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# David Sartorius, Ever Faithful: Race, Loyalty, and the Ends of Empire in Spanish Cuba

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wills, as well as on the works of the mulatto doctors themselves (see especially chapter 4, "A Black Protomédico in Republican Peru," in which Jouve Martin exquisitely brings together the workings of folk medicine and political liberalism, science and nationalism through a detailed reading of the works of these doctors, particularly Valdés). Sources also include an extensive and comprehensive list of approximately 110 contemporary publications.

In the spirit of continuing this important discussion, a few questions should be addressed by future researchers: What was the role of the Church in explaining the trajectories of the black, *pardo*, and mulatto populations in Lima? And, with the medical professions in particular? Most hospitals (as well as *beaterios* and educational facilities) in Lima (and elsewhere) were under the guidance of priests and nuns. How did they interact? In Jouve Martín's account we see quarreling individual priests, but little assessment as to the role of the Church in molding the medical and institutional trajectories.

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*Ever Faithful: Race, Loyalty, and the Ends of Empire in Spanish Cuba.* By David Sartorius. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013. xix + 312 pp. Illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$89.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

At the beginning of the nineteenth century throughout the transatlantic world, the meaning of "patriot" proved difficult to disentangle from the meaning of "nationalist." The plight of modern man amid the wreckage of two world wars brought clarity to the matter. A number of prominent intellectuals leveled blistering criticism not only at the Whig interpretation of history, but at the arranged marriages between nineteenth-century state builders and the democratic project. David Sartorius, like Jeremy Adelman and a number of other recent revisionist interpreters of Spanish America's wars of liberation, dissents from progressive abridgments that would enshrine Cuban independence as some sort of predictable triumph of a liberal creole nationalist *consciencia de sí*. Indeed, in focusing on colonial Cuba's people of color, he finds impressive loyalty during much of the nineteenth century to the idea of a monarchical, corporatist, imperial Spanish commonwealth. In so doing, he reinforces the idea that amid the contingent events of revolutionary process the successes of politically agile insurgents often follow on the failures of hare-brained and heavy-handed incumbents to build on the past to reform the future.

In a book of six chapters, Sartorius begins with the insular impact of the Constitution of 1812 and ends with the Spanish-Cuban-American War. Along the way, he assiduously explores the web of relations that shaped

popular politics and evolving conceptions of citizen and subject in a plantation colony based on racial slavery. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Spanish officials anointed Cuba the “ever faithful island” after it failed to follow its sister colonies on the mainland into independence. Cuba’s captains-general in dispensing the expression on ceremonial occasion were not merely spouting empty rhetoric. Cuba’s emergence during mid-century as one of the world’s wealthiest colonies and foremost slave societies had much to do with maintaining imperial ties. The inrush of more than 500,000 illegally imported African slaves between 1820 and 1860 clearly complicated the thinking of white creole elites, who could not easily unsheathe the sword of independence without thinking of the colonial world turned upside down in neighboring independent Haiti

Sartorius’s concentrates on persons of African descent and points to their role in exposing the separatist Soles y Rayos conspiracy (1823). Well after the Grito de Yara mustered separatist forces in in eastern Cuba in 1868, many slaves and free persons of color continued to cling to familiar ideas of mutuality and reciprocity traditionally associated with empire and a protective Spanish Crown. Cuba’s institutionalized and privileged free-colored militia, although suppressed in 1844 during the brutal repression that followed the Conspiracy of La Escalera, reappeared in 1854 and tended to act as a potent organ of fealty, especially given the Crown’s own strategy to secure Cuba within the imperial fold by implementing divide-and-rule tactics. Sartorius has a particularly good chapter explaining the allegiance of Cuban persons of color in the ranks of Spanish troops during the Ten Years War.

In building context, Sartorius might have paid greater attention to the racially charged de-Africanization schemes that suffused thinking about *cubanidad* by Cuba’s white creole intelligentsia, particularly those gathered around the Venezuelan-born Cuban nationalist Domingo Del Monte. With white liberals wanting to purge Cuba’s civic culture of darker-skinned bodies while on the road to autonomy or nationhood, the rioting Sartorius richly describes in the southern port city of Cienfuegos in 1878 by unruly persons of color shouting “¡Viva España! ¡Muera la autonomía!” against white leaders of the Partido Liberal Autonomista should not surprise. The patriotism forged between patrons and clients in an organic society of interdependent, interrelated—albeit unequal—parts might well appear less racist and dangerous to the most vulnerable inhabitants than would a class-based nationalist populism.

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