

José Martí and the Future of Blacks

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A contemporary author has written that Francisco Bilbao, Domingo Sarmiento, and José Martí all acted from a hegemonic position that was secured by literature, law, and the humanities. This is a subaltern rhetorical perspective and nothing more than a tired cliché. More importantly, the real difficulty lies in discerning to what degree the rhetorical production of an educated subject actually oppresses subalterns.

Conversely, accepting contradictions, erasures, excisions, parentheses, and even ‘multiple Martí’s,’ as writer Lilian Guerra has suggested, forces us to acknowledge the continuous versions that many essayists offer of specific texts by Martí, versions that tend to cheat the particular text, and the entire corpus from which it derives. The same can be said about the contexts in which Martí offered his ideas. I am referring, of course, to a problem of method and epistemology. In attempting to recover the “voiceless word,” to “re-establish the tiny and

invisible text that runs and sometimes collides with them,” and search for the answer to Foucault’s question in *Archaeology of Knowledge*—“what was being said in what was said?”—this present analysis of Martí’s rhetoric about blacks does not ignore his ties to other discursive fields, or what Foucault calls ‘exteriority.’¹

Let us cut to the quick. In her wise essay, Aline Helg establishes Martí as one of the founders of the myth of racial equality in Cuba. She defines the myth employing Paul Gilroy: “rests on the ability to contain blacks in the present, to repress and to deny the past.”² It is noteworthy that the future is evoked solely through the past because it alone weighs heavily on the issue.

One of the tenets of this myth can be found in Martí’s affirmation that pro-independence slave owners freed blacks from slavery, which according to Helg and other authors who cite her, absolved them of any

need to compensate these former slaves for the ill treatment they received in the past.³ To the contrary, anyone taking his or her time with Martí's texts will find ample evidence of the future compensation not only for Cuban blacks, but also for African descendents living in the United States.

Fornet-Betancourt, whose writing on this subject falls just short of verifying my position, understands that the rights that Martí pursued for blacks led him to impose "on the future republic of Cuba a moral debt to do justice by blacks."⁴

Despite the fact that Helg ignores these details I mention, she characterizes him as "uniquely progressive," and one of the most progressive, white, Latin American anti-racists of the nineteenth century. She adds that Martí's goal was to use solidarity to include blacks in Cuban society. Helg also adds that he does not support whitening the population through immigration.⁵

History records, of course, that pro-independence hegemony decreed the abolition of slavery 15 years before Spain, if we start counting from 1871, when it took effect. I also didn't mention island autonomism, which came on the scene in 1881, after a request for unfettered abolition. This movement had racist principles against blacks and Chinese, and was also fragmented and polemical. Those 15 years of anticipation are filled with marginal history of escape slave exploits, rebellions, acts of resistance, pro-independence conspiracies, and the establishment of maroon towns—all prior to 1868. Martí wanted to turn the revolution's abolitionism into a symbolic factor to promote an alliance of races that would make war against Spain. Concomitantly, this same factor helped him insert his rhetoric about constructing a nation that was promised to "with all, and for the good of all."⁶

We must also remember that Madrid redoubled an aggressive campaign about an inevitable race war, because if the war started again, this would presumably transform Cuba into Haiti. On the other side were the constant aggressions against black victims in the United States, and the racial hatred that permeated that country, from which Martí somehow learned lessons for his own Cuban rhetoric. Besides, he was not on a picnic in the desert, but creating the conditions necessary for a conflagration that would follow two previous defeats, and a dense morass of rebel leaders' clashes, erroneous positions, and personal antagonisms. I would be remiss if I didn't also mention their controversies with the autonomist, annexationist, anarchists, and other movements.

Thus, he found it absolutely essential to base his campaign on a concept like racial brotherhood. Yet, despite the fact Martí tried to put the 'responsibility' of blacks on equal footing with that of pro-independence whites towards black Cubans—upon whose "shoulders rested sure the republic [in arms] against which they never again rebelled"—the white debt was far greater.⁷ Martí says as much in a programmatic document like the Montecristi Manifesto. In it, he remarks that it was the hegemonic whites that laid down their arms in 1878. To be precise, Maceo called it an act of surrender. As I said earlier, Martí creates recurring parallelisms between abolition and the great sacrifice of blacks during the war,⁷ which serves to placate what Ada Ferrer calls "constant pull between racism and anti-racism."⁸ This also served to avoid the birth of a phenomenon known as 'schools of hate' in Cuba: a country "thoroughly permeated by hate," writes in a communication to Maceo.⁹

The angle from which Martí see abolition within the context of insurrection does not prevent him from writing "The Soul of a



A *Costumbrista* Scene

Hero,” in which he criticizes abolition’s delay due to rules and regulations in place prior to the Guáimaro Constitution (1869).¹⁰ His 1880 speech at Steck Hall abounds in polemic ambiguities he will later rectify. Martí maintains that whites do not inspire confidence among blacks, “whom they have oppressed.”¹¹ In other words, the fact that the a revolution whose first constitutional document decreed abolition, the citizenship and equality of blacks, and in 1871 made the abolition of slavery a reality, did not absolve the historical responsibility and black of the race that was in power—within or outside the revolution.

It would not take much to consider potentially valid Martí’s rhetorical tool about mutual debts of gratitude in this given context—while organizing a war. But it most definitely is not outside that context, much less so after the creation of the republic. If the power of whites and their concomitant machinations distorted, subverted, decontext-

tualized, excused itself and reaped advantages from Martí’s word in order to homogenize differences, suffocate opposition, and deny reparations for slavery, they did it against the wishes and work of the greatest of all Cuban politicians.

The situation we are examining cannot be fully understood without radically contextualizing it upon analyzing it—to borrow a term from Stuart Hall. Martí’s black Cuban contemporaries realized the legitimacy of his tactics—his concept of mutual, historical debts—precisely at that moment, for them and Cuba. This explains why the most alert of the black fighters, people who ‘themselves’ should have felt affected by this tactic, chose to ascribe to Martí’s ideas about race. To my knowledge, there was not even one criticism on their part. Among the people who accepted and acted upon this were Juan Gualberto Gómez, Rafael Serra, Juan Bonilla, José and

Antonio Maceo, Lino D'ou—and the list goes on.

This concept of a debt assumed by Cuban blacks existed prior to Martí. It became stronger when it was revealed—according to legend—when Carlos Manuel de Céspedes freed his slaves. This was—above all—an event, news of which was spread orally, and would itself become a rhetorical tool. Yet, isn't it the case that what was born of this was a bit romanticized, as perfect as a foundational myth, and a simulacrum the likes of which Baudrillard would have loved? The issue becomes complicated if we believe that “the rebellion had anything to do with abolition—even a nominal and compromised abolition. Historian Rebecca Scott adds that the slaves who could have, had good reason to flee their masters, and join the insurrection's ranks.”¹²

Slaves won their freedom in a complex, historical process. This was exactly the notion promoted by several editors of *El Nuevo Criollo* (1904-1906), whose editor-in-chief was congressman Rafael Serra. Alejandro de la Fuente states in “Mitos de ‘democracia racial’: Cuba, 1900-1912” that Lieutenant Colonel Lino D'ou, who had fought under José Maceo's command, and occupied a seat in the Cuban Senate, defines the topic semantically. In discussing the liberation of slaves during the Great War (1868-1878), that “to restore is not to cede. Either way, white *criollo* hegemony ‘restored’ freedom to blacks fifteen years before Spain.

The future as creation

Being cautious about statements that assure us that Martí did not think about black resistance against slavery before 1868 would help our effort to clarify the topic that concerns us. Martí went into the subject of “run-away slave villages where brave maroons found

refuge, and lived freely with the children...” in an unpublished work written at the time of Bachiller y Morales's death.¹³ This delegate to the Cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC) not only spoke of it; he also valued said resistance.

It has also been said that Martí did not allude to the discrimination to which blacks were subjected during the war. Not even high-ranking officials of the stature of José Maceo were immune to it. Yet, it was not his ignorance of this multi-layered, racial tension that convinced José to go to battle, even when his brother Antonio could not. Martí unswervingly promised José: “I will be your defender” against the racists.¹⁴ He also criticized the violent nature this discrimination took on, especially early on in the war.¹⁵ Scott confirms that “[many] rebel officers kept on treating the freemen like slaves.”¹⁶ In his book *Introducción a las armas*, José Abreu Cardet offers evidence and analyses of this violence.

Yet, let us return to the essential question. Is it true that because blacks were induced to express gratitude towards pro-independence Cuban whites, and not to whites in general, eliminated the possibility of future compensation? Where is there proof of this in Martí's work? Despite the fact he had to create brotherly ties to overcome any potential obstacle to the two races together initiating the new struggle, I know of no belief in said elimination. Thus, let us attempt to prove the contrary, and see if Martí's work reveals any intentions regarding future reparations for blacks, which in the Cuban case they need to give shape to a political power different from that of a Spain who delayed abolition until 1886, and additionally appeared incapable of decreasing discrimination and racism.

If in a 1965 interview with Alex Haley for *Playboy* magazine Martin Luther King, Jr. demanded \$50 billion dollars from the U.S. government in preferential aid, because not

even all of the United States' wealth could adequately compensate blacks for centuries of exploitation and humiliation,¹⁷ many years earlier Martí expressed a similar opinion—without a figure, logically—regarding people of African extraction in the United States: “they are owed, of course they are owed, reparation for the offense” of slavery, and he exhorts those in hegemonic power and white society, generally, to “lift them up from the destitution to which they were commended. . . .”¹⁸

Probably two years after the article in *La Nación* (of Buenos Aires) that allows us to make the comparison with Martin Luther King, Jr., Martí touches upon the subject of racism in a letter to his black friend, Rafael Serra. The letter, most likely written in March 1889, says that what Cuba needs is a prevailing and “good, healthy, just, and equitable social framework”—even more than political change. He goes on to show the working-class intellectual one of the inescapable fundamentals for his anti-racist thinking. It is based on the concept of the debt that history owes blacks. With this as his premise, Martí alleges that he will “never be able to forget that the greatest suffering confers a preeminent right to justice.”¹⁹

These aforementioned notions suffice to amply demonstrate that any future compensation for blacks is not eliminated from Martí's thinking, but rather central to it. According to Paul Gilroy, Martí is not held as a founder of the myth of racial equality, thus it is highly unclear if Martí's promise regarding blacks and the nation was elusive or not. . . .²⁰ We must consider that for Martí, the preparation for war, and the war itself, are “preliminaries to a grand and active, redemptory [anti-racist] campaign” that would be carried out in the republic, as he writes to his black friend Juan Bonilla.²¹ Said campaign would prepare the way for the establishment of a preeminent

right to social justice. We must also recall that he publicly repeats that he is willing to die for the rights of men, “black or white,” in the republic.

I do not have enough space here in which to truly delve into how much what in later decades would be called ‘positive action’ is present in the work of this political leader. The same holds for revealing from within Martí's corpus of work a theoretical precedent for the kind of civil disobedience Mohandes Gandhi and Martin Luther King practiced. Permit me a brief digression. These two political actors and Martí share a series of similarities, similarities linked directly to anti-racism, and not just in their biographies, but also in reading and common knowledge spanning the writing of John Ruskin, to that of a civil disobedience theoretician like León Tolstoy, and to the biblical Sermon on the Mount. It would be a mistake to overlook the essential Henry David Thoreau, civil disobedience's first theorizer. Martí even expresses in a footnote that he should continue reading Thoreau.²²

There are other common themes shared among Martí, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King—like Buddhism. According to Syed Waliullah, Buddhism's criticism of the caste system in India—which this author identifies as racism—approximates modern criticism against it, too. For Gandhi and King, on the other hand, love is key in resolving the world's problems. Their struggle cannot be separated from this notion, from a spirituality that I consider to be essential in Martí—despite all my readings in post-modernism. Even Jacques Lacan, who attributes it to a Christian *kerigma*, agrees that one way to prove the existence of the other is to love him.²³ Anyone who would pair a text like “The Southern Christian Leadership Conference Presidential Address” with “Where Do We Go From Here?” by Martin Luther King, Jr., would consider any-

thing that Martí and King had in common in their topics, positions, and perspectives. All of this leads us to want to understand some of the reasons Martí explored peaceful disobedience, and to what extent this fits the parrhesiastés to which Foucault refers *Discourse and Truth: the Problematization of Parrhesia*, about the ancient Greece. Is this not entirely formed “truth about Martí” in any way reflected in the *epimeleia heautou* thinking (disquiet about one’s self) Foucault examines in the Greek and Roman world, in his masterful *Hermeneutics of the Subject*, a book in which he abandons the omnipotence of domination techniques? It may be useful to include here one of the maxims he set forth that makes it possible to examine Martí in the context of civil disobedience. Using the structure of Cuban nationalist hegemony, the experience with two revolutions against Spain in Latin America, and the independence and War of Secession in the United States as a point of departure, one of the possible developments in Martí’s perspective lies in that the struggle that he himself led would not widely open doors for the republic’s poor. War was inevitable, if Cuba was to achieve political liberties, democracy, and citizen participation—things that were achieved in great measure.²⁴ These would be the basis upon which Martí would develop the objectives of the social struggles he promised, which causes him to consider unexplored ways to resist oppression and achieve the social inclusion of blacks: “Much conservative metal will form part of the future revolutionary coin. The conservatives will be triumphant, when the revolution triumphs. The form will be different, and one more bit will be conceded to the hungry people; but the essence will not change, nor will the hate and hunger.”²⁵

Elsewhere, I have remarked upon the revolution’s probable ingratitude towards the poor.²⁶ If this was one of Martí’s greatest

doubts, his death in battle interrupted his consideration of solutions to this situation. Discriminated and poor blacks were preeminently included in said solutions.

An Eurocentric text?

Ottmar Ette suggests that Cubans in exile have a quasi-religious veneration of Martí.²⁷ Martí assumes his position as a canonical author due to mythified biography and politics. It is often the case, though, that what is expected from him far exceeds what is expected of anyone else. The reasons for this seem to stem from more than a hundred years of biased dithyramb in Cuba, made worse yet by the last 50 years of Castro’s ruling party. Some of those who criticize Martí, mostly outside the island, seek explanations in his work that would explain, for example, not only why he did not broach a particular subject, but also why he did not do this precisely when, where, and how a specific critic demands it be. It is usually assumed that he was aware of said situation, which leads to a positive conclusion that he hid it, or kept it secret, because he was unduly influenced by the dominant, European rhetoric of his time. The bibliography of citations of this sort is long indeed, yet most of the work cited would not be Martí’s. What little criticism is published about Martí rarely come from a holistic understanding of his work. Instead, it comes from very circumscribed readings of certain texts. A closer look at his work, particularly his later work, would nearly always negate, supersede, limit, and recontextualize any criticism that resulted from a shortsighted reading.

My goal here is to offer a different perspective of “A Secret Order of Africans,” an article Martí published in *Patria* (April 1893). I consider it distinct because it belies the alleged Eurocentrism of which Martí is now

accused. In addition, I think it reveals that Martí did not disdain African culture or identity, or the vital attitude of blacks. Neither does he culturally marginalize blacks, or attempt to homogenize them into a Western context. Since it deals with faith, we should remember Martí's tolerance towards religion, something he says is "deeply entrenched" in human beings. In his article "Guerra literaria en Colombia," he writes that it is not appropriate for a teacher to teach as the only true faith a religion that is questioned by most of his country—even if it is his own faith, or to offend a religion that is the essential right of students...right from the very time they embraced it of their own free will.²⁸ In another text he adds: "all religions have been born of the same roots, adored the same images, prospered because of the same virtues, and become corrupted by the same vices."²⁹

Inspired by the presence of a *ñáñigos* in Key West, Enrique Sosa analyzes "Una orden secreta de africanos," yet Martí never mentions in it the word 'ñáñigo' or 'Abakuá,' although he is referring to this fraternal society in Key West.³⁰ Martí openly contradicts himself when he writes that part of the secret order divided itself from the rest because they wanted to keep the tradition of drumming, something the rest did not want, according to the author. Yet, drumming is essential to Abakuá³¹ because of its sacred or stimulating sound, remarks Sosa.³²

Martí came out against the drum because he believed it to be dispensable, but he does not explicitly come out against the order itself. He seems to think that music takes up too much time, and distracts them from more important issues—education, something that will facilitate their social ascendancy, in his opinion. When Martí highlights the importance of education, he is not disdaining African religious practice, but rather emphasizing a tool he believes to be crucial to improving the living

conditions of discriminated social groups, and a useful tool for organizing resistance and attaining one's rights. This is what sociology is telling us right now, in the twenty-first century.

The expression "it is common for fools to consider great things to be small" (the great thing here is the heroic nature of Abakuá) causes some, who in their "honest imbecility" (which it is not) believe that "if it isn't part of what we do, don't let it muss our cravat." This is a cultural criticism that employs harsh language and a Western symbol—the cravat—to suggest that there is another civilizing culture. We cannot ignore that Martí purposefully chose the word '*plastrón*' [cravat], which is of French origin, since was the most established European cultural emblem in Spain. This explains why he did not choose the word 'tie.' There are those who believe that "the key to the world lies hidden under his cravat." Martí counters this disdain towards 'others' and the practices of those fools.

Before telling his reader about the heroic nature of Abakuá (the attempted rescue of the medical students, in 1871, cost five of them their lives), of its support for independence, and praising Tomás Suri for having been born in Africa and being Cuban because of his pro-independence rebellion, Martí takes aim at "the horde"—those who "literally control the world, which starts in their cradles and will end up in their graves." To me, this is a cultural tool he uses to lash out against those will not open up to diversity. He later writes: "Tomás Suri is a member of a mysterious, dangerous, terrible, secret order, where in order to reach the third rank, one must know how to read."³³ We might ask: "Can a man like Suri, with such positive characteristics, belong to an entity with such evil traits, or was Martí really saying that those traits constitute an act of racism, a hegemonic and prejudicial tool used by the fools he condemns?"

The structure of his paragraph also allows us to appreciate not only the irony, but also his general criticism of negative construction, cultural prejudice, convention, and Eurocentrism. Of all African religious groups in Cuba, the Abakuás were the most affected by racism and discrimination. Suri, on the other hand, is one of those black men to whom Martí devotes “an unreserved elegy,” as Fornet-Betencourt puts it.³⁴ As Abakuá expert Sosa points out using exclamation points, ‘Suri registered at a school in his own secret society!’

Another phrase scholars have not sufficiently examined is “[Suri] is a member of a secret order, an African secret order with regulations and who knows what. . . .” The pointed use of the word ‘secret’ here refers directly to the ‘regulations and who knows what.’ It is no coincidence that he employs the word ‘secret’ three times, even in the article’s title. Noteworthy for us is polemic that erupted in the newspaper *Granma* surrounding Luis Toledo Sande and whether or not Martí was a mason, and in which Eduardo Torres-Cuevas quoted Martí: “To work irrevocably, perfect the exercise of freedom, prepare citizens for public life, help in the attainment of all noble ideas are nothing more or nothing less the mysteries of the Masonic order.”³⁵ Elsewhere, on the subject of the Masonic religion in the United States, Martí adds that “this emerging religion, with its deep beauty, and lack of childish mysteries, will take root.”³⁶ Clearly, what bothers Martí about *ñáñigo* practices is the element of secrecy, and not their general religious concepts. Argeliers León, too, highlights Abakuá’s cryptic language. Above all, Martí presents the seventy year-old “African,” Tomás Suri, as a Cuban, based on his sentiments and actions, which also describes the rest of the order’s members. We must recall Walterio Carbonell, among others, who assert that those who were born in African were also nation builders. Suri

did not only fight against Spain, but also incited his sons to follow in his footsteps. While pointing to a young white man, Suri explains: “I did it, and I did it at a time of war, and I have three sons, and if they don’t do what I did, then those three are not my sons.”³⁷

No matter how much Martí modified these words of Suri’s, and the time he chides him a bit for his obsession with brotherhood, his unswerving message is that it is a black—one who was born in Africa—who is giving the white boy he is exhorting a lesson. A cautious reading of these lines would notice how Martí ties a historico-cultural element, through the African order, according to the title, and its membership’s treatment as Cubans, throughout the body of the text. María Faguaga points out that, interestingly, Martí never calls this group a ‘secret,’ given this word negative connotation. Instead, he calls this male society an order. Sosa suggests that Suri’s decision to get educated was “to become a better *ñáñigo*, one trained to tend to a *fambá* (a secret and sacred Abakuá room) that Martí presents as “banner streamed room. . . a room they decorate with the revolution’s flags for their festivities.”³⁸ To this, poet Juan Pascual adds: “the venerable director” proposed that the order donate a certain amount to help increase funds for the war, because they, too, want to make a contribution to this day we celebrate a free Cuba.

Thus, Abakuás not only participated in the war, but also made contributions in peacetime, which leads to the following loaded question. Can the Abakuá be a dangerous and evil organization, and also have a venerable director? The answer to this requires an objective reading far from the influence of small groups, ideologies, and ideologhemes, one that takes into account the goals and methods of Martí’s pro-independence propaganda. If it is undeniable that Martí reveals some confusion, and

does not know enough about the order (there was no literature about the Abakuá or African culture, in general), it is also not fair to affirm that this text reveals a Eurocentric position. Martí probably should have spoken to more than one Abakuá Mambí soldier. While I don't know of any specific contacts he might have had, the case of Lino D'ou merits more attention. He fought at the side of José Maceo till he became a lieutenant colonel, after he had already been, and would once again, be a journalist. He founded black societies in Santiago de Cuba and Guantánamo. After the war, he became of member of the Senate. Nicolás Guillén, who describes him as popular, educated, and a universal *criollo*, *ñáñigo*, and mason, deals with him in one of the most distinguished articles of his career.³⁹

Martí's philosophy appreciates blacks, and does not forget them "when they lived in the hills,"⁴⁰ but it also fight for minds from the cigar factory reader's platform, in the newspaper, through the General Directory of Societies of Color, just as D'ou did. Martí, who writes that he would accept it if a hypothetical daughter of his married a black man, and describes a room—the *ñáñigo fumbá*—he imagines or is told is filled with flags, the same one next to which there is a school, knows, or intuits, that he is immersed in a hybrid space quite akin to those Néstor García Canclini theorized not so long ago. This becomes even clearer if we consider his lengthy exile, an essential topic for Edward Said, and about which Susan Rotker has written regarding Martí and his reiterated ideas about cultural miscegenation in Latin America.

The school as part of the fraternal society is echoed in "Nuestra América," in which he speaks of linking the headband and the toga. In describing uncultured discussions of Martí's philosophy, Fornet-Betancourt reiterates that his writing does not represent a break with the dynamics of the transculturating process different peoples are undergoing. Instead, Fornet-Betancourt correctly interprets Martí when he says that America is learning Afro and Indian.⁴¹ Isn't commenting on an unpublished book about maroons and maroon villages, by Bachiller y Morales, exactly what Fornet-Betancourt is talking about? Isn't criticizing an order's secret ultimately wanting to know more about it? Despite the fact that practices such as Abakuá are an obstacle to modernity for many white and some black intellectuals, Martí slowly reveals his vivid thinking about this. This is the same thinking that Julio Le Riverend demands be obligatorily mobilized. Not only did he choose a different text, yet this particular text reveals an Abakuá to be like an emerging identity, someone who might remind us that it is always useful to find the Self in the Other, as Lacan asserts. This Abakuá questions the "fools" who believe that "the key to the world is hidden under their cravats." In Key West, a multicultural locus, according to Sosa, protagonists Suri, Pascual, and their brothers, struggle in a complex web of history and culture—just like Lino D'ou. In the end, Martí legitimates the cultural difference of the Abakuás, something that the Cuban regime did only in 2005, more than 110 years after Martí published his article in *Patria*.

Notes:

- 1.- Foucault, Michelle. *La arqueología del saber* (México: Siglo XXI, 2007): 44-45.
- 2.- Helg, Aline. *Our Rightful Share. The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (University of North Carolina Press, 1995): 17.
- 3.- Ibid, 45.
- 4.- Fornet-Betancourt. *Aproximaciones a José Martí* (Mainz: Aachen, 1998): 58.
- 5.- Helg, Aline. Op. cit. 16.
- 6.- Martí, José. From a speech given at the Liceo Cubano in Tampa, on November 26, 1891.
- 7.- Martí, José. *Obras completas IV* (La Habana. Pueblo y Educación, 1963-65): 97.
- 8.- Martí, José. Op. cit. 153.
- 9.- Ibid, I: 173.
- 10.- Ibid, IV: 383.
- 11.- Ibid, IV: 204.
- 12.- Scott, Rebecca J. *La emancipación de los esclavos en Cuba. La transición al trabajo libre 1869-1899* (La Habana: Editorial Caminos, 2001): 95.
- 13.- Martí, José. Op. cit. V: 149.
- 14.- Ibid, III: 333.
- 15.- Ibid, IV: 204 y tomo III: 351-352.
- 16.- Scott, Rebecca J. Op. cit. 79.
- 17.- The Spanish can be read in Guillén, Fedro (ed.). *Antología de Martin Luthero King* (México: Costa Amic, 1968): 104-105.
- 18.- Martí, José. Op. cit. XI: 327.
- 19.- Ibid, XX: 345.
- 20.- Guerra, Lillian. *The Myth of José Martí. Conflicting Nationalisms in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005): 3.
- 21.- Martí, José. Op. cit. XX: 424.
- 22.- Ibid, XXI: 397.
- 23.- Lacan, Jacques. *Escritos II* (Buenos Aires, 1985): 779.
- 24.- Martínez, Fernando et al (comp). *Espacios, silencios y los sentidos de la libertad. Cuba entre 1878 y 1912* (La Habana: Unión, 2001): 17.
- 25.- Martí, José. Op. cit. IV: 209.
- 26.- Ibid, III: 304-305.
- 27.- Ottmar, Ette. *José Martí. Apóstol, poeta revolucionario: una historia de su recepción* (México: UNAM, 1995): 35.
- 28.- Martí, José. Op. cit. VII: 413.
- 29.- Ibid, I: 1.
- 30.- Sosa, Enrique. «Ñañigos en Key West (1880?-1923?)» *Catauro, Revista Cubana de Antropología* (2001): 159-171. See *Los ñañigos* (La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1982).

- 31.- According to Natalia Bolívar, it is the name of a member of a secret, magico-religious society with an all-male membership, and was introduced to Cuba by slaves from Calabar, Nigeria. Cuba is the only place outside of Africa that it has been reproduced, in Havana, Matanzas, and Cárdenas, specifically. Argeliers León does not agree they should be called secret societies. Cf.: *Tras las huellas de las civilizaciones negras en América* (La Habana: Fundación Fernando Ortiz, 2001): 250. On December 24th, 1863, Andrés Petit admitted whites to a Abakuá ritual or power for the first time.
- 32.- According to Sosta, Martí bases his story on a letter he receives, “apparently from a white Cuban living in Key West [Florida]”.
- 33.- Above all, nineteenth-century newspapers accused them of fall blood libels. On March 10th, 1812, the daily *El Popular* claimed that an Abakuá initiation consisted of demonstrating one’s personal bravery by killing someone. For over a century, *ñáñigos* have been blamed for an extremely varied history of crimes, and had their rights taken away, causing the creation of a black legend about them, in every sense of the word. See Moreno, Manuel. *El ingenio. Complejo económico social cubano del azúcar II* (La Habana: Ciencias Sociales, 1978): 38. Also, Martí, José. Op. cit. V: 324.
- 34.- Fornet-Betancourt. Op. cit. 55.
- 35.- Torres Cueva, Eduardo. *Historia de la Masonería Cubana. Seis ensayos* (La Habana: Ediciones Imagen Contemporánea, Casa de Altos Estudios, 2005): 312.
- 36.- Martí, José. Op. cit. tomo IX, p. 397-398.
- 37.- Martí, José. Op. cit. V: 325.
- 38.- Martí, José. Op. cit. V: 324.
- 39.- See Nicolás Guillén. *Prosa de prisa I* (La Habana: Letras Cubanas, 1977: 269-277; and *Papeles del Teniente Coronel Lino D’ou* (La Habana: Unión, 1983). In Alejandro De la Fuente highlights an apparent contradiction in D’ou, who does not appreciate public “spectacles” involving African culture. See *Una nación para todos. Raza, desigualdad y política en Cuba. 1900-2000* (Madrid, Editorial Colibrí, 2000): 222. Luciano Franco, on the other hand, claims that the keeping of the best Afro-Cuban, folkloric traditions, are part of D’ou’s life. Cf.: Lino D’ou. Op. cit. 244.
- 40.- *Anuario Martiano* (La Habana: Centro de Estudios Martianos, 1978): 33-34.
- 41.- Fornet-Betancourt, Raúl. Op. cit. 92-93.