Two Republics in Conflict: The “Race War” of 1912 in Cuba

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The Journey from Civilization to Barbarism

“Do you see that fat man?,” a husband says to his wife; “He has to go to La Maya.” “Oh, the poor man!” exclaims the lady with a sorrowful tone.” The phrase is found in Guerra de razas. Negros contra blancos (“Race War. Blacks against Whites”) published in Cuba in 1912 by Rafael Conte and José M. Capmany and could be its epitome. It refers to a train journey from Havana to the Cuban east, but it is a metaphor for the transit that the authors of the book, together with the dominant official discourse at the time, imagine as the descent from civilization toward barbarism.

Passengers arriving as far as San Luis, Cristo or Santiago de Cuba were “the masters of the train.” Not all were necessarily going to fight in the rebellion associated with the Partido Independiente de Color (Independent Party of Color – PIC), sparked by the armed protest that began on May 20, 1912. However, they were in fact traveling to the heart of the “Nigricia” of Cuba. Its authors, Conte and Capmany – “two notable Cuban racists” – cite this famous book exploring the

1 Unless otherwise noted, all citations are from the 2019 edition of Rafael Conte and José M. Capmany, Guerra de razas. Negros contra blancos en Cuba (Leiden: Bokeh).
3 Rodríguez 2010: 128.
continent of Africa, associating it with the Black Cuban rebels. They make it their own journey. Once on the ground, Conte makes another trip, but this time aboard a military vessel. Major General José de Jesús Monteagudo, head to the army, authorized his to travel with the Baire Coast Guard, accompanied by a photographer, to report on the protest. His observations resulted in the publication of Race War.

Barbarism? Rewriting Independence

The authors of the book do not hesitate to reveal the guns carried by obviously white train passengers. The context is an official policy that sent a modernized army equipped with state-of-the-art naval weapons and cruisers, as well as another corps of militiamen and guerrillas (armed civilians paid by the government), to quell a revolt that the authors themselves implicitly acknowledge never produced an offensive even minimally proportional to such a deployment. Faced with the rebellion, President José Miguel Gómez had called for the defense of “civilization”: “In no way, in the midst of the 20th century, in a country as educated as ours with more than enough credentials of respectability, must a country such as ours allow its moral and material peace to be disturbed for a single moment by these manifestations of fierce savagery, carried out by those who have placed themselves, especially in the Eastern Province, outside the radius of human civilization.” Conte and Capmany record how in the rebel camps, at dusk, the rebels “indulge in the African dance known as the ‘maní’ (‘peanut’), and succumb to that savage form of expression, full of lubricious movements, late into the night.” In those days, the press reported that rebel leader Evaristo Estenoz “received treatment from witches.” “Brujería” or witchcraft was an illegal practice. On June 14 of the same year the police seized Francisca Fresneda, a 75-year old native of Africa, who was alleged to possess “seven gourds of beans and nine cloves, fourteen jars, thirteen pots containing corn flour and yams, a container with two güiros (musical instruments made of a long hollow gourd), beads, two wooden machetes, two necklaces, a basket of snails, a horn and other such objects.” Bibián Pedroso, a 71-year-old man, was detained with twenty African drums, “some of which, according to their owner, are 150 years old.”

In the first decades of the twentieth century, scientific racism – through the criminology of Israel Castellanos and in early work of Fernando Ortiz – identified the sorcerer as an “African” retention. For Castellanos, “witches” were “anthropologically indistinguishable from when they were introduced” to Cuba from Africa. The argument portrayed the “black witch” as synonymous with barbarism. Castellanos would of course establish distinctions between witches, ñáñigos (members of the Abakuá secret society), and criminals; the sorcerer was antisocial because “he fanaticizes and brutalizes, because he is a parasite, an obscurantist, but not a habitual delinquent.” His “misoneism” (aversion to change) had “rejected all the cultural and emancipatory influences

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4 Gómez 1912.
5 La Discusión 06.20.1912
6 Article 614 of the Penal Code punishes with arrest “those who interpret dreams for interest or profit, make predictions or divinations, or abuse public credulity in any other such way” Rafael Monteagudo, La policía y sus misterios, Prologue by Rafael Conte, Havana: Imprenta “La Prueba,” 1908.
7 El Triunfo 06/14/1912.
of a higher environment of civilization.” To this, “some perfected Blacks in our midst have been raised by a few degrees from the inferiority and degradation of their race can revert.”

However, the condemnation of “witchcraft” served yet another purpose: it was a powerful device for the inferiorization of the “Negro,” an element of the arsenal used to erase the role played by Cuban Blacks in the wars for independence. The label was extended far beyond actual “witches”; in police prose the terms “brujo” (sorcerer), “ñáñigo,” and “delinquente” (delinquent) were interchangeable. When the “mestizo” Eugenio Alfaro Franchi was arrested in 1910 on suspicion of attempting to disrupt public order, the press was informed that he was “branded as a ñáñigo” and had been carrying a knife. Eduvigis González de León, a man “of the Black race,” was arrested on similar suspicions. He carried a Smith revolver and was also designated as a ñáñigo.

During the 1908 elections, a group of Eastern Black generals had been “exhibited” in Havana in pompous uniforms, as a sign of their exemplary integration into society. For Previsión, the organ of the PIC, the “Creole Whites” wanted to show “that there is almost no intellectual difference between the Eastern Blacks and those who live in East Africa.” In describing the looting of La Maya, Conte and Capmany assert that Black women, who were close to the rebels, “penetrated establishments and private houses, and ignoring the more valuable loot, greedily seized the perfume bottles, of which they gathered as many as they could, and poured their contents on their sweaty and panting bodies.” They did this with “a refinement of truly savage flirtation.” There is a family resemblance in these types of discourses. Enrique Mustelier published The Extinction of the Negro, which has affinities with Conte and Capmany’s book, in the same year. Conte himself would, in a prologue, shower a book written by Rafael Roche, the most infamous persecutor of ñáñigos, with praise. “In the case of Caucasians and Ethiopians,” the authors of Race War wrote, “mixing is impossible, since not even through continuous and scientific inbreeding can the total disappearance of one of the two races be achieved to the benefit of the other.” Such language would, incidentally, later nourish fascist conceptions of race.

Ideas such as these, first elaborated by criminology and anthropology before they spread to journalism and discourses of the police, were disseminated by President Gómez disseminated through his “Proclamation” in defense of the 1912 massacre. Conte and Capmany note that this document was widely read in army camps. The depiction of “savages” was directed at all Black

8 Castellanos 1914: 334.
9 El Mundo 02/09/1910.
10 “Los generales orientales” Previsión 09/15/1908.
11 “A selfish and grossly utilitarian concept of life, a thoughtless opportunism, unbridled license in customs, dangerous unpredictability inhabits, brutal and indomitable egotism, such are the qualities that are noted in the Cuban type; and they are not in any way inherited from the Iberian parent, but obtained by contagion or transmission of the Black element.” Mustelier 1912: 23.
12 Roche stated, for example: “We have the deep conviction that the sorcerer, behind his supine ignorance, is a hypocritical faker who exploits others’ ingenuity, for his own benefit, in full knowledge of his ignoble and criminal acts, stopping at nothing, however criminal the means may be, to carry our his work.” For Conte, Roche was “the best among our agents.” Rafael Roche y Montenegro, La policía y sus misterios, Prologue by Rafael Conte, Havana: Imprenta “La Prueba” 1908.
13 By this reasoning, races were radical separate entities from each other. They originated in different parts that shared nothing in common: “Not everything that has a human face is a man.” Cf. Chapoutot 2018.
insurgents, and most of the press portrayed them explicitly as apes. If they were mulattoes, other forms of denigration were available. Conte and Capmany call journalist Gregorio Surín, one of the founders (with Estenoz and Pedro Ivonnet) “effeminate,” which together with the alleged “fierce hatred he has always felt for the white race, makes him repulsive and hateful from the get go.” When the authors reproduced documents attributed to the leaders of the PIC, they did so under the heading “Afro-Independent Literature.” The closer to Africa, they suggested, the more pronounced the barbarism.

The supposed “cowardice” of the rebels was another subterfuge used to erase the important role played by Black Cubans in the struggles leading up to independence. The trope is explicitly deployed, and associated with barbarism, in Race War: “We remembered the heroic behavior, the aggressiveness, the audacity and the almost savage courage displayed by dark-skinned men in our emancipatory wars, and in our tropical exaltation we concluded that they were the only Cubans capable of withstanding, without fall, the harshness of a military campaign under the scorching rays of the sun. The movement of the PIC has succeeded in destroying this epic legend.” This was a revision of Mambisa14 history. Racial tensions had existed within the Liberation Army, but the shift consisted in subordinating the courage of Blacks to the leadership of their White leaders. The protection of the oligarchic Republic after 1902, with its underlying structures of latifundia (large, landed estates) and caciquismo (boss rule), required that Blacks be stripped of the status they had acquired as “Mambís” on the battlefields as “co-authors” of the patria or “homeland.”15

**El Negro (“the Black”): The Abolition of Social Identities**

At the time, racial labels themselves were put to problematic use. The differences between Blacks and mulattoes were profound. Varela Zequeira, a journalist reporting on the 1912 rebellion for El Mundo, predicted that “if Ivonnet and Estenoz were to triumph, the division and social subdivision would surely extend to politics and the fight would then be between pure Blacks and mestizos (people of mixed race, ndlr) (…)”16 The phrases “colored men” and “colored race,” which were widely used since the 19th century, were often italicized in the PIC’s newspaper Previsión. Perhaps this reflected some kind of disagreement as to their meaning, or the implication that there was no other way to say it. The moderate movement for the rights of non-Whites continued to use the term “colored” as a distinctive label; when he referred specifically to Blacks, the mulatto leader Juan Gualberto Gómez employed the term “Black Cubans.”

For the 1908 elections, the PIC agreed that its candidates would hold no other title than that of “citizen.” The expression would have serious consequences. In a list established by Estenoz of participants in the “revolution,” which was obtained by the army, the color of each person, “black, brown, or white” was specified. Varela Zequeira alleged this to reflect an inconsistency in Estenoz’s

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14 In reference to “Mambís,” which designated guerilla fighters in the Spanish colonies during the second half of the 19th century.

15 Ada Ferrer estimated that at least 60% of soldiers and 40% of officers in the independence army were in fact non-White; cf. Ferrer 1999. The PIC issued several counter-narratives to the prevailing interpretation. See, for example, Julián V. Serra “Liborio y José Rosario” Previsión 12/30/1909.

16 _El Mundo_ 05/12/1912.
discourse, which had sought “to ensure that the color of a citizen is not mentioned in the press, in police or in statistics.” However the journalist added an interesting detail: According to him, Estenoz would have “understood that where there are many individuals sharing the same name and surname, color is precisely the most important data for identification.” Varela’s comment does not contradict Estenoz (underscoring the diversity of PIC members was a well-established strategy designed to confront the accusation that it was a “party of race”), but it does reveal the humble base of the party’s membership by mentioning that many shared “the same name and surname.” It also underscores how in President Gómez’s speech, those who supported the protest, whatever their skin color, ended up being designated as “Blacks.”

In 1910, the press still treated Cuban Blacks who were alleged to be plotters as “citizens.” According to Conte and Capmany, “although it may seem a paradox, there were also White ‘Independents of Color’ in 1912,” and “these turn out to be even more criminal than Blacks, since their intervention in this matter is purely vicious (…).” On the other hand, when the authors mention non-Whites in the army, they designate them as “belonging to the colored race.” The idea of “civilization vs. barbarism” presented a conundrum for the PIC. To the nation at large, it had to adhere to the discourse of civilization and demonstrate that the “colored race” was capable of reaching the “pinnacles” of cultural refinement, while also identifying capitalism, oligarchic and racist rule as the essence of the Cuban definition of “progress,” the source of their social and political exclusion. The only “legitimate” available way out was assimilation. However, this assumption of White civilizational supremacy placated racial identity onto the multiple identities that Black and mulatto sectors had developed as members of societies of color, professionals, and politicians, all of which became subsumed under the generic category of “Negro.”

The “Rumor of Haiti”

The closest mirror in Cuba to the horror of Africa was Haiti. Ada Ferrer has brilliantly documented this as “the rumor of Haiti in Cuba.” Conte and Capmany disbelieve the rumors that Estenoz, Ivonnet, Lacoste, Surín and the rest of the PIC leaders were seeking to “establish a Black republic modeled on the example of Haiti.” However, many opinions published at the time made that association. El Mundo wrote in 1912: “Its promoters have refused to understand that civilization recedes the republic, and that before freedom there is the instinct of self-preservation. Between Haiti – a Hell – and Canada – a Heaven – there is no doubt in the choice.” The former foreign minister of the Cuban consulate in Haiti, Miguel García (who was Black) and his son, were accused of spreading propaganda to recruit men, acquire arms and raise money in support of the uprising. The French consul in Santiago de Cuba was accused of something similar. According to this pattern, the convulsion was an effort to “Africanize, Haitianize Cuba.” The “Independents
of Color” allegedly “pitted (the) African savagery of the rebels against the civilization and dignity of the Cuban people.” Various outlets reported “very insistent news” about the landing of an expedition of Haitian Blacks along the coast of Santiago de Cuba, and that they had already joined the ranks of the rebels. Another “news item” claimed that the Central Revolutionary Committee of the “Independents” was operating out of Haiti. None of this was ever proven, but it was endlessly repeated. The year after the rebellion, in order to justify the prohibition of Black immigration and to favor White immigration, Carlos Velasco claimed that the Cuban Black being “for the most part intelligent and of temperate customs,” they should not be mixed with Blacks from the United States, Jamaica or Haiti, since these “are not, with few exceptions, as susceptible to modifying their harsh nature.”

In the 19th century, the “fear of the Negro” was enduring and widespread among economic and religious elites, but not so disabling as to prevent the importation of huge contingents of enslaved people to Cuba. Something different happened on another scale, after the rebellion of 1912. A year after its suppression, the Gomez government granted the Nipe Bay Company a license to import 3,000 West Indian workers. The Nipe area had a recent memory of the rebellion. Capitalist needs, however, were a greater driver than fear. Critics of the immigration measure recalled that “a not insignificant part of the contingent that followed Estenoz and Ivonnet in the racist rebellion came from Jamaica and Haiti.” In contrast, Cuban Blacks and mestizos had a different image of Haitian “Black Jacobins” as well as French ones. Before the events of 1912, the PIC regarded the year 1910, when a vast national political campaign had been waged that resonated particularly strongly in the East, as its “Rubicon.” Curiously, the importance of 1910 was compared with 1793 in the French Revolution, the year of its greatest radicalism: “1793 has been and is still a date immortalized by the French people as well as all of humanity, and none can doubt that for us, 1910 will produce the same outcome.”

One didn’t have to be a radical rebel to admire that feat. Martín Morúa Delgado, who had been a member of the Autonomist Party for several years in the 1890s, had translated a biography of Toussaint L’Ouverture and written praiseworthy pages about him: “He was universally recognized as the Liberator of Haiti, the most perfect that Christian civilization has produced since its exalted creator; His glory being more exalting because, contrary to all the glories that fame has consecrated, that of Toussaint L’Ouverture has been proclaimed by his own enemies, by the most passionate detractors of his race.” Ironically, Morúa Delgado would end up authoring the Amendment that detonated the events of 1912, which were denounced as an attempt to “Haitianize” Cuba.

The Morúa Amendment

For Conte and Capmany, the aim pursued by Estenoz, and his movement was “to obtain the

[25] Diario de La Marina 06/07/1912.
repeal of the so-called Morúa Law.” Much of recent scholarship on the PIC has focused on the study on questions such as the electoral stakes, anti-racism, or the party’s alleged annexationism. Unfortunately, less attention has been paid to the text of the Morúa Amendment itself and the referential field in which it operated. The most helpful interpretation of its content is that it responded to electoral considerations: The Black and mulatto electorate, which various authors estimate represented between 30 and 43% of the overall vote, could support it, so the Liberal and Conservative parties, representing an oligarchy ridden by severe internal crises, stood to lose the support of these voters and the clientelistic networks they had developed among them. By amending Article 17 of the 1908 Electoral Law, the Morúa Amendment sought to stem the bleeding of voters and avoid the consolidation of an autonomous political force which would dispute the hegemony of the national leadership. This interpretation, common among contemporary critics of the Gómez government, was shared by Conte and Capmany. The PIC itself, with a membership approximating 73,000 in 1910, was confident in its ability to decisively influence the elections.29

An analysis of the original text of the amendment presented by Morúa provides deeper clues as to his intentions. The proposal stated the following:

Whereas: The Constitution establishes a republican form of government; it invests Africans who were slave in Cuba with the status of Cubans, and does not recognize inherited nor personal privileges;

Whereas: The republican framework established by the Constitution establishes a government of the people for the people, without distinction on grounds of race, birth, wealth, or personal title;

Whereas: Political parties have the unwavering tendency to constitute through their own members the government that develops political and administrative doctrine in the country; (…)

(5) In no case shall an association constituted exclusively by individuals of a single race or color, nor by individuals of a class based on birth, wealth, or professional title, be considered a political party or an independent group.30

The proposal was presented to the Senate on February 11, 1910. Six days later, Senator Antonio Gonzalo Pérez submitted a modification which became the definitive version of what we know today as the Morúa Amendment: “Associations formed exclusively by individuals of a single race or color will not be considered political parties or independent groups for the purposes of this law.” Morúa agreed with the change, which removed “birth, wealth, or professional title” as grounds for prohibiting the formation of parties.31 At the time Antonio Sánchez de Busdamente understood the altered text as follows: “Between Mr. Gonzalo Pérez’ amendment and Morúa’s, there is such

29 Previsión 03/20/1910.
a great difference that perhaps it would be easier to vote in favor of Morúa’s.” According to him, it applied to political organizations such as parties, but not to (civil) associations, which could be composed of a single race at the will of their members. The distinction between the prohibition of racism in the public sphere (parties) and its maintenance in the private sphere (associations) was considered a serious problem by anti-racists, who had theretofore achieved few successes.

The Morúa Amendment reflected the republican logic that the Senator has defended for many years: democratic citizenship could be achieved only through “Cuban integration.” It postulated that the abstract, political individual is the only universal one and excluded the “particularisms” of “race or color, class based on birth, wealth or professional title.” Thus, it rejected the existence of “exclusive” identities in the political realm, promising an open field so that everyone could participate without regard for the differences. It was a pluralistic logic that certified the quality of the political community as structured by diversity and egalitarianism, recognizing “neither inherited nor personal privileges” (paragraph 1 of the Morúa Amendment), while anchoring the production of the social in individual determinations. The language mirrored a contextually dominant type of individual defined as transcending criteria of class, culture, race, gender, age, etc. In assessing the legitimacy of the PIC, the dominant ideology relegated the Black to the status of individual and defined the African as constituting one of the sources of Cuban culture, offering assimilation within the limits of its system of representation. Not by chance, Morúa had, for decades, championed said “assimilationism.”

However, by ignoring differences, this pluralistic logic contributed to their reproduction. In all the articles of the 1901 Constitution, never once did the word “race” appear, nor did “discrimination” which would only be included in the 1940 Constitution. The Morúa Amendment did not address the political, cultural and economic roots of actually existing inequalities. Thus, the pluralism within which it was framed left intact the possibility of dependent citizens becoming clients of political parties and contributed to the reproduction of a patrimonial conception of the state, as an instrument belonging to the elite which could be organized by the powerful in pursuit of their own benefits. Through this legitimization of inequality, the “government of the few” over the larger civil society was assured. In other words, oligarchical government was justified. The discourse of the PIC came from a different place of enunciation than abstract citizenship; it posited a citizenship textured by class and racial identities, which would reveal the subordinate and dominated social position occupied by Blacks, while projecting a horizon of transformation not just for Blacks but for all Cubans.

**Nationalism and “Double Consciousness”**

It is plausible to suggest that the discourse of the PIC was grounded in a notion similar to the “double consciousness” developed by W.E.B. DuBois in 1903. In the words of this prominent African American scholar:

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One

32 Delgado 1957.
ever feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better a truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He does not wish to Africanize America (...) He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face.33

Although it has been customary to assert that the PIC embraced a stance of racial distinction that postponed or contradicted national identity, in reality it made the claim that its members were at once Black and Cuban. This position allowed it to be critical of those who considered themselves first Cuban, and then Black. It was a vision that not only stood in contradiction with Morúa’s, but also with another historic leader of Cuban “people of color,” Juan Gualberto Gómez, for whom national identity stood above any racial identity, rendering “double consciousness” impossible. This cultural heritage brought Gómez and Morúa closer together and caused them both to distance themselves from the PIC.34

The PIC was not as isolated, however, as is often supposed. Lino Dou, a prominent anti-racist figure and occasional collaborator of Previsión, objected to both the Morúa Amendment and the 1912 uprising. In April 1910, he proposed a radical alternative to Morúa’s wording: “No party, association or political integration, educational, religious social or recreational activity that does not provide equal circumstances, regardless of the race to which people belong, will have legal existence in Cuba.”35 The idea was to politicize anti-racism as an idea in all of society, one that was not reducible to the field of political parties. A month before Dou issued his proposal, the PIC had warned its members that “we are not within the conditions referred to in the (Morúa) law. First of all, in our committees, there are individuals of all races and their varieties that populate this island. Technically, we represent the purest expression of criollismo” (creole identity). Along similar lines as Dou, the party explained that the (Morúa) law which the Senate has already approved is only directed against the liberal and conservative parties, which share a racist tendency,” given that they argued that the only desirable immigration was “White and by family.”36 The Dou Amendment, however, was rejected by fifty votes to one.

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33 DuBois 1903: 2-3.
34 The rivalry between Martín Morúa Delgado and Juan Gualberto Gómez over strategy was longstanding. Gómez criticized the Morúa Amendment as well as the uprising of the PIC. When Previsión discussed the differences between them, it took his side.
35 Cámara de Representantes 1910: 15.
36 Previsión 03/05/1910.
The PIC upheld civic patriotism, not racial nationalism.\textsuperscript{37} Its claim originated from a rival nationalism, different from that which defended the non-existence of racial problems in Cuba. For the PIC the discourse of racial equality embraced by pro-independence republicanism was a more radical place from which to enunciate its discourse than that of such figures as Salvador Cisneros Betancourt and Manuel Sanguily, who envisioned a nationalist ideal according to which the Black problem was already resolved by the Republic.\textsuperscript{38} The problem faced by the PIC was more complicated than the one faced by hegemonic Cuban nationalism at the time, which focused its attacks on the Platt Amendment (a constitutional provision limiting the new nation’s sovereignty) but did not question the nation-state itself. The \textit{Junta Patriótica} (Patriotic Board) took practical steps to repeal the Platt Amendment and offered the possibility of a dialogue with the PIC, but since several of its members treated “the Black as being inferior to the White” the party concluded that “any discussion would be impossible.”\textsuperscript{39}

Julio César Gandarilla, who was committed to anti-imperialism of a “liberal nature,”\textsuperscript{40} made explicit his denunciation of any “foreign aid” while writing against the PIC protest:

\begin{quote}
The Cuban people will annihilate alone the Black traitor who through evil intends to sink the country, the Black who out of criminal greed wants to deliver us into the fangs of (U.S. President William Howard) Taft, the Black who does not fraternize with the Cuban soul; but we will extinguish it without any help from others, as it is a thousand times more dangerous than the crime of the Black enemy of Cuba.\textsuperscript{41}
\end{quote}

According to this nationalism, the nation had a fundamental problem with the United States. For the PIC, in contrast, the nation had a problem with itself and with the United States. Conte and Capmany deny any future for this iteration of nationalism, which they dismiss as follows: It is no longer the Morúa Law that worries the leaders of the movement; and the letter from Evaristo Estenoz to the United States Consul in Santiago proves that those who took to the hills a month ago invoking the rights of race would be satisfied today – thirty days after the uprising began – with escaping the fire and machetes of their tireless persecutors.”

This interpretation according to which the PIC sought American intervention is found in

\textsuperscript{37} It must be noted that the difference between ethnic and civic nationalism is justified from a place that is not neutral: the nationalism of the nation state. Positively valuing the civic variety as universalist and democratic, and attributing sectarianism and privilege to the ethnic one, naturalizes the manner in which the dominant culture accepts without hindrance only assimilation and its codes, which are promoted from a place of power. There are not, “strictly speaking, two ideal types of nation, one ethnic and the other civic; but the ideal type of the nationalist phenomenon, if we formulate it in this way, is precisely configured around the inextricable articulation of both ethnic-cultural and civic elements, both of them defined by very different political-ideological syntheses.” Cf. Múa 2005: 5-37.

\textsuperscript{38} Cf. Heredia 2001: 34; and Costa 1989.

\textsuperscript{39} “Baterías de rebote” \textit{Previsión}, 08/1908.

\textsuperscript{40} Aróstegui 2000: 13–14.

\textsuperscript{41} Gandarilla 1912.
past and present academic studies, most notably in the work of Rolando Rodríguez.\textsuperscript{42}

\textbf{Two Republics in Conflict}

Following this line of thought, opponents of the PIC protest emphatically presented it as an attack on the Cuban Republic. The absence of social reforms, however, had caused the matrix of colonial inequality to be reproduced in the Republic founded in 1902. The prominent intellectual Enrique Varona had called this the “surviving colony” (he also threatened to resign the presidency of the Conservative Party in the event that the Morúa Amendment was annulled).\textsuperscript{43} The entire arsenal of colonial language was deployed against “the Blacks”: “volunteers,” “guerrillas,” “reconcentrados” (in reference to combatants forced into isolated areas where they could be destroyed), etc. The most conservative sectors presented Estenoz in the same light as Conte and Capmany: a “thorough and typical product of a gigantic ultra-democratic revolution that completely upset the social and political life of the country, elevating the least qualified and plunging into the shadows of oblivion the brightest talents those of most solid prestige.” For these authors “the insurrectionary movement whose last vibrations still shake the eastern mountains, has been a racist outbreak, an armed protest of Blacks against Whites, of former serfs against ancient lords.” The “old lords” had, justifiably, earned a role in the new Republic. Manuel Sanguily defended them in this way: “In the war we became impoverished and ruined on their (the Blacks’) behalf, for those whom as (José) Martí, who loved them so much, said, we suffer as they do, more than them, and we fight bravely for our freedom.” However, this discourse was inextricably linked to a paternalistic logic: “… the slaves of this island owed their emancipation to Cubans (…) Thus while millions of men of color joined Cubans in the revolution, its origin, its preparation, its initiative, its program and its direction were the exclusive work of Whites.”\textsuperscript{44}

It was a matrix common to various ideological sectors, and shared by Conte and Capmany: “The six or seven thousand Blacks who responded to the call, left for the field of revolution driven by a single sentiment: hatred of the White, the White man who had in no way offended them; who after giving them their freedom, did his best to raise them from the low level in which they lay (…).” The autonomist position was similar: “Although the majority of Blacks in Cuba were always docile, peaceful, and respectful of the superiority of Whites, they were not so accepting of mulattoes, in which, as in all mestizos, the predominance of the superior race produced mortification.”\textsuperscript{45} It was a powerful current that hegemonic nationalism concealed and that the armed protest of the PIC brought to the fore. The 1912 uprising must then be understood, as well, as a rebellion against “White” paternalism. \textit{Previsión} expressed it in a tone that was as humorous as it was firm: “We want our rights, even if it is to do with them what boys do with their toys: break them, take them apart

\textsuperscript{42} Cf. Rodríguez 2010.

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Diario de la Marina} 02/20/1910.

\textsuperscript{44} “Discurso pronunciado el 19 de febrero de 1910 en el banquete en el gran teatro Polyteama que le ofrecieron sus amigos como ocasión de su nombramiento de secretario de Estado” in Manuel Sanguily \textit{Discursos y conferencias} 2. Havana: Imprenta de Rambla, Bouza y Cía. 1919: 489.

\textsuperscript{45} Anonymous \textit{Apuntes sobre la cuestión de Cuba} 1897.
to see what they have inside, even I later we remain on the moon of Valencia.”

Conte and Capmany describe how the soldiers of the army went into combat against the rebels shouting, “long live the Republic!” For his part, days before he was assassinated, Estenoz wrote: “Alert, then, Cubans and to arms! That the hour of definitive redemption for all has sounded: to redeem some of their crimes and their savage selfishness and us from the humiliation in which we live for loving the Republic, and for fear of inflicting grievances on the fatherland.”

The army protected a Republic that was anchored in the colony. It slaughtered, in her name, its citizens, preserving its oligarchical essence though blood and fire. Race War is one its crudest expressions. The PIC offered a very different vision than Morúa or the army, one which was also republican: the completion of citizenship by embedding social, cultural and racial difference into its meaning, endowing it with the greatest potential for egalitarianism that it can acquire, affirming alterity to prevent the exploitation of inequality. Both sides shouted, “long live the Republic,” but each defended a distinct version of it.

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46 “Al trot” Previsión 11/05/1909.
47 La Discusión, 06/21/1912: 11.


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