

Racial Violence, American Imperialism, and Hybrid Futurism:
An examination of the Writings of W.E.B. DuBois and Jose Martí

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When engaging with theory and insight on the intellectual and social initiative towards an age of globalization, one must unavoidably address the complex conception of race and race relations around the world. During the late 19th and early 20th century North American and Latin American scholars alike, worked to understand the junction of race, class and racism as modes of domination in their environment. Most notably, W.E.B. Du Bois addressed the issue of racial exploitation, stating that “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line” (*The Souls of Black Folk*). DuBois believed the most useful mode of social progress was an understanding of the tools used to inhibit the modern age. This sentiment was shared not only by DuBois’ English-speaking readers but by scholars all around the hemisphere. They are especially found in the writings of Cuban theorist and activist, Jose Martí. While Martí’s work was mainly towards the Cuban War for Independence from 1895-1898, he also believed that, “Men have no special rights simply because they belong to one race or another” (“Mi Raza” 172).

Decolonization captures the hemispheric significance of the “color line.” When regarding the colonial experience, this paper examines the overlapping relevance of race within Martí’s Cuba as well as the United States. Until the turn of the 20th century, Cuba had been a colony of the Iberian crown, and had therefore adopted Spanish colonial philosophy, but the US had not been an English colony for over one hundred years. It had simply maintained an oppressive system of racial formation, Decolonial practice combats this establishment, what Edward Said referred to as “the imagination of empire” (Said 12). Using difference as a point of analysis, one understands that comparisons are made between the struggle for African American Civil Rights to the nationalist struggles in the Caribbean and Latin America in the early twentieth century. This essay will transcend the multilingual and multicultural boundaries of these two thinkers to analyze the racist transgressions brought upon Latin and African Americans, in order to examine

the racially and culturally diverse future Jose Martí and W.E.B DuBois believed the world was headed towards. These men's messages echoed each other in their critique of racial violence, the evils of the United States, and their evocation of a hybrid racial future through the significant acts of a mixed raced military leader. These echoes are present for both theorists through their journalism and support of Cuban revolutionary leader, Antonio Maceo.

The career paths of Jose Martí and W.E.B. DuBois crossed at least twice in the course of their endeavors for racial equality. Exiled by the Spanish government from his native Cuba, Martí travelled throughout the United States seeking support for the Cuban Liberation Movement. During his time in the States, Martí also wrote about social conditions in the United States for readers in Latin America, writing for Mexico City's most popular newspaper at the time *El Partido Liberal* and New York's *Patria*. DuBois, one of the founding members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and its publication, *The Crisis*, wrote various articles on racial prejudice against African Americans. In its early issues, *The Crisis* often reported violent acts against people of color.¹ For example, *The Crisis* was among the few national magazines to cover the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan from 1915 to 1944. Martí and DuBois separately reported on violent acts against black people in the South, respectively the cases of Ed Coy in Texarkana, TX and Samuel Tom Wilkes, known as Sam Hose, in his home near Palmetto, GA. In their writings on the subject racial violence, DuBois and Martí often echo each other in their belief that race-based violent acts were superficial methods of oppression enacted by those reinforcing colonial racial beliefs. Their sentiments would go on to influence generations of scholars on race hemispherically. Most theorists in

¹ *The Crisis* covered a series of violent attack in the summer following its inception (1911). Most notably, however, was the coverage during the summer of 1919, infamously coined by the magazine, "the Red summer."

critical race theory are familiar with the DuBoisian construction of double consciousness, an idea created towards developing an understanding of the problematized black man in white communities, while those in Latin America are familiar with Martí's condemnation of European racial construction for a racially mixed, *mestizo*, culture. These two would also concur on Cuba's important role in the development of a transnational relationship between oppressed people, race and the potential for revolutionary leadership.

Martí and DuBois ultimately conclude that the racial hierarchies in the United States and Cuba divided the people in detrimental ways, culminating in a social inability to overcome issues of racial violence. Ultimately, in order to move on to a racially progressive and sustainable future, these two felt that the citizenry in the United States and Cuba, needed to adopt a racial philosophy of fraternity and equality. Martí would coin the apt expression, "nuestra America mestiza" (Our America 120), which effectively became an ideology of culturally mixed singularity independent of cultural stock on origin. This valorizing celebration of multiplicity was represented the diverse multiracial composition across the hemisphere. This configuration of many races in one society needed to be celebrated with cultural exchange. Historically, African American scholars recognized the necessity for the reconstruction of the socio-cultural hierarchy. As the father of modern North American multiculturalism, W.E.B DuBois recognized the hegemony of the Eurocentric perspective had succeeded in distorting, omitting, and degrading the contributions and identity of African Americans in the United States. Speaking from a unique perspective, according to DuBois (1940) "Education has to do primarily with the souls of your own children and thus with the future of the Negro race in America." He therefore concluded that in order to improve tolerance for the black man, a restructuring of the education system was necessary, proposing that introduction of, an equally representational curriculum to United States.

Naturally these beliefs carried over to the political, as both men fervently supported the racialization of national and international leadership in the Americas. For them, the revolution in Cuba, which was led by so many black and mixed military leaders was an exciting look at the possibilities around the world. In their examination of the Cuban War for Independence, both Martí and DuBois wrote about the life and feats of General José Antonio Maceo. A progressive and formidable tactician, Maceo was second in command of the Cuban Army of Independence, Cuba's second largest revolutionary force to stand against Spain. As an afro-Indio, Maceo became a familiar national symbol of the possibility of a representationally diverse Cuba. Believed to be the heart of the revolution, using his articles and essays to rouse his people and gain international support from people all over the world, Martí considered Maceo to be the most important military leader in Cuba. Maceo warned Martí against his fatal decision to return home and join in the fight for independence, saying that he served a larger cause.

DuBois was one of many writers who also wrote about the military leader. Maceo's ability to combat twenty thousand Spanish forces with six thousand men was made symbolically important to African Americans, due to the leader's dark complexion and embrace of his African heritage. DuBois wrote about Maceo's actions with an inspired hopefulness for a better future. The success of an equally-representational Cuban revolutionary military and rise of a government equally representing the population of Cuba would support DuBois' regard toward equal representation. Antonio Maceo was representationally significant to DuBois both for his leadership and his strong call for integration in Cuban leadership. Martí and DuBois, while having culturally different experiences, maintained throughout their writing, a criticism of American racial violence suggesting such action displayed the desire maintain a social hierarchy established during the colonial period.

Martí, a native of Cuba was unfamiliar with the African American racial experience in the United States when he moved to New York. Because the system of chattel slavery existed so long in the South, race-based violence had become a regular occurrence. The Castilian system of slavery was changed with Carlos IV's Royal Decree of Graces in 1789 which provided protection for the black and mixed race, "citizens of the empire."² In its early chapters, "El Código Negro" granted slaves religious freedom, the right to marry, and encouraged them to engage in the economy.³ El Código Negro was a direct response to dramatic changes that occurred in the late 18th century following the Haitian Revolution. As a result, African and African-descended slaves became the majority. From El Código Negro, slaves were given designated times to work for their own income and required proper living conditions. Also established with El Código Negro was the understanding that the relationship between slave and slave master was one of reciprocal benefit. Under this set of laws, slaves were to be taken care of, tended to and healed of any illnesses. This would go on to change the way slavery was to be conducted forever. Extreme punishments were to be looked down upon and brought forth in municipal court. Rape became a serious criminal offense. Until its abolition in 1886, Cuban slavery was ruled by laws that disallowed the mistreatment of slaves. For Martí, the Southern United States extrajudicial act of lynching was murder. Martí viewed lynching as an egregious act against citizens that should be protected by the country. Martí would use the lynching of Ed Coy to describe the societal shortcomings which characterize the United States, making an imperfect, unequal nation that. He determined that if these weaknesses in United States went

² While revisited a year later, the Royal Decree of Graces of 1789, was written following the appeal to the royal court by a council of slaves from the Caribbean, begging for legislative action to be made in the service and protection of blacks and mixed race "citizens of the empire."

³ Estrada, Nicolás Duque de, and Javier Laviña. *Doctrina Para Negros: Explicación De La Doctrina Cristiana Acomodada a La Capacidad De Los Negros Bozales*. Sendai, 1989, p. 66-86. Translated by Webster Heath

unaddressed, they would be indirectly detrimental to a newly independent Cuban nation. Martí proposed that the solution to these social issues was in a hybrid cultural identity, expressing the body that encompasses the transformed society as a *cuerpo pinto*, a colored body. This idea originates from his criticisms on the treatment of Ed Coy.

According to the *New York Times*, a white woman identified as Mrs. Julia Jewell accused the thirty-two-year-old mulatto, of assault and rape, saying Coy entered her house several times while her husband was out of town, under the guise of selling livestock; however, it would later be revealed by Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a prominent journalist and newspaper editor on lynchings in the South, that Coy and Jewell were engaged in a consensual relationship for several years before her husband had discovered it. The evidence suggested that Mrs. Jewell was coerced into making rape allegations against the man she had been with. Although the accusations made against Ed Coy were proven false, this did not excuse the crimes of the mob. After a two-day search, a posse of fifty armed men returned to Texarkana with two suspects, one of whom Mrs. Jewell identified as her assailant, Ed Coy. Hours after his return to Texarkana, Coy had been identified, tried and condemned to death by hanging.

Following his sentencing, a mob of nearly 6,000 marched Coy through several city streets in Texarkana. While the court had found Coy guilty and condemned him to death by hanging, several spectators demanded Coy be tied to a stake and burned alive. Members of the crowd chanted, "Burn Him! Burn Him!" When it seemed that Coy would be murdered in the center of town Charles M. Reeves, one of the town's leading citizens, suggested the killing happen "out of town, in the open countryside where everyone can get a good view" (*El Partido Liberal*). Reeves understood that the justice of the court would not be carried out. When the mob agreed, Coy was dragged at rifle point outside of the town and tied to the base of a tree. The mob showered Coy

with petroleum, soaking even his clothes; finally, Coy's alleged victim/lover, Mrs. Jewell, was brought to the tree, to the cheers of the crowd. It was Julia Jewell who would apply a lit match in two places. While many other newspapers did not publish Coy's final words, Martí reported that even at gunpoint and doused in petroleum, Coy insisted that he was innocent, saying, "I offered Mrs. Jewell no offense! You're going to kill me, but I offered her no offense." To Martí, it was important to juxtapose the calm words of the accused with the harsh treatment of the crowd. Becoming more familiar with racial relations in the Southern United States, Martí felt it was important to portray how unfounded the mob's anger was in order to justify African American fear of racial violence. Ed Coy was so mindful of admitting that he was in a consensual relationship with a white woman, he took it to his grave. But whether Coy's relationship with Mrs. Jewell was romantic or not, the outcome would have remained the same. Martí knew this and rather than addressing this as politically systemic issue, Martí's article returns to his anecdote on the family escaping the threat of racial violence by moving to Liberia.

Through living in such a crucial time in the United States, just following the Civil War with American expansion westward, Martí was examining the US from within. While Martí wrote with a nativity towards the previous sins of the Iberian crown, he is establishing difference between United States and Caribbean society through his characterization of nation-state. As a philosopher and social critic, he recognized racial unrest in the United States was particularly dangerous to Cubans due to Cuba's need for financial and military aid in backing its revolution. Because the US followed Eurocentric racial philosophy, Martí feared for the safety of his home island, which was primarily darker-skinned descendants of slaves. Martí, understood that Cuban patriots could only achieve independence by collaborating with the island's slaves and free people of color. For Martí, the repudiation of European and American concept of race was

necessary for Cuba's independence. This would require Cuban citizens to overcome the DuBoisian color line. Without the unification of the multiracial populace of the island, the strategy for an independent Cuban nation could not succeed. Martí approaches his critique of the United States with irony, pointing out that the "only enemy" to Latin American independence is in fact the earliest independent democracy in the hemisphere ("Our America" 120). The United States' inability for multiculturalism made it a dangerous power to lead the hemisphere into an age of racial harmony. Martí used his critical journalistic eye to examine the United States foreign and domestic policy, using the perspective of an immigrant.

The article on Ed Coy's death was José Martí's attack on American policy, indirectly attacking the Monroe Doctrine's claim of American moral responsibility to interfere in the international affairs of Latin America and the Caribbean. José Martí uses the lynching of Ed Coy as an example of the dangers of American mob justice, and notes that the United States would rather interfere internationally than address the issues of race that it faced. By turning attention to international industrial expansion, "America is escaping all its dangers," Martí tells his readers, "while some of the republics are still beneath the sleeping octopus" ("Our America" 121). Because the United States had accepted the racialized social hierarchy by eliminating or marginalizing the experiences and contributions of people of color, Martí believed the US would continue to argue that descendants of African and Latin American natives were mentally deficient, doomed to live as second-class citizens, even on their native soil. On the day before he was killed in battle, Martí wrote a letter to his friend and compatriot, Manuel Mercado, describing life on the mainland, saying, "I have lived in the monster and I know its entrails; and my sling is that of David." Martí's greatest fears were realized in 1898, when the United States launched its war against Spain in his homeland. Martí knew from the treatment of black and

brown races in the US that the country would not treat the newly independent Latin American nations as equals. He felt that the general American public in the United States believed in the existence of inferior and superior races. The Southern public that executed Ed Coy believed the white race was born to govern while the people of color were born to serve. This belief was not shared in Latin America and the Caribbean, which had for decades relied on its colored population for economic stability. While the same can be said of the United States, Cuba had adopted a more cooperative nationalistic theory of race, one that stressed one's nationality and place of birth rather than their ethnicity. To protect his home from a loss of its national understanding of race, Martí felt a responsibility to stop the imperial giant, whom he felt embattled with, much like the biblical anecdote of Israel and the Philistines.

Martí never wrote with certainty when addressing the United States' ability to overcome the racial inequality, but it is clear in his article on the death of Ed Coy that he believed the United States would struggle with this issue. His overall representation of the US was that society in the midst of an ideological civil war, composed of two parties: "the pilgrim, who refused to tolerate a master above him or a servant below him, or any conquest other than those made by the grain in the earth and by love in the heart, and the shrewd and grasping adventurer, born to acquire and to move forward in the forests, who knows no law but that of his own desires and no limits but the reach of his arm, a solitary and dreaded companion of leopards and eagles" ("Mother America" 113). In this struggle "for predominance in the republic and in the world," Martí was unable to determine which would prevail. Instead of allowing such a nation to interfere in their politics, Martí felt that it was important that Spanish Americans study the United States, its successes and its failures, learning from this republic so as not to follow suit. According to Jose Martí eliminating the persistent legacy of the racism of colonial Spanish rule

was the key to Cuba's independence in the present, and to advancing beyond the stalled and partial progress toward a truly civilized society, one more progressive than the United States. The Ed Coy lynching was symbolic of an inability to overcome a violent racial history. This sentiment would be shared by W.E.B. DuBois, when he wrote about the lynching of Sam Holt in Palmetto, Georgia.

W.E.B. DuBois' account of the lynching of Sam Hose took the social critique Jose Martí had given and gave it an introspective lens. DuBois uses the lynching of Sam Holt to problematize the social conditioning of the white mob, in order to critique a lawless European social order. The case of Sam Holt was one of personal concern for then thirty-one year old DuBois, who taught economics and history at Atlanta University, and was the head of the sociology department. Sam Hose, sometimes also referred to as Sam Holt, was a twenty-one year old African American laborer who returned to his hometown to care for his mother and disabled brother. Employed for only a year or so, Holt and his employer would often argue over shortages in payment and unpaid labor. In the final argument, during the early summer of 1898, exhausted of Holt's approaching him for payment, Alfred Cranford threatened the man at gunpoint. Sam Hose, who had been chopping wood at the time for Cranford, threw the axe and fled the scene. When the story of Alfred Cranford was released, Sam was accused not only of murdering his former employer. In addition, the Atlanta Dispatch reported that Hose had also raped Cranford's wife. With a \$500 bounty on his capture, Sam Holt evaded his pursuers for a week before being captured. Proposed by the newspapers, it was decided, instead of death by hanging, Holt would burn at the stake. However, news about the colored man who murdered his employer and violated his wife had spread throughout the county. Within hours, the jailhouse was surrounded by a mob, demanding that the prisoner be released to them. Without Holt being brought to trial

or confronting those accusing him of rape, Sam Holt was brought outside of his home town and covered in kerosene. The Atlanta newspapers went on to report that prior to being set on fire, Sam Hose was, “deprived” of his ears, fingers, and genitals. Hose, who had remained silent, only screamed in anguish when set ablaze, still unaware that he stood accused of raping Mattie Cranford. On the head of a nearby stump was etched a message, “We Must Protect Our Southern Women.”

Having written a personal statement on the Sam Hose case, DuBois was on his way to deliver his statement to the Atlanta *Constitution*, marking the first African American leader to write on this unfortunate case. In neutral academic language DuBois argued Hose was a lesson of the psychological effects of racial difference, separation, and mob violence. DuBois believed it was the incrimination of black individuals by white society that increased black crime. Sadly, DuBois was unable to deliver his statement before discovering that Sam Holt had been captured and lynched, glimpsing Holt’s knuckles on display at a grocery store. Already a dedicated student of sociology, DuBois dedicated his study to define the “Negro Problem,” the dilemma in the United States of how eight million black Americans would coexist with a white society that constantly rejected them as members and obstructs their social mobility. DuBois was taken aback by the festive nature in which Sam Holt’s mutilated body was put on display in the community. This was meant to be a message to African Americans that, in the eyes of the white lynch mob, the black body was something to be hunted, taken apart and displayed as a trophy. Rather than improving the rights of African Americans, these Southern journalists and mob participants create a false narrative of the black person, attributing criminality and race to one another, in justify the violent assault against African American peoples. While he wasn’t sure that Sam Holt had not raped Mattie Cranford, it was through independent research that DuBois discovered that

despite the popularity of such a narrative, only in 25 percent of such cases was the crime originally brought to the court, before being released in the paper, the majority of such allegations were “trumped up to arouse the worst passions of the countryside.”

Lynching was by definition anonymizing, disallowing for the accused minority to face their accuser, who was more often than not, among the crowd exacting the punishment. African Americans who had only four decades prior achieved their emancipation and rights as citizens were being denied the right to a trial by a jury of peers, and even denied the right to an attorney and once again forced into a position as a representational object. While the white members of the crowd took part in murder, they attempt to justify such an act because it is in the “protection” of white “Southern women.” By gaining such rights, DuBois would later argue, African Americans also gained the right to defend themselves, to resist, even physically against the white mob. The lynching of Sam Holt represented many elements that DuBois would go on to write about, specifically, the lack of understanding on the part of the white mob. According to DuBois, much of Sam Holt’s plight was due the psychological construction between races in the United State, what DuBois would describe as an existence within “the Veil” (*Souls of Black Folk, 1903*). The Veil was the psychological manifestation that DuBois believed separated black and white peoples. Within it, black citizens became problematized, endured racism, exploitation, and injury that the white demographic refused to acknowledge. Sam Holt’s torture and lynching occurred because the presence of The Veil disallowed Holt to be seen as a possible victim and, instead, be characterized as a criminal. The crowd credited his race as evidence of his guilt, and found him guilty because of it, even though no evidence that incriminated Sam Holt. DuBois believed that The Veil was used by white Americans to impede the process of black citizenship. While former slaves were legislatively given rights, former slave owners abused them, obstructing their

political endeavors as well as committing violence upon them. Southern Caucasians tolerated the unequal conditions because they can reclaim opportunities and privileges unseen since antebellum slavery. Yet, it was through his research on race and Anglo-colonial racial hierarchy that DuBois discovered The Veil doubled as both a tool of oppression, and the mirror of oppression that allowed for a black perspective. Behind The Veil, black folk observe the freedoms white people enjoy. White folk struggled to see the difficulties black people faced within The Veil, again due to their construction of it.

DuBois interprets slavery in the United States as an economic and cultural endeavor rationalized by white Americans through a white-supremacist racial hierarchy. DuBois would continue this critique globally, examining the means by which first world nations, such as the United States, justified their economic and political interference in underdeveloped or developing nations. His earliest article on the subject described the Spanish American War of 1898 as having “gravely increased some of our difficulties in dealing with the Negro problems” due to a “growing indifference to human suffering, a practical surrender of the doctrine of equality, of citizenship, and a new impetus to the cold commercial aspect of racial intercourse.” The Treaty of Paris, which ended the Spanish American war, reflected the Eurocentric idea that the quick victory over Spain was attributable solely to United States interference, rather than the economic and military strain towards the crown's resources for several decades, especially in the preceding three years, before the United States had become involved. Like Martí, DuBois suggested United States imperialism did not aid racial unrest within American borders. He believed he could trace 20th century first world imperialism to the imperial system of old, which was reinforced by racism. DuBois argued that Latin American “darker” nations were going to be negatively influenced by western imperialism, as exemplified by the United States’ ill-treatment

of its black populace (*Darkwater*). The success of American capitalism, according to DuBois was due to its ability to use citizens of color like resources, through slavery and forced labor. American business took part in industrial violence on its enemies abroad, while domestically, the government allowed for race-based violence, such as lynching, to sustain a domestic reign of terror that was centered in race. This was the prediction made by Martí, that if the United States was unable to resolve its own issues of race, it would remain a socially and politically unequal society. These notions of equality through European values stayed in Cuba. Martí and DuBois agree that the ideal spiritual identity is one shared by all people, thus repudiating all theories of racial superiority. Rather than focus on the alleged lack of culture of the dark skinned population, Martí proposed the reeducation of the populace to contribute fully to a free and decolonized country, one that excused people of their social standing due to race.

For Martí and DuBois the problems with racialization in the United States and America are solved with a multicultural integration of non-European tradition and culture. Martí champions difference believing that rather than creating a social hierarchy, racialization should celebrate that which makes a culture unique. “He who puts himself in compartments,” is truly left behind in a racially progressive world. Instead, Martí proposes intercultural exchange, one that builds on a native culture and the culture of those brought to Cuba from around the world. Cultural loss for Afro-Cubans had displaced them culturally, as the practice of their languages, traditions and religions had been scrutinized. Similarly DuBois believes that United States racial education had similarly displaced the man of color. DuBois proposed that the passing of culture was a generational one, built on education. Believing that the intelligence and contributions of African and African American peoples was underrepresented in the US, DuBois believed that America was furthering the racial divide. To rectify this, DuBois insists on the adoption of an

education in which all peoples are represented equally, celebrated equally. While Martí asserts that the future Cuban nation will be a *mestizaje* of culture and races, DuBois proposes a similar change to the educational system in the US. These two would agree that in order for a progressive nation to be formed it would need to be properly lead. They understood the cultural importance of political and military leaders that represented the diverse whole of America.

In his years as an advocate for Cuban independence, Jose Martí established many meaningful relationships; perhaps the most influential was with Antonio Maceo, lovingly known as the “Brown Titan” by his countrymen. Raised in a family of free mulatto farmers, Maceo joined the Mambi Army for Cuban independence at twenty-three. By the age of 28, Maceo had become a general and a leading force against the Spanish empire. While outgunned and outmanned rebelling against a colonial force, the Cuban mambises became folk heroes, not only forging a new nation, but creating a proud Cuban national history. The actions and events of the wars fought against Spain would create a solely Cuban history, one that separated the new nation from its colonial ruler. Maceo would become one of the most important figures in this national history, as would Jose Martí. While the memory of Maceo was one that emphasized his military heroism, physical stature and discipline, Martí remains remembered as a political thinker, in many ways the pen to Maceo’s saber. While Maceo was on the battlefield, challenging centuries of colonial history rhetorically, Martí worked to create a Pan-Latin American identity. This united Cuban ideal justified the inevitable revolution of the “natural man,” to give rise to “our own Greece” (“Our America” 120). Martí would often create the figure of Antonio Maceo when describing the “natural man.” As a fund raiser appealing to African, Latin American, and mixed raced peoples, Martí continuously juxtaposed the greed and moral corruption of Anglo-American culture with the unique Latin American identity. An October 1893 article, Martí wrote in *Patria*,

he described Antonio Maceo as the ideal Cuban, a man respected amongst all Cubans, who is proud of and fights for his Cuban heritage. Martí believed the ideal Latin American community is comprised of a diverse community of neighbors with a common identity based on a shared history and a common colonial experience, writing that liberating the continent from both European and North American intervention is beneficial for future generations. This community will contain men and women who are similar to the multicultural Antonio Maceo. Martí argued that the Cuban natural man, like Maceo, while removed from a Eurocentric history, possesses his heritage, one that originates in Cuba but has roots in European, African and indigenous culture equally. In his writing on Maceo, Martí wrote of his friend, “His support will be himself, never his dagger. He shall serve his troops with his ideas even more than with his courage. Strength and greatness are natural to him” (“On Antonio Maceo” 121). Maceo inspired those around him through his racial heterogeneity; he insisted on not asking for international foreign military aid, understanding that there is symbolic importance in completing his tasks without the expressed aid of others. Economic and military power were misused, as in the case of the Anglo-Americans and the Spanish, if not used alongside wisdom and regional experience. This concept of using European military and business along with native cultural knowledge was a popular idea of Martí’s “nuestra mestizo America,” theory. Because Maceo was a Cuban Native, Martí suggested this cultural knowledge of the land proved useful in his military resistance to Spain’s superior numbers, as it allowed Maceo to bolster the hearts of the people. Martí believed that there was a distinction between Maceo and his compatriots and the men of the former ruling class, who he considered Eurocentric traitors; they possessed an allegiance to Cuba, through sentiment, utilization of natural resources and education. While the traitors would support a

racial hierarchy similar to that which Martí criticized, Maceo considered the independent nation a fraternity of uniquely Cuban peoples.

In “Our America,” Martí informs his audience they can become one of two things. They can either look towards Europe or North America for cultural and philosophical guidance, or they can establish their roots in “America,” their homeland, as Antonio Maceo had. Martí disappointedly explained that within his generation there are those who turn their backs on America:

Those harmful insects that gnaw at the bone of the country that nourishes them. If they are Parisians or from Madrid, let them go to the Prado, to swan around, or to Tortoni’s in high hats. Those carpenter’s sons who are ashamed that their fathers are carpenters! Those born in America who are ashamed of their mother who reared them, because she wears an Indian apron; and those scoundrels who disown their sick mother, abandoning her on her sick bed! Then who is a real man? He who stays with his mother and nurse her illness, or he who puts her to work out of sight, and lives at her expense on decadent lands, sporting fancy neckties, cursing the womb that carried him, displaying the sign of the traitor on the back of his cloth frock coat?

“Our America” instructs its reader on how to be a good child of the Americas. Martí made a particular distinction between the American sons of his generation, men like Antonio Maceo, who defend their homes with their lives, and the “presumptuous man,” the American born child who abandons his family in search wealth through living in foreign lands and adopting European customs. The traitors in “cloth frock coats” do not understand what it is to be an American within the “virgin jungles” of America. These men return their homeland and attempt to bring their false identities and foreign educations to Cuba and criticize the nation for being underdeveloped. But imperialist foreign powers do not understand the way of life in a remote land. They try to govern “wearing Yankee and French spectacles” (“Our America” 120). These men also return with a European racial hierarchical outlook, seeing their native kinfolk as inferior. This sentiment,

Martí notes as the source of the racial division in the United States between white men and men of color, causing tragedies such as the Ed Coy.

Alternatively, Martí pointed to the Native and Antonio Maceo as the epitome of a true American. Groups are not defined according to their appearances but should be grouped by their cultural philosophies the way they live and their interest as a country. Antonio Maceo and the natural men were willing to coexist with the Spanish, if given governance of themselves, while the European devotees want to abandon Cuba's distinctly American cultural history. The struggle between natural men and European devotees is much like the struggle to keep foreign powers from governing, as one group has knowledge of the economies of the land as well as its cultural origins, while another seeks to exploit the resources of the land for their own benefit. Due to rising taxes after the ten-year revolution, Cubans were beginning to reconsider their national identity. While the customs and system was a sick hybrid of European and Cuban ideals, "thoughts are slowly beginning to be American." (15) It was the mambi, the Cuban revolutionary army, led by Maceo, which began uniting the nation with their inspiring tales of heroism. Martí's Americans were beginning to unite under the understanding that the "natural man" knew how best to utilize the government in the interest of all the peoples, while the man who believes himself to be European will rule much like the Spanish, removed and exploitative. Under the military leadership of Antonio Maceo, a Cuban victory became possible, giving Martí and other Americans hope.

While Maceo's revolution did inspire the Cuban and Latin American public, his race has become symbolically relevant in the story of the revolution. By proposing that the struggle for independence was not racial, Jose Martí sought to characterize the conflict for "American" independence as both communal and ideological. When he wrote, "there is no racial struggle

because there are no races,” (“Our America” 120) Martí was arguing that the source of conflict in Cuba was not with racial identity. For if there is race in America, one is made to question who they are, a natural man of the land or a European. In their correspondence, Antonio Maceo did not find his racial identity significant to the cause that he fights for, rather that he is a Cuban man serving his people. The mestizo, or mixed race man, was not seeking Latin American independence as a mestizo, but supported the paragon of independence and sovereignty, because they worked the land, create and consumed commerce, and had sentimental attachment to Cuba. Martí noted that mestizaje, or racial mixture played a key role in Maceo’s success against the Spanish. Maceo lead a mixed-raced army, consisting of mostly former slaves, cimarones or runaways, and poor marginalized citizens. The army was most notably composed of both men and women. Race, in Martí’s social view, could only refer to the social constructs used to acclimatize political difference. It did not create a difference in moral value or legal status. Martí promoted a unity among all Cubans to create a mestizo utopian nation, in which Cubans would accept a color-blind philosophy, as miscegenation was present across the entire region, incorporating all cultural presences in Latin America. Because of his own support of a racially mixed nation, as well as his contribution in bringing such a nation forward, Maceo would go on to be a representative in Martí’s writing, of the potential leadership of a culturally mixed nation. He believed the cultural work of the educated would establish an understanding between North America.

For W.E.B. DuBois one of the great challenges of his time was the creation of a diverse democracy- could United States society be restructured to include the demands, needs, energy, and freedom of the millions of people of color that inhabit the nation? While American business and industry was expanding, people of color were excluded from influx of wealth and

opportunity. It was out of this question that DuBois and many other African Americans were inspired looking internationally at the efforts of the Ten Year War, as well as the Spanish-American War. African American scholars and the public noted that the Cuban freedom fighters roused a spirit within them, one of revolutionary change. DuBois felt one of the most salient aspects of this international revolution was Cuban inhabitant solidarity. While there were those who encouraged European rule, the revolutionary army was composed of epidermically black and white citizens. Not only was the military racially mixed, DuBois noted, so was the military leadership, which was composed of men from various backgrounds, from White Cuban aristocracy, to former slaves. One of the leaders that appeared consistently in the media in the United States was Antonio Maceo, a free born mixed race soldier, whose guerilla tactics confused and baffled the Spanish military. African American tribute to the Caribbean leader transcended national allegiances, which had restricted the endeavor to think globally about race in the United States. News of Maceo's military successes forced the white United States audience to acknowledge Afro-Cubans, as they used superior knowledge of the land, intellect, and planning to hold off the Spanish forces through means that hadn't been socially allowed for blacks since the Civil War. "Maceo the mulatto," (Ortiz) as African American publications referred to him, was believed to have inherited his power from the combination of his African, indigenous, and European ancestors. Antonio Maceo became a figure for DuBois of a possibility of acceptance, one that could be possible with an agency and action. When writing about the independence in Cuba, DuBois stated, "It was the Negroes and mulattoes who made Cuba politically independent of Spain and started her on her tortuous climb to economic justice." (*Black Folks Then and Now* 67) While the Ten Years War emancipated the African and mestizo people of Cuba, it was the actions of Maceo and his men that brought political freedom and

possibility, something that DuBois was a steady supporter of. DuBois believed in the transformative power of culture and political sovereignty. He believed in black Cubans reclaiming their homeland. White media portrayed Maceo's refusal to sign the treaty of Zanjón, which ended the Ten Years War, as Maceo possessing a nefarious motive in his revolution, claiming that Maceo planned to liberate all Caribbean slaves, killing all white socialites, to establish a diasporic republic. In reality, Maceo refused to sign the document because it did not originally include the abolition of slavery in Cuba. DuBois also acknowledged that there was power in white fear of the rise of a black populace. The misinformation of the populace from these news outlets resulted in a further strained relationship between the black laborers and their white counterparts. DuBois understood that misinformation and deception of the people resulted in the violent acts against African descended people across the diaspora. Maceo and his troops provided a new characterization of black and brown men, as patriots and freedom fighters. These uprisings from predominantly black colonies were in response to colonial action that had left them victims, subject to mutilation like Sam Holt.

W.E.B. DuBois, a supporter of multiculturalism, supported a political system in which all people are represented and offered full and equal rights, no matter a person's race. Instead of Martí's endeavor to eliminate race, DuBois wanted to use race as a site of difference. The African American's unique perspective, as a man who at one time was considered property, according to DuBois, provided him with a "double consciousness," an understanding and internalization of his social position as established why white violence. This double consciousness allowed him to possess allegiance and obligation only to himself and his race. "One ever feels his twoness," DuBois wrote, "an American, a Negro; two souls two thought two unreconciled strivings" (*Souls* 5). This examination of race in America is applicable to all races

in the United States, a country that DuBois believed possessed many insightful perspectives. African Americans, as well as white Americans possess the right to develop and contribute to the country. To deny any race its representation and access is to limit the entire nation. DuBois continues, arguing it is the responsibility of a Talented Tenth to both act as an educator for people of color and as buffer for whites, speaking for the silenced black community in the social sphere. (*Souls* 97) Antonio Maceo, as a mulatto, was leading his people out a racial past and into a future of political equity. Therefore, the loss of Maceo took a massive toll on the force of the Cuban resistance. DuBois believed in the Cuban Solidarity Movement but also recognized that its purpose was to recognize the legitimacy of the Cuban resistance. It was the US' military interference that DuBois wrote about with sarcastic ire. American Negro regiments, DuBois wrote, played a leading role in securing Cuban freedom. How could the United States aid the cause of liberty in Cuba, while building an elaborate social system of oppression against African Americans in the United States?

Maceo was an example used by DuBois to indicate the difference between the Spanish colonies and the United States; upward social mobility was to such an extent that a mixed raced man could not only get an education but earn military position. Color was not used to limit the accesses a man possessed. Yet, after US aid in the Spanish American War, Cuban society was different, as the American military brought with it the social architecture of Jim Crow. DuBois believed that in the United States, racism and class oppression were intertwined; therefore, the United States was not only circulating a social oppression but a financial oppression in Cuba, one that can be felt even to this day. Afro-Cubans make up the majority of the populace in Cuba, but disproportionally face poverty and a lack of education in the country, due to Jim Crow-like economic tradition, prejudice, and discrimination in pay. These European nations defended a

world system that exploits the majority of humanity, to establish a detrimental lifestyle defined by poverty, disease, a lack of resource and oppression. At the same time, this system would have supported luxury for the world's white minority. Local heroes such as Maceo, who were of mixed backgrounds but darker skinned, would have limited access to wealth, resources and education, due to their mestizo background.

Like Martí, DuBois used his critique of Jim Crow to attack US imperialism. His position in the NAACP allowed him access, and an outlet to expose American imperialism. DuBois believed American imperialism had origins in colonial European competition in Africa. Racial capitalism and imperialism were used by the United States government as means for the requisition of African American and Latin American rights. DuBois stated the most egregious crime of United States imperialism was its exploitation of the labor of indigenous peoples. American interference in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines was an economic endeavor (*Darkwater*). These lands were among the most fertile of the time; DuBois identified the capital benefit of United States military intervention. The United States commodified the essence of an indigenous group under the guise of being a natural peacekeeper DuBois used the example of Cuba to express the theory of modern colonialism, foretelling the contemporary notions of first and third world nations, established through the economic exploitation of African descendants and indigenous people. Antonio Maceo, for DuBois acted as a popular figure, recognized internationally, who disallowed United States intervention, anticipating the action. Maceo's, mistrust of the United States came from a negative opinion of the conditions of subjugated African Americans, who were exploited and used, while being rejected the rights of true citizens. His anticipation and understanding of such, as well as his military leadership inspired the subjugated masses.

An early Pan-Africanist, DuBois characterized Maceo as a potential unifier of the Latin American community, to construct a coalition of people of color. To lose such a key figure in the fight for independence is a deadly blow to national pride. Internationally Maceo represented a resistance to European ideals of power, due to his military like leadership of the entire Cuban citizenry, not discriminating according to race or gender. Maceo's army was composed of men and women of all races, working towards the expulsion of the Spanish, the unification of a Cuban nation state. Maceo galvanized his people using the belief in the equality of all men, slave and free, black and white. He was a personification of the hybridization that Spanish colonial rule had brought to the island. His most notable exploit, which made him internationally beloved by people of color and feared by Europeans and white media, was his 92 day cat-and-mouse like encounter with the Spanish, wherein his regiment covered more than 1,000 miles. In 27 encounters, Maceo's regiment baited the Spanish forces, appearing to engage in battle only to fall back, burning the nearby villages to avoid raiding and stealing. Finally, when the Spanish believed they had the upper hand, they were surrounded by the force of the Cuban resistance army. Ultimately, Maceo would be pursued, captured, and killed on December 7, 1896, his body buried in an unmarked grave, to avoid Spanish desecration. DuBois wrote about the loss of the general, years later, indicating it to be a turning in the war for Cuban independence, believing it was the absence of Maceo's presence that led to United States military interference.

Americans must also understand the tension of the multiple definitions of race in North and Latin America. When Martí commented of *mestizaje* or racial mixture, he referred to the Amerindian-European cultural and hemolytic encounter. In his articles on racial violence and the death of Ed Coy, Martí's perspective is brought to life. Martí's location and position within the history of *mestizaje* in Latin America may often limited his vision of United States society,

particularly the African American presence, which he essentialized to a Southern plantation fantasy. While black Americans were emancipated, free citizens, Martí often displaced them from national social thought, employing only the pilgrim and the frontier adventurer as archetypal figures of United States national liberty. This may be viewed as a racialization that marginalizes the black experience, however, Martí's goal was the disavowal of race through national humanism that rejects racial violence and white supremacist philosophy for a newly sovereign country. DuBois, understanding the American political and social systems as byproducts of European colonialism, shares Martí's militant position against United States imperialism. Though DuBois was rather negligent in his hemispheric examinations of race, the conclusion that he reached was similar to that of Martí. Juxtaposing the accomplishments of Antonio Maceo with US prejudice, DuBois critiqued the social and scientific miscegenation of African Americans. White citizenry's claim that race mixing led to mental and social degeneration was silenced through DuBois' praise and examination of Maceo's exploits. In addition, DuBois made an argument towards racial mixture by considering the place of the Cuban revolution without its second in command. In the end of his essay, DuBois advocates for African American solidarity and support for the Cuban independence movement. Using Sam Hose, DuBois began addressing the problematic nature of making a race of people inferior to another he addresses the toxicity of thought in his critique of mob violence and his repudiation of race-based violence. By creating a decolonial, hybridized vision of the United States, DuBois expressed his hope of universal representation and protection by law. While these men used two different definitions of race, Martí believing race to be a person's regional origins and DuBois using the European theory of racial identity to critique it, both these writers conclude the key to true progress in the United States is mixture, the interaction, and hybridization of race and

culture. As we can see, both theorists offered a unique analysis of the social oppression and financial exploitation of people of color in the United States, yet both these great writers believed in the transformation and liberation of marginalized groups through a culturalist revolution. Each of them stress, in their writing, the importance of free involvement in political, military and social exchange as the basis for decolonizing the diaspora. This hemispheric exchange of culture and ideas, would ultimately lead to an ideological and racial hybridity, beneficial to hemispheric ideas of difference.

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