

Spring 5-14-1951

Fernando Ortiz, Cuban Intellectual

Lorenzo B. Sanchez

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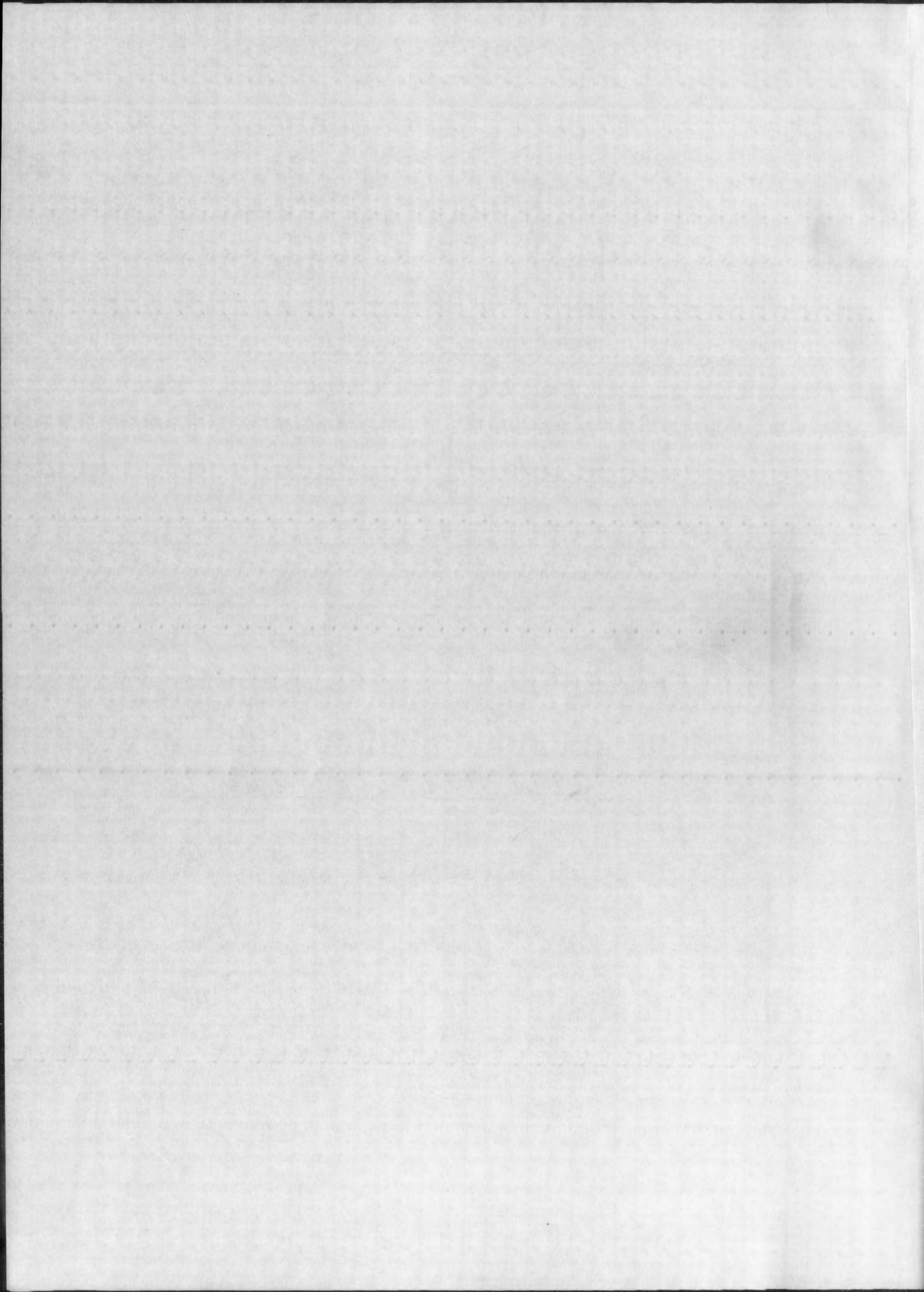
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DATE _____

FERNANDO ORTIZ
CUBAN INTELLECTUAL

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of
the School of Inter-American Affairs
University of New Mexico v

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Lorenzo B. Sanchez
April 1951



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Presented to
the Faculty of
the School of Inter-American Affairs
University of New York

In partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts

James B. ...
April 1954

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MASTER OF ARTS

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM, METHODOLOGY, AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. Although of all the Latin American states, the insular republic of Cuba has maintained the closest contact with the United States, there is nevertheless one aspect of that country's culture of which we have but little understanding. This aspect is the penetrating influence that the Negro has had on Cuba's cultural development. Until recently even the white population of Cuba did not fully recognize the role that the Negro had played and is playing in its culture. Cultural traits that revealed definite Negro influence were frequently attributed to aboriginal sources, or their origin was politely ignored or treated with indifference. This pattern of behavior reminds one of Gunnar Myrdal's¹ interesting observations of similar patterns of behavior in the deep south of the United States.

Any discussion of the culture of contemporary Cuba, especially in connection with its Negro population, inevitably leads to the work of Dr. Fernando Ortiz y Fernández. He is the individual, in the writer's opinion, who has the

¹ Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), pp. 26-49.

THE PROBLEM

THE PROBLEM

THE PROBLEM

The problem of the Negro in America is a complex one. It is a problem that has existed since the first Negroes were brought to the continent. It is a problem that has been the subject of much discussion and debate. It is a problem that has been the cause of much suffering and hardship. It is a problem that has been the source of much pride and glory. It is a problem that has been the center of much action and inaction. It is a problem that has been the focus of much hope and despair. It is a problem that has been the heart of much love and hate. It is a problem that has been the soul of much life and death. It is a problem that has been the essence of much truth and falsehood. It is a problem that has been the core of much wisdom and folly. It is a problem that has been the center of much beauty and ugliness. It is a problem that has been the heart of much goodness and evil. It is a problem that has been the soul of much light and darkness. It is a problem that has been the essence of much life and death. It is a problem that has been the core of much truth and falsehood. It is a problem that has been the center of much beauty and ugliness. It is a problem that has been the heart of much goodness and evil. It is a problem that has been the soul of much light and darkness.

1. Journal of Negro History, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.

clearest perspective of that aspect of Cuba's culture. This thesis, therefore, will deal with the life and works of Ortiz, and with some of the forces which seem to have influenced his intellectual development, with the intention of determining, wherever possible, his position on various topics that have created considerable interest during his lifetime.

II. METHODOLOGY

Efforts have been made to collect from all available sources all the writings of Fernando Ortiz dealing with the problem as it has been defined. On the basis of insights gained from the study of the personality of Ortiz and his environment, the writer will present in some cases an interpretation and in others a resumé of his thought and action, if there is any, as related to the culture of his country. Insights into a personality can best be obtained by personal interviews, by living in close physical proximity to the subject in the same environment that has influenced him. But since this was not possible, the writer has had to rely mainly on the investigation of Ortiz's works and on such secondary sources as personal interviews² with individuals

² The valuable assistance of Doctors Miguel Jorrín and Enrique Noble has been utilized in the form of interviews regarding the life of Dr. Fernando Ortiz. Both of them are former students and personal friends of Ortiz.

elementary perspective of that aspect of Orlin's existence. This
thesis, therefore, will deal with the life and work of
Orlin, and will aim at the former which seem to have been
most of a practical character, with the intention of
determining, wherever possible, the position on various
points that have created considerable interest during his
lifetime.

History have been able to collect from all available
sources all the writings of Fernando Orlin dealing with
the problem as it has been defined. In the hands of Orlin
gained from the study of the personality of Orlin and his
environment, the writer will present in some cases an inter-
pretation and in others a record of his thought and action
if there is any, as related to the culture of his country.
Insights into a personality can best be obtained by personal
interviews, or living in close personal contact with the
subject in the case of a person who has influenced him. This
aim was not possible, the writer has had to rely
mainly on the investigation of Orlin's works and on such
secondary sources as personal interviews with individuals

The valuable assistance of Professor Miguel Zamora
and Fernando Orlin has been sought in the form of interviews
regarding the life of the former and other points of interest
former research and personal interviews of Orlin.

who intimately know the man, together with snatches of autobiographical information volunteered by him through comments in his writings. In the study of the environment reliance has been mainly on secondary sources, since it was not possible to observe at first hand conditions in Cuba.

For the purpose of this study it is considered adequate to state what one understands Ortiz to mean when he expresses an opinion. On issues thought to be controversial or of particular importance, quotations will be used to substantiate interpretations, thereby giving the reader an opportunity to evaluate the validity of the writer's judgments.

The so-called generational approach³ will be used to "locate" Ortiz in the continuum of Cuban culture. This approach is based on the assumption that groups of men of similar age are influenced by the outstanding events of their time to the degree that a great deal of similarity can be detected in their patterns of thought and action in spite of the variability of their personalities and backgrounds. It is hoped that by using this approach some insights will be obtained regarding the forces that have influenced Ortiz's actions through the recognition of the main motivating forces in his environment. A full discussion of

³ See generational approach in the section, "Definition of Terms," p. 4.

who intimately know the man, together with the names of those
biographical information gathered by the various countries
in the writing. In the study of the environment, science
has been mainly on secondary sources, since it was not
able to observe at first hand conditions in the field.

The purpose of this study is to consider
adequate to state that one understands a field in terms of
he expresses an opinion. In some fields, it is necessary
of or of particular in order, that the field is
to understand the field. It is necessary to have
an opportunity to evaluate the quality of the writer's
judgments.

The so-called experimental approach will be used
to "locate" field in the knowledge of other cultures. This
approach is based on the assumption that groups of men of
different age are influenced by the surrounding events of their
time to the degree that a great deal of similarity can be
detected in their culture of behavior and action in terms
of the variability of their personalities and behaviors.
It is hoped that by using this approach some insight will
be obtained regarding the factors that have influenced
only a certain group's the investigation of the main motif
varying forces in the environment. A full discussion of

³ The experimental approach in the social sciences
of Jones, p. 2.

this technique will be found in the section, "Definition of Terms."

After a discussion of the personality, environment, and work of Ortiz, an attempt will be made to determine (a) where his focus of interest lies, and (b) what his position is on certain basic issues that have confronted his country. Chapter IV will contain a discussion of his position on some of the basic issues that have occupied the Cubans during the course of Ortiz's life. That chapter should be read with caution, bearing in mind that it represents mainly one man's point of view of the issues discussed. No claim is made that this is the only possible interpretation of the issues discussed or that Ortiz's point of view is representative of that of all his contemporaries, but it is hoped that enough evidence of similarity between his thought and the general consensus of opinion can be found to validate the use made of the generational approach.

The diagram on page 5 represents graphically the over-all organization of the thesis.

III. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Generational approach. Numerous scholars use and have used in the past the technique called the "generational approach" in the study of literary history. Wilhelm Pinder,⁴

⁴ See Wilhelm Pinder, Das Problem der Generation in der Kunstgeschichte Europas (Berlin: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1926).

This technique will be found in the section, "Definition of Terms."

After a discussion of the historical environment,

and work of Galt, an attempt will be made to determine

where his focus of interest lies, and (2) what his position

is on certain basic issues that have confronted his country.

Chapter IV will contain a discussion of his position on some

of the basic issues that have confronted the United States during the

course of Galt's life. That chapter should be read with

caution, bearing in mind that the treatment is only one man's

point of view of the issues discussed. It is not intended

that this is the only possible interpretation of the issues.

Discussed on that Galt's point of view is representative

of that of all his contemporaries, but it is noted that

enough evidence of similarity between his thought and the

General consensus of opinion can be found to justify the

use made of the general approach.

The diagram on page 5 represents graphically the

overall organization of the thesis.

III. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Generalized subjects - Numerous subjects are and

have used in the past the technique called the "generalized

approach" in the study of literary history. This is

the kind of approach that has been used in

the study of literary history. This is the

kind of approach that has been used in

DIAGRAM I

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Research	Interpretation	Conclusions
Collection of biographical data Personality	
Use of the generational approach Environment	Position on certain basic issues confronting his country
Objective analysis of Ortiz's work Ideas	Focus of Interest

ORGANIZATION OF THE BUREAU

Research	Investigative	Administrative
Collection of statistical data	Personnel	Position on
Use of the	Point of	control
Operational	of	of
System	of	of
Objective		
Analysis of		
Ortiz's work		

José Ortega y Gasset,⁵ Antonio de Bustamante y Montoro,⁶ Pedro Henríquez Ureña,⁷ Rogelio Sotela,⁸ and José Antonio Portuondo⁹ have all used the generational approach to give some continuity to the study of literature. Minor differences can be seen in the techniques of each of these individuals, but one fundamental idea behind this approach is present in all of them. The basic assumption of the generational approach is that the factors that have stimulated or conditioned the intellectual development and productivity of any individual or group of individuals at any given time can best be studied and understood if we visualize culture as a continuous phenomenon. Furthermore, this phenomenon must be viewed as something that is always dynamic with

⁵ See José Ortega y Gasset, The Modern Theme (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1933), translated from the Spanish by James Cleugh.

⁶ See Antonio de Bustamante y Montoro, "Las generaciones literarias," Anales de la Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras, 23:341-358, Julio, 1936 - marzo, 1937.

⁷ See Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Literary Currents in Hispanic America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945).

⁸ See Rogelio Sotela, Literatura costarricense, Antología y biografías (San José, Imprenta Lehmann and Company, 1927).

⁹ See José Antonio Portuondo, Períodos y generaciones en la historiografía literaria hispanoamericana (México, D.F.: Cuadernos Americanos, 1948).

José Ortega y Gasset, *Ensayo de filosofía*, Madrid, 1925.
 Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Ensayo de filosofía*, Santiago, 1925.
 Portogano, *Ensayo de filosofía*, Santiago, 1925.
 some continuity to the study of literature, which differ-
 ences can be seen in the treatment of each of these meth-
 ods, but one fundamental line remains the same, the
 present in all of them. The said continuity of the meth-
 odological approach is what we have seen in the various
 or conditioned the intellectual development of the individual
 of any individual or group of individuals as the result of
 cannot be stated and understood if we consider culture
 as a continuous phenomenon. Furthermore, this phenomenon
 must be viewed as something that is always changing with

⁵ See José Ortega y Gasset, *Ensayo de filosofía* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1932), translated from the Spanish by Stuart Gilbert.
⁶ See Antonio de Padua y Sotomayor, *Ensayo de filosofía* (Santiago: Editorial del Estudiante, 1925), translated from the Spanish by Stuart Gilbert.
⁷ See Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Ensayo de filosofía* (Santiago: Editorial del Estudiante, 1925), translated from the Spanish by Stuart Gilbert.
⁸ See José Ortega y Gasset, *Ensayo de filosofía* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1932), translated from the Spanish by Stuart Gilbert.
⁹ See José Ortega y Gasset, *Ensayo de filosofía* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1932), translated from the Spanish by Stuart Gilbert.

each generation¹⁰ appearing, acting, and fading away in a continual process. The above named scholars have used this technique mainly in the study of the history of literature, but the writer believes that such a technique can also be utilized to determine what environmental forces have influenced the thought and action of an individual. Petersen¹¹ states that the main factors that influence the formation of that community which is called a "generation of writers and thinkers" are time of birth, education (academic background), group living, generational experience, and generational behavior.

José Antonio Portuondo in a recent essay elaborates on this theory.¹² Summarizing his remarks it can be said that he postulates the idea that such other factors as generational tasks, generational leaders, and generational inheritance also play a major role in the process of giving that certain degree of distinctiveness to each generation.

¹⁰ By generation is meant, ". . . a small group of individuals who by their dependence on the same great events and changes that happen in the epoch of their receptivity, form a homogenous entity in spite of the diversity of other factors." Quoted by Portuondo from Dilthey in José Antonio Portuondo, *op. cit.*, p. 246, footnote No. 24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 246-247.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

each generation...
continued protest...
testamentary mainly in the study of the history of literature,
but the writer believes that such a technique may also be
utilized to determine with environmental factors have in-
fluenced the growth and action of an individual. However
states that the main reason that the members of the generation
of that community which is called a "generation of writers"
and thinkers are time of birth, education (especially in the
ground), group living, conventional expectations, and group
emotional behavior.

John A. Kropf's argument in a recent essay...
on this theory.¹² Demonstrating the manner in which it can be said
that he postulates the idea that each member of a generation
emotional tasks, conventional tasks, and conventional in-
teractions and may play a major role in the process of living
that certain degree of distinctiveness to each generation.

¹² J. A. Kropf, "The Generation as a Social Unit," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 1-12.
Individuals who by their behavior on the same level of
and others that happen in the world of their generation.
form a homogeneous entity in spite of the diversity of other
factors." Quoted by Kropf, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-12.
Kropf, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-12.
Kropf, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-12.
Kropf, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-12.

A degree of distinctiveness characterizes each generation despite the obvious dissimilarity of family background, religious training, political affiliations, and so forth of each member of a generation. By generational task, Portuondo means the one problem which each generation selects from the conglomeration of issues that confront it, and on which the majority within the generation focuses its attention. Portuondo adds that a dissenting minority or minorities always exists within each generation. These few do not follow the course of action advocated by the majority, nor are they even concerned at times with the issues which provoke or stimulate the generation to which they belong.

Another factor emphasized by Portuondo is generational inheritance. Every generation of thinkers and writers is not entirely divorced from the influence of the previous generation. In other words they do not act in a vacuum. The influence exerted by the previous generation may be positive or negative, but in either case it is dynamic. Other factors are generational language and generational leaders, which Portuondo considers relatively unimportant in the study of the literature of Cuba. These last two factors may be unimportant in the influence that they exert on the literary history of nations, but they are quite important in the present problem under consideration.

In this thesis the generational approach will be used

A degree of distinctiveness characterizing each generation
despite the obvious dissimilarity of family background,
religious training, political affiliations, and so forth
of each member of a generation. Y. Y. Y. Y. Y.
Portnoy means the one person who each generation
selects from the constellation of friends that surround it
and on which the majority within the generation focuses its
attention. Portnoy adds that a disconcerting minority of
individuals always exists within each generation. These
do not follow the course of action advocated by the majority
nor are they ever concerned at times with the issues which
arouse or stimulate the generation to which they belong.
Another factor mentioned by Portnoy is the
total inheritance. Every generation of children and adults
is not entirely divorced from the influences of the previous
generation, if other words they do not act in a vacuum.
The influence exerted by the previous generation may be
positive or negative, but in either case it is present.
Other factors are parental language and nonverbal
language, which Portnoy considers relatively unimportant in
the study of the literature of our time. These last two factors
may be unimportant in the literature that they exert on the
literary history of our time, but they are quite important in
the present problem under consideration.
In this study the generational approach will be used

as the technique to investigate or analyze the environmental forces that have had some influence in the formation of Ortiz's personality, and more important yet the influence that they may have had in his general point of view.

Ortiz belongs to the First Republican Generation (c. 1900-1933),¹³ but to understand his generation we must review briefly the course of action followed by the so called Generations of 1865 (c. 1830's-1865),¹⁴ and 1898 (c. 1868-1898).¹⁵ By understanding the main issues that agitated these preceding generations it is hoped that a

¹³ It is impossible to ascertain definitely the time when this generation began to have its influence felt in Cuba. The year 1900 was decided on because it was sometime during the American intervention in Cuba, after the termination of hostilities in the War of 1898, that a group of young writers and thinkers came to the fore and attracted attention as the men who would guide the destiny of Cuba for some time to come. 1933 was picked as its closing date because that represents the end of an era of despotic government which ended with the overthrow of Machado.

¹⁴ The dates 1830's-1865 have been chosen as the limits of this generation because the mid-1830's saw the rise of a political movement best described as reformism. It continued to dominate political and social thinking until sometime around 1865 when it began to decline in power and another political tendency, autonomism, came to the fore.

¹⁵ The years 1868-1898 were selected as the dates of this generation because 1868 is considered by Cubans to be the beginning of their struggle against Spain. The Cubans fought the Ten Years' War (1868-1878), and even though they lost the conflict the ground was prepared for the advent of the strong separationist movement and the successful War of Independence which began in 1898.

as the technique to investigate or analyze the evolution
mental forces that have had such influence in the formation
of Ortiz's personality, and more important yet the influence
ones that they may have had in his general point of view.
Ortiz belongs to the 19th Republican Generation
(c. 1800-1830), but he underwent his generation in which
review briefly the course of action followed by the so-
called Generations of 1800 (c. 1800-1830), and 1830
(c. 1830-1860). By understanding the main lesson that
agitated these preceding generations it is hoped that a

13
It is impossible to ascertain definitely the
time when this generation began to have its influence in
in Cuba. The year 1800 was decided on because it was here
time during the American intervention in Cuba, after the
termination of hostilities in the war of 1808, that a group
of young writers and thinkers came to the fore and attracted
attention as the men who would guide the destiny of Cuba
for some time to come. 1800 was picked as the starting date
because that year marks the end of an era of despotic govern-
ment which ended with the overthrow of Napoleon.

14
The dates 1800-1830 have been chosen as the
limits of this generation because the mid-1800's saw the
rise of a political movement best described as liberalism.
It continued to dominate political and social thinking
until something around 1830 when it began to decline in
power and another political movement, authoritarianism, came to
the fore.

15
The years 1830-1860 were chosen as the dates
of this generation because 1830 is considered by Cuban to
be the beginning of their struggle against Spain. The
Cubans fought the Ten Years' War (1830-1840), and even
though they lost the war, the struggle was prepared for
the advent of the strong separatist movement and the
successful war of independence which began in 1895.

clearer perspective will be obtained of the First Republican Generation, the environment in which Ortiz matured. The primary objective, of course, is to determine, if possible, whether there is evidence in his thought and action that he was conditioned by his generation's environment. It may also be possible that such conditioning focused his intellectual endeavors along channels discernible in the generations prior to his.

Cubanidad. No attempt will be made to translate the term la cubanidad. Although the term is an integral part of much of the thought of Ortiz, no single word or phrase has been found capable of conveying precisely the meaning which it carries in Spanish. In fact, the term as used by Ortiz seems to have no definite, precise meaning. The term, inferred from the contexts in which Ortiz uses it, contains political, economic, social, and cultural implications. A quotation from Ortiz best defines la cubanidad as he uses it. Ortiz says,

. . . Cubanidad es "la calidad de lo cubano" o sea su manera de ser, su carácter, su índole, su condición distintiva, su individuación dentro de lo universal.¹⁶

. . . La cubanidad es principalmente la peculiar calidad de una cultura, la de Cuba . . . La cubanidad es condición del alma, es complejo de

¹⁶ Fernando Ortiz, Los factores humanos de la cubanidad (La Habana: Molina y Cia., 1940), p. 7.

clearer perspective will be obtained if the terms crisis and crisis are distinguished in their own Generation, the environment in which Crisis occurred. The primary objective, or course, or behavior, or action, whether there is evidence in the literature and action that he was conditioned by the generation's environment. It may also be possible that each conditioning is based on intellectual endeavor and that certain elements in the generation were to be distinguished.

Crises. The attempt will be made to distinguish the term crisis. Although the term is an important part of much of the thought of Crisis, the article word of phrase has been found capable of conveying probably the meaning which it carries in context. In fact, the term is used by Crisis seems to have no definite, precise meaning. The term, inferring from the context in which Crisis was used, contains political, economic, social, and cultural implications. A question now arises as to whether crisis had as he used it. Crisis says,

... Crises are the crises as to which we see in nature the way, as conditions, in which the conditions of existence, in individual cases, are to be distinguished.

... In the evolution of social sciences in particular crises are the crises, as to which the conditions of existence, in individual cases, are to be distinguished.

18 Crises (in Habermas: Crises, pp. 1-10), pp. 1-10.

sentimientos, ideas y actitudes.¹⁷

The term cubanidad is in itself a fairly reliable clue to a facet of Ortiz's personality, his intense patriotism and his constant preoccupation with all things that are Cuban. This is probably a manifestation of still another trait of Ortiz, his humanism. At times this humanism, his intense preoccupation with the development of Cuban culture, may be misinterpreted as traces of provincialism in his character, but the writer believes, after an investigation of his life and works, that such is not the case. For example in the matter of "race," he is interested not only in Negro-white relations in Cuba but all over the hemisphere as well, as proven by his participation in various organizations and conferences dedicated to combating racial prejudice in various countries. He has been known to condemn not only anti-Negro sentiment but also anti-Semitism.

Transculturation. Transculturation essentially means the same thing as acculturation¹⁸ but Ortiz advances the following plausible argument in support of his neologism. He is cognizant that the term acculturation is widely used

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁸ "Acculturation is the process whereby individuals reared in one culture and transferred to another take on the behavior patterns of the second society." Definition taken from William F. Ogburn, Social Change (New York: B. W. Huebsh, 1922), p. 383.

The term transculturation is in itself a fairly complex one, to
 most of which, a person, the human person, and the
 constant process of it all with that one word. This
 is probably a translation of still another word of Greek
 his humanism. At times this humanism, the human person,
 pation with the development of Greek culture, may be in-
 interpreted as a process of acculturation in his mind, but
 the writer believes, after an investigation of his life and
 works, that such is not the case. For example in the matter
 of "race," he is interested not only in Negro-white relations
 in Cuba but all over the hemisphere as well, as shown by
 his participation in various organizations and conferences
 devoted to combating racial prejudice in various countries.
 He has been known to conduct not only anti-Negro activities
 but also anti-Semitism.

Transculturation. Transculturation essentially

means the same thing as socialization and acculturation.
 the following phraseology appears in support of his position.
 He is convinced that the term acculturation is really used

IV
 1933, p. 303

is "acculturation" in the process whereby individuals
 reared in one culture and transferred to another take on the
 behavior patterns of the second society." Definition taken
 from William F. Ogburn, Social Change, New York, N. Y. 1933,
 1933, p. 303.

in contemporary sociological literature, especially by English and North American social scientists. Nonetheless he believes that the term transculturation is more apropos of Cuban social reality. His argument is based on the assumption that because of the complexity of cultural transmutations, social phenomena in Cuba are of an extremely variant nature.¹⁹ His chief argument against the term acculturation is that it implies that one culture has to submit to another while transculturation implies a transition, a give and take process, between two cultures in contact, both active, cooperating and conflicting, but at all times contributing to the evolution or creation of a new social reality. The new social phenomena are not exclusively the product of either of the two cultures in close contact. On the contrary, Ortiz emphasizes, they are a synthesis of the two.²⁰

¹⁹ Fernando Ortiz, Contrapunteo Cubano, del tabaco y azúcar (La Habana: Jesús Montero, ed., 1940), p. 157.

²⁰ See Appendix B for Bronislaw Malinowski's statement on the term transculturation.

in contemporary sociological literature, especially by English and North American social scientists. However, he believes that the term transculturation is more appropriate of Cuban social reality. His argument is based on the assumption that because of the complexity of cultural transmissions, social phenomena in Cuba are of an extremely variant nature. His main argument against the term acculturation is that it implies that one culture has to submit to another while transculturation implies a transition, a five and take process, between two cultures in contact, both active, cooperating and conflicting, but at all times contributing to the evolution or expansion of a new social reality. The new social phenomena are not exclusively the product of either of the two cultures in close contact. On the contrary, Quilting emphasizes that the synthesis of the two.

19 Fernando Ortiz, Contrastes Cubanos, 4th edition, Yaguajay (La Habana: Casa Editora, 1940), p. 117.
 20 See Appendix B for Francisco Marti's comment on the term transculturation.

CHAPTER II

THE MAN AND HIS TIME

I. BACKGROUND: THREE CUBAN GENERATIONS

The three Cuban generations that are to be discussed in this chapter have one fundamental element in common. They represent the time when Cuba, figuratively speaking, "became of age." Traces of la cubanidad can be seen in Cuba almost as far back as the early colonial days, but a true national consciousness does not assume bold outlines until the mid-1830's when Cubans became dissatisfied with the Spanish colonial regime and began to agitate for reforms, thereby producing the political movement called reformism.

Generation of 1865. From around 1835 to 1865 a strong reformist movement appeared in Cuba. This was a trend of thought that had its genesis with the teachings of Felix Varela in the eighteenth century, but it was not until the 1830's that reformist thought was embodied in a major political movement. As the reformist movement began to develop, the leadership of the group was gradually assumed by José Antonio Saco. Other prominent men in this movement were the Count of Pozos Dulces, José Morales Lemus, José Silverio Jorrín, Alvaro Reinoso, José Luis Alfonso, and José Antonio Echevarría. Generally speaking

THE MAN AND HIS TIME

I. BACKGROUND: THE EARLY YEARS

The three Cuban generations that are to be discussed in this chapter have one fundamental element in common. They represent the rise of the Cuban "bourgeoisie," a class of men whose consciousness has not been fully defined until the mid-1830's when Cuba's economic development with the Spanish colonial regime was beginning to suggest the reforms necessary for producing the political changes called for.

Generation of 1835: From around 1830 to 1835

A strong reformist movement appeared in Cuba. This was a trend of thought that had its parallel with the feelings of Felix Varela in the eighteenth century, but it was not until the 1830's that reformist thought was embodied in a major political movement. As the reformist movement began to develop, the leadership of the group was gradually assumed by José Antonio Remón. Other prominent men in this movement were the Count of Rosas, Miguel José de los Ríos, Juan José Martí, José Martí, and José Martí. Generally speaking,

all of these men were moderate liberals and all of them followed closely the ideas expounded by Saco.

José Antonio Saco advocated a realistic attitude in facing the problems of Cuba. This attitude emphasized the urgency of services due the country. The reforms that the reformists demanded were based on concrete problems, and ignored the multitude of sapient doctrines that were flourishing in intellectual circles.¹ The best example of the institutionalization of this way of thinking is found in the Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País.²

¹ Individualism and reason were the two watchwords during the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. The social aim was to guarantee to the individual that he would not be deprived of his interests, his initiative, and his liberty. At this time we have the appearance of another element in Cuban thought: Realism was regarded as the only approach to Cuba's problems. The Cuban thinkers gave special attention to environment with emphasis on economic factors. Saco to a great extent inherited this attitude, and in Ortiz we often discern traces of thought that remind us of Saco and the realists.

² The Sociedades Económicas established in several European and American countries are the resultant institutional forms of currents of thought which radiated from eighteenth century Europe. They are products of the Enlightenment.

On January 9, 1793, the Economic Society of Habana was officially chartered by the Spanish Governor-General. A study of the Society's history reveals that the organization has dealt with such problems as agrarian reform, diversification of production, fomentation of local industry, means of communication, banking systems, labor rights, scientific experimentation, improvement of the school system, medicine, suppression of vagrancy, study of the applied sciences, modernization of curricular matter in higher education, and many other problems. The society does not limit its activities to mere discussion and research. It administers and directs cultural, pedagogical and patriotic foundations and altruistic legacies which have been willed to the society by patriotic citizens.

all of these men were moderate liberals and all of them found closely the ideas expressed by Lenin.

Jose Antonio also advocated a similar attitude in facing the problems of Cuba. This attitude emphasized the urgency of services due the country. The reforms that the reformers demanded were based on concrete problems and ignored the millitude of capital difficulties that were facing Cuba in intellectual circles. The best example of this institutionalization of a way of thinking is found in the 1930s when the Cuban government...

1. Individualism and Capitalism were the two waterworks during the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. The social aim was to guarantee to the individual that he would not be deprived of his interests, his initiative, and his liberty. At this time we have the emergence of another element in Cuban thought: Individualism was regarded as the only approach to Cuba's problems. The Cuban thinkers gave special attention to individualism with emphasis on social factors. Since we have found individualism in the nineteenth and in Cuba we often discuss it as though it had remained as of force and the vitality.

2. The Social Conditions established in several European and American countries are the primary institutional forms of thought which resulted from the nineteenth century struggle. They are products of the enlightenment.

On January 2, 1932, the Economic Society of Havana was officially chartered by the Spanish Government. A study of the Society's history reveals that its organization has dealt with such problems as a national reform, diversification of production, formation of local industry, means of communication, banking system, labor rights, scientific experimentation, improvement of the school system, agricultural experiment, study of the quality of medicine, suppression of corruption, study of the quality of science, modernization of municipal government in light of action, and many other problems. The society does not limit its activities to mere legislation and execution. It studies factors and diverse cultural, pedagogical and scientific factors and scientific progress which have been applied to the society by scientific civilization.

José Antonio Saco, foremost of the realists, studied the whole social structure of the colony, traced the history of slavery on the island, and condemned it, not on ethical grounds, but simply because it was economically, politically, and socially unwise to tolerate an institution that lowered the dignity of labor, discouraged needed white immigration, and undermined and retarded the integration of Cuban society. He favored not only the abolition of slave traffic, but also the abolition of the institution of slavery itself.

In the political field, Saco favored reforms, but opposed the complete separation of Cuba from the mother country. He also opposed the movement which would have Cuba annexed to the United States. Fernando Ortiz, analyzing the question in retrospect, states that the geographical proximity of the two countries, the presence of the institution of slavery in Cuba and in the "South" of the United States, the gravitation of Cuban economy toward that of this country, and the oppression of the colony by Spain were the main factors that motivated the rising of annexationist sentiment in Cuba.⁵ Saco's opposition to the movement is an indication of Cuba's awakening to national consciousness. Saco believed that Anglo-American culture, predominant in the United States, would submerge Cuban culture to the extent

⁵ Fernando Ortiz, José Antonio Saco y sus ideas cubanas (La Habana: Imprenta "El Universo," S.A., 1929), pp. 79-152.

Jose Antonio Baez, foremost of the revolutionaries, studied the whole social structure of the colony, traced its history of slavery on the island, and condemned it, not on ethical grounds, but simply because it was economically, politically, and socially unwise to tolerate an institution that favored the dignity of labor, discouraged needed white immigration, and undermined and retarded the integration of Cuban society. He favored not only the abolition of slave society, but also the abolition of the institution of slavery itself.

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⁵ Fernando Ortiz, Jose Antonio Baez y su tiempo (Havana: Imprenta "El Esfuerzo," S.A., 1925), pp. 73-102.

that the latter would completely lose its identity.

Saco favored a colonial government system wherein the colony would have its own constitution, a product of its own representatives. His governmental plan contained provisions for the establishment of an assembly, elected by the people, and the removal of dictatorial powers from Spanish governors.

When viewed as a unit it becomes apparent that the reformists were strongly influenced by realism. They seemed to express a preference for rational reforms rather than utopian projects. They were preoccupied by the lack of white immigration to Cuba, municipal and provincial government reforms, public administrative adjustments of territorial jurisdictions, and the maintenance of a free press.

The autocratic Spanish government refused to grant any of the reforms demanded by the Cubans. In 1868 not only the reformists, but other segments of the population as well, took the field against Spain and the tragic Ten Years' War (1868-1878) began.

Generation of 1898. The Ten Years' War ended with the Pact of Zanjón in 1878. This humiliating pact (for the liberals) did have one salutary effect on the Cubans. No sooner had the last rebel surrendered when a new movement, the separationist, more popular in character than previous movements, began to take form. To avoid an erroneous

that the latter would consequently lose its identity.
 Since favored a central government system maintain
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Reformation of 1835. The first year, 1835, was marked by
 the fact of Spain in 1835. This institutional body for the
 Liberals) did have one primary effect on the culture. He
 sooner had the last year, 1835, and had a new movement,
 the separatist, were possible in Spanish Spain provision
 movement, began to take form. It was an important

impression, it is stressed that this new movement was not spontaneous. However, in due course of time it was destined to bring about the independence of Cuba. As the separationist movement was beginning to take shape, another movement, the autonomist, was at the peak of its power. Outstanding among the autonomists was Rafael Montoro. Other prominent Cubans in the movement were José Antonio Cortina, Miguel Figueroa, José Antonio Fernández de Castro, Eliseo Giberga, Antonio Govín, José María Galvez, and Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros.

The autonomist movement represented an outgrowth of the reformist movement. Reformism had succeeded in making the people of Cuba conscious of their problems, and more important still, made them realize that the answer to their problems had to be found in Cuba by Cubans. Reformism prepared the ground for autonomism and many of the leaders of reformism joined the autonomist ranks. The autonomists were against all forms of violence as a means of political action, while the reformists had no scruples against the use of force. The autonomists asked for a colonial government consisting of a governor-general appointed by the Spanish crown, a popularly elected insular legislature, and a legislative council. The insular legislature was to enact all legislation dealing with problems pertaining to Cuba only. A legislative council composed of members chosen by the governor-

impression, it is assumed that this was movement was not spontaneous. However, in the course of time it was decided to bring about the independence of Cuba. In the beginning, the movement was decided to take steps, another movement, the autonomous, was at the top of the power. Determining among the autonomists was raised Muro, Cuban revolution. Cubans in the movement were José Antonio Garmas, Miguel Figueras, José Antonio Vázquez de Castro, Eliseo Gelpi, Antonio Goyá, José María Balse, and Manuel Sanguinetti. Garmas,

The autonomous movement was based on a number of the reformist movement. The people of Cuba consisted of their workers, and more important still, made them realize that the power to solve problems had to be found in Cuba by Cuban. Reformist movement passed the ground for autonomous movement. The autonomous movement joined the autonomous movement. The autonomous movement against all forms of violence as a means of political action while the reformists had no scruples against the use of force. The autonomous movement asked for a colonial government consisting of a governor-general appointed by the Spanish crown, a popularly elected legislative assembly, and a legislative council. The final legislative was to consist of all legislative bodies with problems pertaining to Cuba only. A legislative council composed of members chosen by the governor-

general would serve in an advisory capacity to the governor-general on those aspects of the island's government under his authority.⁴

Meanwhile separationist sentiment was growing, and large segments of the population began to accept the trend of thought that demanded complete separation from Spain. Former reformists, autonomists, and even people who had remained indifferent to any form of political action joined the separationist ranks. The new movement was led by the foremost liberals of the day, among them José Martí, Enrique José Varona, José María Zayas, and Manuel Sanguily. In addition to the central issue of complete independence, they advocated liberty for all people regardless of race, creed, or color, organic laws, modern codes of law incorporated into the national constitution,⁵ and indemnification to the freed

⁴ Frank L. Baird, "Reformism and Autonomism in Cuba: 1835-1898," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1950), pp. 88-93.

⁵ Latin American constitutions reflect the political unrest and preoccupation with social problems of their respective nations. The desire to ameliorate social ills has caused many insurrections where ideals are forged, and when such ideals, or the proponents of those ideals, triumph, constitutions are drafted and their gains are incorporated into these documents. A distrust of the legislative processes /according to W. L. Schurz, Latin America (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1946), p. 111/ has prompted Latin Americans to incorporate in national constitutions much that should normally be a matter of statutory enactment. The political inexperience of large portions of the masses and the idealistic approach predominant among Latin American legislators (who seem to endeavor to legislate toward what ought to be) to the task of constitution making, have perhaps prompted the incorporation into national constitutions of laws which ordinarily would be enacted by the legislature.

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4 Frank A. Smith, "Revolutions and Autonomism in Cuba,
1835-1898," (unpublished paper), University of New
Mexico, Albuquerque, 1953, pp. 96-98.

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Dutton, 1963, p. 111...
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slaves in the form of educational opportunities. Some of the members of this generation, for example Varona, were perturbed by the lack of white immigration to Cuba, but most of them were concerned primarily with the type of government that Cuba should have.

In summarizing it may be said that the "Generation of 1898" produced two political movements and the crystallization of one social issue. Underlying the two movements, autonomism and separationism, are two basic problems which interested the generation. Uppermost in the minds of these people was their dissatisfaction with the existing governmental arrangement. Ideas as to how Cuba should be governed changed from advocacy of autonomy to a proposal for complete independence from Spain. The second big issue, equally important, but which was relegated to a secondary position by the more pressing political problem was what to do with the Negro in Cuba. At first this problem was approached in an indirect manner. The generation of 1865, the autonomists, and even most of the separationists approached the problem by voicing concern over the lack of white immigration to Cuba. This current of thought was perhaps influential in the subsequent agitation for the abolition of slave traffic and slavery. It was not until Martí became a national figure and the independence movement gained momentum that the answer to the Negro problem became crystallized. Martí preached a

slaves in the form of educational opportunities. Some of the members of this generation, for example, were persuaded by the lack of educational facilities in Cuba, but most of them were concerned primarily with the type of government that Cuba should have.

In summarizing it may be said that the generation of 1898 produced two political movements: the organization of one social class, the bourgeoisie, and the organization of another, the proletariat, and the two basic political interests of this generation. The interest of the bourgeoisie was their identification with the existing governmental arrangements. Ideas of reform should be derived from advocacy of necessity for a proposal for complete independence from Spain. The second interest, especially important, but which was relegated to a secondary position by the more pressing political issues was that to do with the Negro in Cuba. At first this question was approached in an indirect manner. The generation of 1898, the bourgeoisie, and even most of the non-revolutionary elements of the bourgeoisie by voting consented to the lack of educational facilities in Cuba. This current of thought was certainly influential in the subsequent agitation for the abolition of slave traffic and slavery. It was not until 1902, however, that the question and the independence movement, which demanded that the Negro to the Negro people become established. Early proposals

doctrine, not of tolerance, but of equality of all people regardless of race, creed, or color. Thus began the present movement in Cuba to the end that the Negro be integrated into Cuban society for the welfare of the country as a whole.

José Martí, the greatest figure to emerge from this generation, was the leader of the revolutionary movement. He is definitely the personality that exerted the greatest influence on the succeeding generation, the first republican generation.

Martí displayed a liberal and democratic spirit, a spiritual attitude toward life, and he conceived of society as an organic being. Jorrín asserts that there is a clear and concise continuity in the current of Cuban thought that began with Father Caballero at the end of the seventeenth century and extended all the way to Varona's time. It strongly suggests spiritualism, and Martí called it "filosofía de relación" because he believed that truth does not exist subjectively within us, nor does it exist objectively in the exterior world, but that it arises from a congruence between the objective and the subjective.⁶ Martí's fierce patriotism, a tendency to idealize almost to the point of deification an element of nature or life, that is his country, may have been influenced by this spiritualism.

⁶ Miguel Jorrín, "Las ideas filosóficas de Martí," Revista Bimestre Cubana, 47:43-57, enero-febrero, 1941, pp. 47-54.

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with Father Capellán at the end of the nineteenth
century and extended all the way to Martí's time. It brought
a new spirit to the Cuban people, and Martí's life is
"vitalism" because he believed that there was not only an
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a tendency to idealism which is the point of departure as
element of nature or life, that in his country, may have been
influenced by this materialism.

⁶ Martí's theory, "the Cuban Revolution of Martí,"
Revista Bimestre Cubana, 57: 25-27, March-April, 1941, pp.
41-52.

In 1891 Martí founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party, and preparations began in earnest for the next Cuban effort to overthrow Spanish power. In 1895 hostilities broke out. Martí died at Dos Rios in the same year, but the revolution continued unabated. On April 21, 1898, a heretofore aloof United States declared war on Spain and entered the conflict as Cuba's ally. The United States by virtue of its participation assumed the role of conquerer when the war finally ended on December 10, 1898. This country accepted the surrender of Spanish arms, and claimed the right of establishing an interventionist military government on the island. It was in this atmosphere that the first republican generation came into being. Young men who had seen their compatriots struggle for independence were now nearing maturity, and they inherited the task of establishing order out of chaos.

The first republican generation. The first republican generation displays a decline in faith and activity pro patria in the ideals that stimulated the previous generation.

A quotation from Raimundo Cabrera, a man who lived during the latter part of the generation of 1898 and during the first republican generation best illustrates the general attitude of the latter group:

In 1891 Martí founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party,

and preparations began in secret. Martí and others
to overthrow Spanish power. In 1895 Martí broke out
Martí died at Dos Ríos in the same year, but the revolution
continued unabated. On April 24, 1895, a revolution broke out
United States declared war on Spain and entered the conflict
as Cuba's ally. The United States by virtue of the Teller
patron assumed the role of organizer with the war finally
ended on December 10, 1898. This country assumed the role
of Spain's ally, and obtained the right of establish-
ing an independent ally government on the island.
It was in this atmosphere that the first republican govern-
ment came into being. Martí and others had been working
patiently for the independence of the island, and they
and they finished the task of establishing order and
peace.

The first republican government.

After the revolution broke out in 1895 and activity
was going on in the island that finished the previous gov-
ernment.

A revolution broke out in 1895, a man who lived
during the latter part of the revolution of 1895 and during
the first republican government was killed. The general
attitude of the latter group

Tuve la dicha de nacer, crecer, y formar mi espíritu en tiempos heróicos, de nobles y desinteresadas ambiciones; ví casi niño a toda una pléyade de jóvenes ardorosos lanzarse a la muerte con el afán de alcanzar la gloria en la realización de un ideal de libertad; . . . me ví en la adolescencia preso y proscripto entre venerables ancianos que habían sacrificado fortuna, hogar, familia, todos los egoísmos y todos los goces, por dar a las nuevas generaciones dignidad y patria . . . Todo ese hermoso ensueño, concepción nacida de convicciones y reminiscencias afejas, lo ví desvanecido en un momento. No hemos marchado de lo menos a lo más; por senda de errores y torpezas, de egoísmos, y concupiscencias hemos ido de lo más a lo menos.⁷

Notice here a note of pessimism which will be detected later in the writing and speeches of Ortiz. But even more than pessimism in Ortiz it is an impatience with the shortcomings of his contemporaries in public office.

The first republican generation faced a period of indecision and disillusionment. They wondered if all their struggles for independence had been in vain. The great majority of them resented the fact that the United States, through its limited participation in the struggle against Spain, claimed the right to intervene in their country thereby depriving them of complete independence. Another thing that irritated them was the fact that the North Americans took all the credit for winning the war by calling it the Spanish-American War and omitting any reference to

⁷ Raimundo Cabrera, Mis malos tiempos (La Habana: El Siglo XX, 1920), pp. 8-9.

Tuve la dicha de hacer, crecer, y formar al
 espíritu en tiempos heroicos de nobles y valien-
 tesasas americanas. Y así mismo a todos sus
 jóvenes educados en las escuelas de la América
 con el fin de elevarlos a la gloria en la realiza-
 ción de un ideal de libertad. . . . Me vi en la
 adolescencia preso y prisionero entre venustas
 empujadas que recibí en las escuelas de la
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 por dar a las nuevas generaciones el ideal y
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 nacido de convulsiones y de las escuelas de la
 lo vi desarrollado en un momento. No necesito
 de lo mismo a la vida; por eso de errores y ter-
 pesas, de errores y convulsiones como los de
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The first republican generation faced a period of
 isolation and disorientation. They wandered in all their
 struggles for independence and peace in vain. The great
 glory of their era was the fact that they had
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 it the Spanish-American War and giving any reference to

El Siglo XX, 1920, pp. 2-3.
 Juan Manuel Cabrería, Mis años jóvenes (La Habana)

Cuba. The bulk of the liberating army (los mambies), the peasants and the proletarians, continued to be what they formerly were with no apparent improvement, and the middle class, what there was of it, kept its bureaucratic positions. Some felt that their country had suffered from a great illusion. Furthermore, it seems to have been believed generally that the United States had, since 1823, succeeded in keeping Cuba in the dominion of Spain under the Monroe Doctrine only to use the same doctrine in 1898 to justify intervention in Cuba's war for independence.

Some of the intellectuals of this generation are Fernando Ortiz y Fernández, Jesús Castellanos, J. A. Ramos, Luis Rodríguez Embil, Ramiro Guerra, and Carlos Loveira.⁸

The chief concern of the first republican generation was the problem of finding the most effective method of governing their country. Even though they might not enjoy economic liberty, because of the interventionist policy of the United States, they at least desired political liberty.

Generally speaking, it can be said that the works of these men show a deep preoccupation with social problems, and they also manifest a deep concern for the future of their nascent republic.

⁸ José Antonio Portuondo, "José Antonio Ramos y la primera generación republicana de escritores cubanos," Revista Bimestre Cubana, 62:56-78, julio-diciembre, 1948, p. 63.

The end of the war found the internal administrative system in almost complete chaos. Public education was at its lowest ebb, and nothing was being done in the form of public works or public sanitation.

Public sentiment against foreign rule became so great that some of the Cuban clergy, abetted by a few newspapers, incited a movement to name a Cuban bishop and establish an independent Cuban church. The power of Rome asserted itself and the movement languished and died.

On July 25, 1900, General Leonard Wood, commanding general of North American occupation forces, issued a statement in which he authorized the holding of a general election to choose delegates to the first constitutional convention. The election was to be held on the third Saturday of September (1900), and the elected delegates were to meet officially on the first Monday of November of that same year.

Both major parties, the Nacional and the Republicano, were suspicious of a clause contained in the instructions sent by President McKinley, through General Wood, to the Cuban delegates regarding the duties of the Constituent Assembly. The "cláusula sospechosa," as it was called, stated that the Assembly was to decide what the relations were going to be between the United States and Cuba. Both political parties felt that such a problem was out of the jurisdiction of the Assembly.

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On July 25, 1900, General Leonard Wood, commanding General of North American occupation forces, issued a decree in which he authorized the holding of a general election to choose delegates to the first constitutional convention. The election was to be held on the third Saturday of September (1900), and the elected delegates were to meet officially on the first Monday of November of that same year.

Both major parties, the National and the Republicans, were suspicious of a clause contained in the instructions sent by President McKinley, through General Wood, to the Cuban delegates regarding the duties of the Constitutional Assembly. The "Cuban's response," as it was called, stated that the Assembly was to decide what the relations were going to be between the United States and Cuba. Both political parties felt that such a problem was out of the jurisdiction of the assembly.

The election of delegates was carried out and the Nacional triumphed in urban areas while the Republicano won in rural areas. General Wood inaugurated the Assembly, and in his address he again made reference to the "cláusula sospechosa." The appearance of an article in Review of Reviews (December, 1900),⁹ while the convention was in session, served as an elaboration on the "cláusula," and left no doubt as to what course of action the United States expected the Assembly to follow. The delegates produced a document closely modeled after the Constitution of the United States, and at the insistence of this country the Platt Amendment¹⁰ was attached to it. The fate of Cuba as a dependency was sealed, until 1935 when the Amendment was abrogated.

The real task of the first republican generation began with the withdrawal of North American occupation forces. Fernando Ortiz as a member of this generation was already beginning to establish his reputation as one of the leading intellectuals of the group.

⁹ See Appendix C, pp.

¹⁰ The main points embodied in the Platt Amendment, from the political point of view, were that Cuba could not enter into any treaty or compact that might impair her independence; contract any debt large enough that she would be unable to pay, thereby furnishing a foreign government an opportunity to intervene in Cuba under the pretext of collecting such debts; and the United States reserved the right to intervene to maintain public order in case of emergencies; furthermore certain designated naval bases in the island had to be made available to United States naval forces.

The election of delegates was carried out and the
national committee in accordance with the constitution was
in order. General Wood instructed the assembly, and
in his address he again made reference to the "National
Assembly." The appearance of an article in Review of the
Views (December, 1900), which the convention was in session,
served as an inspiration on the "National," and left no doubt
as to what course of action the United States expected the
Assembly to follow. The delegates produced a document
which modeled after the Declaration of the United States,
and at the insistence of this country the first document
was attached to it. The title of which was "Declaration of
Independence," until 1910 when the Assembly was dissolved.
The real test of the first constitution was given
began with the withdrawal of the United States from
London. London was a member of this generation and
already beginning to establish the reputation as one of the
leading intellectuals of the group.

See Appendix 5, p. 10

10
The main points embodied in the first document,
from the political point of view, were that the world
enter into any treaty or compact that might impair her
independence; that she would not assent to any such treaty,
be unable to pay, thereby rendering a law of government
an opportunity to interfere in her affairs; that she would
collecting such debts; and that she would never consent
right to interfere in another's affairs in any way
unjustified; that she would maintain a regular navy in
the land and to be made available to assist those in
London.

II. FERNANDO ORTIZ

A biographical sketch. Fernando Ortiz y Fernández was born in La Habana on July 16, 1881. His parents, Rosendo Ortiz de la Torre and Josefa Fernández de Garay, were members of well-to-do families.¹¹ While still in his infancy, his parents moved to Mahón, capital of the Isle of Minorca in the Mediterranean. It was there that he received his primary and secondary education. Lino Novás Calvo¹² states that Ortiz's early educational and parental training in the Mediterranean had a great deal of influence on his mental development. He became bilingual (Spanish and Catalán) at a very early age. Novás Calvo also states that the young Cuban became aware, during his adolescence, of the contrast between Hispanic defensiveness and European aggressiveness. Ortiz, according to Novás Calvo, was not conditioned decisively by either of these contrasting attitudes toward life but he tried to understand both.¹³ Therefore, even at this early age there is some evidence of the liberal attitude that was to characterize his thought and action in later years.

¹¹ Who's Who in America, Fiftieth Edition, p. 1875.

¹² Lino Novás Calvo, a Cuban writer and editor, has been in close contact with most of Cuba's writers and editors since 1928. During the beginning of his career Ortiz employed him on the staff of Ultra.

¹³ Lino Novás Calvo, "Mister Cuba," Américas, 2:6 ff., June, 1950, pp. 6-7.

II. FERNANDO ORTIZ

A biographical sketch. Fernando Ortiz y Formiguera

was born in La Habana on July 16, 1881. His parents, Rosendo Ortiz de la Torre and Josefa Formiguera de Guay, were members of well-to-do families. His father, in his infancy, his parents moved to Madrid, capital of the Kingdom of Spain. It was there that he received his primary and secondary education. His mother stated that Ortiz's early education and parental training in the Netherlands had a great deal of influence on his mental development. He became bilingual (Spanish and Catalan) at a very early age. His father also stated that the young Cuban became aware, during his adolescence, of the contrast between Hispanic dynamism and European rigidity. Ortiz, according to his mother, was not conditioned directly by either of these contrasting attitudes toward life but he tried to understand both. Therefore, even at an early age there is some evidence of the liberal attitude that was to characterize his thought and action in later years.

11 Who's Who in America, British Edition, p. 1897.

12 Who's Who in America, British Edition, p. 1897. Ortiz y Formiguera, a Cuban writer and editor, has been in close contact with most of Cuba's writers and editors since 1930. During the beginning of his career Ortiz employed him on the staff of El Mundo.

13 Who's Who in America, British Edition, p. 1897. Ortiz y Formiguera, a Cuban writer and editor, has been in close contact with most of Cuba's writers and editors since 1930. During the beginning of his career Ortiz employed him on the staff of El Mundo.

In 1895 the Ortiz family returned to Cuba, and Fernando matriculated at the Law School of the University of La Habana. However, before he could complete his studies, his parents sent him once more to Spain, where he was graduated in 1900 as an attorney at the University of Barcelona, and the following year at the age of twenty-one he received his doctor's degree in law from the University of Madrid.¹⁴

As a young student at Madrid, Ortiz made a sociological survey of that city's underworld activities. The young jurist became interested in this particular type of social phenomenon, and these early investigations formed the basis for his doctoral dissertation. He wrote on the subject, Base para un estudio de la llamada reparación civil, (Madrid, 1901). Upon his return to La Habana, Ortiz conducted a preliminary investigation into the underworld activities of his native city. His early findings seem to have influenced his decision to do something to combat the circumstances that motivated the breeding of crime. At this early stage in his life, law was one of his chief interests. It was during this time that he first came into contact with positivistic philosophy, mainly through the works of César Lombroso and Enrico Ferri of the Italian positivist school of

¹⁴ Esteban Roldán Oliarte, editor, "Índice Biográfico Cubano," Cuba en la mano; Enciclopedia Popular Ilustrada, 1940 edition, p. 973.

In 1885 the O'Neil family returned to Cuba, and Fernando matriculated at the law school of the University of La Habana. However, before he could complete his studies, his parents sent him once more to Spain, where he was admitted in 1890 as an attorney at the University of Barcelona, and the following year at the age of twenty-one he received his doctor's degree in law from the University of Madrid. As a young student at Madrid, O'Neil made a sociological survey of that city's underworld activities. This young jurist became interested in the social conditions of social phenomena, and these early investigations formed the basis for his doctoral dissertation, El crimen en España. El crimen en España en relación de las ciencias penales (Madrid, 1901). Upon his return to La Habana, O'Neil conducted a preliminary investigation into the underworld activities of the native city. His early findings seem to have influenced his decision to do something in Cuba. At this juncture that he began the teaching of law. At this early stage in his life, law was one of his chief interests. It was during this time that he first came into contact with positivistic philosophy, which through the works of Comte, Lombroso and Enrico Ferri of the Italian positivistic school.

14
 Esteban Melillo O'Neil, author, "El crimen en España en relación de las ciencias penales," 1900 edition, p. 178.

criminology. He also delved considerably into modern social science studies, which seem to have influenced him most.¹⁵

His interest in the colored population of Cuba and the so-called transculturation¹⁶ process between European and African cultures in Cuba date from this time.

He became a member of the Cuban Consular Service and occupied posts at La Coruña, Genoa, and Marseilles. While in Italy he was Chancellor of the Cuban Consulate in Genoa. In view of the character of his later works this seems to have been one of the most important formative periods in his life. He became a serious student of Italian culture, and he has never lost contact with it, especially the work of its criminologists and sociologists.¹⁷ Since the Italian positivists exerted considerable influence in the intellectual formation of Ortiz, it is advisable to present here a brief summary of the salient points of that school of thought.

César Lombroso (1836-1909) and Enrico Ferri (1856-1923) were the founders and most prominent men of this school.¹⁸ César Lombroso's greatest contribution to modern

¹⁵ Novás Calvo, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁶ The term transculturation has the same meaning as acculturation, as has already been pointed out in the section, "Definition of Terms."

¹⁷ Novás Calvo, op. cit., p. 8.

¹⁸ Ortiz studied under Ferri, and to this day the influence of those studies is noticeable in his writings on sociology, anthropology, history, and criminal law.

ethnology. He also delves considerably into modern social
science studies, which seem to have influenced his work.
His interest in the modern population of China and the so-
called translocation process between European and African
cultures in Cuba date from this time.

He became a member of the Cuban Communist Party and
occupied posts at the Center, Havana, and Matanzas. While
in Italy he was Chancellor of the Cuban Consulate in Rome.
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18 Novas Olive, op. cit., p. 7.
18 The term translocation has the same meaning as
acculturation, as has already been pointed out in the pre-
face, "Definition of Terms."

19 Novas Olive, op. cit., p. 8.
18 Ortiz studied under Ferri, and he also has the in-
fluence of those authors he discusses in his writings on
sociology, anthropology, history, and criminal law.

criminology was not his specific doctrines and theories but his general point of view, which at that time was considered quite radical. He is credited with having taken the discussion of crime and criminals out of the realm of theology and metaphysics. He placed it on a positivistic basis by insisting that in the judgment of crime the characteristics of the criminal had to be taken into consideration. It is often said that he is the founder of modern criminology.¹⁹

Enrico Ferri presented a comprehensive theory of factors conducive to the commitment of crime and a widely adopted (during his time) classification of criminals. He viewed the penal function in terms of the social body defending itself, and sought to improve the antiquated forms of jurisprudence by injecting into them the scientific findings of sociologic science. He sounded the keynote of modern penology when he reasoned that the function of the penal institution and criminal jurisprudence is to defend the social body, society, from parasitical organisms, criminals. Another innovation of Ferri, in the field of criminology, was a system of preventives designed to attack the cause of crime instead of the actual crime itself. It is significant to note that in his thinking the old idea of purely retributive justice was abandoned and replaced with

¹⁹ Harey E. Barnes, "Criminology," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, II, 595.

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significant to note that in his thinking the old idea of
purely retributive justice was abandoned and replaced with

19 Harvey A. Lippman, "Criminology," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, VI, 122.

the new idea of social defense.²⁰

Upon his return from foreign service, Ortiz initiated an extensive study of La Habana's underworld activities. In this phase of his research, the influence of his studies in Italy is particularly noticeable in his scientific methodology, positivistic language, and his keen curiosity to discover the causes of social problems. His research indicated that vice and crime are not only the results of poverty and ignorance,²¹ but that other factors were also of considerable importance. La Habana's underworld, composed largely of underprivileged and uneducated Negroes and other groups of mixed ethnic composition of similar economic and social status, presented a challenging problem for the social researcher, because factors such as ancient tribal beliefs, customs, religious convictions, resentments against the in-group, and frustrations had to be thoroughly investigated and understood. Ortiz began to study the Negro as an individual and, as part of the individual's social environment, his esoteric religious rituals, his superstitions, his ancestral environment in Africa, his music, his literature, his experiences as a slave and as a free man with second

²⁰ Ibid., p. 586.

²¹ It is inferred from the context in which he uses the term ignorancia that, in this case, he means illiteracy and superstition.

the new idea of social distance.

Upon the return from foreign service, Orlitz initiated an extensive study of the Italian's underlying activities. In this phase of his research, the influence of his findings in Italy is particularly noticeable in the economic, sociological, political and cultural spheres, and the work eventually to discover the causes of social problems. His research indicated that vice and crime are not only the result of poverty and ignorance, but also of other factors such as of considerable importance, in Italy's case, the composition largely of underprivileged and uneducated groups and other groups of mixed ethnic composition of similar economic and social status, presented a challenging problem for the social researcher, because factors such as ancient tribal beliefs, customs, religious convictions, resistance against the state group, and frictions had to be thoroughly investigated and understood. Orlitz began to study the Negro as an individual and, as part of the individual's social environment, his social relations, his aspirations, his ancestral environment in Africa, his habits, his life, his experiences as a slave and how they can be traced

SO 1111, p. 100

It is intended that the content in which he has the term ancestral is used, in this case, to mean ancestral and ancestral.

class social status, and his social status in Africa as contrasted with his status in Cuba. In short he began to study the Negro as a psychological being, a physical being, and a social being. He began to expose the deep-rooted myths held by some segments of the white population regarding the Negro. He began to understand the conflicts, aspirations, and frustrations of the Negroes and their attitude toward him changed from suspicion to curiosity regarding his motives and eventually to cooperation and confidence. Thereafter, according to all perceivable indications, the colored population of Cuba held Ortiz in their highest esteem. Testimony to this is furnished by an incident which occurred in the spring of 1943. The Club Atenas de La Habana²² held a special session to honor Ortiz for his work among the colored people of Cuba. Miguel Angel Céspedes,²³ president of the organization, in speaking of Ortiz said,

. . . Es además, un cubano ajeno a todo perjuicio racial y que ha tenido la honradez y la valentía de combatirlo publicamente, en Cuba y en el extranjero, en libros, conferencias, artículos, discursos, y demostraciones prácticas, legislativas y de otro orden, evidenciando su alto espíritu de justicia.²⁴

²² This club is an association composed of the leading Negro personalities in Cuba.

²³ Miguel Angel Céspedes, a Negro, was Undersecretary of Justice at that time.

²⁴ Miguel Angel Céspedes, "Justo homenaje a Fernando Ortiz," Revista Bimestre Cubana, 51:248-255, marzo-abril, 1943, p. 249.

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 mostraciones públicas, de la actividad y de su orga-
 nización en el espíritu de la raza.

²² This club is an association composed of the lead-
 ing Negro personalities in Cuba.
²³ Miguel Angel Céspedes, a Negro, was Vicepresident
 of Justice at that time.
²⁴ Miguel Angel Céspedes, "Un hombre de la raza"
 Oritz, "Revista Ilustrada de Cuba," 61:360-362, marzo-abril,
 1947, p. 362.

In 1906 Fernando Ortiz served as assistant prosecutor in the Audiencia de la Habana. In such a capacity it is said that he did everything that was possible to help Negroes who were in need of legal aid and who could not afford it.²⁵ The experience gained in this position, with his many contacts with the colored population, apparently proved very fruitful in his research on this segment of Cuba's population, because he is considered one of the individuals who has most successfully studied social problems from a juridical point of view. Unlike many scholars in the Latin tradition, his studies were not merely of a speculative nature, because he was always searching for practical and utilitarian objectives.

In 1909 he became a faculty member in the Law School of the University of La Habana. During these years at the University he kept up his intensive research activities, amassing data and publishing several books, essays, pamphlets, and giving lectures on various subjects relevant to the culture of Cuba.

In 1916 Ortiz entered politics and the Liberal Party elected him to the House of Representatives. It is not too far fetched to assume that his marriage to the daughter of Raimundo Cabrera, one of the great liberals of that epoch, had some influence on his political career. For ten years

²⁵ Statement by Miguel Jorrín during a recent interview.

In 1908 Fernando Ortiz arrived as assistant professor
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Raimundo Gaxiola, one of the great liberals of that epoch,
had some influence on his political career. For ten years

Ortiz served in the legislative body as a representative from Habana. He was one of the few estimable men in the House during that turbulent period. After Cuba joined the Allies in the first World War, Ortiz suggested that Cuba send a small expeditionary force to Europe to aid the Allied war effort, if only as a symbol of active participation in the conflict. He introduced a bill in the legislature to that effect and the bill was approved, but the Cuban expeditionary force was never actually sent overseas.

During these years emotions were running very high over the controversial Platt Amendment. Although Ortiz did not approve of the Amendment, he was one of the officials who viewed the problem realistically and dispassionately. During a heated discussion of the problem in the House of Representatives he stated,

. . . the official opinion of the United States . . . is favorable, frankly, explicitly, in American style americamento to our independence.²⁶

One must not get the impression that he was fully in accord with the course of action taken by the United States. He displayed some evidence of the influence of his generation when he stated later on, "Cuba is no more independent from the control of the United States than Long Island."²⁷

²⁶ Cited by Russel H. Fitzgibbon, Cuba and the United States, 1900-1935 (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1935), p. 91, taken from Fernando Ortiz, En la tribuna, Vol. I (Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo," 1923), p. 147.

²⁷ Fitzgibbon, op. cit., p. 155.

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... the official opinion of the United States
 is favorable, friendly, and helpful in assisting
 Cuba to attain independence.
 One must not get the impression that we are fully in accord
 with the course of action taken by the United States. We
 displayed some evidence of the reluctance of this generation
 when he stated later in 1914 in a news advertisement "I fear
 the control of the United States is a long task."

28 Cited by Albert H. Wilkinson, Cuba and the
 United States, 1898-1902, Havana, at account George Santos
 Puel and Gomez, 1903, p. 67, notes from Fernando Ortiz
 in his edition "Los 20 años de la independencia de Cuba" (1937),
 p. 147.

Meanwhile internal politics raged on, creating as much furor between opposing political factions as did the Platt Amendment on the international level. In 1913 General Mario García Menocal took over the presidency of Cuba and he managed to remain in power until 1921. At the end of Menocal's first term in office, he attempted to persuade Congress to have him declared president for an additional term without going through the formality of an election. However, the sanction of Congress was not unanimous. Many of the Liberal representatives, among them Ortiz, boycotted that session of Congress. When threatened with persecution Ortiz sought refuge at the Uruguayan Embassy.

Finally in 1921 Menocal was replaced by Alfredo Zayas Alfonso, who occupied the presidency until 1925, but conditions hardly improved at all. Representative Ortiz eventually resigned voluntarily from Congress before the termination of his term, because he disapproved of the widespread political corruption that he witnessed in governmental circles.

On April 2, 1923, as president of an organization called the Cuban Committee of National and Civic Renovation, Dr. Ortiz issued a "manifesto" denouncing the corruption in the regime of President Zayas. The manifesto was signed by hundreds of distinguished Cubans. It was in no sense a document manufactured for political propaganda purposes. On the

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... Dr. Ortíz issued a manifesto concerning the corruption in
... the regime of President Yanes. The manifesto was signed by
... hundreds of distinguished Cubans. It was in no sense a docu-
... ment maintained for political propaganda purposes, on the

contrary, it represented the views of men who were very much desirous of seeing a political regeneration. The document condemned numerous evils, and judging by the extended list of charges, one may form from it an adverse opinion of the lack of integrity, the political corruption and gross mismanagement that was the rule rather than the exception during the Zayas administration. Some of the numerous accusations contained in the manifesto condemned specifically the tax frauds imposed on the people by government officials for the personal benefit of the latter; graft in customs collections; inattention to public sanitation; corruption of the judiciary; use of the army in politics; Congress's failure to enact needed legislation, and its startling activity in fostering every conceivable form of governmental impropriety; the unconstitutional acts of the president in legislating by decree; and electoral manipulations that tended to keep political power in the hands of those least worthy to wield it.

The document assumes a threatening tone in its closing lines where it makes an exhortation to the politicians to make the necessary sacrifices to bring about a complete renovation of Cuba's political environment lest the people be forced to take action.²⁸ This document is important, not

²⁸ C. E. Chapman, History of the Cuban Republic (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), p. 467.

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tax levies imposed on the people by the various officials for
the personal benefit of the latter, and in various other
things; insistence on public works, construction of the
infrastructure; use of the army in political matters, and
to enact needed legislation, and the existing system, and
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be forced to take action. The document is important, not

merely because of its contents, but, as Chapman says, ". . . because of the high character of the hundreds of men who signed it."²⁹ Thereafter, from the time of the appearance of this document, there was evidence of a growing impatience with the shortcomings of the Zayas regime. Ortiz, long a member of Congress, had already voluntarily withdrawn from the body because he could not countenance its corrupt practices. The appearance of the manifesto in itself was an indication of the deep dissatisfaction with which the people viewed the deplorable state of affairs. While it is true that no one branch of the government was singled out for attack, the executive perhaps was the most culpable, although the inefficiency and corruption of Congress inevitably found a place for criticism in the document.

On May 28, 1923, while speaking at a banquet in Habana, Ortiz again expressed his views on the Platt Amendment. Speaking now as a private citizen he expressed a stronger view against the Amendment than he had as a public servant. On this occasion he stated that the two major problems facing Cuba were internal political corruption and the Platt Amendment.³⁰ Many other Cuban leaders had attacked

²⁹ Loc. cit.

³⁰ Fernando Ortiz, El banquete de la honradez (Vol. X, J. M. Carbonell y Rivero, ed., Evolución de la cultura de Cuba, 18 vols.; La Habana: Imprenta Montalvo y Cardenas, 1928), p. 207.

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⁵⁰ loc. cit.

⁵¹ Fernando Guevara, El programa de la izquierda (Vol. X, J. M. Carbonell y Rivera, ed., Revolucion de la cultura de Cuba, 18 vols.; la Habana: Imprenta Nacional y Graficas, 1935), p. 207.

the Amendment, not only on the grounds that it was an encroachment on Cuban sovereignty, but, more serious yet, with the charge that the United States was maintaining in power regimes friendly toward her but negligent in fulfilling their duties toward the people who had placed them in office.

The end of Ortiz's participation in partisan politics may be set as 1926. At that time he withdrew from all partisan political activities. Nonetheless, he remained intensely interested in the public affairs of Cuba.

In reading through his public addresses, one detects a note of pessimism toward the shortcomings of Cuban politics, but he never considers the situation entirely irremediable. He criticizes severely, but his criticism is intended to be constructive. Some of his most famous speeches have been preserved in pamphlets, such as Seamos hoy como fueron ayer (1914) and La decadencia cubana (1924). In Seamos hoy como fueron ayer, he urged his audience to imitate the progressive spirit shown by the majority of Cuban leaders during the nineteenth century. That group of Cubans published periodicals, established educational and cultural institutions, financed the education of potential leaders, established hospitals and research centers, and carried on an extensive research program into all Cuban problems. They carved a nation out of an exploited colony.³¹

³¹ Lino Novás Calvo, op. cit., p. 8.

the Amendment, not only on the grounds that it was an un-
 statement on Cuban sovereignty, but, more seriously, with
 the charge that the United States was retaining its power
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 their duties toward the people who had placed them in office.

The end of Ortiz's participation in Cuban politics
 also may be set as 1930. At that time he withdrew from all
 partisan political activities. Nonetheless, he remained in-
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In passing through his public addresses, one obtains
 a note of restraint toward the shortcomings of Cuban poli-
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 progressive spirit shown by the majority of Cuban leaders
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Ortiz has followed a line of thought originated by his compatriot, Felix Varela, regarding the solution of Cuba's problems. He believes, like Varela, that the solution has to be found in Cuba by Cubans. Is this a manifestation of patriotism or provincialism in Ortiz? Or is this trend of thought a reaction to Cuba's misfortune in having been controlled until recently by non-native governments that considered her nothing more than a colony?³² It seems most likely that this trend of thought in Ortiz is due to his environment, the first republican generation. They reacted violently to any form of intervention. Of course, arguments in support or against either of the queries presented can be sustained, but the preponderance of evidence seems to indicate that it is mostly a reaction to foreign control. The fact that their country's status had not changed, even after a costly revolution, was a constant source of perturbation for Cubans. Ortiz feared grave political consequences from too much foreign control, because Americans, however altruistic, would be inclined to think of their estates first, then of the welfare of Cuba. Nevertheless, on several occasions he has reminded the people that

³² Colony is used here in the same sense that it was used in Mercantilistic theory, where a colony exists only for the aggrandizement of the mother country. Spain, with only slight modifications, followed this current of thought in dealing with Cuba. When Spanish domination ended, Cuba's status, in reality, did not change. The provisions of the Platt Amendment once again relegated Cuba to a colonial status.

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they cannot blame all of Cuba's ills on foreigners, because they themselves are responsible for most of their crises.

In 1928 Ortiz was named president of the group working on the Penal Codification Section of the Cuban Codification Commission. He was the expert on the commission on questions dealing with international law in its relation to Cuba's code of criminal law. Here again the influence of the Italian criminologists is noticeable.

Ortiz and numerous other liberals opposed the despotic Machado regime. As conditions grew worse the liberals increased their protests and the number of exiles grew. Ortiz came to Washington, D.C., where he became an unofficial "ambassador" working in behalf of the young revolutionaries who were desperately fighting every move that Machado made on the island.

Another phase of Ortiz's life, and perhaps one of the most fruitful when viewed from the cultural point of view, is his work in the educational field. For nine years he taught law at the University of La Habana, in addition to courses on political economy, international law, ethnography, and other courses cultural in content. Through his teachings, writings, and actions he has influenced a number of men who consider themselves his "disciples." These men, most of them his former students, revere the liberal ideas of their old

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teacher.³³ In 1943, he was appointed professor of Cuban Ethnology at the Instituto Universitario de Investigaciones Científicas y Ampliación de Estudios at La Habana.

The outbreak of World War II found Ortiz working as director of the Hispano-Cuban Cultural Institute. Ortiz worked incessantly for the allied cause. Never had he been so active in public affairs. As Novás Calvo says,

. . . he was in the streets, in the newspapers, in the magazines, on the speaker's platform. He was wherever a voice was needed to demand action, not just oratory, against the "powers of darkness."

. . . Never had he seen our freedoms we enjoy and want to go on enjoying in such danger.³⁴

The end of World War II coincides with the end of another phase of Ortiz's life. Vigorous in attesting his ideological and political beliefs, Ortiz has not been a man without enemies. This, in addition to his poor health, influenced his decision to relinquish most of his activities and dedicate himself to his books.

Another quotation from Novás Calvo gives us a clue to what is perhaps one of the basic personality traits of Ortiz:

One of the great qualities of his writings is that he humanizes all: everything is an individual

³³Two of his "disciples," Dr. Miguel Jorrín, University of New Mexico, and Dr. Enrique Noble, University of Rochester, gave the writer the personal touch in the study of Ortiz's life.

³⁴ Novás Calvo, op. cit., p. 8.

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... he was in the streets in the University in the magazines, on the radio, in the newspapers, and wherever a voice was raised to demand justice, not just for the Cuban people but for the oppressed of all nations.

... Never had he seen our independence and went so far as to say in his articles...

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Ortiz:

One of the great qualities of his writings is that he himself was all; everything is an individual

Two of his articles, "Dr. Miguel Jover, University of New Mexico," and "Dr. Antonio Nolasco, University of Rochester," gave the writer the personal touch in the study of Ortiz's life.

and the individual is everything. Topics interest him for their human implications. He is not concerned with art for art's sake nor science for science's sake. These fields move him only insofar as he can relate them to man, individually or collectively. But when he can do this, they inspire him, and the inspiration is that of an artist.³⁵

At present he still continues his research and prolific production on his main theme: man and society in Cuba.

Affiliations with cultural and learned organizations.

Ortiz is possibly the man of the most varied intellectual attainments in contemporary Cuba. An eloquent testimonial of this is the long list of his works, activities, and his membership in numerous cultural and learned organizations.

He is a member and former president of the Economic Society of Friends of the Country of La Habana;³⁶ a member of the Cuban Geographic Society, Society of Americanists (Paris), Cuban Society of Natural History "Felipe Poey," Academy of Political Science (New York), American Political Science Association, American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, and the African Society of London. He is a corresponding member of the Spanish Academy of the Spanish Language, Academy of Philosophy and Political Science, Royal Academy of Spanish History, and the Royal Academy of Legislation and

³⁵ Ibid., p. 46.

³⁶ See footnote 2, Chapter II, p. 14, supra.

and the individual is ever...
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As present he still...
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Affiliations with...
Ortiz is possibly...
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of this is the...
membership in...
He is a member...
Society of Friends...
of the Cuban...
(Paris), Cuban...
Academy of Political...
Science Association...
Sciences, American...
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member of the...
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30 Ibid., p. 48.
31 See footnote 2, Chapter III, p. 14, etc.

Jurisprudence, all of Madrid. He founded the Anti-Racialism Society, an organization dedicated to combating prejudice against Negroes and Jews. In 1946 he and several other intellectuals from all over the world met in Mexico and founded the International Institute of Afro-American Studies. Its official publication is called Afro-America and it is edited by a committee composed of Melville J. Herskovits (United States), Alain Locke (United States), Fernando Ortiz (Cuba), Richard Pateo (Puerto Rico), Jean Price-Mars (Haiti), Arthur Ramos (Brazil), and Jorje A. Vivó (Mexico). In 1944 Ortiz was named president of the National Assembly of Cuban Archaeology and Ethnography, and the following year he accepted the first presidency of the Institute of Cuban Soviet Cultural Exchange.³⁷

The literary labor of Ortiz is extensive. He has been the editor of the Cuban Bi-monthly Review³⁸ since 1911. He was the director of the monthly review Ultra, the official organ of the Institute of Hispanic-Cuban Culture, and has been since 1924 director of the Archives of Cuban Folklore.³⁹

An incomplete list of the works of Fernando Ortiz is included in Appendix A. An attempt was made to enumerate

³⁷ Who's Who, op. cit., p. 1875.

³⁸ The Cuban Bi-monthly Review is the official organ of the Economic Society of La Habana and the oldest publication of contemporary Cuba since it dates back to 1830.

³⁹ Esteban Roldán Oliarte, ed., op. cit., p. 973.

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37 Who's Who, pp. 117-118.
38 The Cuban Bi-monthly Review is the official organ
of the Executive Society of Cuba and the official pub-
lication of the University of Havana since its inception in 1933.
39 Estadística Social de Cuba, pp. 117-118.

his most important works, but since he is a frequent contributor to numerous scientific and learned journals, many articles have been omitted because at present copies were not available for investigation.

Ortiz, author, educator, jurist, diplomat, legislator, and student of Cuban culture is especially interested in the Cuban Negro. He is a prolific writer on contemporary social and political problems, dealing one moment with juridical questions, another with education, and so forth, but at all times standing for progress in the field of human relations. With the many-sidedness that has characterized a number of other scholars of the past, he also has, as Chapman says, "the high-mindedness of the true Cuban patriot."⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Chapman, op. cit., p. 663.

CHAPTER III

HIS METHODS AND WORK

Focus of Interest. If one views the entire work of Ortiz, his goal becomes apparent. His deep concern for the complete cultural integration of all demographic elements present in Cuba seems to be the basic point of most of his intellectual labor. His work cuts across all of the social science disciplines. His varied productions on history, social psychology, sociology, criminal law, archaeology, and cultural anthropology seem to indicate several significant trends in his work. First, his focus of interest lies in the realm of the social sciences. Second, his study of the social sciences is restricted mainly to an investigation of social phenomena as they manifest themselves in Cuba. Third, of all Cuban themes he has concentrated his efforts mainly on the study of the Cuban Negro and his effect on various phases of the culture of the country. Fourth, his method in the study of sociological themes is not strictly speaking, scientific, if we are to interpret the term scientific in the sense that most modern North American sociologists use it.¹

¹ Pauline Young in Scientific Social Surveys and Research (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1949) devotes several chapters to the discussion of the generally accepted steps essential to the planning of a scientific social study. The points stressed are: Choice of research topic;

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¹ Pauline Young in Scientific Social Surveys and Research (New York: Praeger Hall, Inc., 1959), Chapter 2, p. 20, states that the distinction of the generally accepted steps essential to the planning of a scientific social study. The points stressed are: Choice of research topic;

His methods, Ortiz is not, strictly speaking, scientific, but he is undoubtedly positivistically inclined. Considering the date in which the bulk of his research on Afro-Cuban themes took place (c. 1906-1930) he does make a creditable attempt to be objective in his observations. A tendency is noticeable in his work to make some strong objective evaluations which more recent research has proven erroneous or lacking sufficient grounds to be irrefragable. For example, in Hampa Afrocubana, Los Negros Brujos (1906), he states:

Reflejo del carácter erótico de la raza de color es el baile, que constituía el principal nervio casi el único de sus fiestas en Cuba, como el Africa . . . Todo negro nace bailarador.²

Here he is attributing a culturally acquired trait to biological inheritance. He implies in the statement quoted above that the "erotic nature" of the Negro makes him a "natural born dancer."

preliminary review of pertinent writings; delimitation of scope of inquiry; formulation of a working hypothesis; observation, collection, and recording of data; classification of recorded data into series and/or sequence; scientific generalizations and the formulation of social laws. Ortiz follows, more or less, the working pattern of most Latin American sociologists, this being maximum emphasis on research of previous writings on a subject and minor emphasis on the actual observation, collection, and classification of first hand data.

² Fernando Ortiz, Hampa Afrocubana, Los Negros Brujos (La Habana: Librería de F. Fé, 1906), pp. 68-69.

His method. Ortiz is not strictly speaking scientific, but he is undoubtedly positively scientific. Considering the data in which the bulk of his research on Afro-Cuban themes took place (c. 1932-1935) he does make a creditable attempt to be objective in his observations. A tendency is noticeable in his work to make some things subjective evaluations which more recent research has proven erroneous or lacking sufficient grounds to be given. For example, in El Negro en Cuba, he writes (p. 125):

El Negro en Cuba, todo negro hace bailar, como se ve en el baile, que constituye el elemento nervio casi el único de sus fiestas en Cuba, como el ritmo.

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3. Formación del Negro en Cuba, por Ortiz
 (La Habana: Librería de P. S. 1935, p. 62-63)

In some of his earlier works (e.g., Los Negros Brujos, supra) the material presented is interpreted through the tenets contained in the theories of Cesar Lombroso and other Italian positivists. These theories have since been proven scientifically untenable in part or totally. In spite of the comments made above, there is evidence that Ortiz is always searching for the "truth." He follows the tradition started by the Reformists and the Economic Society. These two groups were the strongest advocates of the use of reason based upon empirical observation as the only means of solving Cuba's problems.

Speaking of the methods that ought to be used in historical research, Ortiz says:

Cuan rica cantera de estudios para el pródigo historiador, permanece aún intocada en la roca de inexplorados archivos. De ella habrá de obtenerse por la aplicación de los modernos procedimientos de investigación científica,³ la base documental que puede permitirnos reconstruir nuestra historia con cimentación objetiva, y alzar las deducciones de la interpretación científica de los fenómenos sociales cubanos.⁴

Another quotation contains definite evidence of positivistic⁵

³ Italics are the writer's.

⁴ Fernando Ortiz, Las nuevas orientaciones históricas e inmigratorias de Cuba (Vol. II, Ruben Martínez Villena, ed., En la tribuna, discursos Cubanos, 2 vols., La Habana: Imprenta El Siglo, 1923), p. 212.

⁵ Sam Schulman, "A Study of the Political Aspects of Positivism in Mexico" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1949), pp. 3-4, gives the following definition of Positivism: Positivism is a scientific doctrine which aims at continuous increase of the material,

In some of his earlier works (e.g., Los Indios
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historical research, Ortiz says:

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puede permitirse reconstruir un cuadro de la
elementacion objetiva y evitar las conclusiones de la
interpretacion empirica de las tendencias sociales
evidentes.

Another quotation contains further evidence of positivism:

Elites are the writer's

Ramón Ortiz, Los Indios Mayas, Editorial
de la Universidad de la Habana, 1941, pp. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

San Román, a study of the political situation of
Positivism in Mexico (unpublished master's thesis, Univ. of
Texas at Austin, 1963), pp. 3-4, gives the
following definition of positivism: "Positivism is a scientific
doctrine which aims at continuous increase of the material

influence. Ortiz says:

. . . estimular entre la juventud la dedicación a los temas de la historia intrínseca de la evolución social de Cuba, que habría de explicarnos la causalidad económica de los decisivos acontecimientos de nuestra historia, ocultos en demasía por laureles de ciertos heroísmos, y por zarzales de estériles políticos; y que habrían de ilustrarnos sobre la enmarañada influencia de las inmigraciones, étnicamente consideradas, en la formación demopsicológica de esta sociedad.⁶

It should be pointed out that Ortiz is not a positivist, but he has been influenced by positivism. No evidence was found during the course of this study to prove conclusively that he adheres dogmatically to positivistic doctrine. Positivistic influence is seen principally and almost exclusively in his method of research, especially in his insistence that what is stated as a fact should be empirically verifiable.

If one is aware of the author's biases, his contribution to an understanding of Cuban culture is invaluable. His minute descriptions of Negro cultural traits in Cuba, his interpretations of the influence that these traits have had on la cubenidad, his sustained efforts to promote better understanding between the Negroes and whites in Cuba by intellectual, and moral wellbeing of all human societies, and in particular of the societies or nations of Europe. Positivism has three divisions: (1) Philosophy of the sciences, summed up in the conclusion that mankind must rely solely on its own exertions for the amelioration of its lot, (2) Scientific Religion and Ethics, and (3) Positive Politics.

⁶ Fernando Ortiz, Las nuevas orientaciones, etc., op. cit., pp. 211-212.

... estimar sobre la influencia de la evolución social de Cuba, que habla de experimentos de los economistas de las decisiones administrativas de nuestra historia, o bien en general por las leyes de ciertos hechos, y por tanto la evolución social; y que hablan de las influencias, especialmente en la formación democrática de una sociedad.

It should be pointed out that Ortiz is not a relativist, but he has been influenced by positivism. No evidence was found during the course of this study to prove conclusively that he adheres dogmatically to positive doctrine. Positive influence is seen principally in his attitude exclusively in his method of research, especially in the statement that what is stated is not to be empirically verifiable.

If one is aware of the author's ideas, the contrast between an understanding of Cuba and the investigation of his minute descriptions of Negro cultural reality in Cuba, his interpretation of the influence that these traits have had on the enclosed, the mentioned efforts to promote better understanding between the Negroes and whites in Cuba by intellectual, and moral wellbeing of all human societies, and in particular of the realization of nations of Europe, Asia, Africa has three divisions: (1) Philosophy of the sciences named up in the conclusion that existing must be mainly of its own existence for the realization of the goal, (2) the Negro Religion and Culture, and (3) Positive Politics.

mutual enlightenment, and his insight into the problems facing the Negro in Cuba are all factors that have aided the so called transculturation process.

Fernando Ortiz has approached the study of the Negro in Cuba in a manner similar to that used by Manuel Gamio in the study of the Indian in Mexico. Dr. Gamio, head of the Department of Anthropology, Ministry of Agriculture and Development (1917-1925), outlined the following program for his department:

Important tendencies of the Department will be the following: (1) Gradual acquisition of knowledge referring to radical characteristics, manifestations of material and intellectual culture, languages and dialects, economic situation, conditions of the physical and biological environment of the present and past regional population groups of the Republic; (2) Investigation of the truly adequate and practical means that ought to be employed by government offices as well as by individuals, to develop in an effective manner the present physical, intellectual, moral and economic development of said population groups; (3) Preparation of the racial rapprochement, cultural fusion, linguistic unification and economic equilibrium of said groups, which only thus will be able to form a coherent and definite nationality and a true homeland.⁷

Notice the striking similarity of thought between the quotation from Gamio and the following taken from a recent pamphlet by Ortiz. Speaking of what he considers the objective of all his studies, he remarks:

Para la patria, . . . trato de conocer sus elementos humanos y sus valores culturales, para lograr cuanto antes una total integración nacional, que todavía no existe en Cuba, con la íntima cohesión que

⁷ Cited by Juan Comas, "Manuel Gamio," The Social Sciences in Mexico, 1:75-82, 1948, p. 77.

mutual enlightenment, and his insight into the problems facing the Negro in Cuba are all factors that have aided the so called evangelization process.

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- Important tendencies of the Department will be the following: (1) General acquisition of knowledge referring to racial characteristics, manifestations of material and intellectual culture, languages and dialects, economic situation, conditions of the soil and biological environment of the present and past regional population groups of the Republic; (2) Investigation of the truly adequate and practical means that ought to be employed by government officials as well as by individuals, to develop in an effective manner the present physical, intellectual, moral and economic development of said population groups; (3) Preparation of the racial representation, ethnological, linguistic, historical and economic evolution of said groups, which only thus will be able to form a coherent and definite nationality and a true homeland.

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Para la patria . . . trata de conocer sus elementos humanos y sus valores culturales, para lograr cuanto antes una total integración nacional, que solo ella no existe en Cuba, con la indiana de donde nos

requiere nuestro porvenir . . . el investigador de los seres humanos y sus expresiones colectivas representa la penetración de la ciencia en el estudio de las relaciones sociales y los fenómenos de las culturas, analizando verdaderos factores, sus complicaciones y su desenvolvimiento para que los destinos de la humanidad también sean más y más dirigidos por la razón científica, como ya los son, con progresivo y asombroso éxito, las relaciones de los hombres con la naturaleza cada día más domesticada por las técnicas, que están cambiando el mundo.⁸

Here we have in Ortiz's own words what may be the prime factor that has motivated his intense interest in the Negro and his culture in Cuba. This is essentially a continuance of the trend of thought seen in the first republican generation, especially in Varona, that is, the preoccupation with the lack of white immigration to Cuba. Ortiz has approached the problem from a different angle and in a manner that seems like a repudiation of the opinion held on the matter by the majority of the first republican generation. Perhaps Ortiz is the only one of that generation who had a true perspective of the problem because he realized that the Negro was there and that in the interest of national progress he must be integrated.

Work on Afro-Cuban Culture. If one seeks to understand la cubanidad, the value of Ortiz's interpretations of Afro-Cuban culture becomes paramount, because without the

⁸ Fernando Ortiz, Paz y luz (La Habana: Imprenta P. Fernández y Cía., 1950), p. 8.

requiere nuestro pensar... el investigador de
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NOTE ON ALTO-CUBAN CULTURE. It now seems to inter-

stand in Cuba, the view of Ortíz's interpretations of
 Alto-Cuban culture becomes permanent, because without the

⁸ Fernando Ortíz, *Las y las (La Habana: Imprenta S.
 Fernández y Cía., 1930), p. 8.*

Negro Cuba would not be Cuba. Furthermore, because of the work of Ortiz, the Negro has become an element in Cuban culture of which most Cubans are justly proud. Cubans, prior to the time Ortiz began his work, did not fully recognize the importance of the Negro in their culture, and in fact attempts were made to belittle Negro contributions to the Cuban way of life. Ortiz makes the rather significant point, from the standpoint of racial relations, that cultural traits of unmistakable African origin were frequently attributed to the Cuban aborigines, because the majority of Cubans would not acknowledge their indebtedness to the Negro. Ortiz, as we have previously stated, began to study the Negro, using a different approach. To him the man was important, but his culture was more important, because in it lay the secret to the complete integration of Cuban society.

According to the latest available figures compiled by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, it is estimated that in 1944 the whites constituted sixty-five per cent of the total population of Cuba, while the Negroes, mulattoes, mestizos, and other groups made up thirty-five per cent. Therefore it would seem that Ortiz's preoccupation with the integration of the Negro into Cuban society is justifiable.⁹

⁹ Basic Data on the Other American Republics (Washington, D. C.: Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944), p. 63.

... of the Negro Cuba would not be ...
work of Orlin, the Negro was ...
true of which most Negroes are ...
to the time Orlin began his ...
the importance of the Negro in ...
attempts were made to ...
Cuban way of life, Orlin ...
from the standpoint of ...
of ...
the Cuban ...
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the complete ...
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that in 1941 the ...
the local ...
...
therefore ...
integration of the Negro into ...

² ...
ington, D. C. ...
Government ...

The works of Ortiz on the Negro are a documentation of almost every phase of Negro life, influence on the dominant culture, and Negro culture itself in Cuba. Studying his work from the historical angle one is impressed with the similarity between the circumstances which brought the Negroes and whites into contact in Cuba and those in the southern part of the United States. This phase of his investigations is perhaps the most important, because his intense historical research on the Cuban Negro laid the foundation for further research on other phases of Negro life, which in all probability would have lacked perspective had he been unfamiliar with the historical antecedents of the Negro's entry into the island. Negroes were imported into Cuba soon after colonization began (c. 1517). However, one hastens to add that some Negroes were already there. They had come with Spanish troops, not as slaves, but as orderlies, servants, and so forth. Their number was negligible. In 1517 three hundred slaves were brought in from Santo Domingo. This was the first shipment of slaves into Cuba. Negroes were imported from Santo Domingo to replenish the diminishing supply of Indian slave labor. As the number of Indians available for slave labor diminished in Cuba, the number of Negro slaves brought in increased. During the period 1521-1763 it is estimated that 60,000 slaves were brought into Cuba. Table I on page 52 shows the proportion of Negroes and whites in Cuba from 1774 to 1899.

TABLE I
 PROPORTION OF WHITES AND NEGROES IN CUBA
 DURING THE YEARS 1774-1899*

Year	Whites**	Per cent of total	Negroes	Per cent of total
1774	96,440	56.2	75,180	43.8
1792	153,559	56.4	118,741	43.6
1817	257,380	45.0	314,983	55.0
1827	311,051	44.2	393,436	55.8
1830	332,352	44.0	423,343	56.0
1841	418,291	41.5	589,333	58.5
1846	425,784	47.4	472,985	52.6
1849	458,033	48.5	488,899	51.5
1855	498,752	47.8	545,433	52.2
1858	589,777	52.2	539,527	47.8
1860	615,234	51.6	577,165	48.4
1861	793,484	56.8	603,046	43.2
1872	764,750	55.4	615,461	44.6
1877	1,023,993	67.8	485,897	32.2
1887	1,102,889	67.6	528,798	32.4
1899	1,067,354	67.9	505,443	32.1

* Source: Fernando Ortiz, Hampa Afrocubana, Los Negros Brujos (Madrid: Libreria de F. Fé, 1906), pp. 24-25.

** Chinese are included in the white group.

TABLE I

PROPORTION OF WHITES AND NEGROES IN CUBA
DURING THE YEARS 1774-1898*

Year	Whites**	Per cent of total	Negroes	Per cent of total
1774	98,440	56.2	75,180	43.8
1792	152,289	55.4	118,741	43.5
1817	257,380	45.0	314,983	55.0
1827	311,051	44.2	392,458	55.8
1830	322,282	44.0	423,242	56.0
1841	429,281	41.5	602,222	58.5
1846	422,784	47.4	472,988	52.6
1849	428,022	49.8	428,899	51.2
1852	498,782	47.8	542,432	52.2
1858	569,777	52.2	532,827	47.8
1860	612,224	51.6	577,182	48.4
1861	722,484	52.8	602,048	47.2
1872	764,780	52.4	612,421	44.0
1877	1,022,922	57.8	488,897	32.2
1887	1,102,889	57.6	528,799	32.4
1898	1,087,224	57.9	502,442	32.1

* Source: Fernando Ortiz, *Handes Afrocaribenas, los Negros*
Brucos (Madrid: Libreria de F. Fe, 1908), pp. 24-25.

** Chinese are included in the white group.

This was approximately the time when Ortiz was conducting his initial surveys on the Negro in Cuba, especially from the criminological point of view. The table on the preceding page shows that the peak of Negro population in Cuba was reached around 1872, but even at the end of the century the Negroes were numerous enough to be considered a major demographic element in Cuba. Ortiz does not clarify in presenting his figures what proportion of the colored population's increase was natural and what was the result of migration; however, the important thing to note is that for over a century the proportion of Negroes to whites was almost equally divided.

The earliest Negro-white relations were conditioned by the slave system. Under the slave system, according to Ortiz, the Negro was given only four rights. First, he could marry anyone he pleased, within his own group or caste. Second, he could look for a new master if the one whom he served was exceedingly cruel. Third, he could acquire for himself a peculium. Fourth, he could pay for his liberty, by reimbursing his master the amount for which he had been bought. Taking into consideration the temper of the times, this seems like a fairly equitable system, but as Ortiz points out on several occasions it must not be forgotten that during that epoch all the judges and officials were members of the white group. An indication of the sentiment of

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the time regarding racial relations is given by the existence of a law, Article 10, No. 22, of the Penal Code of 1879, which states that in a case involving a Negro and a white, the decision should favor the latter whenever there existed any doubt in the matter being contested. Another interesting inference based on Ortiz's work is that, generally speaking, the slaves in urban areas were treated more humanely than those in rural areas. This may be due to the fact that the urban environment was conducive to more intimate master-slave relations than in rural areas where the Negro was considered nothing more than a beast of burden.

In his book El engaño de las razas (1947),¹⁰ Ortiz condemns such myths on race as: "Negroes with white or black souls," "correlation between race and blood," "mean blood," "divine malediction of the black race," and many others. He feels that these myths were invented and perpetuated by the in-group to "keep the Negro in his place."

Another phase of Negro life in Cuba that was investigated by Ortiz was the proportion of free and slave colored population in Cuba during colonial days. This was important to him because he could gain some idea from these statistics of what proportion of the colored population was more apt to be integrated, if the hypothesis that free Negroes were more

¹⁰ Fernando Ortiz, El engaño de las razas (La Habana: Páginas, S.A., 1946).

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¹⁰ Fernando Ortiz, El mundo de las razas (La Habana:
Editorial S.A., 1927).

susceptible to acculturative processes than slave Negroes was accepted.

Table II on the following page shows the proportion of free and slave colored population in Cuba during the period 1774-1877. As can be seen from this table there was a large free Negro element in Cuba even before slavery was abolished. Apparently a number of them were able to buy their liberty, or by some other means become free men. A large number of these people went to isolated areas where they attempted to live in the tradition that they had known in their native land. Thus some of these communities became the carriers of rituals, esoteric societies, artifacts, dances, music, superstitions, and other cultural phenomena peculiar to African cultures and long since forgotten or neglected by other less isolated Negro groups in Cuba. Another significant fact shown by Table II is the large increase of free Negro population during the years 1872-1877. This may be attributed, at least partially, to the Cuban struggle for independence. The Negro played a prominent part in that conflict, and numerous masters freed their slaves in a burst of patriotic fervor. It is on this basis of the Negro's role in the wars for independence that Ortiz appealed to many of his countrymen for more equitable treatment of the Negro.

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TABLE II

PROPORTION OF SLAVE AND FREE NEGRO POPULATION
IN CUBA DURING THE PERIOD 1774-1877*

Year	Slaves	Per cent of total	Free	Per cent of total
1774	44,333	59.0	30,847	41.0
1792	64,590	54.4	54,151	45.6
1817	199,292	63.3	115,691	36.7
1827	286,942	72.9	106,494	29.1
1830	310,978	73.5	112,365	26.5
1841	436,495	74.1	152,838	25.9
1846	323,759	68.5	149,226	31.5
1849	324,187	66.3	164,712	33.7
1855	366,421	67.2	179,012	32.8
1858	364,253	67.5	175,274	32.5
1860	367,758	63.7	209,407	36.3
1861	377,203	62.9	225,843	37.4
1872	379,523	61.7	235,938	38.3
1877	199,094	44.3	272,478	55.7

* Source: Fernando Ortiz, Hampa Afrocubana, Los Negros Brujos (Madrid: Librería de F. Fé, 1906), p. 47.

PROPORTION OF SLAVES AND FREE BORN POPULATION
IN DURA DURING THE PERIOD 1774-1877

Year	Slaves	Total	Free born
1774	198,000	44,333	0.00
1775	377,805	84,800	0.22
1776	379,823	199,900	0.53
1777	379,823	280,915	0.74
1778	379,823	310,978	0.82
1779	379,823	323,730	0.85
1780	379,823	323,730	0.85
1781	379,823	323,730	0.85
1782	379,823	323,730	0.85
1783	379,823	323,730	0.85
1784	379,823	323,730	0.85
1785	379,823	323,730	0.85
1786	379,823	323,730	0.85
1787	379,823	323,730	0.85
1788	379,823	323,730	0.85
1789	379,823	323,730	0.85
1790	379,823	323,730	0.85
1791	379,823	323,730	0.85
1792	379,823	323,730	0.85
1793	379,823	323,730	0.85
1794	379,823	323,730	0.85
1795	379,823	323,730	0.85
1796	379,823	323,730	0.85
1797	379,823	323,730	0.85

* Source: Fernando Ortiz, *Historia de Cuba*, p. 18. (Havana: Editorial Financiera, 1940).

research is that during colonial times and for a number of years after the establishment of the Republic, the preponderance of Negro population resided in rural areas. Even then there was a considerable number of Negroes in urban areas, where they were used as domestic slaves and nurses by well-to-do families. Negroes were employed in rural areas as slave labor in the huge sugar plantations that characterized the economy of Cuba at that time. Under this circumstance the economic motive was one of the factors that aroused an attitude of antagonism between the white and colored population in Cuba. Negroes were looked upon by a large number of the poor whites as the main factor that tended to perpetuate the status quo and hence prolong their existence in a state of poverty. The poor whites and most of the small farm owners could not compete with the Negro as a labor force, nor could they compete with the large plantation owners who, through the use of slave labor, managed to monopolize the lucrative profits derived from the monoculture of the country.

Ortiz stresses the point in his works Hampa Afro-cubana, Los Negros Brujos (1906)¹¹ and Hampa Afro-cubana, Los Negros Esclavos (1916),¹² that the Negroes brought into Cuba possessed cultures that in the majority of cases differed

¹¹ Fernando Ortiz, Hampa Afro-cubana, Los Negros Brujos (Madrid: Librería de F. Fé, 1906).

¹² Fernando Ortiz, Hampa Afro-cubana, Los Negros Esclavos (La Habana: Revista Bimestre Cubana, 1916).

research is that during colonial times and for a number of years after the establishment of the Republic, the presence of Negro population resulted in rural areas, even when there was a considerable number of Negroes in urban areas, where they were used as domestic slaves and engaged by well-to-do families. Negroes were employed in rural areas as slave labor in the large sugar plantations that characterized the economy of Cuba at that time. Under this circumstance the economic motive was one of the factors that aroused an attitude of antagonism between the white and colored population in Cuba. Negroes were looked upon by a large number of the poor whites as the main factor that tended to perpetuate the status quo and hence prolong their existence in a state of poverty. The poor whites and most of the small farm owners could not compete with the Negro as a labor force, nor could they compete with the large plantation owners, and through the use of slave labor, managed to monopolize the lucrative profits derived from the monoculture of the country.

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¹¹ Fernando Ortiz, El Negro en Cuba, Los Negros de Cuba (Madrid: Editorial de P. S. S., 1903).
¹² Fernando Ortiz, El Negro en Cuba, Los Negros de Cuba (La Habana: Editorial de P. S. S., 1918).

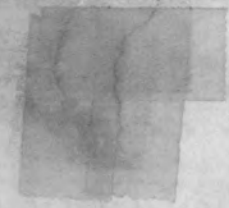
almost as much among the various Negro groups as they did from the dominant European culture.

With the aid of English, French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish documents Ortiz was able to trace, with some degree of accuracy, the historical antecedents of numerous Negro groups in Cuba. Prior to this time the whites had considered all Negroes the same. To them anybody with Negroid characteristics was a Negro and as a Negro he was automatically relegated to an inferior social status. Ortiz's research proved that some Cuban Negroes were members of ruling classes in their native land, while others were slaves even among their own people in Africa. While it is true that his research was not oriented toward the analysis of social processes, he hints indirectly that even within the Negro group there is some evidence of social stratification.

Cuban Negroes, according to Ortiz, are descendants of the following tribes: Abaya, Angola, Arara, Bibi, Bricano, Biché, Carabali, Elugo, Fanti, Fulas, Ganga, Guineas, Yola, Yolof, Loango, Longoba, Macua, Mandinga, Mani, Mayombe, Mina, Musundi, Quisi, Sincuato, and Suama.¹³ One infers from the observations of Ortiz that the Yoruba is the main linguistic stock or at least the largest of all Cuban Negro groups.

Ortiz, being something of a linguist and an expert

¹³ Fernando Ortiz, Hampa Afrocubana, Los Negros Brujos (Madrid: Librería de F. Fé, 1906), pp. 26-31.



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Cuban Negroes, according to Ortiz, are descended of the following tribes: Abaya, Angola, Arara, Didi, Ebi-ama, Bani, Garabali, Elnco, Fanti, Fula, Ganga, Gbuzar, Yola, Yorof, Ioroko, Ioroko, Ioroko, Mandinga, Mali, Nanyoko, Nini, Isumbi, Gula, Shavato, and Suma. It is interesting to observe that the Yoruba is the main linguistic stock or at least the largest of all Cuban Negro groups. Ortiz, being something of a linguist and an expert

13 Fernando Ortiz, Las Negras
Burton (Madrid: Editorial de F. E. 1903), pp. 25-27.

folklorist, has done considerable research on the African influence on Cuban Spanish. Numerous terms and phrases of African origin have been incorporated into the Spanish spoken in Cuba today. The acculturative process began during colonial times. Negro slaves influenced the popular language in several aspects: vocabulary, prosody, and syntax. This influence was especially noticeable in the lower strata of society.¹⁴ Ortiz has conducted several studies on this phenomenon.¹⁵ His studies contain the implication that the greatest language intermixture has taken place in rural areas. As a plausible explanation of this he advances the hypothesis that it may be due to the fact that at one time the Negro and mulatto population greatly outnumbered the whites in rural areas. The colored population used terms existing in their own dialects or languages to label topographical and geographical landmarks, plants, and animals peculiar to the New World. These terms and phrases were gradually incorporated into the vernacular of the dominant group. In urban centers terms concerned with kitchen and household work, vulgar language, superstitions,

¹⁴ Roberto Mac-Lean y Estenos, Negros en el nuevo mundo (Lima: Editorial P.T.C.M., 1948), p. 86.

¹⁵ His most lengthy studies of this character are Glosario de afronegrismos-estudio de lingüística (La Habana: 1924) and Glosario de afronegrismos-proyecto de Código Criminal Cubano (La Habana: 1926).

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¹⁴ Roberto Torres y Babarro, Negros on el grupo
Mundo (Lima: Editorial T. O. S., 1942), p. 88.
¹⁵ His most lengthy studies of this character are
Giornale de etimologia-estudio de palabras (La Habana:
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Original Cubano (La Habana: 1935).

midwifery, and witchcraft also show considerable Negro influence.

Topographical terms of distinct Negro origin are zaza, tángana, rubí, nozote, manimani, mangler, macamba, jurutungu, furudi, carraguao, cambute, biafara, baucuirí, ambulia, ampanga, angola, bemba, cacocum, cañandongá, chambas, hongolosongo, lebisa, mandinga, manigua, motembo, motembo, guimbamba, songo, and yara.

Other terms were used to name animals heretofore unfamiliar to the Negro and the whites, such as aurag, macaca, and nihua. From the magico-religious terminology of African witchdoctors, Cuban Spanish has received such terms as macambo, magarobomba, and ihue. Many common terms of the popular speech spoken in Cuba today, for example, mambí, bauta, and imaguas, were derived from the dialects of the Negroes.

Generalizing, on the basis of the information supplied by Ortiz's research and on what has been said so far on languages, it may be stated that it is probable that the greater influence of the Negro on rural Cuba's manner of speech, when compared to urban areas, may be due at least to two factors. First, the numerical superiority of the Negro in rural areas allowed him to construct a vocabulary of words extant in his own language to assign verbal symbols to places, plants, animals, superstitions, and situations heretofore

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Topographical terms of distinct Negro origin are
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intintun, turo, outarun, canule, biatare, panuair,
ambula, unapas, anela, kema, gacore, galandona,
chapas, ponolongo, labia, mandira, nainna, neleno,
notopo, nupaba, sone, and tava.

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unknown to the Spaniards in some cases and in others to both themselves and the Spaniards. Second, the close contact of the Negro and his master, and that of the free Negro with the whites of similar economic status, presented an opportunity for the diffusion into white culture of some of the peculiarities of Negro speech in Cuba. Concurrently the Negro tried to imitate the white's manner of speech. A ramification of this process was the emergence of a mode of speaking that is neither African nor Spanish but typically Cuban, an integral part of la cubanidad.

One of the first things encountered by Ortiz when he began his research on the Negro was the conglomeration of secret societies, many of them of a religious nature, that were flourishing in Cuba. According to all outward indications it seemed that the Negro had adopted completely the predominant religion among the whites, Roman Catholicism. Nonetheless, deeper investigation by Ortiz into the matter revealed that for the most part Cuban Negroes had adopted only the external symbols and rituals of Catholicism while they clung to the old beliefs of their own religions. Ortiz found that as late as 1906 the esoteric cults of Cuban Negroes revealed a curious intermixture of Christianity and various African religions. He found traces of Islamic religion among some of these cults. Perhaps Islamic religion motivated the conception of the African god Oloruff, or it is possible that

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the Yoruba had already reached a stage in religious development where the concept of a single supreme deity had replaced the polytheistic concept. Among the Negroes in Cuba, the religion of the Yoruba predominated because of (1) the superiority in numbers of Yoruba slaves, (2) their's was the most advanced of all African religions in Cuba, and (3) the rapid diffusion of Yoruba language among the colored population.

It is in the minute descriptions of Negro institutions that Ortiz is at his best, and perhaps making known these little known facts of Negro life is his greatest contribution to the culture of his country and the integration of his society, because recent popular interest in the Negro among his countrymen is directly traceable to Ortiz's efforts. An example of the minuteness of detail which characterizes his work is found in Hampa Afrocubana, Los Negros Brujos (1906). During the course of his research on cults he discovered that in Yoruba religion Olorun is the highest ranking deity. This discovery led to others and before he was through he had reconstructed the entire hierarchy of Yoruba deities. Olorun, he found out, had no contact with the people. The Orishas were secondary deities, and they were the intermediaries that communicated between Olorun and the people. The Orishas were divided into three groups with a prescribed rank order among them. The important point here

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is that these ranking orders became the basis for the formation of cults and other forms of social organization. Although Ortiz does not mention it, in all probability there was some discrimination among Negroes in selecting the membership of the various cults active in Cuba. The first rank Orishas were a trinity called Obatalá, Shangó, and Ifá. The second rank Orishas were innumerable minor deities of which many barely had anthropomorphic recognition outside of the fetishes where they were used. The third rank Orishas were all the other fetishes, amulets, and other devices used by witchdoctors. Obatalá was the most powerful deity of the trinity, ranking just below the impersonal Olorun.

Of particular interest to Ortiz was the intermixture of African religion and Christianity found in the various cults that he was able to identify. Strong cults flourished around each of the three members of the Yoruba trinity. Curiously enough Obatalá was bi-sexual, representing the productivity of nature. Obatalá gave form to human bodies while Olorun, the creator, vested them with life. Cuban Negroes identified Obatalá with La Virgen de las Mercedes and La Virgen del Cobre of Catholic theology. The Virgin in Catholic theology is the most benevolent and powerful intercessor in dealing with God. Therefore the Negroes found a ready made front for their own god Obatalá, or a deity with which they could identify their own god since they were expected to

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embrace the religion of the dominant group in Cuban society. In Hampa Afrocubana, Los Negros Brujos (1906) Ortiz observes on numerous occasions that a great number of "home altars," found in Negro homes, supposedly designed to honor "la Virgen," were in reality maintained to render homage to Obatalá.

Shangó, the second ranking deity of the Yoruba trinity, also had an elaborate cult developing around it. Shangó, god of thunder, was identified by some Negroes with the Catholic saint Santa Bárbara. As the protectress of people in distress from storms and the violence of lightning and thunderbolts, she became the natural counterpart for Shangó.

The lowest ranking deity of the Yoruba trinity was Ifá, "revealer of the occult," and the patron of sexual relations. He was not identified with any Roman Catholic saint, since no patron saint exists within that religion who can be said to be the patron saint of sexual relations. Some of the minor Yoruba deities have been identified with Saint George, Saint Peter, Saint John the Baptist, and many others.

The most important fact borne out by this phase of Ortiz's research is that the pattern of religious transculturation in Cuba is similar in many respects to the patterns of religious transculturations that occurred all over Hispanic America between the aboriginal religions of the vanquished and the Christianity of the conquerers. It is a

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The most important fact borne out by this phase of Ortiz's research is that the pattern of religious transition in Cuba is similar in many respects to the pattern of religious transitions that occurred all over Latin America between the aboriginal religions of the van- dals and the Christianity of the conquerors. It is a

widely accepted historical fact that in all known cases of Hispanic-aborigine contact the religion of the conquerors was forcibly imposed on the vanquished. The Indians, according to all outward indications, abandoned their own religions and adopted Christianity, but subsequent investigations by various scholars seem to demonstrate that the religious acculturative process was very superficial as only the external symbols and rituals were adopted. The Indians retained, just as the Cuban Negroes did, the bulk of their basic religious beliefs intact or only slightly modified. Consequently what emerged from this acculturative process was an intermixture of primitive religion and Christianity.¹⁶

Generalizing, on the basis of what we have said of religious acculturation in Cuba, and what we know of the same phenomena in other regions where social contacts have been primarily of a conqueror-vanquished nature, we can state that the evidence seems to indicate that whenever a dominant, more culturally advanced human group attempts forceably to impose its religion on the vanquished and frequently less culturally advanced group, the latter will not adopt in its entirety the new religion being imposed on them. Instead the vanquished group will adopt from the new religion only

¹⁶ C. H. Haring, The Spanish Empire in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 179-208, devotes Chapter X to a discussion of the church in Hispanic-America. He makes the statement that the clergy frequently resorted to burning Indian temples to curb the "heathen" [*sic*] practices of baptized Indians.

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18 U. S. History, The Spanish Religion in America
New York: Oxford University Press, 1957, pp. 125-126, footnote
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those concepts, rituals, and symbols that have some parallel within their own religion. Furthermore they will use the accepted practices of the new religion as "fronts" to continue practicing their former beliefs.¹⁷ It was the realization of this fact that led Ortiz to engage in serious research on the various cults that flourished in Cuba, because he reasoned that the Negro as a biological being was no more inclined to delinquency than any other individual, but that there must be some element within his social heritage that made him commit acts that were criminal in the white man's way of thinking but had religious sanction in the Negro's mind.

In the matter of dress, the Negro has again influenced to a considerable degree la cubanidad. Perhaps Ortiz's

¹⁷ Evidence that would seem to give weight to the statement made above is supplied by the appearance in two widely separated areas (and with different ethnic groups participating) of two examples of religious acculturation. New forms of worship have evolved as the result of the intermixture of these religions. In Cuba the home altars of some "brujos" looked like any Catholic home shrine to the casual observer, but the presence of home carved dolls (idols), pieces of horns, pebbles, feathers, etc., concealed or otherwise on the altar, indicate that these objects still retain the meaning that they had in their old religion.

In Mexico, during the Feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe, a troupe of singers and dancers known as the Matachines perform in front of the statues or pictures of the Guadalu-pana. The church tolerates these dances even though it is known that they are very much the same in form and in spirit as the dances with which the Aztec deities were honored.

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In Mexico, during the feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe, a group of dancers and singers known as the Matechines perform in front of the statues or pictures of the Guadalupe gang. The church celebrates these dances even though it is known that they are very much the same in form and in spirit as the dances with which the Aztec deities were honored.

greatest contribution on this matter is the role that he played in popularizing Negro costumes. He organized musical presentations composed of all Negro casts dressed in their native costumes. He delivered lectures on the artistic quality of pieces of Negro wearing apparel. According to his observations, colored people in rural areas, especially during festive occasions, dress in very gaudy colors. This tendency in dress prompted some of the commercial orchestras specializing in Afro-Cuban music to adopt as distinctive uniforms ruffled shirts, tight trousers usually made of some lustrous material, bright colored scarves wrapped around their waists and wrists. Many a tourist, when he thinks of a Cuban, visualizes him in the garb described above. The majority of the colored population in urban areas do not differ in their manner of dressing from the whites of similar economic and social status.

There were and still are some groups of socially maladjusted Negroes that have adopted styles of dress that contrast sharply with the conventional dress of the majority of the population. This seems to be a case of purely defensive or defiant action, not unlike that of the "pachucos" in the United States.

One infers from reading the research of Ortiz that the Negro, unwillingly and not to his own advantage, propagated in Cuba an occupational pattern detrimental to his own

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 a Cuban, visualizes him in the garb described above. The
 majority of the colored population in urban areas do not
 differ in their manner of dressing from the whites of their
 own economic and social status.

There were and still are four groups of socially
 maladjusted Negroes that have adopted styles of dress that
 contrast sharply with the conventional dress of the majority
 of the population. This seems to be a case of purely color
 line or definite social, not unlike that of the "patronage"
 in the United States.

One infers from reading the research of Orlin that
 the Negro, unwillingly and not to his own advantage, propa-
 gated in Cuba an occupational pattern detrimental to his own

advancement up the social scale and to the welfare of the country as a whole. The Spaniards came to the New World with the notion that to perform manual labor was unbecoming to a gentleman. Although a great number of the invaders were common people, at the most professional soldiers, the very act of crossing an ocean transformed them (in their own estimation) from common people to individuals with the exclusive prerogative to command. The Indians were the first to experience the effect of the white man's newly acquired prerogative, and when the former ceased to be an efficient labor force Negro slaves were imported to replace them. The Negro occupied the bottom of the occupational scale. He performed the tasks which the whites refused to do. Later on as the Negro became more educated and better acculturated he too began to compete for "white collar" jobs, but he has had obstacles to surmount. A major portion of Ortiz's life has been spent trying to break down the artificial barriers that bar the Negro from equal opportunities in the occupational as well as the social field. He has fought against inequality of treatment, due to color or creed, by forming organizations designed specifically to combat anti-racism and by condemning anti-racism in his books, lectures, and opinions published in the press. It is said that the provisions in Cuba's new national constitution (1940) which prohibit any sort of occupational discrimi-

advancement of the social sciences in the United States
country as a whole. The Institute and the two
with the action that to generate social labor was understood
to a gentleman. Although a great number of the laborers
were common people, of the most professional caliber, the
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nation on the basis of color, creed, or race, are the outcome of Ortiz's continuous preachings for equality of opportunity for the Negro.¹⁸ Today, Negroes can be found in urban areas employed as unskilled or skilled labor, servants, teachers, professionals, and in the government service.

Of special interest to the student of racial relations is the pattern of conflict and accommodation that evolves from the contact of two culturally diverse groups. The accommodational pattern in Cuba is not different from that of other localities. A lengthy quotation from one of the works of Ortiz best describes the pattern of conflict and accommodation between the Negroes and the whites in Cuba. He states:

. . . The first stage is marked by hostility. The white man attacks the black in order to snatch him from his land and enslave him by force. The black man rebels if such a thing is possible and fights his oppressor. At times he escapes and even takes his own life. Then it is alleged that the black race is accursed; "Noah spoke the original malediction," say the theologians. The people are told that the Negro is sub-human and bestial. At last the black man is conquered, but he is not resigned to his fate. All this occurs even in the nineteenth century.

Now comes the second phase, that which usually transpires during the first generation; we may call it the period of compromise. The white, with or without the slave system, exploits the black who, powerless

¹⁸ Drs. Miguel Jorrín and Enrique Noble agreed during a recent interview that perhaps Ortiz more than any other man influenced the constituent assembly delegates to depart from the usual routine in constitution making and incorporate provisions in their fundamental law which prohibit discrimination based on race, color, or creed.

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against force, defends himself with his shrewdness and makes clever adjustments based on his mistrust of the white. Physical attraction soon mixes the blood [sic] of the two races. The white man begins to relent because of his brown offspring, and the black man, who has lost his family, his homeland, and consciousness of his historic past, goes on re-adjusting himself to the new life and the new land, and begins to feel love for his new fatherland. The black man is now able to dance and the white man is amused by him. There is praise for types such as the "good Negro" and "the good master;" but even so, the ruler and the ruled distrust each other. The former wishes this system to go on indefinitely, while the latter awaits his own day; both take advantage of the day at hand. There is a truce, but it is only a "peace of Zanjón." This was only day before yesterday.

The third phase constitutes a period of adjustment. The colored man is now in his second generation in America and tries to outdo himself imitating, at times quite blindly, both the good and the bad traits of the white man. This is perhaps the most difficult phase. At times the colored man becomes deperate and hates himself. The mixed blood is made white, by law or through wealth or ancestry; but his life is a constant frustration aggravated by ceaseless pretense. In this stage the very words "Negro" and "mulatto" have still a distasteful connotation; they must give way to others with a more pleasant sound in ordinary speech. A dark grandmother or mother leads an unhappy "back door" existence, in order that her presence may not cause harm to her descendants who in turn live in a state of constant and exhausting inhibition. The dominant white tolerates these people, their conventional whitewashings, accept their cooperation when this is advantageous to him, and is even lenient towards marriages of convenience. In a word, he looks upon the dominated race with kinder eyes provided they "keep their place." This was the state of affairs only yesterday and it even prevails today in places where life proceeds in the tempo of the past.

We now arrive at the fourth phase--that of self-assertion. The colored man is with all dignity recovering control of his own fate and attaining self-respect. He no longer disowns his race or his blood [sic] and he is not ashamed of the traditions or of

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the surviving values of his ancestral culture. The word "Negro" and "mulatto" are no longer taboo. Mutual respect and inter-racial cooperation are increasing although there are still some remnants of age-old prejudices and the burden of economic discrimination is still heavy. In Cuba we are at last on the road to mutual understanding in spite of the prejudices which have not been eradicated and are even aggravated today by foreign political ideologies whose principal exponent is Hitler with all his brutal race theories. This is Today's phase.¹⁹

An analysis of Ortiz's entire production on Afro-Cuban topics is enough to convince the researcher that the Negro's contribution to Cuba is great indeed. The Negro's tremendous capacity for work made possible the incorporation of Cuba into the world economic system. The Negro's love of liberty, which had been denied to him for hundreds of years, gave him a zeal for liberty that was a very important factor in Cuba's struggle for independence. Furthermore the Negro has contributed to la cubanidad by influencing Cuba's national cookery, vocabulary, oratory, religion, and collective emotionalism, especially in its characteristic verbosity and that very efficient form of social control, el choteo.²⁰

¹⁹ Fernando Ortiz, On the Relations between the Blacks and Whites (Points of View Series, Division of Intellectual Cooperation, Pan American Union. Washington, D. C., 1945), pp. 6-7.

²⁰ The choteo, in the writer's opinion, is one of the main characteristics of la cubanidad. It is a form of satirical wit, characterized by an element of escapism from social reality. The choteo is a very efficient form of social control because with it the layman can criticize the decisions of his officials in such a manner that few would be unafraid to become the theme of a choteo without some damage to their pride.

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CHAPTER IV

HIS POSITION ON CERTAIN BASIC CUBAN ISSUES

This chapter is to be devoted to a consideration of Ortiz's position on some of the most controversial issues that have confronted his generation. Whenever possible Ortiz's words will be used to define some of the subjects which he treats.

On Race. Although few Cubans would admit it, the problem of race has been one of the focal points of interest in their culture for a long time. It was not until Ortiz's own efforts brought the issue out to where it could be discussed rationally that Cubans became aware how much their life had been conditioned by conscious or unconscious feelings toward race. Ortiz does not have a set definition of race. He has on various occasions criticized other definitions of races and in this more or less negative manner we get an idea of what he thinks of the concept. The nearest thing to a definition that the writer could find in the works of Ortiz is the following:

La "raza" es el termino que actualmente se suele admitir para expresar ciertas diferencias estructurales y funcionales, tenidas por permanentes, entre las que separan a unos grupos de seres humanos de otros. Para distinguir unos de otros a los seres humanos y clasificarlos por sus semejanzas y diferencias concurren infinidad de caracteres de diversa índole y más o menos ostensibles; de ahí que sean numerosísimas las clasificaciones propuestas por los antropólogos y las que corren entre el vulgo . . . No quiere

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La "raza" es el término que designa a un grupo de individuos que poseen características físicas determinadas, tales como el color de la piel, el tipo de ojos, el tipo de nariz, etc. Este concepto es muy limitado y no cubre todos los aspectos de la vida humana. La "raza" es un concepto que se utiliza para explicar la diversidad de los seres humanos. Este concepto es muy limitado y no cubre todos los aspectos de la vida humana. La "raza" es un concepto que se utiliza para explicar la diversidad de los seres humanos. Este concepto es muy limitado y no cubre todos los aspectos de la vida humana.

esto decir que los caracteres de los individuos humanos dejen de ser comparables y agrupables entre sí como los de los animales; pero sí habrá que convenir en que la división por "razas" será cuando más, un mero problema taxonómico de zoología, aun cuando trate de aplicarse al homo sapiens; y en que ella será siempre de índole muy arbitraria.¹

One infers from Ortiz's remarks on race that the concept race, to have any validity at all as a scientific term or concept, should be applied only to a large aggregation of people who possess similar, permanent, hereditary, and clearly definable characteristics among all its members.²

Ortiz may be called the "champion of minority groups," because he has devoted almost a lifetime of seemingly limitless energy to combatting racial prejudice, not only in Cuba but throughout the entire Hispanic world. Like Saco, Ortiz does not depend on the altruistic theories of social equality to combat racism. He uses scientifically verified facts in his arguments to attack the various myths of racial superiority supported by racial agitators. He has written numerous works on the subject, but his most important are El engaño de las razas (1946), Ni racismo ni xenofobias,³ and Por la integración cubana de blancos y negros (1943). The first named

¹ Fernando Ortiz, El Engaño de las Razas (La Habana: Páginas, S.A., 1946), pp. 47-48.

² Ibid., p. 50.

³ Ni Racismo ni Xenofobias is a lecture that Ortiz delivered at La Habana in 1929.

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México, S.A., 1946, pp. 47-48.

² El racismo en zoología, p. 50.

³ El racismo en zoología is a lecture that Ortíz
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book is a polemic work with the expressed purpose of combatting current misconceptions on race. There is nothing new in this study. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the first work of its kind in Spanish, known to the writer, that presents in one volume a comprehensive resumé of the popular theories and opinions on race. Ortiz deplures the fact that some scientifically sound theories are adulterated and misinterpreted by pseudo-scientists to substantiate their own beliefs on race. He condemns racial agitators who utilize theories, supposedly verified by science, to poison the minds of one group of people against another, much to the detriment of society as a whole. Using Darwin's theory of evolution, Mendelian laws of heredity, anthropological and ethnographic data he advances the plausible argument that if pure races ever existed, by now they are so mixed that it is impossible to ascertain scientifically to which race any given individual belongs. Ortiz states that such factors as the color of the skin, shape of the cranium, etc., are all used individually as the criteria with which to classify people into races, but if all of the characteristics are taken synchronously in the classification of any given individual the task is impossible, because of the variability of the physical and psychological factors between individuals.

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that the racially prejudiced utilize to rationalize their usually disdainful attitudes towards some ethnic groups. More important yet, he has an excellent analysis of what he considers the motives conducive to racial prejudice. Economic, social and political interests play a "behind the scenes" role in the racial problems of any group. Fear of economic competition, fear of transgressions on the political and social status quo, inferiority complexes, superstitions, early familial training, provincialism, culturally transmitted prejudices, are a few of the more important factors, according to Ortiz, that stimulate and perpetuate racial bigotry.

In the article Por la integración cubana de blancos y negros,⁴ Ortiz elucidates on the cultural integration of the white and the Negro in Cuba. The Cuban Negro has had to traverse the different phases of the acculturative process just the same as any other minority in any culture, but in Ortiz's opinion, he has gone a lot further toward acculturation than the Negro in the United States.

Ortiz has never been afraid to attest his beliefs publicly regardless of their controversial nature. In no uncertain terms he repudiated in 1928 the Spanish sponsored "Pan-hispanic" drive for the establishment of a día de la

⁴ Fernando Ortiz, "Por la integración cubana de blancos y negros," Revista Bimestre Cubana, 51:256-272, marzo-abril, 1943.

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Ortiz has never been able to attack the culture
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⁴ Fernando Ortiz, "How in Integration of Races in
 Hispano y Negroes," *Revista de la Universidad de la Habana*,
 marzo-abril, 1933.

raza. Speaking at the Ateneo, Madrid's most exclusive literary academy and Spain's most prominent intellectual center, he surprised the gathering of Spanish intellectuals by stating flatly that there was but one race, the "human race."⁵ He told them that the idea of celebrating a dia de la cultura would be a worthwhile endeavor, but a dia de la raza would be bigotry. Furthermore such an act was capable of creating serious racial strife in America, since the ethnic composition of the majority of Latin American countries was neither European (Spanish) nor Indian but mestizo.⁶ Lest they speak contemptuously of mestizajes he reminded the congregation that the Spanish people themselves were the product of the most varied racial intermixture that the world has ever known. The process of intermixture began during prehistoric times when the Celts invaded the peninsula and mixed with the Iberians to produce the Celtiberians. The amalgatory process continued with the intrusion of succeeding waves of Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Germanic tribes, Moors and the Jews. All of them intermixed to produce a culture that influenced the whole world for several centuries. He

⁵ José Martí was perhaps the first Cuban to express the opinion that as far as races were concerned there was but one race, the human race.

⁶ In Latin America the term mestizo is applied to the offspring of a European and an Indian. Literally it means of mixed ethnic descent.

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⁶ In Latin ...
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stated that a similar process of racial intermixture was taking place in America, hence the absurdity of even seriously considering the institution of a dia de la raza. In summarizing we can say that Ortiz believes that the concept culture is dynamic and worthy of glorification, but that of race static and tyrannical.⁷

On Society. Although an explicit statement of Ortiz's concept of society could not be found in his writings, it is possible to infer, on the basis of some of his observations and remarks, that he has an organistic concept of society. Found throughout most of his writings is the assumption that a society (Cuban society) to function properly must be well integrated in all its parts the same as any organism must have the full use of all its organs to function properly. Furthermore, his suggestion that Luther Burbank's "law of transmutation," successful in the creation of new plants, should be applied to Cuban society to improve its standards, is another indicative remark that he possibly conceives of society as an organism.⁸ Other remarks, as for example that in which he censures Cuban society for its total unconcern in preparing

⁷ Fernando Ortiz, "Evocación cubana de los históricas mañanas de octubre," Revista Bimestre Cubana, 47:32-40, enero-febrero, 1941, pp. 34-38.

⁸ Fernando Ortiz, Entre Cubanos (Paris: Librería Paul Ollendorf, 1914), pp. 86-88.

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more, his suggestion that society is a part of a larger
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applied to human society to involve the individual, as
indicative remarks that he holds a concept of society as
an organism. Other remarks, as for example that in which
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7. Fernando Ortiz, "Evolución y cultura de las Antillas"
Marianas de Occidente, Revista de la Universidad de Puerto Rico,
Santiago, 1941, pp. 32-33.

8. "Hacia la cultura de las Antillas" (Lecturas de la Universidad de
Santiago, 1941), p. 32.

orphans to assume a useful place in society,⁹ seem to indicate that he believes that a society, as an organism, must think in terms of the welfare of the whole body.

Ortiz has always been preoccupied with the development and progress of Cuban society. Numerous scholars had previously studied the Negro in Cuba in his position on the slavery issue, criminal delinquency, his economic importance, and as a political factor in various issues that had confronted Cuba. Ortiz took a more direct approach in his studies. He initiated the study of the Negro as an individual, his customs, his ethnic and cultural background, his social environment, his aspirations, frustrations, and potentialities. His ultimate objective is the complete assimilation of the Negro into Cuban society. He has had considerable success in convincing his countrymen that the Negro plays a very important role in Cuba. Illustrating with specific cases, historical or otherwise, he has demonstrated to the dominant society how much the Negro and his culture have influenced Cuban life. The Negro influenced the type of economy that developed in Cuba, and his influence on Cuban art, music, literature, dances, popular language, and temperament are too obvious to be denied.¹⁰

⁹ Ibid., pp. 82-83.

¹⁰ It may be of interest to stress at this point that in reading through Jose Antonio Saco's biography, one notices the similarity in attitudes between Ortiz and Saco regarding the ultimate goal of any society. Both firmly believe that

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9
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in reading through some of the Negro's biography, one notices
the similarity in attitudes between Ogilvie and those regarding
the ultimate goal of any society. Both truly believe that

On Culture. His treatment of culture, the phase of human activity with which he is most concerned, comprises the major portion of his work. Ortiz defines culture as follows:

Toda cultura es esencialmente un hecho social. No solo en los planos de la vida actual, sino en los de su advenimiento histórico y en los de su devenir previsible. Toda cultura es dinámica. Y no sólo en su transplatación desde múltiples ambientes extraños al singular de Cuba, sino en sus transformaciones locales. Toda cultura es creadora, dinámica y social.¹¹

An integral part of Ortiz's thought on the subject of culture is his neologism transculturation.¹² As an elaboration to what has already been said of the term in a previous chapter, suffice it to stress here the following which more or less illustrates his conception of culture as a dynamic phenomenon. In the process of transculturation, a culture passes through five phases: hostility, distrust, accommodation of differences, cooperation, and integration.¹³

His curiosity to understand all that la cubanidad entails has led him to research and write on subjects that it is indispensable for Cuba to have a well-integrated society if she is to progress.

¹¹ Fernando Ortiz, Los factores humanos de la cubanidad (La Habana: Molina y Cía., 1940), p. 10.

¹² The term transculturation has been defined in Chapter I, pp. 11-12, and elaborated on in Appendix B,

¹³ Fernando Ortiz, "Por la integración cubana de blancos y negros," op. cit., pp. 263-265.

seem unrelated, but to him they are all related because he labors under the assumption that all things created by man are culture and worthy of investigation. He says:

Las manifestaciones intelectuales de las culturas humanas son tan merecedoras de la investigación científica como las materiales y sus expresiones artísticas tanto como las económicas. La debida apreciación de una cultura dada no puede hacerse sin el estudio objetivo de todos sus elementos, así los llamados "espirituales" como los que se dicen "materiales," pues unos y otros, pese a esa convencional dicotomía, no son sino hechos igualmente humanos, interdependientes e integrantes de la penitid de esa cultura.¹⁴

The realization that a culture cannot be fully appreciated unless all its elements are studied objectively may be one of the reasons for his intensified interest in Cuban folklore, and especially Afro-Cuban folklore. He disagrees with those scholars that define folklore as something primitive and anonymous, a "live fossil that refuses to die." To him the term folk does not mean precisely a national or ethnological group, but the basic stratum of any given society.¹⁵

If we accept his premise that folklore is the intellectual production of the basic stratum of any society or as he says la gente de abajo, we can readily understand his interest in Afro-Cuban themes because the colored population in Cuba constitutes la gente de abajo in that society.

¹⁴ Fernando Ortiz, La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba (La Habana: Cardenas y Cia., 1950), p. XII.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. XIII.

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¹⁴ Fernando Ortiz, La africanía de la música folclórica de Cuba (La Habana: Gubernaio y Cia., 1930), p. XIII.
¹⁵ Ibid., p. XIII.

On Politics. In politics Fernando Ortiz follows the liberal traditions of Martí and the liberals of the somewhat frustrated first republican generation. José Martí once said that man's most sacred duty was to think for himself, and Ortiz echoes that same belief in an article in Ultra.¹⁶ He has had his share of collisions with dictators and despotic regimes in his country, therefore his alarm over the police methods and mass indoctrination techniques that the national state is currently employing on most of the peoples of the world is understandable. When he was exiled by Machado he fought every move that the dictator made. In Washington he used all his contacts to bring United States pressure against Machado. During World War I he had complete faith in the Allied crusade to end the German menace to the "spirit of liberty." During World War II he again assumed the role of the chief Cuban propagandist for the United Nations cause. During the post war era he has always defended the United Nations Organization because he believes that it is the only instrument capable of achieving peace and preserving the freedom of all peoples.

Although Contrapunteo del tabaco y el azúcar is primarily a study of what he calls the transculturation¹⁷ process

¹⁶ Fernando Ortiz, "El primer deber del hombre," Ultra, 10:1-2, julio, 1945, p. 1.

¹⁷ In this case Ortiz uses the term to mean the introduction of a New World crop, tobacco, into the Old World

of tobacco, a New World crop, and sugar, an Old World crop, deeper scrutiny of the work provides a clue to the political affiliation or sympathies of Ortiz. Underlying the satirical and humorous account of the struggles of Sir Tobacco and Lady Sugar is a superb disputation between the liberal and conservative points of view. The tobacco industry has been favorable to the liberal and individualistic mode of life, while the sugar industry gave impetus to the propagation of slavery, concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, social snobbery, and the degradation and impoverishment of the working man. The production of sugar necessitated the availability of a large, unskilled, cheap, and non-privileged laboring force, hence slavery provided the perfect solution to the problem. Tobacco on the other hand, is most profitably produced by small independent farmers on small plots of land called "vegas." The sugar industry, by the very nature of its large scale production methods, requires large amounts of capital to operate effectively and profitably. The intrusion of foreign capital solved the financial problems of the industry, but the concomitant ramifications of foreign capital,

culture, and the introduction of sugar, an Old World crop, into the new culture that developed in the island. In a sense perhaps Ortiz is justified in using the term transculturation here, because the transmission of these two crops to different cultures involved something more than the mechanical action of transplanting the crop into a new cultural setting. With the transmission of each of these crops, a number of cultural traits focused around each respective crop also passed from one culture into the other.

of tobacco, a few birds eggs, and sugar, an old world crop, deeper scrutiny of the work provides a view of the political affiliation of sympathies of O'Neil. Unifying the various and an immense amount of the interests of the tobacco and body sugar is a major distinction between the liberal and conservative points of view. The tobacco industry has been favorable to the liberal and individualistic mode of life, while the sugar industry gave impetus to the propagation of slavery, concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, social mobility, and the degradation and impoverishment of the working man. The production of sugar necessitated the availability of a large, available, cheap, and non-organized laboring force, hence slavery provided the perfect solution to the problem. Tobacco on the other hand, is most profitably produced by small independent farms on small plots of land called "vegas." The sugar industry, and the large amount of its large scale production methods, require large amounts of capital to operate effectively and profitably. The introduction of foreign capital solved the financial problem of the industry, but the economic restrictions of foreign capital,

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political and economic intervention, encroached on Cuba's sovereignty. Tobacco (in Contrapunteo Cubano) represents the liberal spirit that Ortiz professes and defends, while sugar represents the conservative, autocratic, and intolerant spirit that he opposes.

On Imperialism. Ortiz opposes Anglo-Saxon imperialism, but he is not anti-Yankee nor anti-English. In La hija cubana del iluminismo (1943), he expresses admiration for what he calls the "nucleus of Anglo-Saxon culture," which he says is: (1) scientific experimentation, (2) economic pragmatism, (3) philosophic rationalism, (4) industrial and commercial fomentation, (5) transcendent pedagogy, (6) faith in progress, (7) popular philanthropy, and (8) the politics of freemasonry.¹⁸ He believes that Cubans would profit by emulating the nucleus of Anglo-Saxon culture, which in his way of thinking contains the main elements needed for progress.

However, this admiration for Anglo-American culture has not lessened his strong feelings against what he considers outright imperialism by Anglo-American nations. He was one of the most outspoken critics of the Platt Amendment. He denounced it on the grounds that, despite the statements to the contrary by Root and Platt, the amendment served only to support improper government in Cuba. He believed, like

¹⁸ Fernando Ortiz, La hija cubana del iluminismo (La Habana: Molina y Cía., 1943), p. 19.

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¹⁸ Fernando Ortiz, La Isla Cubana del Momento (La Habana: Molina y Cia., 1925), p. 12.

many other prominent Cubans, that every decisive interpretation of that amendment had resisted every effort by the Cuban people to change usurping and tyrannical regimes. Because of the North American dislike of revolutions, rulers felt that they were safe from effective domestic attack, so they continued to disregard the annoyed protests of the people.¹⁹

Ortiz and Saco, like most Cuban patriots, resented the encroachment of the United States on Cuban sovereignty. Saco opposed the Cuban annexationist movement that would have the United States annex Cuba, and Ortiz opposed the Platt Amendment.

¹⁹ Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

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the United States annex Cuba, and Ortiz opposed the Platt
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CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

During the course of this study we first endeavored to present a background consisting of a general consideration of the salient points of the environment that influenced the first republican generation, the environment in which Ortiz matured. The main characteristic of the generations of 1865 and 1898 was political strife against the mother country. These two generations were deeply concerned with the political fortunes of their country, but at the same time they had a certain amount of social consciousness as evidenced by their perturbation with a demographic element in their population, the Negro. In spite of the pressing political dilemma of the day they could not ignore the presence of the Negro in their midst, who at times became the motivating cause of strong political alignments. The Negro figured prominently in the pro-annexationist and anti-annexationist movements, and in pro-slavery and anti-slavery sentiment. Some reacted differently to the presence of the Negro in Cuba. The two generations mentioned worried over the lack of white immigration to Cuba.

The first republican generation inherited from the previous generations the task of making the republican venture a success, therefore in a sense the political factor in the

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The first republican generation inherited from the previous generations the task of making the republican venture a success, therefore in a sense the political factor in the

first republican generation is a carry-over from the generations of 1865 and 1898. New elements had been injected into the problem, and these were factors that tended to complicate the problem rather than simplify it. United States intervention became a source of conflict or a godsend, depending upon the individual political leanings of the members of that generation. Most of the first republican generation were deeply imbued with the dream of the generation of 1898 of complete independence from foreign control; consequently, they felt that the United States was an interloper and the Platt Amendment an act of oppression. The optimism of the previous generation was replaced by pessimism in the first republican generation.

The other new element that was active in the problem was the Negro. The realization that the Negro was in Cuba to stay undoubtedly had some influence on the political and social atmosphere of the nascent republic. The Negro was a free man now, and he had participated nobly in his country's struggle for independence. Fernando Ortiz, a promising young lawyer, became interested in him, but in this early period he was still conditioned considerably by his generation's current of thought on the problem. He approached the study of the Negro from a criminological point of view, but he soon departed from this approach and began to study the Negro with the intention of finding the facts and forming his conclusions

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accordingly. It is in this phase of his work that Ortiz became a leader and a pioneer in his society. He showed another characteristic of his generation in his deep pessimism with Cuba's domestic politics and a growing concern with his country's fate as a dependency of a foreign power. However, even in this phase of his thought, a departure from the general consensus of opinion is detected. He never considered the situation entirely irremediable. He criticized but his criticism was constructive.

The second phase of the study begins with a detailed consideration of the life of Ortiz. It reveals that several influences were active in the molding of his thought. Positivism influenced his methodology and his language. The modern social science studies made him aware of the importance of objectivity in interpreting social data. From the first republican generation he inherited a preoccupation which turned into curiosity with the social problems of the new Cuba. It is probable that Martí, whose teachings were still ever present in the first republican generation, gave Ortiz some of his intense interest in man. Saco, a member of the generation of 1865 seems to have imparted to Ortiz some of his faith in realism in facing Cuba's political and social problems. Ortiz's study of North American culture inspired in him admiration for what he called the nucleus of Anglo-American culture, which he considered the key to progress. From the

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 of G. D.'s political thought that we can understand the
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disillusionment of the first republican generation over Cuba's limited sovereignty he inherited a note of pessimism, and with the republic's crop of dictators he developed an intolerance of the shortcomings of Cuba's domestic politics.

The third phase of the study concerned itself with an analysis of the influence of Ortiz upon the trend of Cuban culture. Some comments were made on his methodology. It was pointed out that he tried to be scientific in his methodology, but he has a different concept from North American social scientists of what the scientific approach should be. He states that he is "dado a las investigaciones antropológico-sociales, o sea, del neohumanismo científico."¹ In other words he believes that science should be more humanistic, while North American social scientists believe that humanism is the very antithesis of the true scientific method because the value of that approach lies in its ability to view problems in an impersonal and unemotional frame of mind thereby making the finding of the truth based on empirically verifiable data easier to attain.

The fact was mentioned that the teachings of Ortiz produced a number of "disciples," men who have gone on in their respective careers revering the ideas of "Don Fernando."

His writings on Afro-cuban culture have given Cuba and the world a more profound perspective of the new social

¹ Fernando Ortiz, Paz y Luz (La Habana: Imprenta P. Fernández y Cía., 1950), p. 8.

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¹ Fernando Orliz, *Las Y Las* (La Habana: Imprenta S.
 Fernandez y Cia., 1950), p. 2.

reality that is evolving in Cuba. The Negro, formerly a demographic element that caused considerable embarrassment to certain segments of Cuba's white population, became a distinguishing mark of La cubanidad as Ortiz intensified his research and his other activities. Of still greater importance and of far-reaching consequence is the fact that his research on the Negro has made Cubans conscious of the need of the complete integration of this ethnic group into their society.

Ortiz's actions have been instrumental in the establishment of societies to combat racist ideas, organizations designed to facilitate the interchange of ideas, and institutes to promulgate research on his favorite topic--man and culture.

Chapter IV provides an idea of the wide scope of his interests, but one distinguishing characteristic was noticeable in his general point of view on such unrelated topics as race and politics. His thought is characterized by liberalism, and if the salient points of the entire study are taken into consideration, the conclusion is reached that Ortiz, although considered radical at times, still retains the enviable position of being regarded by his countrymen as the foremost thinker of his country.

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EXHIBIT 100

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX A

WORKS OF FERNANDO ORTIZ

1. Base para un estudio sobre la llamada reparación civil (Madrid, 1901).
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APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

(Excerpts from a statement by Bronislaw Malinowski endorsing the use of Fernando Ortiz's neologism "Transculturation." Taken from the Introduction in Fernando Ortiz, Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar (La Habana: Jesus Montero, ed., 1940).)

. . . El Dr. Ortiz me dijo entonces que en su proximo libro iba a introducir un nuevo vocablo técnico, el término transculturación, para reemplazar varias expresiones corrientes, tales como "cambio cultural," "aculturación," "difusión," "migración u osmosis de cultura" y otras análogas que él consideraba como de sentido imperfectamente expresivo. Mi respuesta desde el primer momento fué de entusiasta acogida para ese neologismo. Y le prometí a su autor que yo me apropiaría de la nueva expresión reconociendo su paternidad, para usarla constante y lealmente siempre que tuviera ocasión de hacerlo. El Dr. Ortiz amablemente me invitó entonces a que escribiera unas pocas palabras acerca de mi "conversión" terminológica, y ello fué el motivo de mis presentes párrafos.

Acaso nada haya tan engañoso en las labores científicas como el problema de la terminología, del mot juste para cada concepto; el problema de hallar una expresión que se ajuste a los hechos y que por tanto sea un instrumento útil para el pensamiento en vez de un obstáculo para la comprensión. Es obvio que reñir por meras palabras sólo significa despilfarrar el tiempo; sin embargo, no es tan obvio que el diablejo de las obsesiones etimológicas con frecuencia juega

malas pasadas a nuestro estilo, o sea a nuestros pensamientos, cuando adoptamos un vocablo que contenga es sus elementos integrantes o en su significación radical ciertas sugerencias semánticas falsas y desviadoras de las cuales no podemos librarnos, confundiendo así el verdadero sentido de un dado concepto que por interés científico debiera ser siempre preciso e inequívoco.

Consideremos, por ejemplo, la palabra acculturation, que no hace mucho comenzó a correr y que amenaza con apoderarse del campo, especialmente en los escritos sociológicos y antropológicos de los autores norteamericanos. Aparte de su ingrata fonética (suena como si arrancara de un hipo combinado con un regüeldo), la voz acculturation contiene todo un conjunto de determinadas e inconvenientes implicaciones etimológicas. Es un vocablo etno-céntrico con una significación moral. El inmigrante tiene que "aculturarse" (to acculturate); así han de hacer también los indígenas, paganos e infieles, bárbaros o salvajes, que gozan del "beneficio" de estar sometidos a nuestra Gran Cultura Occidental. La voz "acculturation" implica, por la preposición ad que la inicia, el concepto de un terminus ad quem. El "inculto" ha de recibir los beneficios de "nuestra cultura;" es "el" quien ha de cambiar para convertirse en "uno de nosotros."

No hay que esforzarse para comprender que mediante el uso del vocablo acculturation introducimos implícitamente un

estas palabras a nuestro estudio, y así a nuestra comprensión cuando se aplican en vocablos que pertenecen a sus idiomas. Interiores o en su significación, y en otros idiomas, otras palabras, y en otros idiomas, y en otros idiomas, afirmamos, considerando así el vocablo y sentido de un caso concepto que por interés científico damos así como un caso o individuo.

Consideramos, por ejemplo, la palabra accuturion.

que no hace mucho comenzó a correr y que comenzó con el uso de este caso, especialmente en los casos de los idiomas y antropología de los idiomas pertenecientes. Antes de un idioma fonético (como el idioma de un caso) cuando con un verbo, la voz accuturion contiene toda un conjunto de determinaciones e ideas relacionadas con el significado. En un vocablo esto se ve con un significado cada caso. El significado tiene que ser "accuturion" (accuturion); así han de haber familias de idiomas, y ganos e idiomas, palabras o palabras, que están del "accuturion" de estar conectados a nuestra Gran Cultura Occidental. La voz "accuturion" también, por la propiedad de que la inicial, el concepto de un idioma es "accuturion" ha de recibir los beneficios de "accuturion" en "accuturion" quien ha de cambiar para convertirse en "accuturion". No hay que entender que conversiones que ocurren en uso del vocablo accuturion en otros idiomas.

conjunto de conceptos morales, normativos, y valores, los cuales vician desde su raíz la real comprensión del fenómeno. Sin embargo, lo esencial del proceso que se quiere significa no es una pasiva adaptación a un standard de cultural fijo y definido. Sin duda, una oleada cualquiera de inmigrantes de Europa en América experimenta cambios en su cultura originaria; pero también provoca un cambio en la matriz de la cultura receptiva. Los alemanes, los italianos, los polacos, los irlandeses, los españoles traen siempre cuando transmigran a los pueblos de América algo de sus propias culturas, de sus alimentos, de sus melodías populares, de sus musicales genios, de sus lenguajes, costumbres, supersticiones, ideas y temperamentos característicos. Todo cambio de cultura, o como diremos desde ahora en adelante, toda transculturación, es un proceso en el cual siempre se da algo a cambio de lo que se recibe; es un "toma y daca," como dicen los castellanos. Es un proceso en el cual ambas partes de la ecuación resultan modificadas. Un proceso en el cual emerge una nueva realidad, compuesta y compleja; una realidad que no es una aglomeración mecánica de caracteres, ni siquiera un mosaico, sino un fenómeno nuevo, original e independiente. Para describir tal proceso el vocablo de latinas raíces transculturación proporciona un término que no contiene la implicación de una cierta cultura hacia la cual tiene que tender la otra, sino una transición entre dos culturas, ambas activas, ambas contribuyentes, con sendos aportes, y ambas cooperantes al

conjunto de conceptos morales, axiológicos, y volitivos, las
cuales vienen dadas en la vida humana de un modo
sin embargo, lo esencial del proceso que se sigue significa
no es una simple adaptación a un estándar de cultura
y destino. Sin más, una cultura cualquiera de las
de Europa en América es un fenómeno complejo en su cultura
americana; pero también porque en América se da la
cultura receptiva. Los valores, los ideales, los
los ideales, las costumbres, los hábitos, cuando se
a los pueblos de América que se siguen recibiendo, de
alimentos, de sus hábitos, de sus maneras, de sus
de sus lenguajes, costumbres, mentalidades, ideas y
elementos característicos. Todo cambio de cultura, o como
diversa de esta ahora en América, toda transformación,
un proceso en el cual siempre se da algo a cambio de la
se recibe; es un "comer y pasar", como dicen los
En un proceso en el cual nada se recibe de la cultura
receptiva. Un proceso en el cual nada se recibe
de la cultura receptiva; una cultura que no es una
receptiva de cultura, ni cultura un receptor, sino un
pero nuevo, original e independiente. Para recibir
proceso el cambio de cultura que se sigue
por tanto un término que no contiene la implicación de una
cambio cultural hacia lo que viene que es un
una transformación entre los valores, ideas, hábitos
tribunales, con rasgos propios, y otros que se dan al

advenimiento de una nueva realidad de civilización.

. . . El autor de este libro (Contrapunteo Cubano) nos indica cómo en todos esos casos debemos estudiar ambos lados del contacto y considerar ese fenómeno integral como una transculturación, o sea como un proceso en el cual cada nuevo elemento se funde, adoptando modos ya establecidos a la vez que introduciendo propios exotismos y generando nuevos fermentos.

Mi completa conformidad con Fernando Ortiz puedo acreditarla, con la bondadosa venia de los lectores, citando aquí algo por mí publicado anteriormente. En varias ocasiones he insistido en afirmar que el contacto, choque, y transformación de las culturas no puede concebirse como la completa aceptación de una cultura dada por cierto grupo humano "aculturado." Escribiendo de los contactos entre europeos y africanos en el Negro Continente, he tratado de señalar cómo las dos razas "se sostienen con elementos tomados así de Europa como de Africa, de ambos acervos de cultura. Al hacerlo así, ambas razas transforman los elementos que reciben prestados y los incorporan a una realidad cultural enteramente nueva e independiente."

También sugerí entonces que el resultado del cambio de culturas no puede considerarse como una mezcla mecánica de elementos prestados. "Los fenómenos de los cambios de culturales enteramente nuevas, las cuales han de estudiarse en su propio sentido. Además, los típicos fenómenos de los

cambios culturales (las escuelas y las minas, los templos negros y los tribunales de nativos, las tiendas de abarrotes y las plantaciones agrarias) todos ellos experimentan las contingencias de las dos culturas cuyas influencias las flanquean como si se extendieran a uno y otro lado a lo largo de su formación y desarrollo. Es cierto y esos típicos fenómenos sociales dependen de los intereses, de las intenciones y del impacto de la cultura occidental; pero ellos también se determinan por la realidad cultural de las reservas africanas. Por lo tanto, observamos una vez más cómo hemos de considerar al menos tres fases en esa constante inter-acción entre las culturas europeas y africanas. Los procesos de cambio que de ella resultan no pueden ser afirmados y preconcebidos por muy cuidadoso que fuese el escrutinio de los ingredientes en las dos culturas progenitoras. Aun si conociéramos todos los 'ingredientes' que han de contribuir a la formación de una escuela o de una mina, de una iglesia de negros o de un tribunal de indígenas, no podríamos prever ni predecir cuál habría de ser el desarrollo de la nueva institución, pues las fuerzas creadoras de tal institución y determinantes de su curso y desenvolvimiento no son 'prestados' sino que nacen en la entraña de la misma institución."

Bien claro queda, pues, con estas citas cuán plenamente concuerda mi modo de pensar con el análisis hecho por Fernando

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APPENDIX C

The appearance of this article caused a furor in Cuba. It was printed in Review of Reviews, 22:708-712, December, 1900.

THE CUBAN REPUBLIC - LIMITED

By Walter Wellman

The island of Cuba is to become an independent republic; but it is to be a republic with limited powers and restricted outward relations. Nominally a sovereign state, actually Cuba is to be a self-governing colony under the aegis of the United States. When the Cuban of the near future stands upon the shore of his fertile isle and looks toward the palm-waving interior, he will be able to say: "This is a nation." When he turns and looks outward on the rolling sea, he must say: "This is a dependency."

It is idle to suppose that the administration at Washington is without a policy as to the reconstruction of Cuba. It is not guilty of any such neglect in matter of such vast importance. The administration has a policy, distinct, definite, worked out in harmonious detail. This policy it has had in hand for a long time, though for obvious reasons it has not cared to disclose it. During the Presidential campaign, a new Cuban problem could not have received fair and thoughtful consideration in this country; and in Cuba, where there is much of ignorance and more of passion, it has been found advisable to move with extreme caution. If the Cubans believe they are themselves doing all that is being done; if they believe they are thorough masters of the situation, and yet proceed to do all that it is wished they should do, - so much the more credit to the skill and patience of the directing government and its agents in the island.

Now that the Cuban constitutional convention is in session, and it is possible to learn something of its composition and spirit, members of the administration in Washington are hopeful of a happy outcome. It is believed that the American policy which till now has been kept well in the background, will be adopted by the convention as its own. If this proves

to be the case, then indeed will the people of Cuba have cause for thankfulness; for they will secure all the advantages of nationality along with the perfect security which is to be found under the powerful wing of the great republic. The Cubans will gain full control of their domestic affairs, without interference by the United States, save that they are voluntarily to restrict their power to contract debt. Under the new regime Cubans will be justified in looking upon their republic as a nation; for self-government, in the fullest sense, is to be theirs. They may make all their domestic laws, set up their own governmental machinery, fix their tariffs, levy their taxes, order their expenditures, establish their courts, police their territory, without fear of interference or dictation from abroad.

But the foreign relations of the republic of Cuba are to be conducted at Washington, not at Havana. Cuba will have no ministers abroad, but will speak through the State Department and the diplomatic establishment of the United States. Foreign governments having business with Cuba will address the Secretary of State, Washington, and he will communicate with the island government at Havana. Inwardly Cuba is to be a sovereign nation; internationally it is to be an American State. In other words, the republic of Cuba is to be to the United States almost precisely what the Dominion of Canada is to Great Britain, save that Cuba will choose a president and not have a nominal governor-general appointed by the paramount power.

Great responsibility rests upon the constitutional convention now in session at Havana. It is to create a new state. If it acts wisely, it may lay the foundations of an enduring government. If it acts in rational and practical spirit, all problems may be solved to the satisfaction of all concerned. If, on the other hand, it attempts the impossible; if it sets a mere sentiment above everything else; if it refuses to recognize conditions as they are, and tries to create others which by no manner of means can be, -- its labors will be in vain. No more interesting process than this creation of a new state, under the tutelage of an enlightened and generous but still practical and not altogether altruistic power, has taken place on the American continent in our generation.

It is impossible to write satisfactorily of the present phases of the Cuban problem, unless one writes with perfect frankness. Euphemisms are useless. No one should be shocked by the truth; and, before rushing to conclusions and condemnations,

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every one should pause long enough to consider all the conditions. Because Cuba is not to be set up as a sovereign international state, because it is not to have full control of its foreign relations,--the treaty-making power, the war-making power,--its fortifications, its army and navy, it by no means follows that the American pledge to Cuba is to be broken. A great many men agree with former Secretary of State Olney, that the pledge of Cuban independence which the Congress of the United States gave at the outbreak of the war for Cuba's separation from Spain ought not to have been given. No doubt it was given hastily, in a moment of access of sentimentality. No doubt, moreover, it was unnecessary, and could have been withheld without loss of self-respect or the respect of nations. But the pledge was given, and there can be no question that it must be redeemed.

But there does arise the inevitable question, How is this pledge to be kept? What would constitute an honorable, and at the same time, a prudent and permanent redemption of it? In both Cuba and the United States a large number of people, probably a great majority of all, think absolute independence the only way out--the setting up of a sovereign international power. A minority in both countries, and among them the President of the United States and his official advisers, believe the best thing for Cuba and the best thing for the United States is a keeping of that pledge in a practical and not in a sentimental sense. *[Italics are my own.]*

With patience and skill, the United States has gone about its task of preparing Cuban people for self-government. After the close of the war in 1898, no time was lost by the intervening power in starting the Cubans upon the road to nationality. Many Cubans were employed in the executive departments, supplanting citizens of the United States as rapidly as was thought prudent. Elections were held in the various municipalities throughout the island, and these local governments were turned wholly over to the people through their chosen representatives. Before anything could be done in the way of setting Cuba up as a republic, it was necessary to take a census; and this was promptly done. The census afforded information as to who and what were the people of Cuba -- their racial origin, place of birth, educational requirements, etc.; and, with this before him, Secretary of War Root sat down and prepared the qualifications of electors in the future republic. It is not often in the history of the world that an embryo nation, at the critical moment when its foundations are to be laid, is able to avail itself of the skill and wisdom of a highly trained and wholly disinterested statesman of a neighboring country.

Secretary Root's great desire was to give the future Cuban republic an electorate which should preserve it. Obviously, if he had wished to wreck the budding nation; to bring chaos and disorder within it, and make inevitable another and less unselfish intervention by the United States,—he could have done so by the simple and natural process of throwing the franchise open to all male inhabitants. In this way he could have worked the ruin of Cuba as a self-governing entity. That would surely, and probably without much delay, have thrown the island into the lap of the United States. Mr. Root might easily have made the mistake of going to the opposite extreme of arranging an electoral scheme which would have shut out most of the Cubans, and placed the sovereign power within the hands of the wealthy and educated — the Spanish traders and the Cuban professional classes. He adopted, instead, a happy mean. Any Cuban (or any Spaniard who has renounced allegiance to Spain) may vote provided he is twentyone years old, has resided in the municipality thirty days immediately preceding registration, and possesses any one of the following additional qualifications:

(1) Ability to read and write; (2) ownership of real or personal property to the value of \$250, American gold; (3) service in the Cuban army prior to July 18, 1898, and honorable discharge therefrom, whether a native Cuban or not.

The man who prepared this plan of electoral franchise was determined that Cuba, as a state, should be a success if any saving merit lay in a wise foundation. He wanted neither a Haiti nor a San Domingo, with masses of ignorant and irresponsible electors dominating a society, usually under the leadership of a military dictator; nor did he want a Costa Rica, in which a small number of persons, a class, make the state.

Having given the Cubans control of their local political affairs in the municipalities, and arranged a broader plan for founding a sovereign republican electorate, it was necessary to adopt means of teaching them the importance, the sacred character, and the inviolability of the suffrage. The Spanish regime had naturally failed to teach them what an election is, or should be, according to the Anglo-Saxon standard. What acquaintance they had had with a system of voting had not increased their respect for it. Methods were crude; there never was any certainty that a majority of votes polled would be so returned; rules for discriminating between legal and non-legal voters were ill-defined, and applied at hap-hazard; and such a thing as punishment of an offender against the election law, whether mere voter or election official, was well-nigh unheard of. General Wood and his assistants have had to inculcate in

Secretary Root's great desire was to give the Cuban Republic an electorate which should preserve it. He had wished to wreck the budding nation by means and disorder within it, and make inevitable another intervention by the United States. The only way to have done so by the simple and natural process of free elections open to all male inhabitants. In this way the Cuban Republic would have worked the will of Cuba as a self-governing entity. That would surely, and probably without much delay, have thrown the island into the lap of the United States. Mr. Root would easily have made the mistake of going to the opposite extreme of arranging an electoral scheme which would have shut out most of the Cuban, and placed the sovereign power within the hands of the wealthy and educated -- the Spanish traders and the Cuban professional classes. He adopted, instead, a very mean. Any Cuban (or any Spaniard who has renounced citizenship) may vote provided he is twenty-one years of age, has resided in the municipality thirty days immediately preceding registration, and possesses any one of the following additional qualifications:

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the minds of Cubans an appreciation of the value of the franchise -- a conception of the real dignity and power contained in the right to vote. They have also had to impress upon all concerned the certainty that punishment will overtake whosoever offends against the sacredness of the ballot in any way. The laws establishing a registration and election system throughout the island, with penalties for violation thereof, are models of practicality, common sense and justice; and the recent elections for members of the constitutional convention were conducted in an orderly and, for the most part, honest way.

The American Government, through President McKinley, Secretary Root, and Governor Wood, has done everything an enlightened government could do to give the Cubans a good start toward successful nationhood, with complete local self-government. The future depends upon the Cubans themselves.

When the administration called a convention in Cuba to devise a constitution, and in that constitution to arrange future relations with the United States, it was proceeding in accordance with its well-defined plan. There was no careless use of words. One of the most important problems involved in the future of Cuba is this very matter of future connection with the country which occupies such a peculiar relation to it. For three quarters of a century the United States has had a Cuban policy, definite and unchanging -- a policy which it has taken the trouble to make known to all the world. It is that, if Cuba is ever to pass under control of any other power than Spain, that power must be the United States. Now that this nation has intervened to release Cuba from Spanish rule, at great sacrifice on its part, the traditional policy is none the less operative, but rather more so. We cannot afford to adopt any course that would endanger that policy. This much we owe to ourselves as well as to Cuba. We owe it to the world, too, to so fix the status of the republic, colony, dependency, or state of Cuba that there shall be no danger of misunderstanding and friction. The time to fix that status is now; and the place to fix it is in the organic act which is to elevate Cuba into a state. Upon this point the administration is clear-minded and determined; and, the Presidential elections being over, it is now free-handed to deal with the problem in a scientific manner.

It is the duty of the United States, not only through its expressed pledge, but in the very nature of its relations to Cuba, to give that island a stable government. A stable government means literally an enduring one; not alone one that is firm in the saddle at the moment we leave it, but one that has within itself all the elements of continuity. No greater

injustice could the United States work upon the people of Cuba, to say nothing of wronging itself, than by setting up in that island a government which should start well, and then, through some inherent weakness, deteriorate and ultimately collapse.

For a considerable time, at least, it is apparent any self-government in Cuba must be more or less experimental. Success is probable, but not certain. The same obligations which rests upon the United States to set up a government will continue operative, and require us to guard and protect it, to interfere in case of aggravated domestic disquiet, and to stand as its sponsor before the world. The risks of domestic disturbances we can afford; for that misfortune would be a matter between the United States and Cuba alone - between guardian and ward. But the hazards of foreign complications, with all their dire possibilities, we cannot, in justice to either Cuba or ourselves, permit for one moment.

Were we to set up Cuba as an absolutely sovereign power, with control of its foreign relations, we might at any time be called upon either to abandon our traditional policy or go to war in its defense. If Cuba takes on the attributes of a sovereign power, she assumes all the responsibilities that go therewith. If she errs in her intercourse with a foreign country, she must pay the natural penalty. If demands be made upon her for grievances, real or fanciful, she must pay or fight. Rich, desirable, coveted, what chance would Cuba have among the land-hungry powers? Without army or navy, perhaps without competent statesmen (for government is a new and unstudied science among her people), how long would it take an aggressive European nation to find the pretext for a quarrel, and under that pretext to dispatch a fleet to Cuban waters? And if the United States were to intervene at that moment, we should be told that we had no voice in the matter; that we had once had Cuba under our jurisdiction, but had permitted her to set up for herself, and had thus forfeited all our rights of guardianship; that if we wanted Cuba under our wing, we should have kept her there and stood sponsor for her. This would be a good answer; and there is only one way in which we could get into the controversy, and that a most unpleasant and undesirable one. We have fought one war for Cuba's good, and do not care to fight another. /Italics are my own/

Certainly, it would be most foolish for the United States to start Cuba upon any such road as that. It would be bad for Cuba and bad for ourselves. Nor would it be fair to the remainder of the world to set up a nominally sovereign nation which all powers must handle gingerly, no matter how well or how badly that nation behaved, through fear of getting

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into trouble with a guardian who stood ready to fight for his ward, but would not assert his power to keep that ward within the lines of proper conduct.

As it is inevitable that the United States must, for a long time, at least, stand between Cuba and the world, it is necessary that Cuba's foreign relations be managed by the government at Washington, as Canada's foreign relations are handled in London. What a good arrangement this would be for Cuba is shown by simple fact that, without a dollar of cost to themselves, the people of Cuba will enjoy all the protection the great American navy can give them; and, in case of necessity, the army of the United States would back up the navy. But if the United States is to stand as guardian for Cuba, asserting its prestige and using its military powers for Cuba's good without cost to Cuba, direct or indirect, it is no more than fair that the United States should have in the island certain naval stations and fortresses, such as those at Havana, Santiago, and Cienfuegos.

In all things else it is proposed to leave Cuba to the Cubans. They are to set up their government and manage it in their own way. The United States asks no indemnity, no compensations. It leaves to Cubans the arrangement of their own tariff duties, asking no preferential rates for American commerce other than those which the Cubans are themselves willing to grant, and which presumably are dictated by their interests.

One other prudential suggestion the United States offers. That is that in the constitution a reasonable limitation be placed upon the bonded indebtedness which the Cuban republic may incur. It happens, most naturally, that at the present moment there is in the island a rather general extravagant notion of the ease with which every one may be made rich through the sale of bonds. The soldiers of the Cuban army of liberation, even more numerous now than they were in the days of fighting, expect and demand generous pensions. Reasonable reward for their services they doubtless are entitled to, and should have; but if popular expectations in this direction are met, the Cuban republic will be bankrupt before it is out of swaddling-clothes, to say nothing of suggested bonds for interior improvements and other purposes. It is a part of the responsibility of the United States to see that the Cubans do not wreck the fiscal department of their government.

Secretary Root may be called the father of the new Cuba. In his hands the President placed the delicate and important task of devising and executing a plan which should be wholesome for the island and, at the same, just to the United

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One other practical suggestion the United States offers. That is that in the constitution a republican form of government be placed upon the bonded independence which the Cuban people may have. It happens, most naturally, that at the present moment there is in the island a rather general extravagant notion of the ease with which every one may be made rich through the sale of bonds. The soldiers of the Cuban army of liberation, even now numerous now that they were in the days of fighting, expect and demand generous pensions. Reasonable reward for their services they doubtless are entitled to, and should have; but if popular expectations in this direction are not met, the Cuban republic will be bankrupt before it is out of swaddling-clothes, to say nothing of sugar and coffee for interior improvements and other purposes. It is a part of the responsibility of the United States to see that the Cubans do not wreck the fiscal department of their government.

Security foot may be called the corner of the new Cuba. In his hands the President placed the delicate and important task of devising and executing a plan which should be wholesome for the island and, at the same, just to the United

States -- which should keep the pledge of Congress and yet not turn Cuba over to experiment, disorder, and failure. It was and to some extent still is a complex problem, made more difficult by the existence of a passionate demand for absolute independence on the part of many Cubans, and by preconceived notions and strong prejudices on the part of many Americans. How strongly Mr. Root builded may be seen in the foregoing outline of his plan; how cautiously he has moved may be inferred from the fact that, though the American policy was framed a year ago, only now is its full significance becoming known in this country, while in Cuba it is as yet understood only by the leading men.

Upon General Wood has fallen the duty of leading the Cuban people, step by step, toward rational solution of the problem of their future. This task he has performed with the utmost skill and patience. He has told the members of the constitutional convention that they are wholly free to do as they please, but has endeavored to teach them to do that which is wise and strong. Gradually the extremists have been made to see that their dream of an absolutely independent and sovereign international state is impossible of realization, and that it ought not to be realized. The governor has made, and will make, no effort to control the convention or dictate to it. He advises and suggests, and leaves the remainder to the good sense of the delegates. So great is Secretary Root's interest in the work that he has just paid his second visit to the island. It was not on account of his health, but because of his keen desire to make a success of his nation-building enterprise, that the secretary undertook his second voyage. Striking example of the era to which we have come at the close of the century is this collaboration of two intellectual and unselfish men - fine types of the American of our day - in the task of molding and shaping a new state upon modern and scientific lines.

The latest reports from Havana are of a most encouraging character. It is dawning upon the leading men of the convention that it is better to be safe than sorry; and, besides, that the intervening power has rights and interests which must be respected. A great majority of the men of substance and character in Cuba want Cuba kept under the American wing as a happy compromise between the extremes of absolute independence on the one hand and formal annexation on the other. Foreign capitalists -- Spaniards, Englishmen, Germans -- are investing money in Cuban enterprises with full confidence that, in one way or another, the United States will perform its manifest duty of preserving order and guaranteeing good government in the island. *[Italics are my own.]* Only American capitalists stand

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aloof, fearful that the pledge of Congress will have to be kept in the sentimental way which presages ruin.

What shall be done with the constitution when the convention agrees upon one? Everything depends upon whether the organic act does or does not contain the provisions called for by the administration's policy. First of all, the constitution will come to the President. If it does not meet with his approval, nothing can be done, and the convention will have to try again; or, a new convention be called. By force of circumstances, the President is the ruler of Cuba, and he will not withdraw till he is fully convinced a strong and enduring government is ready to take the reins of power. If, as is hoped and believed, the constitution proves to be acceptable to the President, he may order it submitted to a general election of the Cuban people for their ratification.

If the President of the United States approves the constitution, he will submit it to Congress for the ratification of that body. Congress having assented, the organic act of the new state will be officially proclaimed, parliamentary and presidential elections will be held in the island, and in due time the Cuban republic will take over the government from the hands of the President and his representatives. The new Cuba will be a nation, but not a sovereign power. It will not be a part of the United States; neither the American Constitution nor the American flag will extend over it, and no great constitutional question is to be raised as to its status. Cuba will not be a vassal state, because it neither pays nor can ever be asked to pay tribute, directly or indirectly. Inwardly, Cuba is to have independence which her people prayed and fought for. Outwardly, internationally, Cuba is to be a dependency of, and under the protection of, the great American power.

