic positions within the
nation-state not yet actualized as a shared one. Marginalization included structural, cultural, and
civil dislocation from dominant modes of linguistic and political expression. My analysis
throughout the dissertation project has been to explore not only an “unofficial” history, but an
absent one---or at least one that has been written primarily by and for a Cuban and Spanish
speaking public.

Nevertheless, the forging of human, textual, and economic connections of meaning and
actions were merographic elements coeval to dimensions within the frame of a single form that is
multi-relational (Strathern 1992:167-168) and that singular cultural form was Cubanidad.
Neither the resolutions from the Cuban Anti-Slavery Committees in New York and Boston, nor
the Protest of Baráguas delivered from Santiago de Cuba, were isolated from each other. These
institutions and other once culturally inflected organizations, humanized the absence of a formal
political space for direct international engagement. A political world outside of their utterances
embodied the future citizenship of the inhabitants of Cuba (Bakhtin 1981:252-253) and those
who wished to return. This world was inscribed through word, deed, and action. As Bakhtin further states,

[T]he weaving of historical and socio-public events together with the personal and even deeply private side of life…the interpenetration of state…of historical sequences with the everyday and biographical sequences. Here, the graphically visible markers of historical time as well as of biographical and everyday time are concentrated and condensed; at the same time they are intertwined with each other in the tightest possible fashion, fused into unitary markers of the epoch. The epoch becomes not graphically visible (space), but narratively visible (time) (Bakhtin 1981:246).

Through the production of these works and their deployment within a dialogic chain of communication, the historical biography of non-white Cuban nationhood was written, spoken, and acted upon within the Protest of Barágua. Both groups of “colored peoples” regardless of geo-political location in the United States, Latin America, or the Caribbean, worked within a shared Western apperception that brought the experience and policy of enslavement as a practice from a backward, unenlightened, un-Christian and therefore, uncharitable and illegitimate state entity. This perception was uttered into systems of interstate and governmental relations that rejected, embraced, or ignored the event of the Protest of Barágua.

At thirty-one years of age, Antonio Maceo’s success, commitment, and leadership provoked that deeply held fear based on a discounting of blacks or mulattos as apt leaders, even though historians have noted that his fear was completely and unfounded one (Knight 1970:167). One need only review both contemporary scholarship and nineteenth century literary and journalistic accounts about the “unthinkable” leadership of the Republic of Haiti during the nineteenth century (Zacaïr 2005; Fischer 2004; Geggus 2002; Trouillot 1995) within the international system of nation-states. A “slave republic,” such as Haiti, represented for criollo elites not only an “unthinkable” reality, but the nation-state was perceived as an illegitimate
institutional governance form not to be fully included in the international community of nations.

In an article entitled, *Can Haiti Change*, Sidney Mintz writes,

> How could the North Americans have expected to take seriously a nation that entered the modern world in 1804 populated entirely by---need I write the word out to make the point, or does it come easily to mind? This tiny land, born of a struggle for liberty that anticipated a comparable struggle in the United States by nearly a century, had nothing the United States wanted (except, perhaps a harbor or two) (Mintz 1995:84).

The context of the nineteenth century, where Cuban nationalism held a heterogeneous expression of political positions, included the specific concern about the demographic and racial composition of the island as well. Even among Cuban insurrectionist troops, there were battalions composed of people of African descent, Chinese men, and Spanish male immigrants led by men of color not without challenge to authority in leadership. These mixed race and cross-cultural battalions served to mark the capability or incapability of the Cuban insurrectionists cause as illegitimate (Ferrer 1999:48-49) to political loyalists, autonomist, and some factions of separatists. Antonio Maceo’s statement about the mischaracterization of his intentions as a mulatto leader, found in a letter to Tómas Estrada Palma, identified his awareness of an ideological split between members of marginalized groups like himself and the Hispano-Antillean political-bloc. Maceo’s letter was one element in an utterance that sought to be heard and received by members of the “civilized world” which from the behaviors mentioned, did not always include those of his brothers in arms.

This chapter explores the cultural formation of this dialogic chain of communication as a series of interlocking and competitive political discourses. These discursive forms are examined from the epistemological position of participants within the Protest of Barágua as a means of better understanding the political barriers to the re-conceptualizing of their communal and individual identities. First, I explore the tripartite relationship of Spain, England, and the United
States as sites where anticolonial and anti-imperial discourses emerged. Though Cuban exiles in New York and Key West often courted the intervention of the United States, authors like Jose Martí, Juan Gualberto Gomez, Rafael Serra Montalvo, and Jose Mayner y Ros, often voiced political opinions antithetical to continued Spanish colonial control, and later imperial control by the United States at the end of the Spanish American War and participants in the Lake Mohonk Conferences of upstate New York. In this section, I explore how the linkage between discourses of benevolence intersected with that of internal colonialism and imperialism.

Racialized marginality served as the socially moral imperative of benevolence based upon innate inferiority of culture, race, and human capacity. It is in this mode of articulation that the earlier liberal underpinnings of antislavery discursive forms provided an implicit inclusivity with a conceptualization of racialized subjects in capable of functioning as social equals. In this section, the ideological connection between varied readerships who articulated political dissent through an antislavery political stance, but used the symbol of the slave as subterfuge for the grievances experienced by women who desired a greater public participation in the civil sphere as leaders. I specified in chapter two, that Gertrudis Gomez de Avellaneda, and Mary Peabody Mann in their novels Sab and Juanita, respectively, present the gendered dimension of political exclusion faced by women and other racially marginalized groups. Yet, these two authors utilized the literary thematic devices of un amor imposible, and the subjugation of ones political and personal self-interest to represent a romanticized political subjectivity embodied in their enslaved main characters. This mode of political subjectivity, seen through the choices made by the main characters in the novels, explored death and self-sacrificial choices as the only intimate mode of social inclusivity in the Cuban plantation society. These authors explored the transition from Cuban plantation society to that of a modern nation-state as only being one where “the
slave” whether male or female was implicitly included in the society. To discuss how explicit inclusivity was expressed by participants in the Protest of Baráguia, the final section of this chapter, shows how the ideología de los mambises operated as an explicit claim for full civil inclusion in the modern Cuban nation-state.

SPAIN, ENGLAND, AND THE UNITED STATES: ANTI-COLONIAL AND ANTI-IMPERIAL DISCOURSES

Spain, England and the United States operated within a closed community of nations whose populations shared and expressed the anti-colonial dissent of Cubans during the Ten Years War. With formalized diplomatic channels operational throughout the entirety of the Ten Years War, these nations formed a diplomatic block of political power that adjudicated the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the Protest of Baráguia. After the signing of the Pact of Zanjón, a mobile public sphere was formed with the assistance of Cuban exile communities, in the United States, and throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. The expression of translocality was witnessable in their nation-building practice that utilized both the written and oral word. Within a multicultural constellation of economic and politically disenfranchised Cubans, the cultural condition of the nineteenth century in Spain, England, and the United States, created a multi-faceted and multi-tiered social system where social exclusion and political disengagement was regularized and customary. This regularized mode of disengagement precipitated the response of translocality that was the Protest of Baráguia.

The distinctiveness of the Protest of Baráguia rests in the fact that its adherents vocalized their dissent. This was readily observable during the antislavery and anti-colonial struggles common to nineteenth century nationalist movements in the Americas and found in dissident communities in these three countries. For some white criollo Cuban revolutionaries but many
more Cuban revolutionaries of color (e.g. los gentes de color\textsuperscript{40}), Spanish anti-colonialism was not separate from antislavery. The social context perpetuated by the emergence of an ethnic enclave connected communities of transmigrants to a world commodity that had both local and global markets of consumption, but by the later part of the nineteenth century both tobacco and the manufactured good of the cigar had global distribution. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the dialogic chain of communication was linked to the chain of tobacco commodity production.

Also, the system of customary social and political exclusion within the Iberian colonial system, often utilized both legal and “believed” distinctions of color that denoted and located ones social position and the social prescriptions one must follow in the plantation society. Color and its referential position to race served and operated in Iberian society as a decisive barrier to human association (Graubard 1967:iii).\textsuperscript{41} Processes of racialization were customary too, but institutionally they were systemically inscribed and located within the long historical purview of both the Catholic Church (i.e. through baptism records, marriage licenses, papal dispensations, etc.) and the Spanish colonial state (i.e. certificates of pure blood, limpieza de sangre, familial registries, etc.). Elite Iberian Americans, or rather wealthy non-white Latin American criollos, who strongly claimed ties to Spanish ancestry, often did so to the erasure of other symbols of ancestral affiliation. The cultural valorization of whiteness and Europeaness, led to a regional worldview established in relation to the other elite worldviews found in Europe and North America during the nineteenth century.

\textsuperscript{40} The term los gentes de color is not my creation of a 20\textsuperscript{th} century cognate. It was a term used in 19\textsuperscript{th} century pamphlets, though the frequency and commonness of its usage is unknown to me. See, Mayner y Ross (1890: 99-102)

\textsuperscript{41} I cite Stephan Graubard, the editor of a 1967 special issue on color and race in the Journal Daedalus. This volume contains historically important essays from not only well known mid-twentieth century Latin American and Caribbean scholars such as Roger Bastide, Eric Braithwaite, David Lowenthal, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and Florestan Fernandes, but includes thought provoking articles about the intersection of race, class, gender, and color in Japan, India, South Africa and England.
During the early modern period in Latin America, regional elites placed issues that characterized its citizenry in racialist terms such as, the civilization of “the Indian,” the “Negro question,” and the “socially contaminating” influence of “coolie laborers,” as the central points of gaining national respectability in the hemisphere and within the global community of nation-states. The perceived apparent inequality of social personhood embodied within these populations led to public and private debates that continued the justification for both social and economic inequality after the formal establishment of independent nation-states. Due to the pervasiveness of the continued practice of “cross-breeding” along with the continued practice of chattel slavery, Hispanophone areas were perceived in Anglophone as “not-quite” modern and in some cases archaic, barbaric, and uncivilized nation-states. In the United States Senate for example, Latin American countries were referred to as “those mongrel nations to the south.”

For the Hispanophone territories of the Caribbean, and to a lesser degree the independent nation-states of continental Latin America, their colonial relatedness to Spain identified the practice of “racial mixing” in the procreative identities of the population. Most importantly, from the British and United States’ purview within the community of American nation-states, Latin America was perceived as lacking the proper fortitude and aptitude to govern, in a model akin to these two colonially related nation-states. These aspects of elite cultural ideals and the policies and practices that ensued from these ideals at the beginning of the “long nineteenth century” did not vanish with independence.

Moreover, to varying degrees later in the century, middle-class (Findlay 1999:82) angst was directly a part of this dialogic chain of communication about local community and nationhood—but the discourse did not occur in isolation from other groups of local elites also inscribed within a regional and emergent world-system of international collaboration. With the

presence of the independent nation-states of the Americas, it is during the nineteenth century that
diplomatic relationships emerged not exclusively between and among monarchical sovereigns
but also between and among presidents and other parliamentary leaders. A new cultural form
emerged in the form of international diplomatic communication between Spain, England, and the
United States. Still, these elements of angst burrowed their way into social policy governing
civic engagement and into judicial attempts to control, define, and penalize those failing to
demonstrate and perform “proper moral behavior” (Caulfield 2000:43-44; Arrecha 1998:38-39)
within the new nation-state. Regionally, elites in business, trade, and politics were able to
establish themselves, their values systems, and their customary practices as hierarchically
superior. As cultural insiders who controlled the development of public policy, they were able to
establish how much difference mattered to the success of the nation.

Michele Moody-Adams points out that in the process of social differentiation there are
many ways for both individuals and groups to be deemed cultural insiders though still
marginalized (Moody-Adams 1997:68). She argues that even within a single society, differences
in class, race, age, and gender are differences of “the kinds” of cultural insiders that exist within
a society. The presence of “cultural insiders” surreptitiously hides the fact that their lack of
status and position at the margins, “prevents the development of moral monoliths” (Moody-
Adams 1997:69) and instead identifies abhorrent subjectivities. “The struggle between the
different strata of the population that occurred in the course of the Wars of Emancipation may
not necessarily be explained in terms of class exploitation and conflict. It may also derive from
frustration engendered by the ethnic discrimination imposed by the “Caste Society” (Mörner
1970:204). Moreover, the emergence of members of the “colored” populations such as mestizos
and mulattoes in national politics and within administrative offices, represented a threat to the

elite power monopoly and often was interpreted by elites as manifestations of a “race struggle” (Helg 1989:38). Though Martinez-Alier argues that race is used as a social symbol for cleavages wrought by other “socially significant cleavages,” particularly those governing the division of labor, I wish to argue that the transition from a plantation society to a nation-state created a space of contestation for the foundation of what economic role a group would perform in the society undergoing transition.

Also, for the island of Cuba, the terrain of commodity production became that place where one could identify and analyze societal change and transition by highlighting the relationship between labor, capital, and the production process. Caribbean anthropologists, historians and cultural critics throughout the twentieth century have produced a dearth of works showing the place of prominence of sugar and the interlocking systems of production and consumption. As anthropologist Fernando Ortiz noted in the mid-twentieth century, Cuban nationalism was built on the process of the transculturation. The concept of transculturation as articulated by Ortiz describes Cuba’s historical and ethnographic distinctiveness.

Transculturation, as a process indicating cultural change through economic forces, began with cultural loss (deculturation) and created new cultural phenomenon (neoculturation) (Ortiz 1995 [1947]:97, 1-2-103). Through the relationships established between people and commodities, specifically the commodities of tobacco and sugar, Cuban society became a mix and blending between Native Americans, African Slaves, and Iberian elites and skilled laborers. Yet, to understand the local/nativists underpinnings of Cuban culture through an examination of the cultural significance of tobacco, Ortiz details the physical and cultural features of tobacco and why it was important to 19th century Cuban society.

Tobacco has always been more Cuban because of its origin, character, and its economy. The tobacco grower was a simple countryman who required no
machinery beyond a few tools and who could supply his own needs from the limited resources of the local general store...The personal element always predominated in tobacco-growing, and there was a patriarchal, intimate quality about its work...Tobacco created a middle class, a free bourgeoisie. (Ortiz 1995[1947]: 63-65).

Here, one sees that Ortiz identifies the rural agricultural tobacco producer, embodied in the form of the campesino, or el guajiro as the “true” symbol of Cuban nationality. The intimacy of patriarchy as indexed by tobacco is in relation with the feminization of sugar. The use and prevalence of the symbol of la mulata, as a seductress, is a subject that cultural historian Vera Kutzinki (1993) explores, indicating that nineteenth Cuban nationalism when examined in relationship to economic production, did not merely contain symbols of masculinity, albeit at times a hyper-masculinity (Nelson 1998; Gutmann 1997), but also depictions of femininity. Even the internal geography of commodity production in nineteenth century Cuba fostered the prolongation of unequal and stratified social conditions with overt racial, economic, and social discrimination within a Spanish controlled colonial state, a British parliamentary monarchy, and a United States expanding imperialistic business sector.

The expanding business interest in Cuba included the representation of benevolence as a condition of increased imperialistic imposition. Benevolence and social reform was integral to the power and position held by participants in the Lake Mohonk conferences in upstate New York beginning in the late 1880’s. These conferences and the political policies that ensued from them, presents the transition of official discourse regarding the liberal ideal of enforcing the "equality of all of God's creatures" within the shift from the implicit anti-slavery struggle embedded within Spanish colonialism, and the resultant imperialism practiced by business leaders and social reformers in the United States.
The Lake Mohonk Conferences began as a late summer to autumn resort town where social and public education events were hosted by wealthy and politically influential Quaker brothers, Alfred and Albert Smiley. Unlike the social institutions created by participants in the Protest of Barágua in the form of social organizations and institutions like revolutionary clubs, Santería houses, and the New York and Boston Cuban Antislavery Committee, mentioned in the previous chapter, participants of the Lake Mohonk Conferences included people that possessed political power based in both actual and social capital. During the warm summers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Smiley Brothers would invite their influential friends to their upstate New York country homes and discuss the issues of great political and Christian concern. At the askance of President Rutherford B. Hayes, a frequent Lake Mohonk conferee, Albert Smiley became the head of the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1879, the same year that Antonio Maceo and the other Cuban *mambises* voiced their grievances in the form of the Protest at Barágua.

The Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians was an active and extremely influential organization composed of missionaries, educators, and philanthropists who made their wealth on the expanding infrastructure in the United States and availability of agricultural and manufacturing commodities. This organization initially saw their role as protecting "Indians" from the exploitation by providing them with proper education. The participants in the Lake Mohonk Conferences supported policies of cultural disassociation as the means creating a better citizenry (Williams 1980:814). At Lake Mohonk conferences, the future of the nation in the United States was always a relevant matter in its “progressive” form. A system of tutelage of the protectorates added by the United States along with Native American “de-indianization” practices and policies were common.
The later categorical instantiation of Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos and their claim to territorial sovereignty made the citizens of these islands wards of the United States, while the physical land became political protectorates—foreign states incorporated within the governance system of the United States. The United States’ protectorates functioned economically in a manner not significantly different from the “surplus land” in Native American tribal territories with the added notion of the right to graduated sovereignty (Biolsi 2005:242). The political ground of humanitarianism, by the Lake Mohonk conferees was wed to the practice of national reconciliation after the United States Civil War and the expansion of national trade networks reliant upon inexpensive rather than “free labor.” Still, American customary and political practice failed to guarantee the full right of citizenship to all residents in the United States that included formally enslaved people of African descent, contract workers, and non-Protestant European immigrants, and by the late nineteenth century the members of the “newly incorporated” protectorates.

Spanish anticolonial struggle and antislavery discourse inside and outside of Cuba was reformist and conciliatory in content and practice. Neither included the vision of full social, economic, cultural, and political citizenship espoused by los mambises. Even in the United States, the political inclusion of all members of the citizenry remained an ideal. The articulation of a political kinship based on customary and structural location, expressed within sibling associative ties demonstrated that the members of the Cuban Antislavery Committees of New York and Boston recognized a similar pursuit of full and equal citizenship that hadn’t yet been actualized by them and the practices of enslavement was the central obstacle.

For the Lake Mohonk participants, and the members of their social and political networks, the nation was conceived such that, members of foreign nations not geographically...
coterminous with the United States, and ones that did not have preexisting diplomatic ties, had to be "invited "into the imagined community (Anderson 1991:145 quotes mine) of civilized nationhood. Even the political anachronism of the Spanish colonial state among “civilized and independent nations” with its colonial possessions in the Antilles, was afforded diplomatic exchanges with the British and United States governments.

This invitation into the international community of sovereign nations included territorial occupation in a manner different from Spanish colonialism. Invitation into the community of nations now required that elites of the “mongrel” or “heathen” nations had to be civilized and taught the proper form of democratic governance in the correct mode, form, and expression replicating that of the United States in its idealized form. Domestic civic institutions were created that exalted the United States’ national form and they were viewed as justifiably and necessarily replicable in backwards nations. The long-lasting success in the execution of their social mission propelled the national independence struggles of the long nineteenth century into an expanse of political power that now garnered cultural legitimacy and increased regional authority in the hands of European countries and the United States. The Lake Mohonk conferees were then able to enforce, legitimate, and perpetuate, the moral superiority of their own self-inscribed and self-proclaimed civility. This group explicitly established the ideological grounds for governing not merely Native Americans in the United States, but Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and later Filipinos at the end of the Spanish American War.

By 1900, the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends and Indians included "the other dependent races" in their political projection of civility throughout the Western hemisphere. In 1904, the group changed its name to the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Indian and Other Dependent People (Williams 1980:814). This change in moniker shows the group's direct
association of "others" with the previously established dependency of the Native Americans in their vision of modernization and civility. In his 1900 Presidential Campaign, Theodore Roosevelt declared that Filipinos were as savage and irrational as the Apaches who had taken to the warpath under Geronimo (Welch 1974:104).

Contained in the words of President Roosevelt, the Filipino problem in the Pacific had a domestic analogue in the Native American in the western plains. Roosevelt also referred to Emilio Aguinaldo as the "Oceola of the Philippines and a renegade Pawnee (Welch 1974:104). For Filipinos fighting against the occupation of the United States military and its governance by a foreign power, those who served under the command of Emilio Aguinaldo, their armed protest emerged from political disenfranchisement akin to the participants in the Ten Years War. As Antonio Maceo and the men and women who participated in the Protest of Baráguia had no formal political entré into the Spanish colonial state as signers of the Pact of Zanjón, Aguinaldo and the men that followed him took arms to prevent the United States occupation of the Philippines. They perceived the United States government as militaristic occupiers while the United States government characterized Aguinaldo, and the group of men who fought against the United States army as “insurrectionists.” At the end of the Spanish American War in 1897, a local response to the foreign policy of the United States emerged in the form of an anti-imperialist armed struggle in the Philippines.

The Lake Mohonk Conferences exemplifies how agents of and within the modern nation-state constructed a political strategy of civility and moral uplift that reformulated and transformed old options for the social and political organization of people by creating new ones (i.e. dependencies and protectorates) that gained importance in an emergent secular culture. At a moment when civil sector institutions sanctioned by the state in the United States they utilized
the rhetoric of humanitarianism wed to the practice of philanthropic missions for the “common
good” that abrogated a communal and local vision of commonality. The image of their
bourgeois, collective, social self is what they wanted perpetuated throughout the globe. Lake
Mohonk conferees were the pillars and icons of what it meant to be American. They recreated
their beliefs in social institutions that expanded the then current continental boundaries into
cultural realms. The members of this group became virtuous agents of the state, not renegades,
and they were "determined to eradicate vicious practices." They desired to create new subjects
who responded to a new order of virtue separate from their traditions (Asad 1997:342) that were
deemed heathen and illegitimate. The expanding project of conscription, in which the nation
could be envisioned as a desirous homologic entity, and its political, economic, and social
practices could be universalized and replicated internationally, gained institutional form within
secular humanitarian missions.

As agents of the modernizing United States, this group exercised brute violence and then,
by a combination of intimidation and manipulation necessary to their now international project
(Asad 1997:338), secured legislation that destroyed and permanently altered native cultures
internal and external to the territory of the United States. The informal experience of
deterritorial subjecthood as experienced by Cuban political dissidents escaping Spanish political
repression through migration and exile, was formalized in the practice of imperialism.

A reconceptualization of the principles and ideals inscribed within the expression of an
active, participatory citizenship (Balibar 2004:48-49) is found in antislavery discourse. In this
next section, I discuss how the two novels Sab and Juanita, present antislavery discourse as a
counter-narrative advocating abolition but, still lays claim to racialized marginality in need of
tutelage. I argue that antislavery discourse as seen in the novels written by Mann and
Avellaneda is one that championed implicit exclusivity within a social world of continued racialized marginality.

ANTI-SLAVERY DISCOURSE AS IMPLICIT EXCLUSIVITY WITHIN RACIALIZED MARGINALITY

The cultural infrastructure of and between plantation societies are a result of colonial encounters in the Americas and the local elites were a part of a dialogic chain of communication that transversed the Americas. The symbolic and strategic use of the slave as subject and object in both novels also, indicates how the utterance of antislavery compares with that of abolition for both voiced to varying degrees the political ideas that circumscribed the direct participation of people of African descent. It is important to see, that these novels did articulate a cultural context that possesses ethnographic features of the past based on each author’s understanding of their then present condition. These novels discussed and included colonial subjection and social injustice that affected more than slaves but women, immigrants, class groups, racial and ethnic groups, and men.

In her examination of race, sex, and class in early and mid-twentieth century Kenya, Carolyn Martin Shaw demonstrates the methodological intervention that analyzing novelistic and other written forms presents in understanding how narratives provide historical and ethnographic content to colonial contexts. Shaw argues that it is a methodological issue to understand that different groups in a colonial context, produce different narratives and the content of these narratives varies based on the power, the position, the authority, and the purpose of the author (Shaw 1995:180). For Avellaneda and Peabody the value and utility of their novels, as both historical and ethnographic tools, exists in the point made by Shaw above. The act of creating these stories in a novelistic form aids the process of ethnographic and historical inquiry by questioning the cultural beliefs and values that prolonged Spanish colonial rule in Cuba and the
political, social, and cultural system of plantation slavery in the Americas. The antislavery novel in the Americas, offers a vista into the complexity of social and political conflict in nineteenth century Cuba and how the perceptions of Cuba and its populations intersected with political power in the United States and Europe. Shaw further mentions the importance of popular novels and autobiographies produced by authors who occupy different positions in the social infrastructure of colonial Kenya (Shaw 1995:180).

In the edition that I use for this inquiry into antislavery discourse, Avellaneda’s novel Sab was printed with her autobiography. Peabody’s personal context of being a New Engander at the time that the American Antislavery Movement and American Colonization society gained political will regionally and nationally, locates her at the delta of abolitionist discourse as it emerged from Europe, specifically England, and the northeastern United States. Through my analysis of Peabody and Avellaneda’s works and lives, I hope to show how antislavery discourse is not the same as the abolition discourse taken up by people of African descent in the Americas. Also, the textual dimension of these novels, and the contexts of their creation, possess complex meanings that are not merely temporally distinct or spatially distinct, but are important sources necessary for understanding nineteenth century women’s political utterances about slavery, abolition, and increased political inclusion for themselves, their daughters, and other women which for Peabody included slave women and free colored women but for Avellaneda included slave men in the exposition of her novel.

Slavery is the institution that both novels used as its primary subject in the secondary genre of antislavery. This literary form of the antislavery novel expresses historical consciousness through its criticism and examination of the institution of slavery in its mediated relationship to spoken speech (Holquist 1990: 76). Because of the low level of literacy in the
Americas during the nineteenth century, the Spanish colonial states policies of censorship of printed works, and the inaccessibility of actual books, makes the antislavery novel both cultural archive active expressive cultural form of political dissent in a way that is unique for understanding the forging of dialogically inscribed chains of communication between Cubans and Spaniard, but also as a means of transmitting regional political ideologies about systemic disenfranchisement economically and socially.

My interpretation of these two antislavery novels is as a tragedy of modernity. Both writers’ explicit claim that people of African descent, though brutalized and stripped of humanity in plantation societies, were not capable of self-government (Scott 2004:55). Outside of the private plantation household or rather, outside a social condition of servitude or tutelage manifest in paternalistic social reform, people of African descent both as main characters and sometimes as secondary characters, were constructed as reliant upon the plantation as the primary means of their identity in a broader sphere of social relations. This claim does not exclude an internal critique that colonial Cuban plantation society elites would not “permit” or imagine slaves engaged in a form of self-government that did not include servitude. The tragedy of the limits to their social imagination is curious because of the success, albeit economically constrained, and the real presence of Haiti at the time. Though I cannot be certain of whether the myopia of each writer’s social and regional imagination included a belief that Haiti wouldn’t last as a sovereign republic managed by former slaves, I can be certain that the novels’ main characters did not respond to the condition of servitude in the manner that Haitians did.

In fact, the two main characters, in both novels, Sab and Juanita die while serving and meeting their owner’s desires not, their own. In the pursuit of their own interests individually not collectively inscribed, both slaves die---Sab from a broken heart resulting in failure to create
a romantic union with Carlota, and Juanita by practicing familial loyalty and following her brother who had joined a community of maroons, resulting in her being burned alive by an angry mob. In both cases, their desires were sublimated to enhance the lives of their owners, not their own. Sab and Juanita practiced self-sacrifice to the point of death so that their owners would benefit in lives that no longer included their physical and material presence thus, eclipsing them from a historical future through tragic death. Both characters were written and constructed as primary but ultimately were expendable in a manner similar to that of field slaves involved in sugarcane production in historical reality. Field slaves were expendable means of labor with temporarily determined use and Sab and Juanita’s desires for greater freedom as written, were also temporally determined. Sab risked and received death so that Carlota would have money for a dowry to secure her marriage to the man she truly loved and believed naively, truly loved her for her passionate spirit. Juanita left New England as a free woman, refused marriage to her lifelong beloved, Ludovico, and returned to Cuba where she died in service to him and his children. Sab’s heart burst. Juanita was burnt alive.

Both died alongside symbolically significant others. Sab died a quiet death in the same bed as Luis, the great-grandson of Chief Camagüey whose unhappy soul, “returns to the fatal hill in the form of a light, to predict to the descendants of his savage murderers the vengeance which sooner or later Heaven will cause to fall upon them” (Avellaneda 1993:73). Sab’s adoptive mother, Martina, claimed to be a descendant of Chief Camagüey. Symbolically, Sab as *mulato* slave dies in the country (Cubitas) alongside the great-grandson of mythic indigenous nobility. Juanita dies alongside twelve hundred slaves, and Pope Urban, a maroon community leader in a large warehouse outside the walls of Havana. Escape from servitude either occurs through blood or fire.
Neither writer offered a narrative of vindication, social retribution, political amelioration, or redress. Both characters experienced a tragic demise in order for their owners to gain greater remorse and achieve moral clarity. It is only the character of Ludovico, who after these emotive processes responds and acts for the greater social good by freeing his slaves, gradually. Yet, the moral plotline of both antislavery narratives was passive and final outcomes for each main character, signified that only in death and not in a socially defiant manner, would slaves achieve escape from servitude.

Implicitly, the novels represent the idea that slaves did not want or weren’t capable of overcoming their emotions to garner their freedom. Both Sab and Juanita were constructed to lack the full rationality necessary to succeed in obtaining their desires and maintaining them without guidance. Moreover, the principle desires that both characters possessed was the desire of requited, equally expressed love, a mode of social mutuality and reciprocity manifest in the local and global sphere of plantation societies where these works traveled.

It is important to note that the two slave characters were ensconced in a historically relevant discourse of racial, and hence, political asymmetry that does not rely on the power of language as used in the novel to reformulate their being in the world (Whitten and Torres 1998:27). The authors did not narrate a social life in which the slave protagonist experienced freedom witnessable in requited love, marriage, or within social institutions though flawed, according to the authors, still were accessible to women of the day. Both characters received the recognition of requited love (Sab many years after his death and Juanita at the moment of her refusal of Ludovico’s marriage proposal), but not the benefit of the institutionally guaranteed rights.

As Sab states in his letter to Carlota, written before his death, as his heart bursts, “The virtue of
the slave...is to obey and be silent, serve his lawful masters with humility and resignation, and
never to judge them” (Avellaneda 1993:140). In the case of Sab, an impossible romantic love
was a noble cause but he could not be the victor. Truth and virtue in love is linked to sacred,
boundless love and personal sacrifice. Sab’s character gives up his personal fortune obtained by
chance through a winning lottery ticket that would have permitted him to purchase his freedom
and purchase his own property. In this passage we can see that “sacred boundless love” must
include limitless sacrifice of self-interests perceived by the author as being opposite to acting in
self interested motivated personally by jealousy and egotism. Disillusionment at a quick pace at
the hands of Sab is presented as unjust and an indication of egotism. Sab’s heart is caught in a
bevy of momentary passion that is “astray” and should return to a more just course of action
which is self-sacrifice.

The lack of rights for the slave and the moral certitude and opportunity of a just social
system is addressed in depth in the novel Juanita. In Juanita, Peabody does not give Juanita,
nor, any of the other slaves set a fire by an angry white criollo mob dying words. Before death,
they are rendered voiceless and it is only the mob that possesses and takes action. An omniscient
narrator describes the scene of death and presents the setting of the event. Peabody provides a
scene or landscape description of the event.

It proved the night of a fearful outrage that rang widely over the island the next
day. There is no trial in Cuba, any more than in the southern United States, for a
suspected slave, nor even for a suspected colored freeman. The building was
surrounded by an infuriated crowd, and fired, and Juanita, Juan, Urbano, and
twelve hundred other negroes, free and enslaved, perished in the flames. Are we

43 Games of chance were and still are a common feature of local community events sponsored by the Catholic Church. However, in the novel Sab, we don’t know the type of lottery ticket that he possesses and gives to Carlota. We do know that in 1849, the Captain General Juan de la Pezuela of Puerto Rico implemented the libreta that ended the agrarian work year by holding a lottery for the most diligent laborers submitted by the hacendados (Schmidt-Nowara 1999:39). We also know that Juan de la Pezuela served as the Captain-General of Cuba from 1853-1854 where he and George Backhouse worked together on issues faced by the Havana Mixed Commission (Martinez –Fernandez 1991). The Marquis de la Pezuela was a member of the Royal Spanish Academy of Letters who voted for Avellaneda’s admission into the academy, but was rejected (Scott 1993:xvi). Though I am unable to provide a certain and direct genealogical tie between the Marquis de la Pezuela and the Captain General of Puerto Rico Juan de la Pezuela, I can claim with a strong amount of confidence that the two men were related due to the closed-system of colonial governance and the social relations among Spaniards in the colonial system. For both men to hold such high status position in both Spain and the colonies, indicates a strong possibility of a familial tie.
told that the horrors of slavery are exaggerated? Those who know its history, and included many individuals of a superior caste, for it was the more intelligent and able negroes who were most readily suspected. Besides the suspected freemen, many valuable slaves of well known and powerful families disappeared that night, and no one dared to inquire their fate (Peabody 2000:217).

Moral outrage is combined with unjust social action. Instead of the individual or collective voice of the slaves and free people of color, it is an omniscient narrator who witnesses the event that I presume to be the author voicing her personal antislavery stance. The mob and “the twelve hundred other negroes free and enslaved” are unnamed, whereas, Juan, Juanita, and Urbano are named. The way a character is designated in a text, here in the deployment of proper names, serves to create a tone of distanced sympathy (Toolan 1988:103). Peabody’s description presents a hierarchy between “individuals of a superior caste,” those “more intelligent and able negroes,” “suspected freemen” and slaves of well-known and powerful families,” and Juan, Juanita, and Urbano. The tone of distanced sympathy locates the various categories of slaves and freemen as not meriting inquiry into their death at the hands of local mobs.

We see in this passage that “negro” intelligence is represented as suspicious and met with plantation specific acts of violence. We also see that the author holds an understanding of there being “inferior castes of “negroes” and superior castes of them. The author utilizes intelligence as an attribute that serves as extra-textual knowledge that is partial because it combines the factual and the ideological grounded in the context of creation (Toolan 1988:98) both in the novel and its reception diachronically. By characterizing Juanita as “a moor,” and her brother Juan as, “vain,” “proud of spirit,” and “proud of his nationality,” but a slave human being who liked to “put on airs that made him unendurable” (Peabody 2000:77), we learn that this is an ethnic distinction the author makes between slaves and which the author contrasts the gendered distinctions represented in her characterology of Juan and Juanita. The author understands in her
characterization of slaves within colonial Cuban society that moors are different from other negroes and Juanita being a female moor is different from Juan. This difference is attributable to her notions of masculinity and femininity in which the female moor operates in ways that aren’t vain and proud but humble and selfless. The female moor is presented as an aesthetic object of beauty not as an active subject (Peabody 2000:77-78). The Moorish descended female holds pride not in her nationality but, “in such connections as they form” which indicates the use of their physical beauty to secure connections. Peabody discusses her vision of an ethnic distinction among slaves that makes a declarative statement that moors “are not negroes. However, she assumes the absence of a consciousness of prior civilization on the part of moors. Moreover, the “Moorish slaves” are the purveyors of superior intelligence in the passage about the death of Juan, Juanita, and Urbana. Peabody equates slave resistance to the intelligence of “Moorish slaves” who aren’t “often enslaved.”

Historian Franklin Knight indicates that between 1835 and 1839 European white labor decline in Cuba, which led to many schemes of importing people from China, India, Annam, Egypt, Morocco, and Ethiopia (Knight 1974:114-116) who were often males between ages 16 and 40. Peabody’s characterization of Juanita as a Moor emphasizes the qualities of intellect within a rubric of proximity to European civilization and away from both slaves born in the Americas and her vague reference of “other negroes.” Peabody under emphasizes that within colonial Cuba, Juanita, other negroes, and Moors were slaves. Moreover, according to Knight after the 1840’s a semantic change occurred in the categories of “white” and “free” for these “orientals” though statistically classified as white, “they became subject to the same form of police measures as the African slaves they were supposed to replace (Knight 1974:116). The distinction that Peabody makes in her characterology and use of description when analyzed in
tandem with historical trends of slave importation, provides us with an analytical understanding that the racial distinction between negroes, and other “orientals” was a customary one and not a legal or juridical distinction.

An article in the New York based newspaper, *La Verdad* produced from 1848-1860, stated, “[T]he most lamentable spectacle, the most repugnant liaisons to our instincts, the most shocking to our present state of civilization and public opinion, the most degrading and shameful to our race, marriages between white women and blacks, mulattoes, *zambos*, and *mestizos*” bespoke not a tirade against miscegenation, a strategy once deployed by European descended men to solve Cuba’s “race problem” but men of color gaining sexual access to white women (Martinez 1998:68). These historical examples read in context with the novelistic response provides critical insight into why unrequited romantic pursuits for Sab and Juanita as symbolic representations of male and female slaves, are important for understanding the quotidian experiences and pressures faced by slaves regardless of whether they were characterized or understood themselves and separate and distinct from other negroes whether slave or free. Regardless of physical appearance or social status of servitude, the majority population in colonial Cuba did not dispense collective rights of full engagement in the social and economic system. Even the customary privilege of male leadership and authority was circumscribed by European descended males in relation to men of color. The same preternatural right of masculine privilege and desire intersected with racial differentiation and provides insight about the gendered dimensions of social power and European descended women’s social options.

Though the articulation anticolonial discourse, anti-imperialist discourse, and antislavery discourse, that cultural practices within the dialogic chain of communication is analyzed. What was said, what was done, and what was imagined, is important for gaining a greater
understanding of the historical formation of collective social power and group identity. It is in
this way that translocality has been shown to be integral to political strategy and inscribed within
the cultural practice of community formation. In the final section of this chapter, I wish to
present how participants in the Protest of Barágua, expressed an ideology that enframed their
vision for a national future of inclusive political engagement.

IDEOLOGY OF MAMBÍSES: AFRICAN NEW WORLD DISCOURSE AS EXPLICIT INCLUSIVITY

At the moments before Barágua, the mode of political kinship that Cuban nationhood
offered included a compromised one as one of the two last remaining plantation societies in the
Americas. In his address to the attendees of New York Cuban Antislavery Committee at Cooper
Union in 1872, Samuel Scottron supported the first act of the Cuban Revolutionary government
that declared “unconditional emancipation of the slaves within its jurisdiction and to make
constitutional promises that “all inhabitants of the Republic are absolutely free” (1872:7). The
future oriented perspective of participants in the Protest of Barágua contested the blatant
abrogation of political ties between themselves and other allies after the Ten Years War. This
group of migrants subsequently relied on the older intra-regional networks initially developed in
the colonial era to transmit their messages of proper nationhood and greater inclusivity.

The continuity of these intra-regional economic, associative, and communications
networks relied upon institutional and collective circuit of transmission. The dialogic chain of
communication connected populations of political sympathizers in the anti-slavery and
abolitionist movements of Great Britain and the United States, heads of states in independent
Latin American nation-states, free colored and former slave populations throughout the
Americas, and Cuban migrant enclave communities in the United States, Central America, and
continental South America. The symbolic and political importance of the mambi as human
representative of a political ideology, shows that in the struggle for what was understood as radical abolition\textsuperscript{44} and independence, means that the \textit{mambises} were more than national-folk heroes, or merely iconic representations of revolutionary spirit. For Afro-Cubans, Cubans of African descent, and radical\textsuperscript{45} Cuban revolutionaries in the nineteenth century, the \textit{mambises} were former slaves legally or illegally trafficked to the island, maroons who escaped servitude but were militarily repressed by colonial militias, and female and male ancestors of slaves, who fought to reestablish their right to live without techniques of punitive physical violence, forced sexual cohabitation, torture, or death.

Though represented within a universalizing discourse of nation-building, Cuban \textit{mambises} understood that they possessed no right to adhere to communally defined practices of cultural sovereignty without social change that required not merely an antislavery ideology and its implicit practice of social exclusion to secure their rights, but also unpopular political participation in a cultural setting that viewed them, their tactics, strategies, and beliefs as insurgent and subsequently illegitimate in both formal European and American controlled local and international political domains.

Participants in the Protest of Barágua, and Cubans who migrated throughout the nineteenth century to various regions in the Americas, exercised their own power to organize and benefit from their communities of tradition. Translocality as their mode of territoriality contained their own logos while still conscripting them to modern political projects. In fact, David Scott argues that slaves, and arguably any person of color involved in the Protest of

\textsuperscript{44} Radical abolition in the ideological position and cultural context of nineteenth century Cuba refers to immediate abolition not unlike strategies deployed by New England and mid-Atlantic states during the Revolutionary War with England, or deployed by Union and Confederate regiments during the United States Civil War. Radical references the position of immediate abolition as in the other historical and cultural cases mentioned. I cannot and do not offer a firm position on whether the substance of a “radical” abolitionary project resulted from the desired immediacy or the use of armed violent political struggle.

\textsuperscript{45} Here, my use of the phrase “radical Cuban revolutionaries” is meant to refer to a certainly radical political position held by participants and adherents to the Protest of Barágua. I use the term radical in distinction and contrast to the reformist position held by participants in the Pact of Zanjón.
Barágua, developed concepts of collective organization that was beyond European concepts of territoriality (Scott 2004:121). By migrating to Jamaica, Cubans exercised personal and collective sovereignty over their "civil powers" and located it in the domain of theirs, not the state's immediate control. Abolition and independence became for them the vehicle with which to advocate for their position in a modern, independent, racially inclusive Cuba.

Indeed, Cuban ethnic enclaves throughout the Americas were concerned with both independence and abolition, two issues that served to separate the modern nation-state from that of the "pre-modern" colonial state. While creating communities of exile, they maintained strong levels of political engagement in the political affairs of Spain's continued illegal importation of slaves and of criollo sugarcane planters and mill owners' reliance on slave labor. The historiography of the age of revolutions rarely places the issues of independence and abolition in their very real political articulation. Often, the later subject is ignored in the historiography of Latin America. Cuba, as a "Caribbean island," becomes a liminal and therefore incomplete space for understanding Latin American modernity.

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46 Here I use the term "premodern" as indicated by Sibylle Fischer to indicate the period that preceded independence. Fischer states, "If we read modernity from the perspective of the Caribbean colonies...heterogeneity is a congenital condition of modernity, and that the alleged purity of European modernity is an a posteriori theorization or perhaps even a strategy that aims to establish European primacy. It may well be best to think of the purported homogeneity of European modernity as having distilled out of the hybrid hemispheric phenomenon-distilled by ideological operations, forgetfulness, and active suppression of impure, hybrid elements" (22). Sibylle Fischer, Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 2004 (Durham: Duke University Press).

47 In fact, the phrase the age of revolutions emphasizes independence struggles between colonial elites and the monarchy. By doing so, it elides the discussion on slavery and freedom in Latin America, especially, and holds up the former plantation societies of the Caribbean and United States as the only locales faced with the dissolution of the "peculiar institution" and the resultant effects on civil society in the modern nation-state. Outside of the British Caribbean and the United States, Cuba and Brazil are frequently the symbolic Latin American exceptions due to their "significant" reliance on slave labor throughout the late nineteenth century.
CHAPTER FIVE
NATION-BUILDING AND MIGRANCY IN THE PROTEST OF BARÁGUA

A STRATEGY FOR NATION-BUILDING: MIGRANCY AND ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT

In the Americas, during the nineteenth century, the perception of geographical rootedness in which human populations, and cultural and linguistic groups were categorically linked to territories as if social conditions of forced mobility, including state-sponsored forms of violence, economic deprivation, and internal territorial disputes had no major impact on how or why human populations move or migrate. The common practice of attachment to a singular geographical locale and the association of populations and social institutions that are cultural in origin and political in scope with a singular location, grounds each human subject, and roots them to that place (Malkki 1992). Also included in this process of rooting populations to territories in the nineteenth century was the emergence of nationally and internationally recognized and disputed borders of nation-states and internal domestic trade networks and routes (both formal and informal ones) where domestic and export commodities transversed and were traded. Cultural zones of human populations were observable by agents in the employment of nation-states. Demographic patterns of settlement formed in the colonial era, and for indigenous populations, a stratigraphic residue of pre-colonial patterns were mapped over and into the national landscape. For the population of a given American nation-state, in both the northern and southern hemispheres, its human population was categorically rooted to the territory as members and participants in the governance and economic structure of that emergent nation-state.

It is during the entirety of the nineteenth century in the Americas that national identity emerged whereby, ideologies of homogeneous cultural and a desire for a new mode of governance unified the political objective of state formation. It is here that the convergence of
nationalism, as an expression of cultural distinctiveness, and sovereignty, an expression of political governance, meant for human populations that their territorial rootedness was tied to the then emergent concept of national citizenship. The political parameters of citizenship, as a new and primary mode of collective belonging, transformed older notions of communal identity. As human populations were classified as citizens, national identities supplanted and altered the modes of social, political, and economic engagement by the newly inscribed and conscripted citizenry.

In the Peruvian Andes of the nineteenth century, Mark Thurner discusses how in the processes of Peruvian citizen-making, Creole elites “renamed” “Indians” as Peruvians within the unitary civil mode of liberal nationhood under a Peruvian Republic (Thurner 1997:17). Peruvian Republicanism collapsed and eroded tribal distinctiveness and previous modes of social organization, collective governance forms, and rights to land. Liberal nationhood homogenized civil engagement only within forms authorized by state institutions and governing bodies. The governing processes of Creole nation-building in Peru, also displaced indigenous people from specific colonial privileges, and separated them from specific rights and status in their locally developed “colonial Indian republics” that often included the right to specific tribal lands. This example of emergent Peruvian republicanism and the power claimed by Creole elites to rename Andean indigenous groups, serves as an example of how the transition towards Peruvian republicanism, elicited a response of forced homogeneity within the collective identity that became the Peruvian national one. It also serves to show the process of territorialization and deterritorialization affected and associated indigenous people’s identities with land and not formal governing bodies. Transitions between the parallel modes of governance from the colonial era into the national era altered the cultural practices of indigenous peoples and
transformed local practice into dissenting practice within the Peruvian nation. These new roles, rights, and civic responsibilities demonstrated the pervasive authority held by the Peruvian state channeled through the new roles of indigenous Peruvian citizens. Most importantly, the political and economic interests of the Peruvian state delimited the national contribution and form of these groups’ engagement. Ideals of political loyalty and the protection of the republic, rather than loyalty to local bodies or communal interests, were made an a priori part of the national identity.

For Rafael Serra, a Cuban journalist residing in New York, the sentiment of his desired role of Cuban citizen was expressed at a moment when the identity of citizen and the role, rights, and responsibilities remained distant, illusive, and not yet politically tangible. Serra criticized acts of human diminishment witnessed by him and other Cubans due to Spanish colonial rule. He expressed a notion of political community that invoked the shared sentiment of Cubanidad, and offered an expansive vision of political inclusion. In characterizing the colonial era, he stated,

Then, the men mistake the make-believe of the childish dreams they are pretending to continue, at the base the protection of the republic, created by the calloused hands of the men of the pueblo, the most hideous, despotic, and arrogance that we fight against the Spanish government (Serra 1894:129)48.

The protracted struggle for inclusive citizenship in the face of the political obstacle of continued Spanish rule in Cuba underlied the political project detailed in Serra’s essay content. He continues,

A pueblo composed of distinct elements lives by the same oppressor they ought to be sincerely united and represented equally in every contributive capacity to the creation of the country: Because we serve Cubans in order to enter the division of the sacrifice, like Cubans have made entry as well in the division of benefit (Serra 1896:131).49

48 Serra, 1892, “Pues yerran los hombres que engañados por ensueños de niños pretendieran continuar, bajo la protección de la república, creada por las manos encallecidas de los hombres del pueblo, las mismas fealdades, despotismo y arrogancia que combatimos del gobierno español.”
49 Ibid, ...un pueblo compuesto de distintos elementos vivos y maniatados por un mismo yugo, deben estar sinceramente unidos, y representados por igual en todas las capacidades contributivas á la creación del País. Porque los que como cubanos servimos para entra en la comparticion del sacrificio, como cubanos hemos de entrar tambíen en la comparticion del beneficio.
The statement expressed the political tension between the local political community that existed historically and culturally in Cuba, and the power welded by the Spanish state in the same territory. It is important to note that it was only, after 1884 that “the official Spanish notion of “nation” (nación)” took on the connotation of “the inhabitants” or “people” (pueblo) under one “government” (gobierno) or “state” (estado). It was not until the 1920s that the rewritten formula of ethnicity = people = nation was combined with the modern doctrine of the so-called natural desire for statehood to produce the contemporary, quasi-ethnic notion of the nation-state, which is sometimes identified (in Eurocentric fashion) as “the German model” (Thurner 1997:5-6). However, in Serra’s writing, there was the beginning of a different model of an “ethnic nation-state” in Cuba not derived from a Germanic tradition, but one derived from the regional complexities of an American tradition that understood the pervasiveness of a racialized ethnic distinctiveness.

The historical predicament and the political strategy followed by participants in the Protest of Barágua expressed their emergent political and cultural distinctiveness in an internal, Cuban political culture rooted to a singular geographical locale, but inclusive of pre-colonial and pre-national cultural ideals, territories, routes, and patterns of mobility. Their perspective of national identity expressed loyal to Cuba, but a Cuba that was in the process of being created in an image of contributory acknowledgment. To utilize Serra’s perspective, Cuba was “created by the calloused hands of the men of the pueblo,” not in the ideals and “childish dreams” of Spaniards and creole elites who supported the Pact of Zanjón and allied with Spanish political ideals. From a multi-layered Hispanophone and Anglophone Caribbean, African American, and Cuban enclave in New York, the political content of Serra’s writing indicated a transnational
political connectedness and a diasporic cultural awareness that linked the injustices of both slavery and the continued social exclusion of all who labored in and for Cuba. In fact, Serra and other Cubans residing outside of the island maintained a relationship to the Spanish colonial state and the United States’ political, social, and economic policies of capitalistic expansion and imperialism. Cuban history and historical development included processes of contingency, ruptures, and alterations in strategies that codified their relations to the state they wished to create, and the political community, and public spheres they sought to develop (Balibar 2004:16) while utilizing. Other translocal Cuban communities were the subject of regular political contest both within Cuba and places external to it, providing an example of “[i]ntersecting affiliations across and above territorial boundaries” that problematicize any characterization of international and inter-state relations as the interaction of politically discrete territorially sovereign entities (Hansard 2003:22). The expression of an insurgent mode of nationalism (Ferrer 1999) also included a vision of national belonging that created a republic that valued the contributions of all colonially marginalized people and did not neglect or ignore women’s public participation and civil inclusion through voting noted in the pamphlet produced by José Mayner y Ros in Kinston, Jamaica mentioned in the previous chapter. After all, in 1893, women’s clubs existed throughout the Cuban diaspora and flourished in locales like Honduras, Costa Rica, Venezuela, El Salvador, Mexico, New York, and Florida (Prado-Torriera 2005:98). Also, of all of the Cuban exiles, Marta Abreu, methodically contributed, planned her individual philanthropic efforts, and donated her parental inheritance to her political vision of a socially just Cuba that included cash donations for both the Ten Years War and the Final War of Independence, and the building of black and white schools in Santa Clara (Prado-Torreira 2005:109-110).

It was easier to be politically involved and join a patriotic group abroad than on the island where the clubs remained illegal. But women in Cuba joined them by
the thousands, nonetheless, and founded new groups or revived old ones that were active during the Ten Years War. Members were again sworn to secrecy and gave a nom de guerre to be used when involved in revolutionary activity (Prado-Torreira 2005:105).

The concept of nationalism and the practice of nation-building requires me to put under theoretical and analytical scrutiny the processes by which participants in the Protest of Barágua worked towards a sovereign nation-state that fully included all members of the society within an emergent republic even though many resided outside of the territory of Cuba. Still the strategy of nation-building utilized by participants in the Protest of Barágua translates into a broader, transnational analytical framework the interface between “a particular subject population…and a regime and politically dominant racial majority” that is able to respond to the particular conditions of inequality that are both universal and culturally coded (Hansard 2003:23).

A dangerous “North Atlantic fiction” is that nationalism and the establishment of sovereign republics and nations in the Americas meant that agitation and resistance against these forms of political organization ended as well (Trouillot 2003a). Because of the policy of protracted abolition, anti-colonial and independence movements by creole elites, the strategy of nation-building required and was reliant upon the practice of out-migration by Cuban political dissidents. This interstitial position is addressed and included in the works of various Cuban political dissidents and exiles, in which the fictive signification of nationality (Cuban nationality) does not gain political recognition or belonging (Balibar 2004:238n.2). Out-migration appears antithetical to an official understanding of what the practice of nation-building entails because of the connection of nationalism to a symbolic national soil or territory.

However, this period of transition not only affected the organization of local Cuban communities in the multiple regions of the island, but it also affected the domains of social control and shared political influence. The practice of out-migration in Cuba diffused and
dispersed Cubans throughout the hemisphere, but it also affected the individual and collective lives of people who were historical and social agents involved in destroying cultural forms that denoted customary practices deemed anachronistic and a hindrance to a modern democratic process of inclusion. The redemption of Cuba and the acts of vindication taken by Cuban leaders who regularly traveled throughout the hemisphere garnering support through presentations and speeches, building alliances between communities, and raising funds transnationally for an independent Cuba that offered equal citizenship rights, cultural sovereignty, and full political and economic inclusion of African New World people and their other marginalized allies; each of whom identified themselves as Cuban long before the official designation of the territory as a modern nation-state.

Therefore, the political culture of building a national culture from outside of the physical boundaries of the nation-to-be, and beyond the immediate reach of the Spanish colonial state, presents the uniqueness of the Protest of Barágua in how nation-building and the formation of their Cuban national identity, included the consistent engagement and support of individual exiles and ethnic enclaves. The Protest of Barágua and the actions taken by its participants expands our understanding of the intersection between nation-building and migrancy for marginalized groups in the nineteenth century because it show the constraints of a direct and immediate territorial link between people, political action, and a homogenous and geographically contiguous national territory.

The transnational political strategy and the historical and social conditions of their position of living between colony and empire resulted in complex of migrational patterns across generations, seen readily in the migration path taken by the two generations of the Grajales-Maceo family. For Mariana Grajales Cuello Maceo, the migratory pattern of her family began
with her own parents’ migration from the island of Hispaniola to Santiago de Cuba, her migration from Santiago de Cuba to Kingston, Jamaica where she died, her sons Antonio and José taking regular trips to France, Spain, the Dominican Republic, New Orleans, Louisiana, Honduras, Costa Rica, New York, and Tampa, Florida.

Moreover, the continued presence of newly arrived African persons due to the illegal slave trade in Cuba resulted in a population of people sharing the political sentiment of a necessary end to the condition of enslavement and a desire for greater personal freedom. As an example, we find in the *Autobiography of Esteban Montejo*, a Cuban soldier in both the Ten Years War and in the Final War of Independence, a discussion of how the militaristic and emotional significance of these men who had spent part of their adolescence and adult life between Africa and Cuba. He does not fully separate their Africa cultural experiences from the ones that they share in Cuba fighting for freedom. Also, he recognizes them within kinship terms. As Montejo states,

> Whenever I see one of those Negro elders in my mind, I see him fighting. They didn’t talk about what they were fighting for, or why, the just went and did it. It was in defense of their lives, of course. If you asked them how they felt, they said, “Free Cuba, I’m a liberator.” None of them wanted to continue under Spanish rule. You can swear on your mother’s grave that’s true. None of them wanted to be shackled again, or eating jerked beef, or cutting cane at dawn. So they took up arms. And they didn’t want to stay behind, because if one of the Negro elders was left behind he was lonely and died of a broken heart…One was called James, another Santiago; both Congolese. One of them, I think it was the older one, was always saying, “We not frightened war. We accustomed. In Africa we much fighting.” Over there they had warlike tribes who fought against each other, women as well as men, and killed each other in disputes. It was like what happened here in the districts of Havana-Jesús María, Belén, Manglar when the nañigos set about each other in the African way. It was just the same. And you can’t say it’s because they were savages…Everything Maceo said was true. He was the greatest man of that war. He said no one would come off the loser because we would come out of it free, and that’s how it was… The fact is, the war was necessary. The dead would have died anyway, and this way they were dying for a purpose…The gods send different tasks to each of us. I talk about all this now and I can laugh about it, but in the thick of fighting, with dead bodies all over
the place, bullets and cannon balls and all hell let loose, it was different. The war was needed. It was wrong that so many jobs and privileges should fall into Spanish hands, or that women should have to sleep with Spaniards to get work. None of this was right. You never saw a Negro lawyer, because they said Negroes weren’t good for anything except the forest. You never saw a Negro schoolmaster. It was all kept for white Spaniards, even the white Creoles were pushed aside…There was no freedom. I realized this when the leaders explained it all to us. This was why we had to go to war (Barnet 1973:169-171).

The complex history of being movable property, fraudulent indentured labor contracts, working on sailing vessels, and the pursuit freedom through maroonage, compose the cultural realities of continued and consistent territorial displacement. In Montejo’s account, in a manner that is similar to Barkley-Brown’s account of Richmond, Virginia during reconstruction, gender relations in political arenas internal to the African American local political community and external to the community within state governing bodies, were a part of a bifurcated political system (Brown 1994:121) that constrained and inhibited, but did not stop African American women from exercising political rights that they believed came with being members of the community and should have came with being citizens of the state (Brown 1994:124). Montejo’s passage illustrates the relationship between men and women of African descent when faced with structural exclusion in governing bodies, rely upon an internal communal practice of representation broad communal political interests. Moreover, the political importance of nation-building from outside of the territorial boundary and reach of the Spanish colonial-state informed the production of Cuban history, the scope of Cuban historiography, and expands the cultural interpretation of competing and intersecting ideologies, categories of identity, and the transformation of cultural practices directed at achieving greater national belonging and inclusiveness.

Yet, to understand the experiences of people, as history-making subjects, and the vestiges of their individual and collective historical understandings, an examination of regional historical
action is necessary for contextualizing the link between nation-building and migrancy as two prongs of a political practice and strategy utilized by adherents to the Protest of Barágua when establishing their vision of an inclusive Cuban nationhood and their complex efforts to wage war and remain an insurgent force until that vision of democratic freedom was achieved. As discussed in detail in chapter three, nineteenth century social institutions in the Americas presented the multi-tiered complexity of American societies by transitioning from expressly cultural modes of engagement into political ones. The role that these institutions played in the process of nation-building and the establishment of transnational networks of shared dissent and parallel political sentiment (e.g. anti-slavery ideology versus mambí ideology) fostered greater organization of human capital, currency, and military resources at the beginning of the Final War of Independence in 1895. In Montejo’s account (Barnet 1973:168) as well as within the minutes of the Club of the Two Antilles, the organization of translocal bodies ensured the secure receipt of weaponry and many material resources to fight for a republican sensibility that came from their cultural relationships. However, the translocal tensions present in the multi-layered dialogic chain of communication, political action, and economic affiliation, also required a re-examination of nationalism not merely as the sentiment of patriotism, but as an expression of political dissent and a strategy for the adjudicating and ameliorating existing social inequalities formed within colonial societies and at times found in the host country where immigrant Cuban communities resided.

For example, at the end of the nineteenth century, Cuban residents of Ybor City, Tampa, and Key West, faced the legal definition and redefinition of their place and marked cultural difference seen within the racial categories in the state of Florida, and the laws post-1880’s that instantiated increased racial separation, housing segregation, and employment discrimination
"The fluid and yet persistent nature of racial definitions and customs emphasized the tenuous and changeable nature of such contested spaces, making it clear to Afro-Cuban immigrants that if they were to have a space to work, live, and socialize, those spaces needed to be asserted and cultivated at all times" (Mirabal 1998:52). Historian Gerald Poyo notes that,

Throughout the seventies and eighties Cubans suffered discrimination in their homeland at the hands of Spanish manufacturers and their foreman who preferred to hire their compatriots over local Cuban workers. Now enjoying an upper hand in the Florida labor market, Cuban workers backed the policies of patriot leaders who, for their own political reasons, warned Spaniards not to disembark in Key West. In fact, elements within the community resorted to outright intimidation to discourage their arrival. Throughout the 1880’s Cuban patriot organizations had adopted resolutions demanding manufacturers not hire Spaniards, and in 1890, a secret vigilante organization, Partida la Tranca, formed to police the port area (Poyo 1989:107).

Communal policing of working conditions in the host country and with the ethnic enclave elicited local practices of protection. In 1903, María Cabrales, the widow of Antonio Maceo states in a letter to Magdalena Peñarredonda, a female mambísa, “The sad thing, my friend, is that Cubans, who are in no way similar to Anglo-Saxons, want to imitate them and listen to them in the race question, despite our very different condition. Cubans all, green or yellow, have sacrificed themselves for the fatherland and should all be united in its name” (Prado-Torreia 2005:150). These local organizing principles shaped how participants in the Protest of Barágua perceived the American region and the island of Cuba during its transition from a Cuban plantation society controlled by a Spanish colonial-state and a block of Hispano-elites. Their strategy of nation-building included efforts both within Cuba and outside of it, and their perspective of racial and ethnic distinction was tied to the commitment of an inclusive Cuban republic.
Journalists, novelists, poets, and orators residing outside of the territory of Cuba, throughout the nineteenth century desired for Cuba to become a member of the modern community of nations respected by Europeans and North American nations. British derived colonies like the United States, Jamaica, and Turcos, were places of support that enabled them to engage the political conditions within Cuba with access to transit, trade, and information routes. Benedict Anderson characterizes the process of participating in national politics from outside of the territorial boundaries of the nation as long-distance nationalism (Anderson 1992). Long-distance nationalism, he argues, does not require or hold participants residing outside of the nation to a level of social or communal accountability for the political struggle in the home country. He makes a distinction between participants who desire to return home at the conclusion of a political struggle and those who remain in the host country as exiles and émigrés (Anderson 1992:4). Long-distance nationalism diminishes with time and physical distance, and becomes a largely symbolic expression rather than a moral sense of belonging. (Anderson 1992:5). However, it is important to state here, that for the participants in the Protest of Baráguá, the moral certainty that Cuba’s colonial social order needed to be reformulated to better include and accommodate non-white, economically marginalized, men and women. The Pact of Zanjón continued those beliefs and practices and from Cabrales’ letter, one can gather that the practice of United States occupation and imperialism served to re-separate and re-instantiate a colonial, plantation, derived racial order. Her comment did not espouse or validate Cuban racelessness, but demarcated Iberian cultural differences in values, perceptions, and beliefs about race in opposition to Anglo-Saxon cultural difference. She also voiced a commitment to the belief that the Final War of Independence united all Cubans equally not segregate them racially.
In the examples previously given, their continued political engagement went beyond the symbolic assertion of national belonging in Cuba only. Within the Protest of Barágua, distance was due to political violence precipitated by the Spanish military and the pursuit of an economic livelihood that permitted receipt of their economic contribution in beneficial labor markets. Participants in the Protest of Barágua supported a national move away from economic reliance on slave labor in the early years of their protest after the Ten Years War. However, their ideological position was based upon a vision of human equality that was derived beyond and outside of the social realities of colonial Cuba. In his essay, *It is Late Now!/Es Tarde Ya!!*, Rafael Serra discusses the importance of continuing the struggle for an inclusive Cuban nation-state thirteen years after the formal abolition of slavery. The essay was included in a bound volume of his articles published in the New York produced newspaper, *La Igualdad* in March of 1894. Serra states,

> It is that without fancy aspirations to gain monetarily neither to investments of undeserved representations due to our incapacity; it is that we have struggled without complete rest since 1881 until today, and with our hard sacrifice to our daily bread when we could not have faith, although if hope of lighting an inextinguishable fire in a pueblo through the fatigue of a demoralized war without end because of wretched politics (Serra 1896:128).^{50}

Serra’s essay attacks the idea that those who supported the Protest of Barágua as former slaves, Chinese indentured laborers, smallholding free coloreds, etc. contributed nothing monetarily or economically to Cuba and the Spanish coffers. He also highlights the fact that the previously mentioned groups struggled against the then prevailing notion that they were incapable of contributing and that the sacrifices they made was also to stand against “wretched politics” of continued exclusion. “Wretched politics” included the exclusion from professions in Cuba and

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^{50} Serra, 1896, “Los que sin infolosas aspiraciones á recompenses monetarias ni á investiduras de representaciones inmercidas por nuestra incapacidad; los que hemos bregado sin reposo desde el 1881 hasta hoy, y con sacrificio de nuestro duro pan y cuando no había fe, aunque sí la esperanza de encenderla en un pueblo extenuado por la fatiga de una Guerra sin éxito desmoralizado por la política ingrata.”
utilizing Poyo’s discussion of Key West, included the potential importation of Spanish laborers.

Writing from New York, Serra points to the issues that are important for understanding the practice of nation-building from outside of the territorial confines of Cuba and how these practices connect to the politics of being part of a translocal network of immigrant communities.

We were trained to be unruly against every form of tyranny, against every form of haughtiness and consequently a friend of humble honor; to those that oppose us with virile fortitude and persevere against the concessions of life, held positions, and to estimate like a lap of abuse the continued reelection of the administrators of public interest; as if to attach with decorum, and sustain with patriotic fidelity our proxy; but without a loss to them of the view neither dissimilar to their extravagances, because they are the most secure pat to arrive at the ruin of everything (Serra 1896:130-131).51

In this next section of this chapter, I will discuss the relationship between nation-building and migrancy as expressed, practiced, and experienced by participants in the Protest of Barágua in old and new patterns of translocality. The emergence of translocal Cuban migrant communities resulted from the confluence of Spanish political repression in Cuba, and the development of economic livelihoods in conditions more favorable than offered at the conclusion of the Ten Years War. I will discuss how the uniqueness of their strategy for building an inclusive Cuban nation also included a re-envisioning of their individual and collective economic engagement. As the excerpt above written by Rafael Serra indicates, participants in the Protest of Barágua struggled against the belief that they were incapable of contributing economically to Cuba which justified their exclusion from industries in Cuba. Their expression and use of translocal networks challenges an Andersonian notion of long-distance nationalism one of “moral disengagement.” The historical evidence of these participants and the conditions that they faced demonstrate the opposite.

51 Ibid, Nos enseño á ser indóciles contra toda forma de tiranía, contra toda soberbia, y consecuente amigo de la humildad honrada; á oponernos con coraje viril y previsor contra las concesiones de poderes vitalicios, y á estimar como regazo de abuso las reelecciones contiudas de los administradores de los intereses públicos; como á acatar con decoro, y á sostener con fidelidad patriótica á nuestros poderhabientes; pero sin perderles de vista ni disimular sus extravíos, porque son estos los senderos más seguros de llegar á la ruina de todos
TRANSLOCALITY: OLD AND NEW PATTERNS OF POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

Capitalist expansion during the colonial era, created a distinction between the New World, and the Old World, as well as between the people who inhabited one, the other, or both place. Trouillot notes that since the seventeenth century human beings traveled *en masse* to far away locales in much the same way human beings do today (Trouillot 2003:30). However, labor he argues, today, as yesterday, was the main force behind the machinery of movement which included 40 to 50 million European citizens, but also 12 million Africans, both used to participate in the emergence of plantation economies that were central to the later stages of colonization. The migration pattern fostered by colonialism in the New World, established as legitimate, the political authority and rule by strangers in a way that had never been recorded in human history (Fernández-Armesto 2003:64). The plantation, as economic, political, and social form, provided a temporal, spatial, and social system of social relations. This system of social relations expanded the economic importance of the household, as discussed in chapter three, into a global economic system. In nineteenth century Cuba, the process of out-migration in an emergent translocal network of people and institutions meant that the colonial-state’s reliance upon labor precipitated the out-migration of people who wanted to gain acknowledgement and benefit for the contribution that their labor added to the economy.

The colonial plantation system as both economic system and political system, established a uniform political order over much of the Americas. Military technologies, shared religion, expansive agricultural production, imposition of European writing systems, and socio-political conventions of public life such as, childhood, marriage, kinship, consanguinity, friendship and enmity, war and peace, love and death, all were part of the process of spreading the common

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52 Old World in this case has both a geographical and a temporal meaning. Old World can geographically refer to the Americas pre-Conquest, the African continent, and to Europe. Temporally, it can refer to all three of these geographical domains before, during and after colonial expansion. I use the term primarily to represent a difference or distinction in both space and time.
features of history in the Americas (Fernández-Armesto 2003:96). It is important to understand that the translocality of experience developed, maintained, and created by Cuba participants in the Protest of Barágua is part of a hemispheric continuum of social relations that link connects labor and migration. The relationship between colonialism and imperialism in the political experience of nineteenth century Cuban local communities has meant that cultural transformation and change did not end or necessarily begin in a shift of political power or when economic interests alter in the global marketplace. Migration, for reasons as disparate as state-sponsored violence (colonial-states or nation-states) and constituent pursuit of economic stability, affects the most structurally, culturally, politically, and socially marginalized groups. The translocal pattern of out-migration fostered by Cubans, as well as the history of the Protest of Barágua, was one of many responses to the project of New World colonialism and American nationalism that influenced and impacted other locales cross-hemispherically.

Anthropologist Sidney Mintz has also taken this same explicitly hemispheric perspective when arguing that a hemispheric view includes how "the different histories of individual New World peoples have affected their perception of themselves and others" (Mintz 1970:5). Mintz argues that a hemispheric view is about social relations and processes that are analytically caught "between the hemispheric history of industrialism and the smashing of slave based capitalism, and is between the United States and the rest of the hemisphere" (Mintz 1970:11). For my purpose here, to analyze the old and new patterns of translocality that affected the historical and social condition of Cubans under Spanish colonial rule, and to analyze their strategies and responses to that mode of social control, are important for learning how and why they practiced the building of a Cuban nation-state outside of the nation.
The categorical transition from slave to citizen, from colonial subject to citizen, denotes not only an incomplete political processes of inclusion and incorporation, but analytically exist as convoluted categories when we consider the patterns and processes of migrancy within the region’s historical scope. For example, recent historical research on the African diaspora has paid attention to the cultural strategies of Africans enslaved in the Americas (Miller 2002; Kelly 2002; Patterson and Kelly 2000; Gilroy 1991). One finds sprinkled throughout the Americas, mostly from Europeans or Anglo elites in the United States, references to those "mongrelized nations to the south" referencing an indelible presence of racial-mixing between indigenous people, Europeans, and Africans. It is this racialized sentiment that is regionally shared, within and across nation-states in the Americas and was formalized in the positioning of citizens organized under and within the governing structure of the nation-state. Therefore, these perceptions conceptually shaped the ideological planes of nationality and the identities of specific nation-states and the populations that exist in the region. A form of local homogeneity built upon racial otherness shaped territoriality and bound the geographical spaces of the Americas in a perceived racially inferior regional distinctiveness while representing marginalized groups within the nation as non-contributors.

In the previous section, the words and thoughts of Esteban Montejo demonstrated the physical and cultural proximity of newly arrived Africans and their active engagement in the battle for an enduring right to locally manifest equality. Here, the anthropological question of how do scholars, writers, and other cultural critics observe and record cultural change within a transnational migrant community and its other translocal ethnic enclaves, emerges. The answer to this question informed the experience of transition from plantation society to modern nation-state as expressed by participants in the Protest of Barágua. Human subjects, as social and
historical actors, are ensconced within the complexities of nineteenth century nationalist
movements within an American continental context, yet their cross-hemispheric cultural pattern
of migration requires a reinterpretation of the way in which they shaped the practice of nation-
building from outside of the territorial boundaries of the colonial and nation-state.

By making this claim for a transnational ethnographic and historical interpretation of the
translocal patterns visible between and among participants in the Protest of Baráguia, I am not
attempting to claim a universalistic, continental sameness, under shared, but variable colonial
systems of economic, political, and social organization. I am also not arguing that the experience
of both old and new patterns of migrancy affected members of the various colonially inscribed
populations in expressly similar ways. Instead, I wish to show that national homogeneity was an
attempt by colonial powers and elites with the national territories to consolidate and unify
populations without reimagining colonial distinctions that continued social inequalities. In his
discussion of the labor market in Cuba at the end of the nineteenth century, Alejandro de la
Fuente states,

[I]t was primarily in the political arena that the nationalist paradigm of racially
egalitarian and inclusive Cubanness was tested, for most Afro-Cubans the meaning
of such a paradigm was far more concrete. The republic would be truly for all
only if it provided blacks with equal opportunities for employment and
advancement in Cuba’s expanding economy. Political rights per se did not
guarantee economic power, but they were in fact related. A racially inclusive
political practice implicitly proscribed the most extreme forms of racial
segregation and reduced the barriers that might otherwise existed for blacks to
obtain jobs, particularly in the growing public sector…When the state did
intervene, it was to consolidate and expand racial and ethnic divisions in the labor
market (de la Fuente 2001:99).

The pattern of translocality offered the possibility for economic power outside of Cuba in a
manner that the conuco, urban slavery, and domestic influence in the plantation household
offered access to currency, power, and greater economic stability. Moreover, the pattern of translocality buttressed and intersected competing national visions of community.

European colonial distinctiveness, in trade, political policy, and territorial claims, informed new patterns of migration for participants in the Protest of Barágua. These new patterns of migration added a new historical layer of cultural and regional distinctiveness by developing new iterations of cultural contact. Even though the cultural complexity of any given society emerges not only from the social transition underway, but also from the region’s political and economic history of colonialism, monopolistic elite social power, political interests held by the other governments. These aspects of the social condition of participants in the Protest of Barágua can be readily seen in their pattern of engagement with foreign and trade policies, and among the citizenry of the nation-state where they re-established their communities.

The Protest of Barágua included the thoughts, ideas, and actions of heterogeneous political subjects who sought a sense of belonging and inclusion in the Cuban nation-state of their future. Free coloreds, slaves, former slaves, Chinese indentured laborers, and women, discovered an opening in the political discourse and pursued revolutionary practices of the building of Cuban nationhood as a viable but forced political option for equality. The continued practice of social, economic, and political marginality, the denigration of their social status, and the constraints placed upon the modes and means of economic engagement towards greater social mobility, possessed the potential for the amelioration and change in their living conditions. Serra’s invocation of the term *pueblo* points not to an exclusively Spanish notion of “people” but to translocal Cuban ethnic enclaves becoming reincorporated with a single governing body of which they would be included. In his personal and community experience, Serra, as many Cuban adherents to the Protest of Barágua, resided between a local context and across multiple
global spheres. As British cultural studies scholar Paul Gilroy notes, the historical situation of blacks in the West often in the nineteenth century, "points to new intermediate concepts that exist between the local and the global" (Gilroy 1991:188). People of African descent involved in nation-building and their categories of social identity inscribed within the categories of slave, citizen, and refugee, presents the simultaneity of rootedness and exile as indicative of their social condition which was routinely operational between the local and global spheres. These concepts were frequently articulated by the human history-making subjects in the written word, spoken word, or in actions informed by both or either.

Rarely is this existence between local and global unearthed in works about populations of African descent in Latin America and in Anglophone derived areas of the Americas, migrational patterns are represented as internal to the nation (i.e. domestic migration), or between the former colonial territory to the metropolitan center. In scholarship concerned with the historical transformation of American societies, from colonially governed plantation societies to modern nation-state, people of African descent are absent when historically their experiences included coterminal systems of social control and power.

The analytical presumption that the American populations of people of African descent are wholly and completely disconnected from an original cultural source problematizes the influence of early Boasian conceptualizations of culture based in a German Enlightenment

53 I am drawing a stark distinction between migration in British and Iberian derived areas of the Americas. It is clear to me that more historical and ethnographic research is immediately in order because certain migratory relationships are not well known or considered. For example, little research exists that systematically discusses the who and why of African Americans in nineteenth century United States migration to Haiti even though we know historically a migration path was developed. External nineteenth century relationships between people of African descent in Brazil and Cuba, or any other part of the Americas is unknown. This query emerges from traveling to Jamaica and learning that particular towns and cities on the island are locally known and referred to by where other Caribbean immigrants settled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I present the possibility that intra-regional migration and settlement patterns are known locally and for specific cases, but has yet to broaden scholarly perceptions of national integration and disintegration in the Americas as well as what has been done for the Balkans and Eastern Europe. For Cuban examples see Guerra (2004) and McGarrity (1996), and for a theoretical discussion, see Harrison (2008).

54 Both the macro and micro-historiographies of the Americas are distinctively different from Europe, Africa, and Asia, in the way in which the colonial state, and the nation-state sometimes overlapped in time. Cuba, Brazil, and Puerto are regularly presented as examples of this process of overlapping governance structures. What is missing in regional scholarship, is a systematic regional examination (a generation of slavery historians in the 1960’s and 1970’s provide local examples) of the direct importance of the presence of overlapping governance structures and the local society’s economic and customary reliance on the use of enslaved laborers.
philosophical tradition that is theoretically connected to a Eurocentric model of the ethnic nation-state as discussed by Thurner in the previous section. The approach used here, of asking ethnographic questions about historical events, and interpreting contemporary modes of cultural expression, explores the philosophical limits of German Enlightenment thought began by Boas and later followed by his students. It is the Zeitgeist, or collective spirit embodied in the folk population of rural areas, along with Boas’s view of culture as a historical and geographically bounded unit of study, that at once, retracted long held theoretical views of racial determinism and social Darwinian principles, but nevertheless makes a singular territory the hub of cultural identity. Early twentieth century analytical perspectives cited and regarded the innate inferiority of racially classified “Negro” people and incomplete African derived cultures in the Americas because of the separation of populations from “motherland.” Still, the philosophical limits of his intellectual and theoretical construction regarding the cultural subjectivity of African New World cultures and peoples was limited due to his interpretation of plantation societies and their descendants in the Americas were fragmentary subjects, in a way not dissimilar to how Partha Chatterjee interprets ethnic cultural divisions in nation-state formation in modern Indian nationalism (Chatterjee 1993). Territorial origin is presumed. Translocality is not. Interlocking localities united in variable action for a central cause becomes closer to contemporary concepts of diaspora.

Yet, the global effects and local impacts of the Atlantic slave trade and European colonialism, the emergence of plantation societies in the Americas, and nineteenth century nationalist political practice, were not the principal topics of study in the Boasian paradigm. Instead, Franz Boas understood the culture of African New World peoples as resulting from a temporal-geographical break between the culture of their contemporary environment (the
plantation), and "their parental race" which was also viewed as the source of cultural tradition (Boas in Baker 1998:122). We have in the evidence of the illegal slave trade in Cuba, the continuous movement of slaves as chattel, and freed coloreds who sought greater economic mobility, that separation in Cuba was not a complete ending, nor do we have full evidence that practices of continued cultural transmission and cross-generational retention of “parental culture” influences did not occur. For Boas, the national form did not establish cultural tradition but---tradition possessed a definitive spatial origin. For Boas, every culture was influenced by environment and every culture's environment was worthy of study in great detail” (Boas 1982 [1888]: 637). Boasian social thought cautioned that environmental conditions were not and could not be seen as the only source from which to generate laws and theories about cultural groups (Boas 1982 [1888]: 637). Cultural tradition originated in a derivative source tradition observable in Africa. Cultural tradition was based upon degrees of collective spirit that were grounded in what I see as a rural vision of plantation societies and those organizational structures rooted in territories.

Forcible displacement due to the Atlantic slave trade, the experience of plantation slavery, and the transition towards the industrial application of agrarian techniques along with skilled trades, were not oblivious facts to Boas regarding the malleability of culture, but was ignored in the establishment of tradition’s unchangeable origin. Human diversity and physical displacement was understood as fostered by products of the human spirit (Geist), found in cultural forms like language, mythology, and the material arts. These expressive cultural forms were attached to a territorial source of belonging which people of African descent in the Americas were presumed to not possess due to the historical reality of plantation slave systems and their separation from the source of cultural tradition. Moreover, the focus of Boas’
anthropological research agenda was not to gain, record, or document the achievements of “Negro civilization,” but to dispel the theoretical linkage between biological identity in racial classification as an innate explanation for cultural processes. His attempt to identify the importance of geographical rootedness as a means for bounding cultural practices for analytical purposes attempted to ground tradition in a place and not a process of dispersal. Hence, a culturally undifferentiated Africa, and an analytically minor plantation cultural system, provided the impetus to regionalize the undifferentiated African sources of tradition. This is found explicitly in the work of Boas' student, Melville Herskovitz.

As a scholar, Herskovitz’s work consisted of the systematic analysis of cultural continuities based upon historical change that resulted from migration due to the African slave trade. Herskovitz did seek to interpret African derived cultural forms among African descended populations in the Americas, but located these forms as part of a historical past, not a politically unstable historical present. African cultural retentions found in plantation societies of the Americas were viewed as scalable in continuity based upon amounts of external contact and observable cultural continuation. There was not in Herskovitz’s work the recognition of cultural obfuscation, private traditions or practices as would be necessary in clandestine political practices reliant on cultural institutions and subject to multiple forms of state suppression and violence. Much of Herskovitz’s research concerned itself with examining expressive cultural forms and artifacts to discover the observable presence of African cultural retentions, in essence authorizing and authenticating a past that populations of people expressed as part of their present social reality (Scott 1991), and their internal interpretation of their historical past.

The evidentiary basis of human experience within history is based on experiences lived by people (Scott 1991:782) and in the translocal organization of these experience, political
sentiment and collective action from multiple communities was the experience of history and their understanding of their social context. It was the active use of their historical imagination of the future that crafted a historical narrative that made a direct intervention in the content of their past (Palmié 2002:6 Kelley 2002:9; Bakhtin 1986:39, 1981:320-323) where the agency of their dead was the catalyst for their continued exercise of agency in their present. For Montejo, and perhaps, James and Santiago, the two Congolese descended slaves, the agency of the dead and the presence of African cultural thought existed in the political space of the *pueblo* which was also a battlefield in Cuba. Significant cultural content in the Germanic, European philosophical tradition, places agency on the contemporary actor not the actions of others in the past. Hence, these historical narratives of translocal practice are an organized, signifying, representational form that is beyond what anthropologist and art historians think of as material culture. These textual utterances are oriented to the author’s past and present and express an intended futuritive course of action, which was to build a republic that included and acknowledged their contributions.

Herskovitz’s concept of Africanisms theorizes the Boasian view of the presence of a source culture which was understood by both as the means for *providing* the cultural grammar for the analysis and interpretation of cultural practice. As Herskovitz states,

> [W]e see that the carry-over of Africanisms is anything but uniform…Certain generalizations can, however, be drawn. Music, folklore, magic, and religion on the whole have retained more of their African character than economic life, or technology, or art, while language and social structure based on kinship or free association, tend to vary through all degrees of intensity (Herskovitz 1966:55).

Economic life, Herskovitz argues is left to the effects of external national or local political forces and therefore, is not the intrinsic subject of the anthropological study of culture. Also, political organization strategies are not understood as possessing an “African” derived source and are still
seen as a response to colonial practice. Expressive cultural forms for Herskovitz, not economic behavior or political behavior, were the locus of observable cultural linkages to an African source tradition that analytically was understood as complete and historically undifferentiated or at best mixed. The observable presence of African cultural retentions, were understood as ruptures of potential or likely continuities of valued and valorized human practice.

At the middle of Herskovitz’s academic career, British social anthropology had begun to branch across the Atlantic into the American tradition, whereby those areas in southern and central Africa operating under colonial rule had analytically become beacons of inquiry also representing theoretical variability for gaining an understanding of culture. In the later work of Bronislaw Malinowski, we find the wedge of intellectual disagreement about issues of culture change and transmission that distinguishes his form of British functionalism from the American historical particularism tradition. This wedge is reliant upon an explicit discussion of colonial rule and its impact on cultural traditions.

Malinowski’s criticism of the Boasian American particularist school of thought is relevant to the anthropological foundations provided in the work by both Boas and Herskovitz. In the scope of this project, Malinowski’s criticism is important for gaining a hemispheric understanding of how and why people of African descent thwarted colonial rule not only in Africa of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but for understanding the impact of political engagement on culture in the Americas by populations not presumed to be indigenous to the region. This process served as the basis for what perhaps, Boas and Herskovitz did not include in their interpretations of factors that shape both local culture and tradition. Malinowski stated the following,

“Let us remember too that the concept of culture change as a “mixture” of elements borrowed from parent cultures is suggested to every ethnographer by the
dominant school of today, that of Graebner and Pater Schmidt, and most American anthropologists... [I]n analyzing the concept of culture change as a mixture to be understood only in terms of parent cultures we arrived at a positive definition of the process of change. We came to regard it as a new reality resulting from the interaction of European impact on indigenous cultures...We are able to lay down the threefold scheme of approach-European intentions, surviving African realities, and processes of contact-thus developing and substantiating our conception of change as a constant interaction (Malinowski 1945:31).

For Malinowski, the threefold scheme presented in anthropological theory shaping our contemporary understandings of populations of African descent within European colonial power possesses explicit intent and a procession mode of contact and influence, whereby both affects culture through continued contact. For Herskovitz, the concept of acculturation represented cultural change observable through his concept of Americanization. Americanization for Herskovitz was reliant upon a “New York-centric” process of European ethnic incorporation and a model of two generation cultural loss of tradition. Americanization was represented as a complete process. Cotermious patterns of out-migration pertaining to changes in the economic, and subsequently cultural life of “foreign-born” people of African descent was not the theoretical locus of Herskovitz’s research (Herskovitz 1992 [1925]:359-360). Herskovitz Americanized both categorical groups (European immigrant populations, and African descended residents in the United States), failing to note the social and cultural variation held and recognized by both groups in their communities, households, and in their important indigenous social institutions. His research did not address popular perceptions of relatedness, familialism, or the cultural importance of human sentiments of attachment and belonging whether historically verifiable or humanly fabricated, nevertheless culturally present and relevant. Countries of origin, regional variations, perceived differences in customary practices, and philosophical tenets of political and religious belief were deemed inconsequential by Herskovitz, and in no area as important as those
inhabited by people of African descent.\textsuperscript{55} Providing an evidentiary basis for Africanisms, Herskovitz linked “Negro culture” and slavery to a continuum of cultural survivals \cite{Yelvington2001} and Americanization, as constitutive to urbanization.

National histories regularly hold the formation of modern nation-states as the central organizing subject for understanding a given cultural group and their relationship to the political process of independence and anti-colonial struggle. However, the Protest of Barágua began as an anti-colonial struggle with the advent of the Ten Years War, but expanded beyond a narrow conception of nationhood as reformist and conciliatory to the broad economic interest of the Spanish colonial state. Instead, the Protest of Barágua serves an example of the practice of nation-building which included internal and external political ties in its incorporation into Cuban national history.

All national histories inform a public about a region and the inhabitants of that region. The central role of out-migration from Cuba, the many residential and resettlements noted in chapters one and two within the historical trajectories of Antonio Maceo and his family, and the communities of Cuban exiles in Spain, Key West, and other countries in Latin America, provides direct insight into the historical and cultural reality that the expression of nationalism can be deterritorialized. For Cuban migrants to Jamaica, British and Spanish colonialism were juxtaposed against imperialism by the United States following the end of the final Cuban War of Independence (1895-1898). Latin American and Caribbean anthropology and history, frequently posits that slaves and free people of color existed as separate communities divided by forms of economic and political engagement with the colonial regime of power \cite{Ferrer1999,Trouillot1992,Mintz1978,Knight1970}. A comparison of the historiography between

\textsuperscript{55} See essays the following essays by contributors to \textit{The New Negro: Voices of the Harlem Renaissance}, W. A. Domingo, W. E. B. Dubois, Elise Johnson McDougald, and Arthur A. Schomburg.
formerly enslaved people, mixed race peoples, and creoles of various racial, color, and historical types, aids in understanding how they broke "the dogmatic focus on national cultures and traditions which has characterized so much Euro-American cultural thought." (Gilroy 1991:188). Gilroy rejects the premise of the nation-state as a fixed political, economic, and cultural unit with a homogenous identity and instead advocates for the recognition of "political sensibilities that [were] forced to move to and fro across the Atlantic and crisscross the boundaries of nation states" (Gilroy 1993:113). As Franco stated the democratic centralization organization of the political cause of an inclusive Cuban republic was the result of the political crisis in Cuba and the counterrevolutionary attitude of the Autonomist Party (Franco 1975:29;v3). Benedict Anderson is concerned about chronicling the historical being of nationality and the mechanisms used to spread its legitimacy throughout the world (Anderson 1991:4). Social structure and its resultant institutions of thought and practice (e.g. as in the work of Anderson) face notions of fluidity and transmutability on the part of the social actor (e.g. as in the work of Gilroy). Both scholars explore the coalitional politics of anti-racism and anti-imperialism (Anderson 1991:140; Gilroy 1993:4). However, the theoretical tension created by combining the ideas of Anderson and Gilroy is fruitful for understanding the role that historical figures like Mariana Grajales, Jose Mayner y Ros, Antonio Maceo and others played in developing nationalist thought and practice in the Americas. In the final section I wish to discuss the transnational political practice of within the context of forming a modern diasporic political community. This section will help to synthesize how the strategy of migrancy and nation-building aids in understanding the broader concept of a diasporic political community.

TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL PRACTICE AND MODERN DIASPORIC POLITICAL COMMUNITIES
The absence of a formal political space for direct political engagement meant that political engagement occurred translocally. Translocal Cuban communities throughout the hemisphere played an economic role by utilizing their labor power in the service of their future vision of an inclusive Cuban republic. These adherents to *mambi ideology* to built a Cuban nation from outside of the territorial confines of Cuba as part of a transnational political strategy that displaced Cuban immigrants away from eastern Cuba and into the emerging nations of South America, Central America, and the United States. By adopting a transnational approach to nation-building, participants in the ideas and ideals of the Protest of Baráguas sought greater acknowledgment of their economic contribution to the Spanish colonial-state during the transition from plantation society to that of a modern nation-state. Modernity signified being free from Spanish despotism that included traditions viewed by them as holding a higher moral value. As Rafael Serra states,

> Emanating from the despot over there from our homeland; and also to combat and to conquer against his sick traditions; to purify the customs; to give to him rights and a complete guarantee to women; to abolish the privileges that are not only in the written law without also being in moral law; consecrate ourselves to all work that provides common application of progress of the intelligence to the necessities of life; to establish equality to transmit the teaching and preserve with all its grandeur, justice (Serra 1896:133).

Serra’s statement was not exclusively an evocation of a higher moral standard for the *mambi* vision of Cuban republicanism. It is also a statement of the desire to preserve and expand the local culture of Cuba. As María Cabrales’ statement that Cuba belongs to everyone who fought to build it, Serra’s statement here positions the morality of all who fight for it against the immorality of the Spanish colonial state. In his pamphlet, Jose Mayner y Ros discusses Senator Wilkinson Call’s (FL-R) desire to purchase Cuba from the Spanish crown and make it a...
protectorate of the United States (Mayner y Ros 1895:130). Linguistic assimilation, the ignoring of the political martyrs, and the diminishment of dignity are all potential consequences if Cuba became a protectorate of the United States, regardless of the benefits that foreign capital offered to the economic infrastructure (Mayner y Ros 1895:130). He argues that it is important to remember our origin, our bellicose spirit and our natural persistent inclination to fight against those things that does not respond to our history and our traditions (Mayner y Ros 1895:132). In these examples, it is social condition and context of translocality that provided a new pattern of economic and political engagement in which their national identity as Cubans was enhanced rather than diminished due to the pattern of out migration.

The macro-process of economic, political, and cultural transition and transformation represented in the move from the Cuban plantation society within the Americas, towards the modern Cuban nation-state, was entirely a process of conscription, not voluntary surrender as previously interpreted by historians concerned with 19th century Cuban nationalist projects (Perez 1983; Ferrer 1999). Therefore, the exercise of historical (contextual) consciousness through political participation, demonstrated the capacity and desire for recognition of the contributive efforts made by marginal groups within a system of inclusive nationhood. Indeed, the collective and individual actors who participated in the Protest of Barágua did not voluntarily become inscribed within modern Western categories of administrative and legal discourse (Asad 1997:340). Instead, they were objects of conscription limited by the administrative and legal discourses that had preceded their actions of collectively organizing across colonial and national boundaries.

The context of conscription reorganized the very conceptual and institutional conditions of the possibility of social action and its understanding by scholars in anthropology and history
In Cuba, after the Ten Years War (1868-1878), the administrative and legal discourse included notions of sovereignty and governance in the modern nation-state along with customary justifications as to what roles were appropriate for whom. These social actors represented a political world based upon their sense of shared affiliation with each other, and this shared affiliation was expressed economically through regular contributions to establishing an inclusive and democratic Cuban republic. During the later part of the nineteenth century, there were living conditions that precipitated the strategies, methods, and institution for sustained political engagement by these migrants and their exile communities—not the Hispano-Antillean community.

For researchers, the significance of the practice of nation-building and the transnational alliances and relationships forged to aid greater civil inclusion in the home territory is as important as the direct actions taken by this transmigrant community to combat social and customary exclusion. Historical and anthropological analysis gains invaluable interpretative insights about the structures and practices that fostered and circumscribed the transition and change from members of a plantation society to that of citizens within a modern nation-state. This transition, from one mode of political consciousness to the other, was precipitated by a political and economic change that affected the social organization of the population, complicating the older, pre-established identity categories. For European descended criollos, and those individuals, families, and plantation owners involved directly with the production, processing, and exportation of sugarcane, Iberian anti-colonial struggle was held as the primary and principal struggle.

For the marginalized groups the immediate abolition of all forms of urban and plantation slavery was a condition of their collective independence. Each collectivity of socio-political
actors held different senses of social order in the “nation-to-be,” specifically on issues that included structural, economic, and customary parity within the national social order. Historian Sibylle Fischer argues that the concept of disavowal exists in analytical tension with the concept of modernity and the historical frame of "the age of revolution." Fischer argues that, "the concept of disavowal requires us to identify what is being disavowed, by whom, and for what reason" (Fischer 2004:38). Across the plantation zone, ideas about emancipation congealed into "a political practice of liberation" which eventually forgot (or disavowed) its own prehistory (Fischer 2004:53). The process of disavowal develops a history of modernity of the world that slaves, and other people of color made, that was as progressive as elite culture, but gave different political weight and social meaning to the goals of equality, progress, and liberty (Fischer 2004:18) within the modern nation-state and the transitioning plantation society.

Both modernity and the age of revolution are often used to represent the nineteenth century history of the Americas generally, but of Haiti, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic specifically (Fischer 2004:38). In Cuban history, disavowal occurs due to the unthinkable history at play in a seamless national historiographic narrative (Trouillot 1995) that renders unthinkable, the logic involved in fighting for an independent Cuba from outside the territory of the nation to be and for that struggle composed mostly of slave soldiers and their non-white and lower “class”57 allies. In a way much like that of the reformist minded elites in Cuba at the end of the Ten Years War (1868-1878), contemporary scholars often leave out the significance of immediate abolition and anti-slavery’s weddedness to the anti-colonial struggle for sovereign nationhood. For people of African descent in the Americas during this period and arguably

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57 I place the term class in quotes due to an important theoretical analysis of social class in a plantation labor system and how plantation slavery engaged, impacted, and formed the labor conditions precipitated by the Industrial Revolution in Europe as experienced members of the European working-class. Though the work of Eric Williams (1944) in *Capitalism and Slavery* identifies and locates the role that Caribbean slaves and the Caribbean slavery system played in the world economic system, there is an strong intellectual ambivalence of identifying plantation slaves a formal social class within a colonial state. See Williams (1944), Mintz (1978), Trouillot (1992).
Chinese coolie laborers, the presumed fixity of the analytical boundaries proffered by the Spanish colonial-state emphasized colonial or national forms (Balibar 2004; Chatterjee 1993; Anderson 1991), isolation of the production of historical and anthropological knowledge (Palmie 2002; Chakrabarty 2000; Torres and Whitten 1998; Trouillot 1995), and obfuscated the building of new temporal and spatial domains (Craib 2004; Lefebvre 2001; Mauer 1997; Richardson 1992). These cultural transformations shaped what I understand as cultural practice important for understanding the manifestations of the human spirit organized for shared political outcomes. Their political context and their social location of living between colonial, imperial, and national modes of governance, offers insight into how transnational politics generated by them, operated in tandem with other regional groups and the ongoing political project of establishing a Cuban nation-state and securing a viable, fair, and equitable economic role for their “communal self” not merely their individual selves.

Traditional Cuban historiography frequently inserts the writings, speeches, and actions of José Martí at this temporal juncture of fighting “the final War of Independence.” Doing so is a means of authenticating the implicit ideology of a “raceless” Cuban nation through Martí’s humanitarian and inclusive perspective (Ferrer 1999:128). "There can be no racial animosity, because there are no races" (Marti 1999 [1891]:119). Yet, the acts of political divergence discernible in support for the Pact of Zanjón and participation in the Protest of Baráguas showed a parallel practice of history-making and nation-building that did not eclipse race in a “raceless society” of the future, but one that indexed the political significance of race to those who held power over economic participation, political inclusiveness, and the expectations of citizens.

In national and regional historical and ethno-historical scholarship, the relationship between history and nation is often treated as a second historical subject of minor importance. I
wish to argue that the practice of out-migration, a relationship to Spanish colonial power
different from Hispano-Antillean factions, by not only the “protestors of Barágua” but also other
Cuban political “internees” and exiles, Spanish political prisoners, and economically
disenfranchised migrants, formed a “pre-national” Cuban diaspora.
I am using the concept of a pre-national Cuban diaspora to reference the material and temporal
aspects of there not being a formal declaration or recognition of a “non-colonial” Cuban
nationhood that relied upon tobacco producing colonies. Also, I am not ignoring the “sentiment”
or “nostalgia” of Cubanidad explored in the work of Louis Peréz. I merely wish to reference “a
time before” the modern Cuban nation-state in both time and the dispensation and adjudication
of citizenship rights for both the mambises and the “former” insurrectos, conjoining a vernacular
category with a Spanish and international juridical one. It is in this way that the meaning and use
of the term pueblo, in the express way that Rafael Serra utilized it, retains it vision of a political
future. that cultivated, maintained, and relied upon translocal ties which forged a multiplicity of
forms limited by nationhood and citizenship (Gambrill 2002; Stubbs 1995; McGarrity 1996;

Because the geopolitical space of community physically occurred outside of the territorial
space that was to become national patrimony, and because the perceived “illegitimacy” of the
full-civil inclusion of the gender, racial, ethnic, and cultural groups who identified themselves as
mambises, their practice of nation-building occurred outside of the traditional conceptualizations
of nationhood.

The Protest of Barágua not as an exclusively localized historical event but as a
transnational iteration in which people of African descent and the alliances that they forged
across and through national, regional, and transnational territories, served as catalyst for the
grievances held by these groups throughout the Americas. Organized political action is not an attribute that neither historians, nor cultural anthropologists have attributed to people of African in the plantation societies of the nineteenth century. Often these struggles have been written and interpreted as belonging at best to a singular local or region, inscribed within a national territorial boundary. This work makes clear that the purpose of taking an ethnographic approach in both analysis and interpretation requires an in depth understanding of the cultural complexity of colonialism, imperialism and nationalism. Caribbean and Latin American cultural anthropologists have produced works whose theoretical complexity inform not merely the two aforementioned regions, but also global racial, ethnic, and political struggles without making the immediate jump from making a claim for the presence of an emergent social movement.
CHAPTER SIX
THE CONTRIBUTION AND IMPACT OF THE PROTEST OF BARÁGUA

The Protest of Barágua was not an isolated, Cuban specific event, but an important regional and hemispheric event that presents to scholars in history and the social sciences the experiences of people of African descent and other marginalized groups as their societies transitioned from plantation societies to the modern nation-state. The waging of a protest against being culturally unacknowledged contributors to the economy and political operation of modern Cuba demonstrated an “insurrectional element of democracy” (Balibar 2004:119) in which they sought to establish a democratic Cuban republic. These people through their ideations, actions, and deeds, developed a cultural and political infrastructure that engaged with formal state and local governance institutions and built a social infrastructure outside of these formalized constraining bodies. The cultural process of insuring national belonging through the acquisition of citizenship rights points to the development of contexts of civility in the translocal spaces of the Americas. Throughout this work, I have demonstrated how within the articulation of a cultural and political consciousness, the actions surrounding la protesta at the close of the Ten Years War, resulted in primarily eastern Cuban mambises voicing the concerns of culture, class, and coteterminantly, racialized differences, as these remained political barrier for their active inclusion within an emergent national citizenry. The ethnographic and historical details of the protest, when analyzed with attention to the expressions and reactions to changing social, political, and economic conditions, presented how, from a position of marginality, human actors expressed, and lived between competing colonial and national governing bodies while advocating for their vision of a democratic republic that expressed greater civil inclusion at the local level. National inclusion was not presented as an isolationist vision, nor was cultural autonomy envisioned as developing a closed isolated community. They sought that both were
ones that fostered a deeper recognition of how past injustice should not be a precursor to future modes of Cuban social life, economic organization, or governance. The social infrastructure developed was one where associative ties between individuals, families, towns, cities, nations, and indigenously developed social institutions were grounded within and operated across a cross-hemispheric acknowledgement of persistent and militarized exclusion and diminution, pointing also to the manner they faced the extreme forms of violence and cruelty and challenged its legitimacy (Balibar 2004:120).

The impact of the Protest of Barágua on understanding responses to modes of colonial and national governance, the emergent civil sector in nineteenth century Latin America and the United States, the use of printed modes of communication that operated with multiple modalities of dissemination, and regional transformations of labor and economic power, all bring into question, the problems of historical and anthropological analysis and interpretation. The specific modes of synchronic and diachronic analysis are rarely integrated together in ethnographic and historical narratives, nor are the historical and social realities presented of people who petition and adjudicate for inclusion at local and international levels simultaneously. In the first chapter, I posed the question of how does one study the political activity of social actors who regularly transversed local, national, and international spheres? My response has been to analyze the Protest of Barágua both synchronically and diachronically while not omitting critical historical details that showed the social transformation of categories, contexts, and conditions of belonging. The paradoxical nature of how these people expressed national belonging and inclusiveness from outside of the territorial confines of the Cuban nation present an alternative vision of nationhood, citizenship, and democratic republicanism.
Based upon the purview of the organizers and participants in the protest at the close of the Final War of Independence, the actualization of an inclusive Cuban republic had not been achieved. Still, the ultimate goal of the Protest of Baráguas was one of building a future where human value was acknowledged, not exclusively in an economically contributory manner, but through the respect and inclusion of the traditions and circumstances that brought multiple groups together, albeit, under a centralized European derived and driven regime of power throughout the colonial era. Hierarchical elevation and segregation based upon race, gender, and social status were the oppositional mechanisms of structuration that catalyzed the protest. Participants possessed political tactics and strategies, showing their capacity for engaging in the complexities of governance and rule. Their desire for creating a society that neither silenced, nor ignored their presence or efforts provides a complete picture of the impact and significance of the event in the past, and as a contemporary subject of historical and cultural memorialization. These efforts required that the political, historical, and social causes at one point in time not be analyzed independent of the development and transformation of cultural forms across time and purpose as the *bolero* of La Protesta de Baráguas illustrated in chapter one. Also, the cross-hemispheric traffic of ideas observable in principally textually produced utterances, present historically in both public and private settings, fostered a dialogic chain of communication in which each utterance corralled like-minded audience towards political action, provided women with the space to engage as political thinkers in the tertulias of the nineteenth century, and precipitated action for marginalized men and women of color seeking to secure a more judicious livelihood in the expanding labor and international market. Former cultural institutions like santería houses and cofradías adopted a more explicitly political form and operated across and within different temporal periods but also within different territorial boundaries, making them
vulnerable to an additional set of values of diminishment and exclusion expressed in an
alternative style or mode of exclusion based on cross-national strategies of reception.

As a means of analytical synthesis for this project, it became important to address the
expression of transnational political action in the development of translocal Cuban migrant
communities throughout the United States, Latin America, and Spain. The historical event of the
Protest of Barágua demonstrates that the cultural complexity of the transition from a plantation
society to a modern nation-state requires full analytical engagement of the vantage point of
members from the margins of social power in both colonial systems and national systems and the
competing interests and strategies of national and colonial governments. In fact, what I found in
the process of development and exposition, were that the rhetorics of convergence and
divergence were such that a specifically unique set of cultural grievances against the Spanish
colonial-state and opposition to a United States imposition of Anglo-Saxon cultural values and
traditions, were ardently articulated and fought against in preservation of their historical future.
The British government due to the early presence of abolitionist movements served as formal and
informal spaces of refuge and political petitioning on the right of national recognition for Cuban
independence and the immediate abolition of slavery. Hence, the democratization of the
Cuban republic in the nineteenth century for participants in the Protest of Barágua, clearly
articulated not merely a utopian vision of nationhood, but a practical vision of nationhood and
citizenship in which equality was perceived as implementable at the local level, but not at the
expense of international economic and political integration of the state and its citizenry.
Metaphorically, the naming of the Club of the Two Antilles in New York was simultaneously an
expression of the cultural and political connectedness of Puerto Rico to Cuba, but was also an
articulation of the separation between the desires, wants, and needs of culturally, economically,
and politically marginalized and disenfranchised human actors that expressed a challenge to a singular vision of the region. The political club’s name and actions challenged notions of regional homogeneity in contest to the Spanish and Hispanic creole elite block. For example we have at the end of the nineteenth century, increased United States capitalist expansion into Cuba of foreign settlements geared to the production and export of tropical fruit production and the intent of establishing Protestant churches, and Americanizing Cuba (Scarano 1998:587). The agricultural production of tobacco and other export crops in towns established by Antonio Maceo and other participants in the Protest of Barágua in Costa Rica, Jamaica, and Colombía, were colonies not unlike those settled by European immigrants throughout Latin America. The significant difference between these colonies and European immigrant settlements in Latin America (Wade 1993:71-72; Applebaum 1999:649) is that those immigrants arrived through relationships established between state governments, religious institutions, and labor contracting firms (Sánchez-Albornoz 1974:147-149). The colonies established by Antonio Maceo utilized a percentage of funds obtained from agricultural production to support a familial and communal labor project that provided financial support for the political ideals articulated in the written protest of Barágua. We have examples where Cuban tobacco factory workers and merchants in Key West contributed $30,000 to the treasury of the Cuban Revolutionary Party (Franco 1975:20v.2). The Cuban community in Costa Rica provided funding for José Martí to speak and for Jose Maceo to travel between other countries in the region (Franco 1975:30v.2). In 1891, members of the Kingston Cuerpo de Consejo, a branch of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, and the Cuban tobacco workers of Jamaica raised $40,000US for the independence (Leon-Medhurst 1995:1f). Each of these communities utilized their labor for a political goal that impacts how we understand the process of nationalism.
In this final chapter, I hope to present some concluding thoughts on the impact of the Protest of Barágua as it pertains to understanding ethnographic, historical, and contemporary, contexts in which human actors articulate a vision of their political and cultural future. First, I will discuss the significance of gender and political participation as discussed throughout this work because gender relations were central and not secondary to political participation in a context where armed insurgency was present. I find it important to add that my discussion of gender here is not merely the inclusion of female actors into the discussion of political participation and contribution, though that does hold importance for this work and for expanding historical and ethnographic knowledge. An analysis of gender relationships both in the colonial state, within the social hierarchies of race and womanhood, and within the social relationships deemed necessary to network formation by participants. Whether hierarchically inscribed within a macro-historical organizing body like the Spanish colonial-state or within the articulation of social roles, social and legal status, and within those contributions made by female mambises, gender identities and their function in the protest of Barágua worked in concert with and in the consciousness of male mambises and the complete vision of an inclusive Cuban republic that did not deny women political suffrage. Second, I will discuss the problem of historical and ethnographic representation of the Protest of Barágua as exclusively one that impacted Cuba. I have shown in the strategy deployed in fighting for their future Cuban nation-state, participants in the Protest of Barágua relied upon a network of translocal Cuban communities who garnered economic and material support for establishing a Cuban nation-state from outside of the territorial confines of the nation-to-be. This process that occurred during the period of emergent American nation-states, within the “age of revolutions,” demonstrated the constraints and the expansiveness of nationhood, not merely in shared political sentiment, but also within concerted
political action. The existence and success of these translocal communities presents within the
Protest of Barágua a ripe discussion for thinking about population mobility and the factors that
lead to their displacement and reliance upon out-migration as a necessity for community
development and political organization within the country of origin.

Where this chapter at once will discuss the issues of gender participation, national-history
making, and the problem of mobile populations in the context of the Protest of Barágua, it seeks
to engage, and entertain a different perspective about the past that unravels the knot of human
historical experience. This chapter engages “the plurality that inheres in the now, the lack of
totality, and the constant fragmentariness that constitutes the past and stands in for our capacity
to deploy the historicist or ethnographic mode of viewing the thoughts, actions, and
consequences of people involved in cultural and social change. Where historicism is a mode of
analysis that requires attention to archival materials that aid in reconstruction of human
conditions during a specific time, the combination of historicism and ethnographic analysis
requires that arguments and frameworks presented in secondary sources are reevaluated for their
utility, value, and accuracy as new data is found and interpreted. This methodological process
requires the use of a sense of anachronism in order to convert objects, institutions, and human
practices with which we have transformed lived relationships into relics of other times”
(Chakrabarty 2000:242). This chapter presents theoretical, methodological, and interpretative
barriers for understanding the past historical action of participants in the Protest of Barágua
while attempting to articulate contemporary social realities that affect contemporary populations
and research. Therefore, this chapter serves as both an analytical and methodological critique of
the work presented in the five previous chapters exposing much needed areas for future historical
and ethnographic research.
THE PROBLEM OF GENDER AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

One of the most theoretically influential works in the development of this project was the Annual Review of Anthropology prepared by Matthew Gutmann (1997) in which he expanded the analytical objectives pursued by feminist social theorist by recognizing that the study of gender must include analysis of covalent socially constructed categories and their operation with each other (Gutmann 1997:402). For Cuban soldiers involved in the Ten Years War, Protest of Barágua, and the Final War of Independence, “how could Cuban soldiers hesitate to give their lives for the insurgency when their mothers, their sisters, their daughters were also willing to do so” and often did (Prado-Torreia 2005:5), the historical problem of gender appeared to be an evidentiary one that included a reevaluation of archival materials and sources (Burton 2003; Scott 1991), an analytical position that did not accept that the cultural norms of a past historical period ought to be forgotten, forgiven, overlooked, or understood as a predictable representation of human experience and agency during a "less enlightened age" (Hawkesworth 1990:44).

Instead, I recognized that gender, class, and national hierarchies were at play in contemporary scholarship that analyzed transnational social movements and the women’s political participation historically. During the nineteenth century in the Americas, women of African descent whether slave or free have yet to be analyzed as subjects embodying leadership and contributors to nationhood, even though the historical record in the words, deeds of male actors of the day, places them as integral to political achievements. At the conclusion of this project, I question how much of the historical absence of women is not due to the pervasiveness of sexual segregation in a plantation society and the gender boundaries of political authority in nationalist movements, but due to the contemporary presumptions about these issues. Though this historicists excuse treats gender-bias as an error that must be corrected, it does not recognize that
gender distortions are permeable and pervasive within the realities of political life. My attempt to show the permeability of gender was by including the fictional accounts prepared by Mary Peabody and Gertrudis Gomez de Avellaneda as historical and contextual tools that attempted to represent human experience of the racial and gender hierarchies present in Spanish controlled colonial Cuba. Their works demonstrated that the historical distortions and absence of social relations based upon race, class, and gender, have contributed to the exclusion and restriction of women from the very conception of politics that elevated the priorities of men above those of women (Hawkesworth 1990:44).

Cuban women of African descent like Mariana Grajales, Paulina Pedroso, María Cabrales, and Marta Abreu, were actively involved in an immediate abolition and anti-colonial political struggle that placed a specific form of nation within their participation in nation-building. Though in Ibero-America, male authority derived from a perceived “natural-born” superiority to women, contemporary scholars have found that women’s legal subordination has been greatly exaggerated, almost in keeping with the experiences of women in Anglo-Saxon America (Dore 2000:11). For these women and many others who routinely transversed between Iberian and Anglo-Saxon cultural, political, and legal systems, the historical and ethnographic record is incomplete for providing greater understanding of how they as individuals and members of migrant families negotiated and struggled against those inscriptions of power, position, authority, and identity. The benefit of doing so will aid in dispensing with speculative exaggerations about gender differences in national legal codes and help in understanding the potential cultural bias of North American and European produced scholarship. Throughout this project, I have shown that the Iberian world has been viewed as anachronistic and backward from the political gaze of the United States and England. A hierarchy of perception has been at
play that seemingly affects the arguments found when looking across regional scholarship. For women in the colonial and post-colonial Iberian world, their experiences very easily can become circumscribed within a regional bias not based on evidence but based on the pervasiveness of particular representations of their experiences. Contemporary feminist scholars, concerned with the interdependence of “the local and global-how each is implicated in the other-and how the ‘local, private, and domestic are constituted in relation to global systems” have taken a stride towards developing an analytical consciousness that explores how such systems must be read for their particular locational inflection (Hesford and Kozol 2005:15).

The cultural implication of the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789, the Haitian Revolution in 1804, and the Ten Years War in Cuba (1868-1878), each presented definitions of humane citizenship that could have been useful to women for gaining early participation in nationalist struggles (Singham 1994:116). However, we do not know whether women’s political actions were not linked to a traditional conceptualization of human nature or political possibility, or to the emergent conjoining of human rights to political rights as the Americas transitioned from colonially controlled states to modern nation-states controlled by ethnically and racially distinct political-blocs. Cuban participants in the Protest of Baráguia offered counter- narratives of equal and unique importance while demonstrating the fragmented historical subjectivity that the faced in a desired independent, postcolonial Cuba. The fragmented process of nation-building from outside of the territoriality of the Cuban nation-state required me to re-orienting regional historiography to consider the presence of women in these ethnic enclaves. What we do not know is how and if these women faced socially transformative experiences based upon the fact that many lived as what we would call “war widow” had their context been in Europe or the United States at the close of World War I. The category of
insurgent, and the lack of recognition of the Protest of Barágua as anything more than an insurgent from a Spanish gaze, may point to areas of stigma and negative social categorization that the implicated dignity of being a “war widow” whose husband or mate served for the benefit of the nation.

Analytically, it seems that the historiography of nationalist struggles during the nineteenth century in the Americas, evidenced by national histories, has simultaneously omitted and elided the actions and strategies used by women as slaves, free coloreds, and former colonial subjects. This project explored the routes that shifts in their political consciousness emerged within political action however, it did not fully question their full inclusion as equal citizens. In this same analytical space, the political actions and activities of women in the former plantation societies of the Americas were dealt with as not as historical apparitions---unsafe subjects to be hidden in the vagaries of the historical transcript or narrative, but as contributors who impacted their own agency, established social institutions, and maintained social networks that included men. Women's historical subjectivity and political activity is seldom analyzed in tandem with the "greater, more important" topics of political organization, responses to abusive power regimes, and economic inequality. In the Caribbean, the micro and macro-historical experiences and contributions of women are seldom included in regional theories in the social sciences. In her discussion about Guyana, Brackette Williams states, “The majority of scholars who analyze the transition from slavery and freedom…speak of freedmen. Those who add women rarely go into sufficient detail about the practical, legal, and ideological differences men and women confronted during this critical transition (Williams 1996:130). Moreover, this process of analytical exclusion includes both the textual omission of women as historical actors, as well as
the theoretical exclusion of women's impact in shaping cultural consciousness and public policies and the effect of these policies on them throughout the life course.

To better understand the significance of women’s political participation in the Protest of Baráguas, it is important to recognize that the life of individuals and groups always contain a narrative of convergence that may include an explication about the continuity or discontinuity of values, beliefs, practices, customs, and traditions within that specific culture or other cultures of contact. I found it important to discuss difference faced in the gender hierarchies of race and social status in the plantation society of Cuba and how with the mambí ideology, gender rights, roles and behaviors did not directly adhere to a European derived tradition. However, lives do not serve as models; only stories do that (Heilbrun 1988:37), a topic that the Latin American and African American feminist historians and ethnographers that I cited throughout this work addressed. Moreover, the importance of how one narrates these convergences also demonstrates how the individual represents their social world and the world of the cultural group of which they are apart. In the nineteenth century, individuals produced collective histories about the groups to which they belonged. These individual writers as members of groups rarely produced histories about their communities or were there collectively produced historical accounts about individuals. The historical production by veterans of the Ten Years War and the essays and political pamphlets produced by them have been identified by Louis Perez (1995; 1988), but has not been analyzed with attention to what is said and not said about the political participation of women as mambises (Torriera-Prado 2005). The issues of the language of textual production and translation served as an important analytical challenge in the production of this work that required me to bring the insights and research of Cuban historians like José Luciano Franco and Cosme Torriente about Antonio Maceo and Juan Gualberto Gomez respectively to an audience
that produces works in English. When thinking about this mode of scholarly production about a plantation society, this manner of historical production is more akin to conducting fieldwork of the past with a participatory research component whereby, the methodological and evidentiary challenges of presenting a transnational ethnohistorical project that left behind few, immediately available, autonomously created records. Yet, I don’t believe that the records do not exist as much as scholars need to reexamine and reinterpret the historical data found in contemporary sources to ascertain what feminist historians have argued which is that to present the historiographic evidence of women’s experience requires scholars to make methodological interventions in how we classify, interpret, and collect archival data (Burton 2003; Scott 1999), interpret the analytical conflation of collective forms of agency and resistance to gender oppression in “private” settings and pay attention to how these contexts “foreclose upon the possibility of appreciating other, perhaps, more immediate collective forms of agency and resistance (Sarkar 2004). The evidentiary basis of human experience within history is always based on experiences lived by people (Scott 1991:782) but, it becomes difficult to present and analyze this history when there is an over-reliance and narrow view of what is a viable archival record of these experiences.

The historical evidence for women’s experience in Latin America, particularly women of African descent, is limited, thus requiring the use of multiple types of archival documents, exploring the content of secondary works, and reinterpreting prevailing disciplinary paradigms and concepts to garner a more gender inclusive analysis. Gaps in historical knowledge about women’s contributions to the age of revolutions and the transition from plantation societies to modern nation-states are apparent in the research presented here. These gaps signal that additional research still needs to be done in order to redress and create viable theoretical
interpretations of the levels, forms, and styles of their political participation and the social mechanisms that gendered their roles and the wider community perception of their actions. For example, I am aware that the Cuban women who participated in the Protest of Barágua beginning in 1878 did so at the same time as African American women in the United States advocated for greater inclusion in the public sphere of social life in the United States. Both groups of women throughout the late 1880’s and mid-1890’s began the early stages of developing women’s separate organizations and were connected to women’s antislavery organizations in England and the United States. Yet, I have been unable to learn about their indigenous organizations that fostered the more expansive community needs.

In the United States, the Black Women’s Club Movement and the later founding of the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs in 1896 may have had women who were first, second, or possibly third generation Cubans as participants or they may have developed more informal organizations that connected to the domestic sphere co-opting the structure and familial participation of the tertulias found in Cuba. How would their vision gender inclusiveness and gender oppression parallel or overlap with competing institutional forms? As a second example, the magazine Minerva was produced in Cuba, and became a bi-monthly magazine that targeted Afro-Cuban women who resided in the United States. Minerva frequently contrasted the lack of opportunities Afro-Cuban women in Cuba had with the "improving conditions of their sisters in the United States" (Prados-Torreira 2005:93). María Cabrales, the wife of Antonio Maceo, was a significant benefactor and organizer of Cuban women’s revolutionary clubs throughout Latin America but we do not know about the impact on these clubs on later regional or in country political movements. The historical possibility of discovering the modes, forms, barriers, obstacles, challenges, and opportunities of collaborative exchange between and among women of
African descent in the Americas is no longer remotely possible at the conclusion of this project but it does require a targeted research strategy that traces back through time the transit routes of the historical subjects. The political mobilization of women of color during the transition from plantation societies to modern nation-states is an interesting vista to examine gender transformations in identity, politics, and economic behavior as members of a exile or political dissident community that were displaced due to political violence, or as members of an ethnic enclave that across generations maintains political ties to issues facing what is perceived as a community of origin.

Acts of political mobilization by Cuban communities throughout the Americas, and the contributions made by Caribbean women in Anglophone, Francophone, and Hispanophone territories, and African American women in the United States during this same period, rarely inform present day discussions about women's political mobilization throughout the industrialized world even though these women exist as co-residents operating within a multitude of legal and juridical identities and statuses. In this project, I wanted to better understand how these inherited traditions informed women's political engagement, particularly through their acts of political contribution. My analysis of group political participation during a moment of economic and political transition did not include particular attention to how agency and action were gendered and whether the contributory value of military actions was more highly valued or differentially valued in the various translocal settings. Since acts of political participation include the desire to redefine and redistribute abstract and material forms of power in the society, the determination of the immediate or long-term beneficiaries is often hierarchically ordered by the gendered and subordinate political grievances women had. In this dissertation, I do discuss how in the words of the actual Protest of Baráigua, political participation was linked to the valorization
of Simon de Bolivar, the Marquis du LaFayette, and George Washington as a means of identifying the heroic deeds of great men who were heads of state but not the deeds of great women who led “nations” of maroons, Africans slaves, or political leaders in Central and West African cultural areas, each important and prevalent in a diasporic cultural context where these figures now known by regional scholars and perhaps were the subjects of myths and legends during this period. Did female participants in the Protest of Barágua create spaces where they envisioned themselves or their daughters as political leaders of the Cuban nation of the future? Clearly, the intent of the words within the protest of Barágua was to galvanize local populations, present a petition of why the insurrection was to continue to extra-national political bodies, and to cultivate economic and political support outside of Cuba among the newly independent Latin American nation-states. However, my argument that the African diasporic religious tradition in Cuba augmented by the continual presence of newly arrived Africans and the roles that iyalorishas within santería houses, and members of cabildos played were crucial in shaping communal religious practices that came to dominate the island (Prados-Torreira 2005:91). Yet, how did the internal cosmology of the slaves and the practioners of African New World religious traditions impact the values imparted within the protest of Barágua and the values imparted on gender identities? This is an important area for further exploration to better understand how transcultural symbols and symbolic structures effect communal cultural and subsequently political consciousness, and how these structures mediate within the process of change and tradition in the act of political practice. Did the Boasian tradition in exploring the cultural tradition of African New World people circumvent the cultural and historical possibility that political action is a mode of cultural express with an African derived traditional basis? We have as examples that for Afro-Cuban women and other women of color, the participation in urban
commerce in the streets may not have had a moral or religious proscription placed against it within an Afro-Cuban community of practitioners. Yet, unlike their Europeanized Catholic female counterparts, they participated as purveyors of spiritual and moral knowledge (Castellanos 1997:42) and practiced the belief embodied in the Afro-Cuban traditions of Regla Ocha and Palo Monte, both having the symbolic manifestation of Yemaya, that expresses that the right “to kill and to die is within the right of a strong nurturer warrior woman” (Stubbs 2003:119). The orisha Yemayá is generous and nurturent as much as she is the embodiment of the beginning and the end of life and as forceful as the tides of the ocean. There are other significant cosmological examples in which the orisha Oshún is another warrior divinity as much as she is a seductress and the embodiment of female beauty, she is also the victor against male dispossession of female exclusive knowledge. And the orisha Oya is a female warrior and mother who goes into battle alongside of her second husband, Chango and keeps abreast of her metal tool making husband Ogún, while controlling the direction of the path that a lightening bolts strikes and being an owner of the covenant between the living and dead through the symbol of the rainbow. These deities and the complex system of cosmological and ritual traditions associated with each one, likely served as inspirations for male insurgents as well as a symbol for femininity, fertility, beauty, the marketplace, male and female collaboration, and as active spiritual forces that provided another element to the ideological basis of their political practice in la ideología mambí.

The symbolic and political importance of the mambi as a human representative of a political ideology, shows that in the struggle for what was understood as an expression of immediate abolition and independence, can be interpreted that the mambises were more than national-folk heroes, or iconic representations of revolutionary spirit, but a category of
personhood that signified a gender inclusive categorization of a fighter willing to die for uncompromisable principles based on the intersection of politics and religion. Alterations in gender relations and gendered identities are intrinsically constituent parts of this process of social transformation that determines how human agency is used for political purposes and the contextual transformations that they undergo. Macro and micro historical and ethnographic conditions shape the modes and methods of how people engage with the state, civil organizations, and with each other in communal settings. Distinctions between public and private domains alter gendered codes of behavior that were undergoing social transformation during this period in the nineteenth century.

Anthropologists and historians, whose mode and method of analysis includes an analysis of gender as constitutive of transitioning social relationships, needs to be aware that cultural complexities in both past and present human social relations are always significantly more complicated than presented in texts, whether written, visual, or auditory. Both primary source documents and the historiographic record utilized in the production of ethnographies and histories are deserving of complex analysis and criticism to provide reorientations of old ideas and to present new information. Throughout this dissertation, I reinterpreted the content of secondary sources, provided a context of production and content analysis of the gendered dimensions of antislavery novels and the lives of the novelists, and utilized primary archival records, to give prominence to the roles women played in the protest of Barágua.

The ideological and material contributions by both socio-biological and symbolic women, point to the confluence of methodological practice and interpretative inquiry in the production of history, or in this case, transnational ethnohistory. I am left only somewhat

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58For a discussion on theory relating to reading and interpreting visual landscapes in space see Michel De Certeau (1985). For a critique of visually driven knowledge acquisition in the western philosophical tradition, see Oyeronké Oyèwùmí (1997).
disquieted by social scientific interpretations and historical representations of this period because, the problem of analyzing and interpreting social relationships can cause our contemporary analytical frameworks to presume that the mention of the presence of men, or the absence of women, is sufficient analysis as we attempt to depict the temporal and spatial transformations of a society affected by social change, transit, and political and economic displacement. Still, it remains unclear as to whether the institutionalized tradition of sexism that also inscribes processes of racialization, affects the levels of emphasis and importance placed on gender and the intersectionality of these markers of identity with class and other forms of economic and social status.

Seen within the historicity of the subject of nineteenth century American (broadly defined) nationalist movements, or the historical reality of a politically based gendered division of labor, each potential or actual cause for how and why high and low status criolla women, women of color, slaves, and free and indentured men of color, direct their time, resources, money, and devotion to collectively participating in a cause that would alter their present and shape their future. This transnational mode of political action resides outside of the analytical framework of nationhood and how gender difference affect the imagining of a national future.

Michele Moody-Adams points out that in the process of social differentiation there are many ways for both individuals and groups to be deemed cultural insiders though still marginalized (Moody-Adams 1997:68). She argues that even within a single society, differences in class, race, age, and gender are differences of the kinds of cultural insiders that exist within a society. The presence of “cultural insiders” surreptitiously hides the fact that their lack of status and position at the margins “prevents the development of moral monoliths” (Moody-Adams 1997:69) because of the contradiction of being cultural insiders but excluded from status and
position. Within the Protest of Barágua, women were cultural insiders but historically and ethnographically, their contributions were ignored and often interpreted as tangential or secondary to broad, more macro-level political goals. What I demonstrated in my discussion of women and their contributions to the protest of Barágua was that the historical possibility exists whereby, contemporary critics may not garner the full understanding of women’s position in past historical events nor the broader societal responses to them.

Indeed, a gendered division of labor surrounding political action was present in the protest of Barágua. We found male actors serving as the principal leadership of the Cuban revolutionary government during the Ten Years War and after the Protest of Barágua significantly in militaristic roles. However, we have historical examples in speech prepared and delivered by José Martí where he valorizes women such as Gertrudis Gomez de Avellaneda, Paulina Pedroso, and Mariana Grajales as women who possessed the courage of men. We do not know whether and how women engaged in the battlefield combat and the consequences and conditions that they faced in those circumstances. We do know that,

[w]omen and children often joined the insurgents and traveled with them for years at a time. Far from burdening the armies, they staffed hospitals, operated kitchens and offered field support that otherwise might not have existed (Henderson 1978:136).

Latin American history during the age of revolutions rarely takes into consideration this level and form of political participation by women, nor are the gendered dimensions of this form of political participation provided the political importance as those expressed by men. Women who possess a racialized and subordinate identity as those who allied themselves with the *mambi* army, “all too often find themselves out of place when the moment of violence as last resort agency has passed” and masculine redemption in a regenerative social order has occurred post transformation (Williams 1996:24-25). In the Gloria Rolando film, *Raices de Mi Corazon*, we
find a woman of African descent in Cuba who explains to her white Cuban supervisor the historical relevance and significance of male and female *mambi* to preparing a contemporary Cuban history in a publication firm (Rolando 2001).

In the words of Paulina Pedroso, we have a historical example of a woman who publicly enunciated her personal willingness to take up arms and die but as a counter to male inactivity and ambivalence in the Cuban ethnic enclave of Tampa, Florida. "Gentlemen: If any of you is afraid to give his money or go to the savannahs to fight, let him give me his pants and I'll give him my petticoat" (Pedroso in James 1998:245). This act by Pedroso is one example of the use of ritualized shaming and the deployment of momentary power of “female insurrection.” As Ann-Farnsworth discusses in a female worker’s strike in Colombia in which women mill workers waved their skirts at male strike breakers as an act of derision in a carnivalesque symbolic gesture of vulgarity that marked the difference between proper and improper male behavior (Farnsworth-Alvear 2000:98).59 There are historical examples of individual women masquerading as men and serving in combat zones. Women brandishing weapons and being invited into “the fraternity of death and redemptions” as co-combatants, impacts contemporary codes of gender inclusivity and womanhood for it challenges notions of proper female respectability that exist beyond the domestic household as discussed by Eileen Suarez Findlay (1999) and extends into symbolic representation of soldiers, and military leaders.

Yet, we do know that women were physically present in combat zones. We do know they provided support for insurgent troops by serving as message couriers and battlefield medics. The historically available evidence obtained through secondary historical sources, writings by

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59 “In this sense, hoisting skirts on a pole is akin to a range of well-known codes, especially in Southern European and Latin American cultures, that work to signal the cuckold’s status as an emasculated fool. A male onlooker might laugh at other men who found themselves insulted, by women, for being “like women. A feminist might wince for the same reason that strikers seem to be derogating their own gender by using femininity as a form of insult. Yet a less literal reading is also possible, in that threatening to take off men’s pants may stand as a symbolic transvestism. The strikers figuratively took off their own skirts (waving them above them on poles). The implied sexual reversal of the cuckold is relevant here, as perhaps the most threatening aspect of their ridicule was simply these young women were loudly having fun at men’s expense.” (Farnsworth 2000:98)
veterans in the Ten Years War, and later oral historical accounts, support the fact that these roles were as integral to the success of *mambi* military operations led by Cuban insurgents as the actual physical combat moments. What the historical record does not provide is a full account of the attitudes, beliefs, and opinions of women in these settings and a critical analysis of men’s responses of women in combat settings.

We do have in the words of Esteban Montejo a condemnation of how low status Cuban women had to broker sexual relations in order to receive work, by “sleeping with a Spaniard.” At once, his statement speaks to a code of masculine propriety and disdain for the practice but, we are left without a deeper, subterranean understanding of the moral, cultural, and communal reasons why this practices was scornful to him. I offered that the boundaries of domestic respectability and womanhood in late colonial Cuba was a context that different cosmological notions of the role of women and the blurring of boundaries of public and private were not universalistically shared due to the economic necessity and broader social inequalities faced within domestic family relations. Montejo’s statement does acknowledge a social subordination of women in the exchange of sex for work, but we don’t know the regularity of these forms of brokerage, we do not know what the women felt about having to socially participate in this way, whether and how they leveraged these exchanges in a position of subordination or the challenges they faced when attempting to elevate personal status, economic power, or familial stability. Were they victims of an unjust society that made the explicitly sexual parts of their bodies their most brokerable commodity? Did they understand these forms of exchange as commodified practices or as gaining social network status? Did they develop strategies that cultivated the mythos of potential consumption so as to negotiate the long-term contribution of material and social resources that were only accessible through men? We also have in Montejo’s words that
this aspect of gender relations in the social life of colonial Cuba is an important factor that
necessitated the waging of war, not exclusively on their behalf of women or for the redemption
of their social honor. His statement puts forth the broader purpose of social inclusion for all
people who lived as slaves and were excluded from moving into professional classes of
leadership.

Present day feminist thought argues that local power structures must be understood as a
way to challenge any uncritical acceptance of traditional inequalities (Staudt 2002:53). If the
disavowal of mulattoes, free blacks, and slaves, included the practice of exclusion from
economic and political spheres in the emergent republic, then are we left to assume that women
of color were devalued in the same way? This question of course understands this not to be the
case. Feminist development thought states, in moments of transition women are often devalued
in specific ways. The uncritical acceptance of traditions of male dominance both in the past and
the present are important to understanding the contemporary and past political participation by
women. As Naila Kabeer states,

The economic devaluation of women which accompanied the transition of the
economy from its predominantly subsistence-oriented agricultural base to a more
diversified monetized one probably accounts for the one of the key changes in
gender relations in the course of this century: the shift in the direction of marriage
payments from earlier practices which favored the bride and her family (pon) to
the new practice of daabi or demand dowry which favors the groom and his
family (Kabeer2000:60).

The contractual basis of gender relations within marriage, and the shift in the benefactor of the
dowry, created a situation in the contemporary Bangladeshi communities of Dhaka and London,
in which men held normative power and women became increasingly dependent on men for their
economic needs and social protection. Gender asymmetry in adherence to conventional
understandings of the domestic division of roles and responsibilities makes more sense once it is recognized that these understandings also underwrite a particular, and asymmetrical distribution of power and privilege within the family (Kabeer 2000:127). Nineteenth century Latin American politics enhanced the powers of the family patriarch and to linked women's own claims to political authority as part of the traditional prerogatives of the family father (Dore 2000:15). Among the Cuban exile community of in the United States, we do know that managing sexuality and marriage was critical to maintaining boundaries of social distance and cultural distinction from African Americans. In doing so, Cuban customs about gender served poorly in effecting the goal of male domination over both the household and the public sphere (Greenbaum 2002:24). More research is needed to better understand the tensions between male and female authority, matrilocality and patrilocality, and shifting claims of political authority.

In my analysis of the two antislavery novels discussed in chapter four, I presented an analysis of the conversations had by, about, and between the female characters. I argued that antislavery ideology became a way for high and low status Spanish descended and New England women were able to express the social inequalities faced by them. I presented insight into the gendered dimensions of anti-slavery and its relationship to revolutionary independence struggles by showing how the solutions were those of reform. The juxtaposition of these two novels, their content, spaces of production, publication, and reception along with the political influences of their communities provided a critique of Cuban colonial society and the culture of slavery from the authorial gaze of women. This gaze though present in a fictionalized text offers much more than a strictly literary interpretation of how the domestic sphere of plantation societies were organized, but also the answer of sacrifice and death in the service of former owners. Sab and
Juanita sacrificed their personal freedom, money, and life to insure that Carlota and Ludovico did not suffer emotional crisis.

In the historical context of transnational nation-building as practiced by participants in the Protest of Barágua, a historical analysis of the spread of the ideological precepts of nineteenth century nationalism and nationalist independence movements, aid in learning what the customary codes for female participation were and present imaginary possibilities for what types of deeds regularly occurred. The slave characters of Sab and Juanita were developed in a manner that the characters could not and did not narrate their own demise. The utilization of un amor imposible/an impossible love, presented a fatalistic vision of future social relations in which the disempowered could not and did not find or create a life worth living---diametrically opposed to the actions of armed insurgency and a reliance on an international political network of supporters primarily in England and the United States. Truth and virtue in love was linked to notions of the sacred and socially limitless romance that resulted in personal sacrifice. Most importantly, where Sab, as a slave character was permitted to die in a place of nostalgic nobility, Juanita died as a victim of mob violence because she chose biological reunification with her brother Juan over the safe existence in the United States with Ludovico. These two novelistic treatments of the domestic sphere in the Cuban plantation society offered areas with which to think about the catalysts for transforming gender relations by depicting an undesired continuance of colonial inscribed modes of social engagement.

The symbolic geography of a contested European nationalism, the social processes of geographic relocation and displacement, and the strategy of out-migration as a mode of economic and political mobility, contested territorially inscribed forms of citizenship and national inclusion that did not foster greater economic participation. In sharing related concerns
about households, families, and communities in and during temporal moments of transition what
comes difficult to articulate is exactly the subject or purpose of research that enframes the
subject of gender as a social relation and as a category for interrogating ascriptive and
proscriptive roles.

Republicanism is an associative form of human organization in the modern world. People of African descent through their reinterpretation of Enlightenment concepts of
nationhood, citizenship, and states rights in the civil sphere, demonstrate how Western
philosophical traditions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries forced blacks and non-
whites to enter into various philosophical, ideological, and practical schemes" (Trouillot
1995:76, Chatterjee 1993:12). Enlightenment ideals, political liberalism, and economic self-
interest composed the "arsenal of ideological criticisms of imperial and anciens regimes"
(Anderson 1991:65). Yet, none of these conceptual ideals provides a complete "framework" for
analyzing shared "national" consciousness understood to be new and different (Anderson
1991:65). Moreover, colonial practices aided in the transformation of the principle that "some
humans were more human than others," and created the lexical opposition of Man-versus Native
(or Man-versus-Negro) that has tinted the European literature on the Americas from 1492 to the
Haitian Revolution and beyond (Trouillot 1995:85). These tinges of analytical incompleteness
attached to difference and exclusion of the body politic is important for understanding abolition
and independence. In the next section, I will discuss the problem of national history making as it
pertains to participants in the Protest of Barágua.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL-HISTORY MAKING

Positing the nineteenth century as the "age of revolutions" in the Americas, takes a
historiographic approach that unnecessarily normalizes the actions of male criollos planters,
merchants, and colonial officials whose pursuit of “independence” sought to reorient trade markets, commodity production, and territoriality for sustained, immediate, economic, and subsequent social benefit (Graham 1972; Lynch 1973; Anderson 1991; Bushnell and Macauley 1993). A critical evaluation of the fragmentary subjectivities created during this time period, due to the contingencies and contradictions of history, is often missing in an "age of revolutions" approach, specifically within the historiography of Ibero and Anglo-Saxon “American” nationalisms. Historical contingencies and contradictions illuminate changes and shifts in politics that alters both the analytical terms used to conceptualize the social transformations accomplished by human actors within modes of governance, political organization, and political projects whether reformist or radical.

The terms or concepts used to represent and characterize human relations in nationalist struggles are important as well, for they are not only political, but are cultural in scope (Corrigan and Sayer 1985:7). Regionally, the “age of revolutions” cannot exclusively be characterized or understood as only a series of contiguous “independence” struggles, if the goal of the historian, anthropologist, or cultural critic is to better understand active human creativity and the collective desire for change in their social condition within a social system that had not offered the possibility for fully and equal authority, power, and respect. Cultural hierarchies or rather, the cultural practice of hierarchicalization must be addressed in scholarly discussions of political mobilization. Historiographies of the Americas often fail to recognize that nineteenth century intra-regional migration held global political importance. These movements of people, ideas, and customs, impact our present-day understanding of Afro-New World populations, their history, and their strategies used in community formation both within and outside of the physical space of the plantation.
Many nineteenth century independence, anti-slavery, and nationalist struggles, occurred within, between, across the geopolitical boundaries of contemporary South America, Central America, the United States, and many islands throughout the Caribbean. Few regional historians have yet to analytically articulate the importance of these geopolitical intersections that served to link acts of imperialism, colonialism, and the political power of national and regional elites (Schmidt-Nowara 1999). Lodging a similar critique, anthropologists have yet to analytically articulate the importance of the cultural articulation between African New World populations during this time period and within contemporary ethnographic situations. If indeed, the Atlantic Ocean from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries became involved in a web of political and economic relations that affected three continents (Trouillot 2003:32; Palmié 2002:15; Torres and Whitten 1998:20-21; Mintz 1977:259), then how should anthropologists interpret and analyze relationships forged in that web of political and symbolic economies; specifically those formed by people of African descent in the New World? If one can observe the intersection of two or more historical currents, each involving differential and changing occupations and labor regimes, and different uses of space and time, then how do the cultural webs of meaning become differential and changing (Roseberry 1991:86)? Though represented within the discourse of nation-building, I argue that Cuban *mambises* understood that they possessed no right to adhere to communally defined practices of cultural sovereignty without social change that required not merely an antislavery ideology to secure their rights, but also unpopular political participation in a cultural setting the viewed them, their tactics, strategies, and beliefs as insurgent and subsequently illegitimate in both formal European and American controlled local and international political domains.
Deterritorialized acts of sustained political engagement for independence, and cultural sovereignty, present the intersection of time and space in a form of temporary stasis. Jamaica was the place of geopolitical stasis, and the thirteen years spent in this Anglophone, not Afro-Latin American territory (Andrews 2004:4), are both important if anthropologists and historians wish to examine not only the differences among plantation societies, but the intersection between them. A greater exploration of Cuban ethnic enclaves in the Spanish Caribbean will garner research that augments a better understanding of not only the Protest of Baráguia but the variety of translocal experience faced by populations whose historical presence in the Americas has included migration paths at each generation subsequently fostering an identity forged between and amongst cultural worlds.

Research in the region has over-emphasized, 1) separate plantation regimes of governance; 2) historical shifts in the production of high value commodities; specifically sugar; and 3) local Afro-New World cultural distinctiveness that ensued due to differences in social life under competing colonial and national power structures. This project questions the social mechanisms and supports within the different labor and classification systems and shifts in production and trade. My recognition of sustained political engagement by Cubans while in the host country of Jamaica, targeted the racialized practices of social differentiation began during the colonial period and continued post-independence. The actions of these complexly located social agents, and the cultural and historical frameworks that inscribe, dismiss, silence, or ignore their experiences do well to incorporate synchronic and diachronic analysis so as not to ignore the direct articulation with macro-organizing bodies and micro-level solutions. In this work, I expressed the problem of preparing a national historical interpretation of the Protest of Baráguia because the historical and ethnographic experience of the human actors was translocal in action.
and expression. The event, I argued, should not be viewed as a national specific event, but one that presents the experience of transition by people of African descent in the Americas.

The fact that national identity is seen to emerge in Europe during the nineteenth century, and in the Americas among creole elites within a similar European political guise (Anderson 1986), is part of the systematic practice of rendering historically invisible the different historical experiences of New World people. Early colonial forms of social organization based upon a unitary national subject is a minor narrative in American historiography and is seen as unthinkable or a non-rational result of social relations (Chakrabarty 1997:101). This situation appears to be based upon "formulas of silence" that have rendered racial subjectivity (individual and collective) and racial ideologies (contained within both economic and political practice), as unthinkable, in other words, a topic that exists outside of deeply held beliefs about the reality of the region and its populations (Trouillot 1991:81, and 92). Also, as Chakrabarty notes, minor narratives function to cast doubt on the major narrative and they describe the relationships to the past that the rationality of the historian’s methods necessarily make minor, inferior, or non-rational as a result of its operation. It is exactly these relations that make it possible for us to historicize (Chakrabarty 1997:101).

Traditionally, the discipline of history operates as an analytical space within which spatio-temporal stasis is apparent and rarely questioned when attributed to a group. History fixes a group within time and locates events, actions, practices and beliefs within specific spaces rather than as part of a dialogic process that intersects and crosses space. It is in this narrative of stasis that I wish to locate the beginning of Afro-New World anthropology which I understand as both a specific analytical practice that demands the use of historical methods of (trans)contextualization and understanding. This theoretical paradigm addresses ambivalence in
lines of historical thought that contextualize and situate Afro-New World people. When historians take individuals, events, and groups, they locate them within nationally bound histories. National independence struggles throughout the world and the Americas, have functioned as "the history of the national bourgeoisie" and indeed, this process is written about, as "the spiritual (auto)biography of the elite" (Latin American Subaltern Studies Group 1993:119). Afro-New World history is of ten circumscribed as a part of the national bourgeoisie if included at all. This process of intellectual exclusion creates the illusion of an "authenticated center - the so-called core historical project with major social actors," so too does it construct a colonized "not-center," either marginalized as 'other' or completely expunged and unassimilatable and alien. The lack of historical visibility of Afro-New World people during the colonial era legitimizes their invisibility during the national independence struggles, and reinforces their political and cultural marginalization. As historical producers, Afro-New World people are inscribed within the same process of marginalization as the Americas is as a region of intellectual inquiry in the modern world. Both are marginalized thematically and conceptually within major themes of Western history including colonialism, economic development, and nation-state formation.

THE PROBLEM OF MOBILE POPULATIONS

Migration has been an issue explored by anthropologists who see it as resulting from the political conditions in countries of origin of groups oftentimes, resulting from unfavorable economic conditions. The transformations that result from these movements are seen to change the social and cultural features of a group as well as define its cohesion or lack of cohesion to a unitary past. The tying of anthropological subjects to specific geographical regions is part of the analytical practice of connecting collectivities of people to land and remains part of an
underlying tenet of European nationhood, or nationalism as exposed by nineteenth century European theorists like relying upon a territorial locus of cultural exchange, transmission and adherence. In chapter five, I critiqued this notion by indicating the significance of the interstitial identities lived by participants in the Protest of Barágua as they developed economically productive ethnic enclaves that supported the cause of an inclusive citizenship. In neither secondary sources produced by Cuban historians in Spanish nor in the primary source documents that I have utilized is there ample evidence to present a discussion on the levels of autonomy of these translocal Cuban communities. Yet, their historical existence and ethnographic importance exists in determining whether scholars theoretically include them as members and participants in Cuban nationhood or as outlying exceptions. Diasporic communities face this form of theoretical liminality when their mobility and migratory paths are placed above their modes and forms of national engagement.

Intra-regional migration in the Caribbean and Latin America is informed by historically embedded patterns of sustained political engagement often, though not exclusively, emerging from the country of origin of the migrating group (Gilroy 1993:132; Roseberry 1991:112). This project presents a different and necessary perspective of the social articulation between Hispanophone Caribbean peoples within an Anglophone derived national context. Where national culture is linked to the juncture of capitalism, modernization, industrialization and political democracy, the cultural production and transformation between and among African New World populations includes a dialogic interplay of changes in local, national, and global political economies (Slocum and Thomas 2003:557). These ideas implicitly embody concepts of race, class, and ethnicity along with issues of linguistic, religious, and other modes signifying assimilation and acculturation of the population. My endeavor for creating a hemispheric
African New World anthropology that drew upon Dipesh Chakrabarty's concept of decisionism was to present an analytical method, or strategy with which to engage, or "entertain" a different perspective about the past. Throughout this work, I have presented the Protest of Barágua as a historical event that challenges Western derived concepts of nation, nationalism, and citizenship. In line with Chakrabarty's analysis of the writing of history as part of a Western method for remembering the past, I borrowed his conceptualization and metaphor of the past as part of a Western historical time knot. He states, "[W]e live in time-knots that we can undertake the exercise of straightening out, as it were, some part of the knot (which is how we might think of chronology" (Chakrabarty 2000:112). However, "the plurality that inheres in the now, the lack of totality, the constant fragmentariness, that constitutes one's past…stands [in for] our capacity to deploy the historicist or ethnographic mode of viewing that involves the use of a sense of anachronism in order to convert objects, institutions and practices with which we have lived relationships into relics of other times (Chakrabarty 2000:242). My unraveling the knot of a historical past of African New World people, as participants in the Protest of Barágua did not preclude referencing the present or the future as ideals held by mobile human actors or contained within contemporary social theory that examines the ethnographic experience of migratory populations. By doing so, I wished to understand both the present and the past "as though there were concrete, value-laden choices or decisions to be made with regard to both" (Chakrabarty 2000:247). In other words, my strategy recognized that neither is concrete because the only fixity offered in either time or space is conferred by scholars' analytical categories and their overall theoretical project. My theoretical project was an attempt at integrating synchronic and diachronic analyses about both the implicit and explicit elements of cultural practice and memorialization the specific expression of national belonging. Works produced within cultural
studies, literature, or the humanities utilize an implicit temporal frame. An example of a diachronic lens based in a pre-Atlantic slave trade moment can be seen in the work of Ann Bailey.

As a post-colonial theorist, Bailey recognizes that oral historical material within African oral history, and oral historical materials in the Black Atlantic, represents the merging of Western models of history and literature and can also be viewed as "an independent mode of historical representation (Bailey 2002:139). Stefan Palmie’s recognition of co-temporality in the production of history is equally important for understanding how the practice of producing a historical narrative can also be interpreted as impacting the memories and remembrances of past historical actors (2002). The practice of out-migration by Cuban participants in the Protest of Baráguia was an encounter between two different African descended cultural groups inscribed within modern nation-states, and whereby one population was physically outside the space of the plantation society, but not outside of the governing logic of interstate diplomatic political relationships. These African New World subjects were embroiled in abolition and anti-colonial struggles that did not create a mode of "counter-modernity," as has been argued by Paul Gilroy (1993), created a parallel modernity with a vision of the future for Cuba that included them as full legal and juridical subjects. The tragedy of conscription fostered the reason for translocality within the multi-layered dialogic chain of political and economic affiliation. Their political agenda included the act of a time-reckoning, strategy that stopped nation-building or rather, national time with their actions of the need to acquire capital resources for winning the war for their inclusion in the independent nation of Cuba. Mobility was an accidental but beneficial cultural strategy that fostered the organization of intra-regional bodies that enabled embedded patterns of sustained political engagement often, though not exclusively, emerging from the
country of origin, not necessarily from the original cultural tradition. Please recognize that even
the concept of cultural tradition previously used include the recognition that fragmentariness and
transculturation was part of the cultural experience of the plantation society. I do not hold a
vision of a singular type as much as I hold the recognition of competing organizational
differences and different mechanisms of structuration fostered by the political organization of
colonial and imperial enterprises. Therefore, this study presents an ethno-historical
understanding of the multiracial and inter-ethnic revolutionary alliances present in the Cuban
independence struggle that reached across the linguistic boundaries of English and Spanish, and
included these communities as constitutive of and integral to their political vision and the
political visions of other nineteenth century marginalized groups. By presenting this argument, I
urge historians and cultural anthropologists to break new theoretical ground to develop an
understanding of the articulation between Afrodescendientes in geopolitical locales across and
throughout the Americas. Where Cuban exiles of the nineteenth century were able to maintain
that the town of Baráguia invoked a refusal to capitulate to an independent Cuba that did not
include the entirety of the citizenry "de color," the twentieth century, the town of Baráguia
became home to Jamaicans and various people with Anglophone Caribbean ancestry(Guerra
2004; McGarrity 1997).
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