

2023 NEH SUMMER INSTITUTE
LECTURE ABSTRACTS AND REQUIRED READINGS

WEEK 1: THE IMMIGRANT WORLDS OF YBOR CITY, WEST TAMPA AND KEY WEST, 1860-1900

Mr. Rodney Kite-Powell, “The Immigrant World of Ybor City, 1886-1900”

The inaugural lecture will take the participants on a voyage to late-19th century Florida, introducing them to the Cuban cigar workers, Spanish entrepreneurs and Sicilian laborers who found common cause and built a city in a forgotten corner of the deep South. After the lecture, Mr. Kite-Powell, Saunders Foundation Curator of History, will guide participants on a tour of the Tampa Bay History Center, with special emphasis given to its Cigar City exhibit and on the procedures for carrying out research at the Witt Special Collections for the duration of the institute.

Dr. Gary Mormino, “The Lived Space of Ybor City”

Dr. Mormino, co-author of the classic *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors* (U of Illinois P, 1987), will explain the social organization of Ybor City and its complex relationship to the surrounding community. This encounter will take place in the restored theater of the Cuban Club, a National Landmark and one of the three surviving mutual aid societies established by the immigrant cigar workers of Ybor City. Immediately afterward, Dr. Mormino will lead a walking tour of this vibrant urban community and a number of its key historic landmarks. After lunch, participants will take a guided tour of the Ybor City State Museum, where many of the artifacts that defined the daily labor of these communities, including restored homes, cigar-making stations and a great many publications and photographs are preserved.

Dr. Kenya Dworkin-Méndez, “In Pursuit of the Past: The Socio-Cultural World of the Cigar Worker in Tampa”

From the mid 1880s on and becoming fully effective by the 1930s, a phenomenon I call the “curriculum of culture” developed in the city’s Latin enclaves, circulating and evolving in response to new, local and foreign contingencies. This code of behavior was reinforced to some degree or another in the spaces they and other residents occupied regularly—cigar factories, mutual aid societies, coffeehouses, theaters, homes, and union halls. These cultural, social, and political mores were aspirationally egalitarian, inclusive, and democratic, and developed throughout and after the Cuba Libre period. This code of behavior was inherited by subsequent generation of Cubans (and Spaniards, Italians, Jews, and others) who made Tampa their home after Cuba achieved its mediated independence and functioned as a unique, received set of values that facilitated their negotiation of identity and place vis-à-vis the United States and Cuba. The outcome of all this was an ethnic American identity whose impact thoroughly transformed living and working spaces.

However, while most popular and even academic historiography about Tampa and its Latin community tells us how well the Latin immigrant groups were able to cooperate on the basis of their shared class positions and cultures, there are two things they fail to focus on—race and gender. With extremely few but important exceptions, little attention or importance is given to the fact that this community developed and thrived during a period of extreme racism and hardening culturally and legally sanctioned segregation in Florida, thanks to the “Black Code” in Florida’s 1865 Constitution and pervasive Jim Crow practices. There has also been a failure to analyze how this legally sanctioned and historically normalized racism and discrimination affected and differentiated the experience of black and brown Cubans in Tampa from that of their lighter-skinned counterparts. They not only constituted an important segment of the cigar making population, but were also a key force in the fight for Cuban independence through combat, political activism, fundraising and, most invisibilized, their journalistic and essayistic writing. Much of this holds true for women, too, who are equally sidelined in the historiography, with few exceptions, such Paulina Pedroso and Carolina la Patriota, although very little of their actual lives and work is actually examined.

My own personal focus for the past more than 25 years has been to recover and examine the popular Cuban theater that was written or imported and produced locally, and what it reveals about Tampa Cuban attitudes about gender, incipient Americanization and, most of all, race. I see this popular genre—with its blackface characters—as much more than just a continuation of an island Cuban tradition. Following the late Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s premise that power is intrinsic to the production of history, and that whoever controls the narrative of history also controls history, itself, I would like to invite you to covet the truth and explore Tampa’s historical silences and contribute to a better understanding of the insidious and pervasive process of erasure and omission in both Cuban and American historiography. However, by delving into what has yet to be revealed about the world of cigar workers in Tampa through intensive archival research, be mindful of the fact that you may have to seek beyond the archive because its contents, too, are often controlled by that same invisible power.

Dr. Susan Greenbaum, “Más que Negro: The Anti-racism of José Martí and its Fading Influence in Post-Cuban Independence Florida”

Convergent anti-slavery and anti-colonial sentiments aided early efforts to secure Cuban independence from Spain, involving many free people of color with military or literary expertise. However, racism offered a convenient wedge enabling Spanish efforts to sow discord with the pervasive specter of Haitian revolutionists. Martí’s unusual anti-racism, the eloquence of his arguments, and friendship with leading Afro-Cubans in Tampa eased that hazard and helped maintain solidarity. After his death, and US preemption of the struggle, Jim Crow emerged as a vicious counterpoint for black Cubans who remained in Tampa. This presentation explores the trajectory of this contradiction through three generations.

Dr. Gerald Poyo, “Key West’s Revolutionary Community”

Dr. Poyo will lead an interactive discussion regarding the establishment and development of Key West’s revolutionary community. How did this cigar manufacturing community with an enduring commitment to Cuban independence survive over thirty years? This includes

economic, political, social and institutional factors, and their impact on keeping the independence movement in the Cuban people's minds for thirty years.

Core Readings

- Dworkin-Méndez, Kenya. "Latin Place Making in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: Cuban Émigrés and Their Transnational Impact in Tampa, Florida." *English Language Notes* (2018) 56 (2): 124-142.
- . "La patria que nace de lejos: Cuba, lo 'nacional,' y la tradición cultural de los tabaqueros cubanos en Tampa." In *Cuban Studies* 36 (2005): 1-22. [available for participants who can read in Spanish]
- Greenbaum, Susan D. *More Than black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2003.
- Greenbaum Susan D. and Kenya C. Dworkin y Méndez. "Racism and Erasure: Black Cubans in Tampa's Cuban Independence Struggle." *Anthropology News* (Forthcoming, January 2022).
- Mormino, Gary and Pozzetta, George. *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985*. University Press of Florida, 1998. [selected chapters]
- -. "Spanish Anarchists in Tampa." *Hidden Out in the Open: Spanish Migration to the United States (1875-1930)*. (eds. Phylis Cancilla Martinelli and Ana Varela-Lago). Boulder, CO: UP of Colorado, 2018: 91-128.
- Pérez Jr., Louis. "Cubans in Tampa: From Exiles to Immigrants, 1892-1901." In *Essays on Cuban History: Historiography and Research*. (Gainesville: UP of Florida P, 1995): 25-34.
- Poyo, Gerald E. *Exile and Revolution: José D. Poyo, Key West, and Cuban Independence* (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 2014). [Chapters 1-3]
- Tinajero, Araceli, *El Lector: A History of the Cigar Factory Reader*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2010.

WEEK TWO: JOSÉ MARTÍ AT THE INTERSECTION OF EMPIRES

Dr. James López, "José Martí, 1853-1895: Chronology of an Exile"

In preparation for Week Two's focus on José Martí's organization of the Cuban Revolutionary Party among the cigar workers of Tampa and Key West, Dr. López will provide a detailed and integrated overview of Martí's life and work, with an emphasis on how the experience of exile and his yearning to create an ideal homeland for Cubans that would serve as a model of social justice and racial unity guided his work as a journalist, educator, poet and revolutionary activist.

Dr. Lisandro Pérez, "José Martí, New Yorker"

José Martí lived most of his adult life in New York. This presentation places Martí in his New York milieu and identifies the ways in which the city influenced his life and work. From

democratic culture, corruption, expansionism, stark social contrasts and social justice, Martí was exposed to what New York had to offer: a look at the new patterns of urban modernity. New York was also the premier setting, for decades before Martí arrived, of émigré activities on behalf of Cuban separatism. Félix Varela, the annexationists, the exiles from the Ten-Years War, and the autonomists, all represent a tradition of Cuban activism in the city. Martí applied the lessons he learned from the failed history of Cuban separatism in New York to his campaign for independence, accomplishing what no Cuban émigré leader has been able to do, before or after him: create a unified civilian movement that initiated a sustained war effort in Cuba. His foresight also proved prophetic when the events of 1898 frustrated the quest for Cuban sovereignty. The focus of this presentation is on Martí as a New Yorker, in all its dimensions, from the political and intellectual to his everyday life in the city.

Hon. Emiliano J. Salcines, “José Martí in Tampa: 20 Documented Visits”

The last three years of his life, Jose Martí came to Tampa 20 times. He loved Tampa. He called Tampa “el pueblo fiel” – the loyal people of Tampa. Tampa became a part of Martí and Martí became a part of Tampa. He said of Tampa –“aquí ya todo está hecho”, meaning everything has already been done in Tampa. This interactive presentation will take the participants on a voyage back in time, tracing José Martí’s unique and close relationship with the cigar workers of Tampa. Judge Salcines will show us all there is to know about Martí in Tampa, where he went, who he saw, where he slept, where he ate, where he visited, where he gave his most famous speeches, where he drafted the fundamental principles of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, who were his most trusted confidants, and how he was able to convince the cigar makers of Tampa to give one day’s salary a week to the cause of Cuban independence. Retired Judge Emiliano José (EJ) Salcines of the District Court of Appeals is a native of Tampa and the son of immigrants from Spain that came to Tampa through Cuba. He is a noted Tampa historian who hosts weekly television documentaries on Tampa history and has published many articles on José Martí and Tampa’s rich Latin history.

Dr. Ada Ferrer, “Cuba and Beyond: Martí on Race, Empire, and Revolution”

José Martí, the foremost theorist on Cuba nationality, did most of his writing on Cuba while living in the United States. This presentation explores the ways that that binational experience moved Martí to think about Cuban independence not just as a Cuban matter but a global one. Martí’s foundational thought and writing on racial justice and anti-imperialism are key to understanding Cuban independence and Cuban history. But they emerged as he daily grappled with living in the United States at a time that represented both a nadir in racial injustice and a rise in imperial ambitions.

Dr. Lillian Guerra, “Leaving Martí to Martí: Why the Facts, Contexts & Motives of Martí’s Writing Matter”

In recent years, the number and variety of scholars staking a claim on the works and identity of José Martí have proliferated. No longer simply a nationalist, an anti-imperialist and a principal theorist of a Latin American regional consciousness, Martí has become a “Latino”,

a theologist (if not a theologian). Among certain American Studies circles, Martí is now a harbinger of their own disciplinary understandings of the US imaginary. Still others have decided that he was a "Latino" writer and a transnationalist, albeit unwittingly and perhaps unwillingly. Given the content, discursive strategies and appeal of Martí's work, the expansion of his myth and the utility of his voice is not surprising. What remains surprising is how frequently the historical context to which he responded can so consistently be denied, diminished or simply ignored for the sake of contemporary needs. Writing about Martí as a senior in college thirty years ago, I first criticized this tendency. Today, I do it again. Why not leave Martí to Martí and decide we can still learn enough from the Martí who responded to his political, personal and intellectual needs? What we lose may prove far less than what we gain.

Core Readings

Ferrer, Ada. *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press. [selected chapters]

Guerra, Lillian, "Contradictory Identities, Conflicted Nations: Cuban Emigré Communities and the Last War for Independence, 1895-1898." *Whose America? The War of 1898 and the Battles to Define the Nation*. (ed. Virginia M. Bouvier). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2001: 61-90.

_____. *The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalisms in Early Twentieth-century Cuba* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. [Introduction and pp. 1-22]

Pérez, Lisandro. *Sugar, Cigars, and Revolution: The Making of Cuban New York*. New York: University Press, 2018. [Introduction: "New York Stories," pp. 1 – 15; Chapter 8: "José Martí: New Yorker," pp. 270 – 299; Epilogue: "Martí Should Not Have Died," pp. 301 – 321]

Martí, José. *Selected Writings*. Trans. Esther Allen. Penguin Classics, 2002. The following essays will form the corpus for Thursday's panel discussion:

- Coney Island (1881)
- Emerson (1882)
- Prologue to Pérez Bonalde's *Poema De Niagara* (1882)
- Wandering Teachers (1884)
- The Earthquake in Charleston (1886)
- The Poet Walt Whitman (1887)
- To the Children Who Will Read *The Golden Age* (1889)
- A Vindication of Cuba (1889)
- The Lynching of the Italians (1891)
- Our America (1891)
- The Tampa Resolutions (1891)
- With All and for the Good of All (1891)
- The New Pines (1891)
- A Town Sets a Black Man on Fire (1892)
- My Race (1893)
- To Cuba! (1894)

- The Truth About the United States (1894)
- The Montecristi Manifesto (1895)
- Final Letter to His Mother (March 25, 1895)
- Final Letter to His Son (April 1, 1895)
- Final Letter to Carmen and María Mantilla (April 16, 1895)
- Final Unfinished Letter to Manuel Mercado (May 18, 1895)

WEEK THREE: THE SPANISH-CUBAN-AMERICAN WAR: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE AND U.S. INTERVENTION

Clay Risen: “The War of 1898: U.S. Intervention in the War for Cuban Independence”

The First United States Volunteer Cavalry Regiment – better known as the Rough Riders – are remembered mostly for the supporting role they played in the rise of Theodore Roosevelt. But Roosevelt’s fame overshadows the acclaim that the regiment received at the time, independent of its commander’s own celebrity. The Rough Riders were not just the heroes of the Spanish-American War; they embodied the multitudinous ways in which the war revolutionized U.S. society as the country began its ascent to superpower status. In 1898, U.S. society was divided – by class, by geographic section, by race (even among “white” people), by religion. Roosevelt was one of many voices who claimed, in the 1890s, that the country would fail if it did not find a way to reconcile these divisions. Coming out of a deep depression and a populist revolt, the country leapt at the chance for war as a common national project that could heal these divisions. The Rough Riders, drawing from Ivy League colleges to cowboy outposts, from Jews and Christians, from the children of Union and Confederate veterans, embodied this urge to unity (to the exclusion of African-Americans, as everyone understood at the time). In short, the regiment’s brief tenure illustrates how the true significance of the Spanish-American War lay not in the territories the United States captured, but in the unity it achieved, for better or worse, at home.

Dr. Bonnie A. Lucero, “*Revolutionary Masculinity and Racial Inequality: Gendering War and Politics in Central Cuba, 1895-1902*”

This presentation will explore how Cuban men enacted and contested practices of racial exclusion, encoded in gendered language, during Cuba’s transition from colony to republic. In the throes of anticolonial struggle, the men of Cuba’s Liberating Army eschewed colonial status-based notions of masculinity, redefining manliness as a function of military merit. I call this insurgent reimagining of masculinity “revolutionary masculinity.” I show that initially, black men appropriated this discourse of revolutionary masculinity, citing their wartime achievements to buttress claims to military authority. However, throughout this period, black men faced ongoing challenges to their authority from their white compatriots, who chastised them for overstepping the unspoken racial boundaries of the masculine ideal. I argue that despite its radical potential, revolutionary masculinity ultimately served as a metalanguage through which white Cubans perpetuated the subordination of men of African descent in the Liberating Army and later in the political sphere.

Dalia Antonia Caraballo Muller, “Making the Gulf World: Nineteenth-Century Migrations in and in between Cuba, Mexico and the US”

This presentation concerns the fate of tens of thousands of Cuban migrants, exiles and refugees forced to flee Cuba due to the violence and economic devastation wrought by the thirty- year long Cuban independence process (1868 and 1898). After briefly detailing the outlines of these late nineteenth-century Cuban migrations, the presentation reflects on what tracing the trajectories of the migrants can tell us about the greater Caribbean and the Americas. Indeed, I posit the existence of a late nineteenth-century integrated Gulf World that shaped the lives of countless men and women who circulated in and in between Mexico, Cuba and the United States. The Gulf World as an analytical framework stands to help scholars unearth not only the unique histories of Cuban migrants, but also the unexpected trajectories of many more Gulf World inhabitants and travelers who moved throughout the region seeking various freedoms, refuge and new possibilities. Finally, this presentation will conclude with a word about my evolving work tracing what exactly happened to communities of Cuban migrants, exiles and refugees when the wars came to an end and they came to the realization that they would not be returning to Cuba.

Kelley Kreitz: “Revolution and *Latinidad* in the Nineteenth-Century U.S.-based Spanish-Language Press.”

This presentation situates late nineteenth-century U.S.-based Spanish-language publishing in relation to the media change of the period. In the final decades of the nineteenth century, a convergence of new electric and mechanical media technologies—including the telegraph, cheaper paper, cylinder presses, and wood and photoengraving—enabled and inspired the promise for writers and editors in the United States and throughout the hemisphere of a changing and increasingly interconnected world of print. Among the writers and editors who saw opportunities in this changing media landscape were Cuban émigrés in Tampa and New York. Their publications advocating for Cuban and Puerto Rican independence as they organized Cuba’s 1895 independence war with Spain also offered an alternative model of the future of news—at a time when the most infamous English-language newspapers of the yellow press were drawing a stark line because writer and reader, producer and consumer. Using traditional and digital humanities methods, this presentation recovers emerging ideas within newspapers such as Tampa’s *Revista de Cuba Libre* and New York’s *Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York* that focused on creating change through increasing participation in the production of print and through a hemispheric notion of *latinidad* that relied on a participatory future of modern media.

Ms. Maura Barrios, “West Tampa: The Living Museum”

With an eye to the success of Ybor City, Hugh Macfarlane plotted 200 acres west of the Hillsborough River specifically for the lucrative cigar industry. Notably, Cuban patriots there built a three-story social club, Cespedes Hall, by 1894. The Hall became the center for Cuban

independence activists, including the Ten-Years War veteran, Fernando Figueredo Socarrás. Jose Martí visited this friend at his Main Street home on visits to Tampa. And the famous cigar that sparked the uprising of 1895 was rolled at the O'Halloran factory at Main and Howard. "Cuba Town" became the City of West Tampa, chartered in 1895 with Figueredo as its first mayor. And several Cubans became mayors in the following years, including the radical lector/mayor Francisco Milián. Spared the urban renewal wrecking ball, West Tampa retained the shotgun houses, bodegas, bakeries and cafes, and the population expanded to beyond the Old West Tampa boundaries with the influx of exiles of the Cuban Revolution in the 1960s. This presentation is an experiment: part history, part essay, part memoir and also a photo exhibit. The purpose is to highlight the Cuban cigar-workers' experiences in Tampa; especially those in the barrio of West Tampa. We are familiar with the histories of Ybor City and Martí in Tampa. I want to broaden the discussion to tell untold stories. This is necessarily an impressionist's style—to cover experiences over time from BC and AC Tampa – Before Cigars and After Cigars. I'm concerned with the question: What is the legacy of Jose Martí and his social democratic vision; and does it survive across generations of time? I offer the stories from West Tampa to consider this question. This presentation, to be followed by an optional guided tour to the area, will argue that West Tampa, the living museum, relives its history on the murals, graffiti and surround-sound Spanish/English conversations each day at the cafés. *Tampeño* culture is alive and well in West Tampa.

Core Readings

- Kinzer, Stephen. *The True Flag: Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2017. [Introduction, Chaps. 1 & 2]
- Lucero, Bonnie. *Revolutionary Masculinity and Racial Inequality: Gendering War and Politics in Cuba, 1895-1902* (University of New Mexico Press, 2018). [select chapters]
- Muller, Dalia Antonia. *Cuban Émigrés and Independence in the Nineteenth-Century Gulf World*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2018. [selected chapters]
- Pérez, Louis. *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. [select chapters]
- Risen, Clay. *The Crowded Hour: Theodore Roosevelt, the Rough Riders, and the Dawn of the American Century*. New York: Scribner, 2019. [Selected chapters]
- Schoonover, Thomas. *Uncle Sam's War of 1898 and the origins of globalization*. (U Kentucky P: 2003) [select chapters]
- Tone, John Lawrence. *War and Genocide in Cuba, 1895-1898*. Chapel Hill: 2006. [Chapter 14]

WEEK FOUR: CONSEQUENCES OF INTERVENTION/PARTICIPANT CONFERENCE

Dr. Carolina Villaroel: Digital Humanities Workshop: "Researching the Cuban Émigré Press of the 19th century"

This workshop will explore analog and digital methodologies to create scholarship and knowledge based on the experiences of Cuban émigré communities as reflected in the Press

of the 19th Century. Participants will be introduced to the process of research and developing toolkits and digital resources to explore archival sources while considering their historical, cultural, and political context.

Participants will complete this workshop with knowledge of how to use digital surrogates to expand access and dissemination of underrepresented collections, as well as develop plans for community-building and partnerships that could help further the mission and scope of the projects. The workshop uses an interdisciplinary approach that at its very base questions archival politics and praxis. Additionally, participants will learn about strategies necessary to advocate for programming, grant writing, and faculty and student engagement (undergraduate and graduate). No prior technical knowledge is required in this workshop.

This workshop is based on the work of the Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage program located at the University of Houston, one of the premier research programs for US Latino scholarship with a trajectory of more than 30 years of locating, preserving, and making available the written legacy of Latinos and Latinas in the US since colonial times until 1980.

No core readings are assigned for Week 4 as participants will be working to complete their teaching modules or research projects for the culminating Participant Conference.