THE SOCIO-POLITICAL THOUGHT OF JOSÉ MARTÍ: HIS PLANS FOR THE LIBERATED PATRIA

by

JOHN M. KIRK

B.A., University of Sheffield

M.A., Queen's University, Kingston

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies

We accept this thesis as conforming

to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April, 1977

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date April 1, 1977

ABSTRACT

José Martí (1853-1895) is commonly accepted by Cubans and foreigners alike as the creator of the Republic of Cuba. No such agreement exists as to the meaning of his social and political thought: Martí has been represented as advocating the most diverse of political, social and economic theories. The two most common interpretations are of Martí as an idealistic liberal or as a radical revolutionary. The prolixity and variety of Martí's writings permit the selection of direct quotations to support virtually any pre-determined ideological interpretation, and in Cuban politics over the last forty years Martí's writings have been used to legitimise totally opposing political regimes. An escape from such a treatment of Martí's writings is clearly essential if his thought is to be properly understood, since only a fresh, objective examination of the totality of Martí's writings and, in particular, an investigation of Martí's plans for the independent Cuba he so long and nobly struggled to liberate, will give an understanding of Martí's thought and its development.

Based upon a close examination of the twenty-five volumes of the most recent edition of Martí's writings and upon a careful analysis of all significant critical studies of Martí's works, this dissertation has concentrated upon analysing Martí's socio-political thought and particularly his plans for the liberated patria. The dissertation also seeks to explain the sources of Martí's thought and to investigate the development, if any, that occurred in his thought over a period of some

twenty-five years.

The extraordinary importance of Martí's childhood and adolescence is considered in Chapter I which demonstrates how decisive in the formation of his thought were his experiences both within his family and during his savage mistreatment by the Spanish authorities. Chapter II investigates the importance of his personal experience during his adult life in Latin America and in the United States and shows how these experiences led to a further development and, in his final years, to a radicalisation of his thought. The following four chapters contain an analysis of Martí's plans for the liberated Cuban Republic. Each chapter concentrates upon a specific aspect of these plans--the "moral imperatives" guiding the new Republic, its political structure, its social organisation, and its economic development. These chapters reveal that, if Martí did not present specific blueprints, he did adopt a coherent approach to the formation of the new Republic and the problems it would face. His plans were based upon moral priorities rather than upon any abstract theory of government and society.

The Conclusion restates the main findings of the dissertation, underlining the uniqueness of Martí, a man capable of inspiring, more than sixty years after his death, a new vision of Cuban society. The dissertation closes with two appendices, one summarising biographical details of Martí's life, and the other analysing the historical portrayal of Martí who has visibly passed from the position of "Apostle" to that of "Revolutionary."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION 1

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION 8

CHAPTER I
THE ORIGINS OF MARTÍ'S REVOLUTIONARY CAREER 10

NOTES TO CHAPTER I 39

CHAPTER II
THE EVOLUTION OF MARTÍ'S SOCIO-POLITICAL THOUGHT 46

NOTES TO CHAPTER II 75

CHAPTER III
POLITICAL ASPECTS OF MARTÍ'S PATRIA 81

NOTES TO CHAPTER III 110

CHAPTER IV
THE MORAL FOUNDATION OF THE LIBERATED PATRIA 115

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV 143

CHAPTER V
SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF MARTÍ'S LIBERATED REPUBLIC 149

NOTES TO CHAPTER V 184

CHAPTER VI
ECONOMIC THEORIES AND POLICIES OF MARTÍ 191

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI 219

CONCLUSION 224

BIBLIOGRAPHY 232

APPENDIX 'A'
BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF MARTÍ'S LIFE 260

APPENDIX 'B'
JOSÉ MARTÍ, APÓSTOL OR REVOLUTIONARY? 267

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the staff of the Inter-Library Loan office at U.B.C., who helped in obtaining much of the bibliographical material consulted, and to Elizabeth Howarth, who typed the final version of this dissertation in her normal impeccable fashion.

I would also like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of my thesis director Roderick Barman and also of Jean Barman, both of whom constantly offered advice and personal encouragement during the gestation of this work.

Finally, and most important of all, thanks must go to my wife Margo, truly a perfect companion during the long hours spent on the thesis. She has consistently given me her complete love and understanding, while at all times bearing graciously the extremes of my "Martí-mania."

To all of the people responsible for the appearance of this doctoral thesis, my heartfelt gratitude.

INTRODUCTION

To explain the importance that José Martí possesses for the Cuban nation and people is no easy task. In his contribution to the formation and development of Cuba as a nation, José Martí may fairly be compared to other great historical figures who played similar roles in their respective countries, such as Mahatma Gandhi in India, Abraham Lincoln in the United States, Simón Bolívar in Venezuela and, most recently, Mao Tse-Tung in China. Such a comparison does not, however, illustrate the true importance of Martí, so multifarious were his contributions to his patria.

Within the last three decades Martí has truly been "discovered" by the Cuban nation as a whole, and there he is now generally regarded as a hero of truly epic proportions.[1] Based solely upon a study of his multifaceted talents--and leaving aside momentarily his dramatic personal contribution to the liberation of Cuba--such an estimate appears completely justifiable, since Martí in his time was indeed a remarkable individual. By training Martí was a lawyer, although never permitted by the Spanish authorities to exercise his profession in Cuba. He followed a variety of other professions, as a professor of philosophy and modern languages, an accomplished diplomat (being consul in New York for Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay), a skilled orator and finally, in regard to his best known extra-political achievements, Martí was also an outstanding writer.

Martí's literary accomplishments are, by themselves, sufficient to warrant his being considered one of the masters of Latin American letters. As a poet he was outstanding, and is widely considered the

founder of the continent's first truly indigenous literary movement, Modernismo. Martí also engaged in other genres, drama and, more particularly prose, of which his most notable work was undoubtedly the collection of newspaper reports on North American life, his famous "Escenas Norteamericanas," which he contributed to a number of newspapers in South America.[2]

José Martí was first seriously studied in Cuba in the early 1930's. Since that time public attention has been increasingly focussed upon him, with the result that this veneration of Martí has gradually become "una de las fuerzas centrípetas de la nacionalidad cubana."[3] The culmination of this increasing public exposure of Martí occurred in 1953, the centennial of his birth, during which time coins bearing the portrait of the Apóstol were minted, sets of postage stamps were issued, and hundreds of monuments were dedicated to him. By 1953, then, it was difficult for Cuban citizens not to be aware of the basic biographical details of Martí's life, so widespread had been this publicity campaign.[4]

It was, ironically, also in 1953 that the beginning of a new and very different level of interest in Martí was announced after a young lawyer was arrested while attempting to storm the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba. When asked who had instigated the revolt in which he had participated this lawyer, Fidel Castro, informed the astonished court that it had been no less than Martí himself.[5] Several years later, after assuming the presidency of Cuba, Castro formally acknowledged his debt to Martí as the "autor intelectual" of the Revolution, and by doing so caused an understandable flurry of excitement in the camp of all

martianos. The revolutionary movement in Cuba, initiated in 1959, thus proved to be a dramatic stimulus for a new and invigorated interest in Martí and, more particularly, in his social and political leanings.

At the present time it may be said that the various interpretations of Martí's work fall into two distinct groups, as is explained in greater detail in Appendix 'B'. On the one side is situated what may be termed the "traditional" (and in effect the continuation of the pre-1959 portrayal of Martí) interpretation, chiefly represented by the Miami-based Cubans who, adhering strictly and firmly to the pre-Castro--and therefore "low profile"--view of Martí, consistently portray him as a resolute admirer of the North American people and institutions, a devoutly religious man (He is consistently referred to in religious terminology), in economic matters he is presented as a liberal, and finally at all times he is seen as a determined opponent of despotism (which is usually presented by this group as being best personified by the present regime of Fidel Castro).

On the other side is the "revolutionary" interpretation, developed and refined in Cuba since Castro's accession to power in 1959. Speaking in general terms, it appears that since that time Martí has been presented as a committed revolutionary, profoundly anticlerical, essentially radical in his political beliefs, a defender of the working masses, and an outspoken enemy of the excesses of capitalism. Moreover--and once again in total opposition to the "traditional" approach--he is now presented generally as a man completely disillusioned because of the abuse of once noble institutions in the United States, and a patriot who

had eventually condemned that country in a most vigorous fashion, after discerning its imperialist designs on "Nuestra América," as Martí termed Latin America.

For the "traditionalists" Martí was generally understood as a liberal (but essentially moderate) reformer, while the "revolutionary" interpretation presents him as espousing a variety of radical left-wing views. In short, José Martí appears to have become "all things for all men," a situation which makes a fresh, essentially "objective" study both desirable and necessary.

In this dissertation, fortunately removed from the political pressure of either of the common interpretations, I have concentrated my attention on the Obras completas of Martí. The most complete edition of Martí's work is that published in Havana from 1963 to 1966 by the Editorial Nacional de Cuba, comprising altogether some twenty-five volumes (excluding the last two tomes which constitute the Indices of the work), each volume of which contains about 400-450 pages: it is this edition which I have used. Because of the variety of Martí's talents, this collection is composed of a wide variety of genres including poetry, drama, novel, short stories, translations into Spanish of various works, political speeches, the children's magazine La Edad de Oro that he edited, his hundreds of newspaper reports and articles for a variety of publications, all of his private correspondence, political documents that he dictated, exercise books and personal notebooks. All this material has been closely examined in the preparation of the present study.

By a careful analysis of this edition of Martí's Obras completas I have deliberately sought to avoid placing any political "labels" on Martí, and thus have not situated him directly in the mainstream of either of the two principal interpretations. Instead, because it appears fairly clear as a result of my examination that Martí in fact did possess important and fairly substantial plans for his patria after it had been liberated from Spain, in essence I have allowed Martí's thought to speak for itself. Consequently, after a close study of Martí's writings I have arrived at a synthesis of the type of political and social structures that he desired for post-Independence Cuba.

In short, this study goes back to the basic material of Martí, his Obras completas, but instead of following the more traditional approach of analysing Martí's work from a strictly theoretical political viewpoint, it follows a new method. Thus, the dissertation does not concentrate on Martí's political thought per se, but rather examines his designs and aspirations for the type of country that he hoped to found after winning Independence from Spain. Moreover, since both of the most common interpretations claim to have been inspired by Martí's example, this "blueprint" of Cuban society as seen through Martí's eyes will also reveal the consistencies and/or inconsistencies of these claims. In this way, not only will earlier theorizing in regard to Martí's political thought be clarified, but also a more concrete approximation to his notion of patria will emerge.

Though there have been literally thousands of studies written about different aspects of both José Martí's life and his work,

remarkably little attention has been paid to either the thought of Martí (and more specifically, his aspirations for an independent Cuba) or the way in which these plans evolved. The most important of these concerns--the fundamental changes that Martí advocated being implemented in his country--will be examined from Chapters III to VI inclusive, as an analysis is provided of the kind of society he hoped would result from the struggle for independence, the necessary type of economic development envisaged by Martí, the emergence of a new national conscience, and finally the necessary political system he recommended for the patria. The first two chapters will preface this master-plan, explaining why Martí developed into a revolutionary at such an early age, and subsequently illustrating the noticeable stages in the development of his thought.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1]Hence the claim by Carlos Alberto Montaner: "Para los cubanos todo es discutible, todo es parcelable en antagonismos, menos la figura del Apóstol. Esta subordinación total y absoluta se explica en el fenómeno mencionado: negar a Martí es tanto como renunciar a un ingrediente--tal vez el básico--de la cubanía." Carlos Alberto Montaner, El pensamiento de Martí (Madrid: Plaza Mayor Ediciones, 1971), p. 3.

[2]In all of his literary work Martí revealed his determination that literature should convey an important, essentially moralistic "message" to his reader: the idea of delectare, of appealing to one's aesthetic inclinations was of course found, but generally this was subordinated to the concept of prodesse, of harnessing literature to the benefit of Humanity. In his Versos sencillos, Martí explained the need for his literary work to be committed to such a socially-oriented goal:

> Callo, y entiendo, y me quito
> La pompa del rimador;
> Cuelgo de un árbol marchito
> Mi muceta de doctor (XVI, 65)

In particular Martí's versos are of great importance in attempting to decipher the essence of his thought, since as one critic has correctly noted, Martí's poetry, "iluminada por su vasta producción en prosa es la única y cabal manera de captar lo que por ser cubanidad honda y sublimada aparece como expresión de valores universales." Otto Olivera, Cuba en su poesía (México: Ediciones de Andrea, 1965), p. 194.

Martí himself, in the prologue to his Versos libres, admitted that he had poured his most personal sentiments into his poetry:

> Tajos son éstos de mis propias entrañas--mis guerreros.--Ninguno me ha salido recalentado, artificioso, recompuesto de la mente; sino como las lágrimas salen de los ojos y la sangre sale a borbotones de la herida.

> No zurcí de éste y aquél, sino sajé en mí mismo. Van escritos, no en tinta de academia, sino en mi propia sangre. Lo que aquí doy a ver lo he visto antes (Yo lo he visto yo), y he visto mucho más, que huyó sin darme tiempo a que copiara sus rasgos (XVI, 131).

Consequently, in order to illustrate various aspects of Martí's thought, where occasion warrants it his poetry will be quoted in this dissertation. It is to be hoped that both through this material and through a study of his personal diaries and notebooks, a more thorough understanding of Martí will result.

(All quotations from Martí's Obras completas are from the edition published in Havana by the Editorial Nacional de Cuba, between 1963 and 1966. The numbers of both the volume and page will be indicated in the text by Roman and Arabic numerals respectively.)

[3]Montaner, p. 3.

[4]In a recent article, Roberto Fernández Retamar explained how all Cuban citizens (at times forcibly) participated in these celebrations: "Otra ley-decreto anterior, la número 421, de 25 de septiembre de 1952, autodenominada 'Ley-Decreto del Homenaje del Pueblo de Cuba a José Martí', estipulaba que 'con destino a engrosar los fondos de la Comisión Organizadora creada por la Ley-Decreto número 315 de 1952 . . . se establecen . . . los siguientes impuestos': un día de haber para cada empleado, dos pesos para cada profesional, diez centavos para cada cabeza de ganado sacrificada, cada quintal de café o cada tercio de tabaco, cincuenta centavos por cada finca, la dieta correspondiente a una sesión de trabajo para cada miembro del Consejo Consultivo (¡salvaje sacrificio!), una contribución voluntaria de un centavo como mínimo para cada niño escolar." Roberto Fernández Retamar, "La conmemoración del Centenario de Martí en Cuba," Bohemia, 31 Aug. 1973, p. 6.

[5]In his defence speech (later published as La historia me absolverá), Fidel Castro explained his debt to José Martí: "De igual manera se prohibió que llegaran a mis manos los libros de Martí; parece que la censura de la prisión los consideró demasiado subversivos. ¿O será porque yo dije que Martí era el autor intelectual del 26 de julio? Se impidió, además, que trajese a este juicio ninguna obra de consulta sobre cualquier otra materia. ¡No importa en absoluto! Traigo en el corazón las doctrinas del Maestro y en el pensamiento las nobles ideas de todos los hombres que han defendido la libertad de los pueblos." Fidel Castro, La historia me absolverá (La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1973), p. 25.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF MARTÍ'S REVOLUTIONARY CAREER

José Julián Martí y Pérez was born in Havana on January 28, 1853, the son of two peninsulares of humble birth, Mariano Martí and Leonor Pérez. During his short, but extremely full, life José Martí managed to accomplish far more than most men ever do, fighting for many long years to instill a sense of patriotic dignity in his co-revolutionaries, while steadfastly encouraging them to liberate (in the fullest sense of the term) their patria. When Martí's life was cut tragically short in 1895, much still remained to be done in Cuba, but at least the path along which the Revolution would have to follow had been blazed. In short, as this thesis will show, the basic plans for this process of liberation had been carefully laid by Martí, a fact of which he himself was certain, as he noted the very month in which he was killed in a skirmish with a party of Spanish troops:

> Sé desaparecer. Pero no desaparecería mi
> pensamiento, ni me agriaría mi oscuridad.
> Y en cuanto tengamos forma, obraremos,
> cúmplame esto a mí o a otros (XX, 163).

Ironically Martí's father had come to Cuba as a sergeant in the Spanish army, and for the majority of his life served various official peace-keeping bodies on the Island. Obviously don Mariano's official position, as well as his firm allegiance to the Spanish Crown, were both unacceptable to the young Martí. In fact, in order to understand pro-

perly the original motivation for his extraordinary revolutionary career, his notable obsession to liberate Cuba, and indeed his whole approach to life, an examination in some detail of Martí's childhood and adolescence is absolutely essential. Indeed, based upon a close study of Martí's early work (and of course including his personal correspondence, notebooks, etc.) it is possible to explain much of his thought not by means of any supposed intellectual influences, but rather through an examination of the extremely unusual chain of personal experiences Martí went through during this period. A thorough study of this time in Martí's life thus greatly assists our understanding of the intensely moral and idealistic foundation for his thought, one of the key elements in his planned liberation campaign.

Of exceptional importance in the formation of José Martí's character was the influence (or rather the reaction to that influence) exercised upon him by his parents, and particularly by don Mariano. Martí's relationship with his mother appears to have been extremely deep, as can be seen from his poem, "A mi madre," written in 1869, and generally considered to be the first verse he ever wrote.[1] Indeed, during his traumatic prison experiences in 1869 and 1870, significantly Martí did not write to his father, but instead wrote consistently to his mother, even sending her a photograph of himself in prison garb, accompanied by a poem (XVII, 29), while he indicated to her on numerous occasions the harsh conditions in prison.[2]

There was thus a very profound love between the young Martí and his mother. In his letters, doña Leonor appears as an extremely tender

and loving woman who, despite her lack of sympathy with, or even proper understanding of, the lofty goals for which her son was fighting, nevertheless suffered immensely during his unfortunate experiences in San Lázaro. Martí himself, writing to his Mexican friend Manuel A. Mercado in March of 1878, summarized well this aspect of his mother's character:

> Mi madre tiene grandezas, y se las estimo, y la amo--U lo sabe--hondamente, pero no me perdona mi salvaje independencia, mi brusca inflexibilidad, ni mis opiniones sobre Cuba (XX, 45).

However, despite the obvious love that Martí felt for his mother, the key psychological relationship in his childhood appears quite clearly to have been that between himself and his father, and in fact it is not too extreme to claim that during his adolescence, Martí's character evolved largely as a result of the clear rejection by him of his father. By nature don Mariano appears to have been a strict and rather harsh individual, scrupulously honest and totally unyielding when he considered himself in the right, who on several occasions was disciplined by superiors because of this lack of flexibility.[3] In short he was a man whose gruff manner and reticent character gradually alienated his young, sensitive (and equally single-minded) son.

Mariano Martí's military background, compounded by a lack of formal education, obviously conditioned his outlook on life, since in essence he knew no other life than that of the barracks. In general, then, Pedro N. González Veranes' sketch of Martí's father seems a fair representation: "su carácter era fuerte, despótico y rústico en extremo; era un trasunto del pater familia [sic] romano, en lo moral y

en lo material; cumplidor celoso de sus deberes hogareños y mantenedor sempiterno de su omnímoda autoridad entre los suyos."[4] Certainly Martí's own comments on his father support the commonly-held view that, during his adolescence, they both enjoyed a rather strained relationship. It is also highly significant that on the few occasions later in his life when Martí does write about his father, it is frequently accompanied by an allusion to this early "difficult" period, when they did not understand, much less respect, each other fully. Typical of this late appreciation of don Mariano was Martí's letter to his sister Amelia in 1880:

> Tú no sabes, Amelia mía, toda la veneración y respeto ternísimo que merece nuestro padre. Allí donde lo ves, lleno de vejeces y caprichos, es un hombre de una virtud extraordinaria. Ahora que vivo, ahora sé todo el valor de su energía y los raros y excelsos méritos de su naturaleza pura y franca (XX, 278-288).

Similar sentiments are expressed several times by Martí, in a letter to Jorge García (XX, 319), for instance, and again to Fermín Valdés Domínguez, in which he again refers to his tardy understanding of his father: "Tú no sabes cómo llegué a quererlo luego que lo conocí" (XX, 321). It thus appears fair to claim that Martí did not initially respect or appreciate his father until the late-1870's, when he discovered what he later termed "un orgullo que crecía cada vez que en él pensaba, porque a nadie le tocó vivir en tiempos más viles ni nadie a pesar de su sencillez aparente, salió más puro en pensamiento y obra de ellos" (XX, 319).

Understandably, then, the young Martí--so obviously different in temperament from don Mariano--did not pass through the normal childhood stage of introjection,[5] clearly refusing to imitate or "identify with" the attributes of his father's character. The somewhat rude and uncompromising attitude of his father must have appeared totally unacceptable to Martí who, noting the military position of don Mariano as well as his unquestioning acceptance of the many injustices committed in Cuba in the name of the Crown may well have identified his father's uncompromising and rigidly authoritarian approach with that of the official Spanish policy. It is therefore quite plausible that Martí, unconsciously comparing his father's attitude with the repression practised in the name of the Crown (and increasingly dissociating himself from don Mariano), became a potential revolutionary earlier than is generally thought.

When Martí was only nine years old his father, recently appointed to a minor official post in the town of Hanábana (in the province of Oriente) took José along with him. Scarcely competent to handle all the paper work involved with the position, and desirous too of providing the young José with some valuable work experience, don Mariano had decided to employ his son as a general clerk-secretary. It was during this stay in Hanábana that an experience usually depicted as having roused his social conscience took place, as Martí became quite noticeably shocked at the cruel treatment he saw meted out to the negro slaves on the surrounding plantations. And, although it may seem rather extreme to claim that "at this point Martí resolved to fight Spanish oppression against Cubans,

regardless of race, color or creed,"[6] nevertheless this time spent in Hanábana did represent an important formative experience in Martí's growing awareness of the many ills and injustices of colonial Cuba, as can be seen from an observation found in his later Fragmentos:

> ¿Y los negros? ¿Quién que ha visto azotar
> a un amigo no se considera para siempre
> un deudor? Yo lo vi, lo vi cuando era niño,
> y todavía no se me ha apagado en las mejillas
> la vergüenza (XXII, 189).

On another important level, Martí's stay in Hanábana also increased the rift between himself and his father since don Mariano, despite his influence in the district, refused to intervene to stop such cruelties, something which his son could never accept.

Meanwhile doña Leonor, convinced that exposure of her son to the harsh conditions of life away from the capital could only prove to his detriment, finally persuaded her husband to let José return to Havana. Soon after he returned to the capital, Martí's mother entered him in the school of San Anacleto, where he was a remarkably successful student. Ironically his success in school only served to increase the tension between Martí and his father, who insisted that Martí leave his "book learning" and instead concentrate on finding himself a job. The further education which Martí longed for was regarded by don Mariano as both unnecessary and wasteful, especially since the young Martí had already proved himself an exceptional accountant and general clerk, and would therefore have few difficulties in finding a well-paid commercial position. Fortunately Martí's mother was able to dissuade her husband from this course of action, and so in March of 1865 Martí entered the

"Escuela Superior Municipal de Varones," the director of which was Rafael María de Mendive, a poet of some fame on the Island and a man viewed by the Spanish as harbouring dangerous and "seditious" ideas. A new and important part of Martí's life was now to begin.

When José Martí began to attend the school of Rafael Mendive, the maestro had already gained an impressive reputation in Cuba, having edited two journals in the late-1840's, and founded the prestigious Revista de La Habana in 1853. Moreover he had published several volumes of poetry in the Island, and was generally regarded as one of the leading Cuban men of letters of that time. Mendive was also known as a firm believer in the necessity of Cuba winning her political independence from an apparently increasingly-demanding 'madre patria,' and was a fervent admirer of the man generally regarded as being the first revolutionary intellectual of Cuba, Father Félix Varela, whom he met in New York in 1848.

After returning to Cuba in 1852, Mendive busied himself with his literary concerns, eventually turning to teaching, as he opened two institutes, a private college called San Pablo, and the famous "Escuela Superior de Varones" that Martí attended. At this point he was not particularly active politically in Havana (nor, it can be argued, did he have any particularly revolutionary plans for Cuban society after independence had been won). Indeed, despite his great respect for the leading proponents of independence in nineteenth-century Cuba--Félix Varela, José Antonio Saco and José de la Luz y Caballero,[7] it is quite likely that, had it not been for the refusal of the Spanish 'Junta de

Información' in 1865 to allow badly-needed tax relief and some minor reforms for the colony, Mendive would probably not have concerned himself too deeply with the movement for independence. However, with the failure of the Spanish government to alleviate the tax burden on the Cubans (and instead to actually increase direct taxation on the Island's citizens during 1866 and 1867), many middle-class islanders became deeply antagonistic to Spain, seeking instead a more radical solution to their problems than that afforded by this mild attempt at reformism--political independence.[8]

If we turn our attention momentarily to the young Martí, it is not difficult to imagine the confused state of his mind as he entered Mendive's school. There were several obvious clashes between his own lofty patriotic ideals and the lacklustre reality afforded by his home life, between his own intense desire for knowledge and his parents' lack of education. Furthermore, the rebellious, inquisitive nature of his temperament clashed quite noticeably with the stern, unflinching loyalty of his parents (and in particular of his father) to an established set of values, as typified by the Crown.

It was thus José Martí's extremely good fortune to come across Mendive's school at this time of crisis. Indeed, faced with a lack of understanding on the part of his family, and convinced that he was essentially very "different" from them, Martí gratefully accepted Mendive's much-needed understanding, for he saw in the maestro a spirit very similar to his own. Moreover, the possibilities of a normal process of identification with his father having been exhausted, Martí

willingly turned to Mendive as a "father substitute" for guidance and affection.[9] However, not only did he internalize Mendive's attributes into himself, but also became intrigued by Mendive's interest in political independence for Cuba, later developing to a degree never even considered by don Rafael, the ideas of the maestro.

Based upon a study of all of Martí's references to Mendive, it is clear that he recognized in Mendive a truly kindred spirit, a genuine maestro in the fullest sense of the Spanish word, who would gradually shape his literary and moral potential into a strongly humanistic cosmovision. Mendive's role as a substitute father to the young Martí is perhaps best shown in Martí's own words. In 1868, for example, he concluded a letter to Mendive in this way: "Hasta mañana, Sr. Mendive, y mande a su discípulo que lo quiere como un hijo, José Martí" (XX, 244). Even more illustrative of this obvious devotion to Mendive was his reply to a critical note from his adviser:

> Yo no sé que un padre generoso tenga que recordar a un hijo que le adora, sus deberes: Por eso me asombró tanto su recado, cuando a cada instante daría por Vd. mi vida que es de Vd. y sólo de Vd. y otras mil si las tuviera (XX, 245).

Martí could not have helped comparing the harsh, somewhat resentful attitude of his father with the gentle, affectionate nature of Mendive. Moreover, unlike his father, Mendive stimulated and encouraged his young charge, heaping lavish praise upon him, while gradually building up both his self-confidence and his moral conscience. To understand Martí's undying devotion to Mendive, and at the same time his displeasure at his own father, it is interesting to cite another

observation of this time made by Martí in a letter to his teacher. Apparently don Mariano, still intent upon making his son abandon his studies altogether in order to contribute in a more tangible fashion to the Martí household, had driven the young José to the point of desperation:

> Trabajo ahora de seis de la mañana a 8 de la noche y gano 4 onzas y media que entrego a mi padre. Éste me hace sufrir cada día más, y me ha llegado a lastimar tanto que confieso a Vd. con toda la franqueza ruda que Vd. me conoce que sólo la esperanza de volver a verle me ha impedido matarme (XX, 246).

As a result of his father's actions, Rafael María de Mendive became José Martí's true padre espiritual, paying for his education when Martí's own father refused to, personally teaching his young protégé and continually encouraging him to appreciate his cubanidad.

What is particularly interesting in the Mendive-Martí relationship is that the maestro's influence on Martí was not just restricted to time spent in school, since Martí was a frequent visitor to Mendive's home where he was accepted almost as one of the family. Especially important in the formation of Martí's fervently patriotic outlook were the many famed tertulias that he eagerly attended at Mendive's house.[10] As has been mentioned, Mendive's outspoken defence of the need to liberate Cuba from Spain was well-known, and it is therefore not surprising that at these evening meetings not only were there discussions about literature and art, but also that the idea of an independent Cuba was seriously studied. At these tertulias, Martí cultivated veritable passions for

justice and beauty and, faced with the rather dry background of unquestioning españolismo at his father's house, willingly immersed himself in the heady atmosphere of revolutionary cubanismo.

In 1868 the first important Cuban revolt against Spain occurred, led by Manuel Céspedes.[11] This rebellion (commonly known as the "Grito de Yara" after the small town where the uprising broke out) caused the evening discussions in Mendive's home to take on an increasingly political nature. By this time Martí had been "adopted" by the maestro, and participated actively in these sessions, remembering many years later how he feverishly joined the discussions on the Céspedes uprising, while he "seguía, de codos en el piano, la marcha de Céspedes en la manigua" (V, 251). (He also recalled how on another occasion all the tertulianos conspired to hide a Cuban rebel, recounting how "José de Armas y Céspedes, huyendo de la policía, estaba escondido en el cuarto mismo de Rafael Mendive" (V, 251)).

Meanwhile, in Mendive's school itself the students composed and recited poetry that was critical of the Spanish Governor of Cuba, Francisco Lersundi ("en el patio, al pie de los plátanos, recitábamos los muchachos el soneto del 'Señor Mendive' a Lersundi" (V, 251), as he wrote later). Indeed, for the first time in Cuban history there was a general feeling of rebellion, of national awareness, in the air, as Julio Le Riverend has indicated.[12] As a result, then, of this widespread desire for a liberated Cuba and of the strongly nationalist and separatist views of Mendive, as well as the extremely close ties between Mendive and his young charge, it seems impossible for Martí not to have been imbued with this new-found revolutionary zeal.

But while the struggle against Spain had become a holy crusade for Mendive, for whom the conduct of the madre patria was totally unacceptable, Mariano Martí steadfastly continued to support the Spanish point of view. Mendive interpreted the ruthless suppression of progressive ideas (which for him included the notion of political independence) in Cuba as a dastardly crime, a vicious attempt to protect Spain's brutal exploitation of the Island, while Martí's father continued to pledge his seemingly unquestioning allegiance to the Crown. It was at this point that the young Martí clearly decided to spurn the way of life typified by his father's conduct, preferring instead to follow the path shown him by Mendive.

Consequently, Mendive's influence on José Martí should not be underestimated. For after a signally unhappy home life (and Martí refers in fact to "las amargas memorias de mi casa" (XX, 32), while Mendive's house was described by him as "una casa que era toda de ángeles" (V, 251)), Martí willingly allowed himself to be taken under the wing of his padre espiritual. It was then that the vague feelings of discontent aroused by seeing the slaves whipped at Hanábana, his dislike of the blind acceptance on the part of his father of the many injustices committed in the name of Spain, and finally his growing indignation at the prevailing atmosphere of oppression, all coalesced, and ultimately found their form in the fervent desire for independence shared by Rafael Mendive. At this particular stage, then, in Martí's somewhat vague political aspirations, the dominant influence upon him

had been the convictions of Mendive that the patria would have to be liberated before there could be any manner of national dignity. Under the maestro's tutelage José Martí thus became a convinced believer in political independence for Cuba, the relationship between the two men being admirably described by Pánfilo D. Camacho: "de un padre espiritual como Mendive no podía salir nada distinto a lo que salió: un poeta y un revolucionario."[13]

Under the guidance of Rafael María de Mendive, Martí basically learned three valuable lessons: the ability to compose beautiful and yet essentially simple, poetry; to inspire his fellow Cubans to believe in the necessary political independence from Spain; and finally--and perhaps most important of all--to preach without respite details of the selfless and humanitarian society that had to be instituted in Cuba after political independence had been won. Moreover, Martí was never to forget the importance of these lessons taught to him by his padre espiritual, even after the application of Mendive's teachings led to the arrest, imprisonment and eventual deportation of the young boy. Grateful to Mendive for both his instruction and love, and fully apprised of the enormous influence that Mendive had exercised upon him, Martí wrote to the maestro shortly before being deported from Cuba in January of 1871:

> De aquí a dos horas embarco desterrado para España. Mucho he sufrido, pero tengo la convicción de que he sabido sufrir. Y si he tenido fuerzas para tanto y si me siento con fuerzas para ser verdaderamente hombre, sólo a Vd. lo debo y de Vd. y sólo de Vd. es cuanto bueno y cariñoso tengo . . . Muchísimos

abrazos a Mario, y de Vd. toda el alma
de su hijo y discípulo
Martí (XX, 247).

The year 1869 constituted an extremely important stage in Martí's embrace of the separatist cause. On January 4, 1869 a new and more liberal Captain-General, Domingo Dulce, arrived in Havana to replace the rather harsh administration of General Lersundi.[14] He had arrived with the express intention of introducing a programme of moderate reform in Cuba, including token representation in the Cortes or Spanish Parliament, the freedom of assembly, and finally that of the press. As a result of these new-found liberties, within eighteen days (from January 10 to 28) no less than seventy-seven periodicals and newspapers sprang up, the vast majority of which appear to have been critical of the Spanish control of the Island.[15] Two of these journals were the direct work of José Martí.

On January 19 Martí published the journal El Diablo Cojuelo, which he had directed with Fermín Valdés Domínguez, another student of Mendive. Four days later Martí's second work, La Patria Libre, appeared, the costs of which were paid by Mendive. Meanwhile Martí's relations with his father had continued to deteriorate and don Mariano, realizing the dangers to which his son was exposing himself by adopting this defiantly anti-Spanish attitude, tried hard to dissuade him from such a course of action. All was in vain, however, since Martí willingly embraced the revolutionary cause. Don Mariano could then only watch helplessly as his son, increasingly convinced of the inherent need for an independent Cuba, plunged headlong towards the inevitable confrontation with the Spanish forces.

Both of these initial publications of José Martí are important for they reveal the degree of commitment felt by him at this time toward the idea of an independent Cuba, and it is therefore worth glancing briefly at them. Moreover, both understandably revolved around the young Cuban's fervent patriotism, which is probably best expressed in his drama Abdala, published in La Patria Libre, by the character of the same name:

> En la Nubia nacidos, por la Nubia
> Morir sabremos: hijos de la patria
> Por ella moriremos, y el suspiro
> Que de mis labios postímeros salga
> Para Nubia será, que para Nubia
> Nuestra fuerza y valor fueron creados
> (XVIII, 14).[16]

In both El Diablo Cojuelo and La Patria Libre there appear to be two fundamental levels on which Martí based his opposition to the Spanish domination of Cuba. On the one side there is the objective appreciation of the "Cuban situation," in which Martí praised the establishment by General Dulce of many basic liberties previously unknown in Cuba: "A Dios gracias, que en estos tiempos dulces hay distancia y no poca de su casa al Morro. En los tiempos de don Paco [Lersundi] era otra cosa" (I, 31).

On the other side can be clearly seen Martí's subjective feelings in regard to the historical moment in which he was living, as well as to his own family situation. For, consistently criticized by his parents because of his strong interest in the cause of Cuban independence, and yet attracted by a deeply-patriotic longing to help his country, Martí's personal anguish is portrayed by a remarkably similar set of

circumstances in Abdala. In this drama the protagonist is presented as being torn between his mother's pleas that he disregard his country's fate and concentrate instead upon his family obligations, and between a profound desire to fight for the independence of his country, Nubia, and to defend the patria with his life if necessary. Abdala eventually decides in favour of the latter course of action, and in fact dies fighting for Nubia--in much the same way as Martí would be killed while struggling for his nation's independence in 1895.

It is important to note, however, that although the message of patriotism is mercilessly underlined throughout the drama, it is easy to detect that Abdala's noble love for his country also stems largely from the expectations of personal glory that he will receive in the aftermath of battle. Typical of this attitude is his immediate reaction upon hearing that he had been selected to lead the Army against the foreign invaders:

> ¡Por fin mi frente se orlará de gloria;
> Seré quien libre a mi angustiada patria,
> Y quien le arranque al opresor el pueblo
> Que empieza a destrozar ante sus garras!
> (XVIII, 15).

Indeed, in this early period of Martí's work, if patriotism is viewed as an obviously desirable quality, it is not considered to be totally selfless, since one of the prime reasons for such dedication to the patria is the thirst for gloria and personal renown. At this stage, then, the juvenile Martí possessed rather romantic and vague ideas about such patriotic emotions: following his traumatic experiences in political prison, his attitude would change quite dramatically.

The tone of these early publications is cautious but firm. Martí was, however, fully aware of the definite need for a radical solution to Cuba's problems and in El Diablo Cojuelo he categorically stated: "A ser yo orador . . . no sentaría por base de mi política eso que los franceses llamarían afrentosa hésitation. O Yara o Madrid" (I, 32). Yet despite this apparent conviction of Martí, the reader of these early works receives the impression, when comparing them to all of the work written after his imprisonment, that Martí was in fact speaking from a somewhat distant and inexperienced position. It was as if he were accepting the teachings of Mendive principally because of his great devotion to the maestro, without understanding precisely what had to be changed in Cuba. Consequently Martí at this point can be classed as a theoretical revolutionary, searching both for a definitive explanation for his patriotic leanings, and for a platform of reforms with which to support his willing acceptance of the cause.

Shortly after the publication of El Diablo Cojuelo an incident occurred which changed the lives of both Mendive and Martí. At this time in Cuba, despite the attempts at moderate reform by Governor Dulce, the dominant political body on the Island were the paramilitary voluntarios, who outnumbered the members of the regular Spanish Army by 33,500 to 7,000.[17] They attacked Dulce because of what they interpreted as the lack of a firm approach toward the Cubans and harassed him into suspending all the earlier liberties--less than a month after his arrival. The Cubans, after the welcome taste of these moderate reforms, were understandably bitter.

Then on the night of January 22, 1869, during an evening performance at the Villanueva Theatre, one of the actors broke forth in a patriotic outburst, after which a band of Spanish soldiers stormed the theatre, arresting and killing many of the spectators.[18] Neither Martí nor Mendive were present at the performance, but the teacher's political feelings were well known, and an example was needed at this point to show the more militant Cubans that such conduct would not be tolerated. Accordingly, Rafael María de Mendive was arrested, and subsequently deported.

José Martí's respect and devotion to Mendive now entered a new phase, for at great personal risk he applied for a special pass to visit the maestro during his five-month stay in prison. Martí also helped to take care of Mendive's family and assisted actively in the running of his school. However, when Mendive was deported to Spain, Martí became inconsolable. It was at this point that he and his former schoolmate Fermín Valdés Domínguez discovered that another student from Mendive's school had joined the hated Spanish voluntarios, and so they composed a sharply-worded note criticizing his thoughtless and selfish disregard for the memory of Mendive.[19] Finally, however, they decided not to send him the letter.

Soon afterwards the two young Cubans were forced to experience personally the excesses of Spanish 'justice';! and, as in the case of Mendive once again the slightest of evidence was used to prove their "seditious" intent. For, a party of voluntarios, suspecting themselves to be the object of laughter heard coming from the Valdés Domínguez'

house, burst into the room and discovered the letter. As a result, Martí and Valdés Domínguez were arrested.

Taken into custody on October 21, 1869, Martí was accused of treason, a charge based exclusively upon the offending letter, and on March 7 of the following year was convicted. However, because Martí accepted full responsibility for the letter and also because of his defiantly Cuban attitude toward the court, he was sentenced to no less than 6 years of hard labour in San Lázaro political prison, whereas Fermín Valdés Domínquez received only a six-month sentence. A new, and vitally important period of Martí's life now began.

Martí's imprisonment--particulary the time spent in the presidio político of San Lázaro--was of exceptional importance from the point of view of his revolutionary "apprenticeship," since it clearly represented the watershed between his early identification with the theories of national independence and his subsequent decision to fight actively for the liberation of Cuba. His imprisonment, rightly called the "modelador supremo de su personalidad" by Ezequiel Martínez Estrada,[20] proved to Martí the need for a radical liberating process in the patria, while at the same time convincing him that he personally should accept the responsibility of bringing about this liberation. Consequently when Martí left San Lázaro, as Andrés Iduarte has correctly noted, he was indeed a changed man for, although physically debilitated after his rigorous experiences there, he had now acquired a noticeable determination to lead his country to its independence:

> Seis meses de sus diecisiete años los pasó
> Martí picando piedras, bajo el sol tropical,

> con una cadena al pie; bárbaro castigo que para siempre le dejó huellas físicas y morales: un sarcocele del que nunca curó, dos cicatrices en los tobillos y una convicción política.[21]

It was thus while he was in prison that Martí obtained the necessary overall view of the many problems of Cuba. Indeed, the reader of Martí's works of this period, and in particular of both El presidio político de Cuba and La República Española ante la Revolución Cubana, realises that Martí now saw the Island as one huge political prison, since the cruelties and manifest injustices that he had seen while in captivity really only represented to him a microcosm of the severe injustices and lack of essential liberties suffered by the country as a whole. Moreover his experiences in San Lázaro dramatically complemented the earlier lessons of Mendive: from a discontented and patriotic young Cuban, Martí had emerged a committed revolutionary, fully prepared to give his life selflessly for the liberation of his patria. Now he most definitely realised that not only did this political independence constitute the first necessary step for Cuba, but also that the entire socio-political structure of the Island would have to be totally replaced. More important, he now saw that it was his obligation to contribute to this necessary liberation by directing the interest and the endeavours of his compatriots. This change in Martí is well illustrated by the dramatic development in his literary work: the uncertainty of La Patria Libre now being replaced by the conviction of El presidio político en Cuba, Martí's next work, published in January of 1871.

Martí was aware that the struggle to attain the first of these goals, that of political independence from Spain, would be both long and severe, for the Crown had too much to lose in Cuba, and would obviously punish--in brutal and exemplary fashion--any threat to its continued exploitation of the Island: the extremely severe sentences given to both himself and Mendive were ample evidence of this. Undaunted, however, Martí continued with this firm desire, having already made a conscious resolve to offer himself as a victim on what he now interpreted to be the "altar" of the patria. And, as if to remind himself always of this all-important vocation, he afterwards carried with him a ring, fashioned out of a link of the chain that he had worn during his stay in San Lázaro as "No. 113," inside which he had engraved the word "CUBA."

Consequently if--as Martí's own testimony shows--it is possible to claim that the young boy's profoundly emotional interest in his homeland originated from his personal devotion to Rafael Mendive, a close study of his literary works written shortly after his captivity reveals the extent to which Martí's thought had subsequently evolved. In all he was imprisoned for a little more than twelve months, of which the last six months, spent in the presidio político of San Lázaro, constituted part of his original six-year sentence. Afterwards, weak and infirm, his sentence was commuted to one of exile and on January 15, 1871, the youth (for Martí had not yet reached his eighteenth birthday) was deported to Spain.

A comparison of Martí's literary production both before and shortly after his prison experiences reveals several important developments. For, although there is the same general desire for sweeping reforms in Cuba and for the awarding of basic liberties to the people--in short for long-term solutions to Cuba's many problems--the tone of Martí's work is now very different from his earlier writing. Martí's pamphlet El presidio político en Cuba, which he is reputed to have started on the voyage from Havana and which he published shortly after arriving in Spain, offers an emotional, highly personal, interpretation of life and conditions in political prison, a life so brutal that Martí claims, "si exisitiera el Dios providente, y lo hubiera visto, con la una mano se habría cubierto el rostro, y con la otra habría hecho rodar al abismo aquella negación de Dios" (I, 45).

The measured, somewhat artificially rebellious tone of Abdala has now been replaced by one of righteous indignation. On one level Martí preached to the Spanish people on the stifling oppression imposed upon Cuba by the 'madre patria,' which continued to exploit the Island to the limit of its endurance. Taking full advantage of his position in the heart of what could possibly be conceived as the "enemy camp," Martí presented to his Spanish readers a disturbing picture of prison life, challenging them to explain their continued selfish interests in the Island, which he saw as being the fundamental reason for the existence of such miserable institutions:

> ¿por qué firmáis con vuestro asentimiento el exterminio de la raza que más os ha sufrido, que más se os ha humillado, que más os ha esperado, que más sumisa ha sido

> hasta que la desesperación o la desconfianza en las promesas ha hecho que sacuda la cerviz? ¿Por qué sois injustos y tan crueles? (I, 50).

On a more personal level Martí criticized the blatantly unjust Cuban legal system, which was fully prepared to take whatever measures it deemed necessary to suppress any form of dissent. Martí's personal imprisonment had obviously moved him greatly, but despite this, he spent little time discussing his own "case history," preferring instead to relate details of the atrocities committed on the other inmates, the most disturbing treatment being that to which Nicolás del Castillo, a seventy-six year old fellow prisoner, was subjected.[22]

For Martí, though, much worse than the deplorable prison conditions and the lack of compassion shown the prisoners by their guards, was the simple fact that most of the inmates, including Martí himself, appeared to have been incarcerated for manifestly unjust reasons. Their suffering was thus all the more damnable, since they had done nothing to deserve such brutal treatment in the first place. The young Martí, indignant and angry, thus learned from his own personal experiences the extent to which the Spanish government was prepared to go in order to suppress even the suspicion of dissent: "Aquel presidio," Martí wrote, "era el presidio de Cuba, la institución del Gobierno" (I, 61)--obviously a Government that had to be drastically changed.

Another measure of the change in Martí's thought after his harsh prison experiences was his presentation of the noble practice of patriotism. Martí in his earlier work Abdala had placed great emphasis upon the value of "patriotism," which at that time, for him, was based

upon a romantic and somewhat melodramatic appreciation of his native land and a strongly adolescent concern with the idea of gloria. Moreover, before experiencing at first hand the rigours of San Lázaro, Martí had loyally supported Mendive's interpretation of the need to overthrow Spanish oppression without really understanding the fundamental problems facing Cuba. In other words, Martí's interpretation of the concept of the patria before being imprisoned (and as can be seen in his earliest works), was almost a flirtation with patriotism: the official "wedding" was to result after his disturbing experiences in San Lázaro. Thereafter, no longer would he associate this patriotism with the concepts of fama and gloria, preferring instead to employ a new vocabulary composed of such terms as deber, sacrificio and martirio.

This new "evangelising" intent of Martí--never before seen in his earlier publications--appeared very noticeably in his first two works after leaving San Lázaro. As in his two short-lived journals, Martí essentially revealed the basic immorality and injustice of the Spanish domination of the Island, but in his later works he was not content, as he had been in El diablo cojuelo, simply to present a record of these ills. Instead he chastised the Spanish people for their previous lack of interest in the "unchristian" way in which their colony was governed. Moreover, faced with counter-claims on the part of the Spanish government that in essence Spain was only protecting its "integridad nacional" by this conduct in Cuba, Martí offered in reply a moving description of prison life, concluding "ahí tenéis la integridad nacional; ahi tenéis el Gobierno que habéis aprobado, que habéis sancionado, que habéis

unánimemente aplaudido" (I, 63). In both of his post-presidio works, El presidio político en Cuba and La República Española ante la Revolución Cubana, written in 1873, Martí actually confronted the Spanish people, hurling out a challenge to them: how in the name of Justice, could Spain claim to be a freedom-loving country, and yet sanction such opprobious conduct:

> Ahora aprobad la conducta del Gobierno de Cuba.
> Ahora, los padres de la patria, decid en nombre de la patria que sancionáis la violencia más inicua de la moral, y el olvido más completo de todo sentimiento de justicia.
> Decidlo, sancionadlo, aprobadlo, si podéis (I, 74).

It therefore appears true to say that after his imprisonment, José Martí had clearly accepted the image of the patria as the central axis of his existence, around which the rest of his life would revolve. With an astonishing degree of selflessness, Martí thereafter dedicated himself totally to what he now interpreted as the immediate necessity of his country--the political independence of Cuba. For Martí, everything now had to be subordinated to this goal, including his most personal desires. His message had become one of exemplary Christianity, to help both his fellow Cuban and the patria itself and can be summarised by an entry made later in a private notebook: "Pero no hay maldad, ni responsabilidad, como las de sentirse capaz de hacer, con daño propio, bien ajeno, y, por gozar de paz egoísta, dejar de hacer el bien ajeno" (XXI, 166). Martí's dedication to achieving this goal, as Manuel Pedro González has rightly noted, was complete:

> Al ideal de libertar a su patria se consagró desde entonces su actividad y su genio. Este anhelo se le convirtió en obsesión y en su ara la inmoló todo: fortuna, bienestar, familia, gloria literaria y, por último, la vida.[23]

"Martí revolucionario" was born.

While the influence of these early formative experiences on Martí's thought appears quite clear, one must also bear in mind that Martí was known to have read extremely widely. There have been many interesting hypotheses advanced to show the influence upon Martí by a variety of literary, philosophical and political schools of thought: Martí has been linked to a multitude of possible influences, from Plato to Krause, from Marx to Whitman and, most recently José L. Mas has attempted to show the influence on Martí of Social Romanticism.[24] However, while admitting that Martí was an extremely well-read man, and despite too traces of--or at least similarities with, amongst other things--stoicism, Platonism, Spanish mysticism, transcendentalism, Krausism and a basic spiritualism, Martí definitely appears to have been less touched by these reputed influences than by the experiences of his early years.[25] This claim is supported by almost all reputable studies made on Martí's thought, including the works of Medardo Vitier,[26] Manuel Isidro Méndez,[27] Raoul Alpizar Poyo,[28] Antonio Martínez Bello,[29] and Andrés Iduarte.[30] Typical of the reaction of these critics is Martínez Bello's summary of such influences:

> Idealismo, kraussismo [sic], emersonianismo o trascendentalismo, senequismo, estoicismo, spencerismo, teosofismo, idealismo y muchos 'ismos' filosóficos más, son tal vez fácil y parcialmente localizables en su obra multánime. Pero fue a todas las doctrinas

> filosóficas, precisamente, como medio mejor de no pertenecer a ninguna, como él mismo dijera. Las abarcó amorosa y omnicomprensivamente, para tomar de ellas las esencias propicias a su propia aspiración ideatoria.[31]

Moreover, since all the critics who have studied this question of philosophical or intellectual affiliation have commented on Martí's voracious reading habits, and, indeed, that he read everything from booklets on modern scientific and agricultural techniques to Hindustani mythology, from the Spanish classics to the poetry of Emerson, from Darwin to Oscar Wilde, it seems unlikely that any particular intellectual influence gained overall pre-eminence. Furthermore, as Martí himself wrote: "Adoro la sencillez, pero no la que proviene de limitar mis ideas a este o aquel círculo o escuela, sino la de decir lo que veo, siento o medito con el menor número de palabras posibles, de palabras poderosas, gráficas, enérgicas y armoniosas" (XXII, 101) (My underlining).[32]

Martí is thus best understood as a true philosophical eclectic, reading extremely widely, and extracting from all the works that he studied anything which he considered of value, yet never limiting himself to "este o aquel círculo" as he put it. The view of the Mexican critic Andrés Iduarte perhaps best reflects the generally-accepted interpretation concerning the dominant influences on Martí:

> todo lo demás--lo que Martí adquiere en España, en México, en los Estados Unidos, y a través de sus múltiples lecturas--es agregación, suma, enriquecimiento, ratificación, perfeccionamiento; pero la médula será hasta su muerte lo que saca del colegio de Mendive.[33]

It is useful in this respect to compare both the tone and content of Martí's early works, examined in this chapter, with those he would write towards the end of his life, for there appear to be truly incredible similarities. A close examination, for instance, of El presidio político en Cuba and his last famous letter to Manuel Mercado, written a few days before Martí's death, reveals the same moral base, and the same selfless dedication to the patria, as can be found in the earliest of his works. Consequently, despite a difference of some twenty-four years, the Martí of El presidio político en Cuba is indeed the definitive Martí, who would later compose the numerous collections of poetry, the revolutionary exhortations found in his journal Patria, the famous declaration of pride in Nuestra América, and the magazine for children, La Edad de Oro. Commenting upon this astounding similarity of all of Martí's post-presidio work, Julio Le Riverend, echoing the opinion of his colleague Manuel Isidro Méndez, accurately noted: "el Maestro aparece formado cabalmente el año 1870."[34]

Martí's revolutionary energy and indeed his entire approach to life can thus be explained largely as a result of the extraordinary events that befell him before 1870, and in particular by both the unusual circumstances surrounding his relationship with Mendive and his subsequent imprisonment. Faced with a lack of understanding at home, the young Martí turned instead to Rafael María de Mendive, his padre espiritual, whose teachings both on the sad plight of Cuba and on the human condition in general, deeply impressed the young Martí. These lessons were later illustrated more fully to Martí as a result of his own traumatic experiences in prison, after he had been arrested on

clearly unfounded charges. Through these two experiences Martí assimilated a series of moral values that would remain basically unaltered for the remainder of his life--hence the similarity in all of his work.

Writing with his characteristic clarity to his future co-revolutionary Máximo Gómez, the young Martí explained to the general the major formative experiences in his brief career. All was extremely straightforward, he claimed: "de mí, tal vez nadie le dé razón, Rafael Mendive fue mi padre: de la escuela fui a la cárcel y a un presidio, y a un destierro, y a otro" (XX, 263).[35] Thereafter Martí devoted himself totally to the application of his high ideals to the struggle for the full and meaningful liberation of his patria. His revolutionary apprenticeship was now complete.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

[1]"Madre del alma, madre querida,
Son tus natales, quiero cantar;
Porque mi alma, de amor henchida,
Aunque muy joven, nunca se olvida
De la que vida me huba de dar" (XVII, 13).

[2]See for instance his dramatic letter to his mother of November 10, 1869: "Mucho siento estar metido entre rejas;--pero de mucho me sirve mi prisión.--Bastantes lecciones me ha dado para mi vida, que ha de ser corta, y no las dejaré de aprovechar . . .

Ésta es una fea escuela; porque aunque vienen mujeres decentes, no faltan algunas que no lo son . . . . A Dios gracias el cuerpo de las mujeres se hizo para mí de piedra" (I, 40-41).

(Martí's parents had eight children in all, of whom he was both the oldest and the only male. There are extremely few references to his sisters, and in fact such mention as is made of them deals with minor "family" concerns, such as the death of Mariana Matilde "Ana" (XVII, 42-47), congratulations to his sister Amelia upon her engagement (XX, 307), and references to Antonia, recuperating after an illness (XX, 38). In fact, it is interesting to note that, after his first-ever letter to his mother (written when he was nine years old) sent from Hanábana, in which he asks his mother to give his best regards to "las niñas" (XX, 243), the only other references to his sisters are at least a decade later, when he was in Mexico. There was, then, no particularly strong relationship between Martí and his sisters: he was exceptionally mature for his age while they, several years younger, were not in the least interested in his patriotic concerns).

[3]One frequently-cited incident in which don Mariano was involved took place during the time he worked as a celador. In a narrow Havana street he came across a dispute between a carter and an aristocratic lady, both of whom demanded the right of way: "Requerido el celador para discernir la prioridad del paso, actuó, según la denuncia de la señora, 'de una manera que armoniza muy poco con el carácter y la hidalguía española', pues 'comprendiendo que no era posible llevar a cabo el deseo del carretonero, que cejara el caballo que tiraba del carruaje de la exponente, le arremetió, bastón en mano, y descargó sobre el pobre animal golpes tan furibundos, que violentado éste por la solidez de la argumentación, al fin vejó.' As a result of this incident don Mariano

lost his position and, when he applied for another post, was refused because of the official report of his superior on this particular incident and also because of "'otras faltas de no menos consideración..., que no parecen intencionadas, sino efecto de su limitada capacidad y falta de buenos modales.'" Jorge Mañach, Martí el apóstol (1974; rpt. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1968), pp. 17-18.

[4]Pedro N. González Veranes, ¿Quién fue el progenitor espiritual de Martí? (La Habana: Editorial Luz-Hilo, 1942), p. 11.

[5]Introjection is defined as "an unconscious mechanism by which the external world and its objects may be incorporated into the individual. Thus the child identifies with loved objects, its parents for instance, by identifying with them, introjecting their qualities into its own mental life." Encyclopedia of Psychiatry for General Practitioners, edited by Denis Leigh, C.M.B. Pare and John Marks (Vaudreuil, Québec: Hoffman La Roche, 1972), 22, p. 230. See also the study by Ephraim Rosen and Ian Gregory, Abnormal Psychology (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1966), p. 72.

[6]William D. Isaacson, "What motivated Martí's life," The Havana Post, 28 Jan. 1953, p. 13.

[7]For a brief but thorough summary of the life and ideas of these Cuban intellectuals, see Salvador Bueno, Figuras cubanas: breves biografías de grandes cubanos del siglo XIX (La Habana: Comisión Nacional Cubana de la UNESCO, 1964).

[8]For more detailed information on the failure of this Reformista movement, see Julio Le Riverend, "Martí en la revolución de 1868," Casa de las Américas, 9 (Sept.-Oct. 1968), pp. 97-99.

Hugh Thomas also comments on this duplicity of the Spanish government that alienated many Cubans who would otherwise have supported the official Spanish position: "The commission adjourned in April 1867, having apparently accomplished an immense amount of work. Every demand of the representatives had been discussed . . . The Cubans were led to believe that action would follow. It did not. Narváez had never intended the commission to be more than a talking-shop. By this time a new and vigorous reactionary captain-general, Lersundi, had established himself in Cuba . . . The Reform Movement of moderate men and rich planters cracked. They no longer had any solutions to offer.

Back in Cuba it appeared, ironically, that one at least of the proposals of the Reformers was going to be fulfilled. On 12 February 1867 Captain-General Lersundi imposed a new tax of 6% on income, giving himself the alternative of a 12% tax 'if necessary'. This appeared to be a final insult, since the Reformers had proposed this instead of,

and not as well as, the old customs and other taxes." Hugh Thomas, Cuba, or The Pursuit of Freedom (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1971, p. 240.

[9]Mendive even paid for Martí to continue his education at the "Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza" and later, when Martí won a prize for mathematics, "Mendive ha hecho publicar en El Siglo y en El Eco de La Habana, unos sueltos muy elogiosos." Félix Lizaso, Proyección humana de Martí (Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1953), p. 45.

[10]For an understanding of Martí's undying devotion to Mendive, one has only to read his letter to Enrique Trujillo more than twenty years later: "Y, ¿cómo quiere que en algunas líneas diga todo lo bueno y nuevo que pudiera yo decir de aquel enamorado de la belleza, que la quería en las letras como en las cosas de la vida, y no escribió jamás sino sobre verdades de su corazón o sobre penas de la patria? . . . Cómo juntó, con el cariño que emanaba de su persona, a cuantos, desagradecidos o sinceros para con él, amaban como él la patria, y como él escribían de ella . . . Los ángeles se sentaban de noche con nosotros, bordando y cuchicheando, a oír la clase de historia que nos daba, de gusto de enseñar, Rafael Mendive" (V, 250-251).

[11]The centre for this revolutionary activity was in eastern Cuba, particularly in Oriente province, where the leading protagonists were low-income farmers who deeply resented the increased taxation recently imposed by Spain. The war lasted for some ten years, inflicting heavy casualties on both sides, and eventually ending in a virtual stalemate. For more detailed information see Thomas, pp. 245-270.

[12]"Una nueva caída económica hacía más necesarias las reformas, y, al no producirse éstas, una parte de los terratenientes quedaba desposeída de los medios adecuados para capear la tormenta que se gestaba en las entrañas de la sociedad esclavista . . . Toda la Isla comenzó a agitarse. La Habana no fue ninguna excepción . . . Cuando resonó el grito de independencia en La Demajagua [estate of Céspedes] (10 de octubre), la capital se conmovió." Julio Le Riverend, pp. 98-99.

[13]Pánfilo D. Camacho, "Martí: una vida en perenne angustia," Archivo José Martí, 4 (Jan.-July 1948), p. 136.

[14]After replacing Lersundi as Captain-General on January 4, 1869, Domingo Dulce attempted to quell popular anger by introducing the basic liberties listed in the text. Unfortunately these reforms were unacceptable either to the Spanish inhabitants in Cuba or to the influential pro-Spanish voluntarios, "who were able by sheer force of numbers to cow Dulce into acceptance of their views . . . Their journal La voz de Cuba, accused Dulce of working for the rebels. Within a month the captain-general had capitulated to the habaneros. Political

guarantees were suspended. Anyone suspected of being favourable to the rebels was interrogated and imprisoned. The press was censored. The volunteers had a free rein." Thomas, pp. 248-249.

Stanley Payne reaches similar conclusions, claiming that Prim was "inclined to be conciliatory and would have favored tax relief and some form of partial autonomy, but the government's hand was forced by the conservative landowning, slave-holding interests in Cuba." Stanley G. Payne, A History of Spain and Portugal (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), II, 465.

[15]See Mañach, p. 30.

[16]It is interesting to note that Martí chose a black hero for his drama, which in fact can be interpreted as constituting a pro-abolitionist stand by him. This was an important decision for Martí, particularly since there appears to have been a complete split in the movement for Cuban independence, basically because of the abolition issue. Martí's later plans for a "colourless" society (to be examined in full in the dissertation) can thus be taken as the logical conclusion of this stand.

[17]Figures quoted by Thomas, pp. 247 and 249 respectively.

[18]"El asalto al teatro Villanueva se debió a que la Compañía de Bufos Habaneros, de vuelta de su gira por Santiago de Cuba, adquirió la peligrosa fama de 'insurrecta', a lo cual contribuyó el 'guarachero' del elenco--Jacinto Valdés--cuando una noche avanzando hacia el público le dio una viva a Carlos Manuel [Céspedes], coreado por los espectadores. La noche del 22 de enero actuaba en el teatro referido la compañía llamada los Caricatos, y bajo la presidencia del Regidor Fernández Bramosio se representaba el sainete El perro huevero. Como los voluntarios estaban predispuestos, se habían dado cita en las afueras del teatro para atacarlo con cualquier pretexto. Al oír que se decía por uno de los personajes: 'Pues yo digo que no tiene vergüenza, ni poca ni mucha, el que no diga que viva la tierra que produce la caña,' el público rompió en aplausos y los voluntarios, en la calle, respondieron con vivas a España marchando sobre el teatro, desde el cual respondieron con disparos algunos jóvenes . . . En total: catorce muertos y numerosísimos heridos. Martí cuenta que la turba, las pandillas--a cuyo cargo estaba el 'honor de España'--'llenaron de cadáveres la calzada de Monte y las calles de Jesús María!'" Julio Le Riverend, p. 101.

[19]The letter, dated October 4, 1869, was addressed to Carlos de Castro y Castro:

"Compañero,

¿Has soñado tú alguna vez con la gloria de los apóstatas? ¿Sabes tú cómo se castigaba en la antigüedad la apostasía? Esperamos

que un discípulo del Sr. Rafael María de Mendive no ha de dejar sin contestación esta carta.

Fermín Valdés Domínguez José Martí" (I, 39).

[20]Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, Martí, revolucionario (La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1967), p. 75.

[21]Andrés Iduarte, Martí, escritor (México: Ediciones Cuadernos Americanos, 1944), p. 23.

[22]Martí described vividly the deplorable condition of the old man: "Vi una llaga que con escasos vacíos cubría casi todas las espaldas del anciano, que destilaban sangre en unas partes, y materia pútrida y verdinegra en otras. Y en los lugares menos llagados, pude contar las señales recientísimas de 33 ventosas . . . Me espantaba que hubiese manos sacrílegas que manchasen con sangre aquellas canas" (I, 57).

[23]Manuel Pedro González, Indagaciones martianas (La Habana: Universidad Central de las Villas, 1961), p. 57.

[24]Based on his doctoral thesis written at UCLA in 1974 and titled "Perspectiva ideológica de José Martí en sus crónicas sobre los Estados Unidos," José L. Mas has published two articles in Cuadernos Americanos: "José Martí y el Romanticismo Social (F. R. Lamennais: una posible influencia en el joven José Martí,)" 193 (Mar.-Apr. 1974), pp. 160-181, and "En torno a la ideología de José Martí (su identificación con F. R. Lamennais y el Romanticismo social)" Cuadernos Americanos, 199 (Mar.-Apr. 1975), pp. 82-114.

[25]In order to appreciate Martí's desire that he not be labelled a follower of any of these movements, it is interesting to quote his reaction to one of the major philosophical influences most commonly attributed to him, that of krausism. Writing in the first notebook he used after being deported to Spain, Martí developed an imaginary conversation on the influence of krausism: "--Krause no es toda verdad. Éste es simplemente lenguaje simplificador, divisor, castellano del que me valgo y uso porque me parece más adecuado para realizar en la expresión exterior (expresar) mis ideas.
--¡Sus ideas!
--Ideas mías. La independencia racional, sólo de la verdad natural incambiable y de la deducción lógica exacta,--dependiente, es muy noble y esencial condición del alto espíritu humano" (XXI, 98).

[26]Medardo Vitier, Las ideas en Cuba (La Habana: Editorial Trópico, 1938).

[27]Manuel Isidro Méndez' "Introducción" to his edition of Martí's Ideario (La Habana: Editorial Cultural, 1930).

[28]Raoul Alpizar Poyo, Ideario filosófico de José Martí (La Habana: Imp. Ojeda, 1944).

[29]Antonio Martínez Bello, Ideas sociales y económicas de José Martí (La Habana: La Verónica, 1940).

[30]Andrés Iduarte, "Ideas religiosas, morales, filosóficas de Martí," La Nueva Democracia, 25 (Feb. 1944), pp. 3-7, 26-32.

[31]Martínez Bello, p. 28.

[32]Indeed, as early as September of 1875, Martí had claimed that there was no such thing as "a" philosophy, since every way of looking at life was in essence based upon a hybrid of various other "philosophies": "No puede haber una filosofía, como no puede haber una religión: hay la filosofía y la religión: aquélla es el volver constante de los ojos del hombre hacia las causas de lo que en sí siente, y en torno suyo y más lejos muévese y ve" (VI, 325). Thus, when talking about any such "philosophical" or "intellectual" influences upon Martí, it is worth bearing in mind this rather wide interpretation of the whole concept of what constitutes any given "philosophy" for Martí.

Also interesting is a report written by Martí on the death of the North American poet Emerson, whom Martí greatly admired. In many ways the sentiments expressed in this obituary can be equally attributeddtooMartíhimselff. Inntheecontexttoffttheepresent discussion, at the very least it shows that one of the main features that Martí admired about Emerson was his determination not to become ensnared by any "sistema," while it can also be argued that this objective was also what Martí was himself seeking to attain: "Él no conoció límites ni trabas. Ni fue hombre de su pueblo, porque lo fue del pueblo humano. Vio la tierra, la halló inconforme a sí, sintió el dolor de responder las preguntas que los hombres no hacen, y se plegó en sí. Fue tierno para los hombres, y fiel a sí propio . . . No obedeció a ningún sistema, lo que le parecía acto de ciego y de siervo; ni creó ninguno, lo que le parecía acto de mente flaca, baja y envidiosa" (XIII, 20).

[33]Iduarte, Martí, escritor, p. 29.

[34]Julio Le Riverend, "Teoría martiana del partido político," Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942 (La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942), I, p. 88.

[35]In a similar vein, Martí described in "Yugo y estrella" the conscious decision taken by him during his youth to devote himself to the cause of Cuban independence:

> Cuando nací, sin sol, mi madre dijo:
> Flor de mi seno, Homagno generoso,
> . . .
> Mira estas dos, que con dolor te brindo,
> Insignias de la vida: ve y escoge.
> Éste, es un yugo: quien lo acepta, goza.
> Hace de manso buey, y como presta
> Servicio a los señores, duerme en paja
> Caliente, y tiene rica y ancha avena.
> . . .
> Ésta que alumbra y mata, es una estrella.
> Como que riega luz, los pescadores
> Huyen de quien la lleva, y en la vida,
> Cual un monstruo de crímenes cargado,
> Todo el que lleva luz se queda solo.
> Pero el hombre que al buey sin pena imita,
> Buey torna a ser, y en apagado bruto
> La escala universal de nuevo empieza.
> El que la estrella sin temor se ciñe,
> Como que crea, ¡crece!
> . . .
> --Dame el yugo, oh mi madre, de manera
> Que puesto en él de pie, luzca en mi frente
> Mejor la estrella que ilumina y mata.
> (XVI, 161-162).

CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF MARTÍ'S SOCIO-POLITICAL THOUGHT

In the first chapter it was shown how, following a series of disturbing experiences--and in particular his harrowing incarceration in political prison--José Martí's political awareness developed extremely quickly during his adolescence. Indeed, a strong case can be made to show how, almost by force of circumstances, Martí was forced to adopt a mature, radical and articulate political consciousness unusual in one so young. Moreover it was suggested that if we compare the central political ideas of Martí at this time with those found in his final works, it is possible to encounter remarkable similarities in tone, purpose and, most noticeably, in moral content. Thus as one critic has accurately noted, "a los quince años--en 1869--el joven Martí se nos aparece con lo fundamental de su pensamiento y su acción debidamente definidos."[1]

Since a study of Martí's works reveals that there was no single incident especially responsible for the development of Martí's thought after he left San Lázaro,[2] and since too it is equally obvious that it is neither possible nor representative of Martí to divide the development of his thought into "clearly-divided" periods,[3] I have opted instead to follow the interpretation of Julio Le Riverend, who rightly outlines the two fundamental conditioning factors on José Martí--the effect upon him of his personal experiences in Cuba before his deportation, and that of his travels abroad, particularly his fifteen-year

stay in the United States:

> Hubo dos etapas definidas en la formación de Martí: una primera--fundamental--en que el pensamiento y la acción adquieren algunos de sus caracteres permanentes al compás de la experiencia propia, nacional; y una segunda, en que aquellos elementos se vieron enriquecidos por los aportes de una universal contemplación del mundo de la época. Y es preciso subrayar que el conocimiento de la América Latina, el asomarse a Europa, y el penetrar profundamente en las desgarradas entrañas del pueblo norteamericano cuando está surgiendo agresivo y voraz el capitalismo financiero, constituyeron hechos de sustancial importancia en este fenómeno de universalización del pensamiento de Martí.[4]

Based upon this type of approximation to Martí's thought--and with the intention of preparing the reader for the salient details of Martí's aspirations for the patria, to be studied later--this chapter proposes to examine the broad development of Martí's thought during the almost quarter of a century following the first deportation to Spain, while at the same time offering an explanation as to why these changes occurred.

The key to understanding the development of José Martí's socio-political thought definitely lies in his many unusual experiences in the "New World," where he spent twenty of his last twenty-five years. Undoubtedly the time spent by Martí in Europe (from January 1871 to January 1875) was of importance in the overall development of his character and, as was mentioned in the first chapter, Martí is known to have read extremely widely. Nevertheless, based upon the remarkable paucity of literary work, whether of a political or a literary nature, by Martí from the time he arrived in Spain until his arrival in Mexico some four years later, it appears that during this time Martí's socio-

political thought experienced little change.[5] On the other hand, a more dramatic set of incidents--resulting in a noticeable progression of his ideas--was to occur also immediately after Martí returned to Latin America.

Cintio Vitier correctly emphasises the quasi-religious effect upon Martí's political consciousness that resulted from his "peregrinación por América Latina,"[6] since Martí truly underwent a mystical experience as he travelled through Spanish America. His flight from the arid and rather uninspiring background of Spanish scholasticism (and also from an essentially reactionary political tradition) was suddenly and dramatically replaced by a return to "his" continent, as Martí joyfully discovered his Latin American roots. In particular, as Andrés Iduarte has demonstrated, this reawakening of Martí's passionate interest in Latin America was especially encouraged by his experiences in Mexico, where he spent the first two years after leaving Spain:

> La importancia de México en la vida sentimental, intelectual y política del cubano es muy grande: vivió feliz como hombre, se ganó bien el pan, amó y fue amado, se sintió ciudadano sin perder un ápice de su cubanidad --en torno a la independencia de Cuba sostuvo continuas polémicas--, sumó a su formación la de los hombres de la Reforma juarista, vio helada a la raza india y soñó con deshelarla, convivió con indios sabios e ilustros--Ignacio Ramírez e Ignacio Manuel Altamirano--y habló de la capacidad de su pueblo, tocó los restos imponentes de las culturas azteca y maya quiché y halló en todo ello--pasado grandioso, presente batallador, finura indígena, revolución política--la base fundamental para levantar su fe americanista.[7]

The years that Martí spent in Mexico, together with the eighteen months he lived in Guatemala, and to a lesser extent his five-month

stay in Venezuela in 1880, were truly of inestimable importance for Martí both as a Latin American and as a budding revolutionary. He took inspiration from the example of these former Spanish colonies, now sovereign nations, and became convinced too of his ability to complete the Latin American epic initiated by Simon Bolívar, since, as he noted defiantly in 1881, "se sabe que al poema del 1810 falta una estrofa" (VII, 284). His was at all times a balanced stock-taking of Latin American reality--its needs and wants, its numerous problems, and its many inherent qualities. Moreover, before any other writer of this modern era Martí saw the necessity of establishing close commercial, political and cultural ties between all members of the Latin American community, while he also discouraged in no uncertain terms the tradition of many nations of "Nuestra América" to regard themselves essentially as Argentinians, Mexicans or any other nationality, before Latin Americans. For him there was one--and only one--spiritual affinity between all the countries of Latin America, for as he proudly proclaimed: "Nuestra patria es una, empieza en el Río Grande, y va a parar en los montes fangosos de la Patagonia" (XI, 48).

In short, during this time Martí learned that he too was a Latin American. It cannot however be termed a case of "rediscovery," since Cuba--because of its status as a colony of Spain--had always been encouraged to identify with the madre patria, rather than with its rebellious Latin American neighbours. Martí also discovered that his continent, besides possessing an abundance of natural beauty and untapped wealth, could also draw upon an amazingly rich tradition of cultures and peoples. In sum, for the first time in his life Martí felt

proud, not only because he could 'identify' with this hitherto-unknown Latin American cultural tradition, but also because he most definitely admired the apparently limitless potential of the continent, his continent. With some justification, then, Martí can be said to have experienced in a deeply personal way what another Cuban, Alejo Carpentier, would later come to define as lo real maravilloso, the magic reality of Latin America.

José Martí's dramatic personal identification with "Nuestra América" also assisted greatly the development of his own political consciousness which, during his time in Spain, appears to have laid dormant. Suddenly he found himself, in 1875, in an emotion-charged atmosphere, the twilight of Lerdo de Tejada's presidency. Moreover, after seeing the manoeuvres of Porfirio Díaz to wrest control from President Lerdo, Martí suddenly felt himself politically 'involved' (basically for the first time since his deportation more than four years earlier), and therefore condemned the high-handed selfish actions of Díaz. Thus, just as he had rebelled in Cuba against what he saw as a cruel and essentially immoral domination of the Island by Spain, Martí now reacted with righteous indignation at General Díaz' unjustifiable "strong arm" tactics. The subsequent demise of Lerdo de Tejada and the triumphant entry into Mexico City by Porfirio Díaz in November of 1876 convinced Martí that he could not in all conscience remain in such an oppressive environment. Writing in 1878 to his friend Manuel Mercado, Martí explained the reason for his departure. In Mexico he had been extremely contented, Martí explained, and, but for the usurpation of power by Díaz, would have been delighted to stay there. However,

because he loathed the methods employed by Díaz in Mexico, Martí felt the need to leave, defending his actions by claiming "Con un poco de luz en la frente no se puede vivir donde mandan tiranos" (XX, 47). Accordingly he left the country (as he would later leave Guatemala and Venezuela, again after seeing the unfortunate results of caudillismo), but not without a revitalised interest in political reform: the revolutionary spirit, flagging in Spain, had been reconfirmed in Martí after his stay in Mexico, and the process of radicalization had thus been renewed.

The five years that Martí lived in Latin America allowed him to probe beneath the surface reality of his continent, to discover for himself the reasons behind the traditional instability in both social and political life, and finally to provide--in many cases--suggestions that would help solve such grave debilities. During this time, then, he became aware of the many continental-wide problems that he knew would have to be solved before Latin America would be able to realize its vast untapped potential. More important, when this consciousness was added to his determination to fight for political independence in Cuba, they represented the basis for his socio-political aspirations for the future Cuban Republic, as Martí gradually began to piece together a rudimentary programme of reform for both Cuba and "Nuestra América." Consequently, whereas before he had experienced an essentially passionate urge to fight against the Spanish forces, and to free his country from the clutches of the 'madre patria,' after his peregrinación Martí had reached a further stage in his "apprenticeship," since now he was aware of many of the specific problems that would have to be

solved not only in Cuba, but also in "his" America.

Among many of the specific lessons that Martí had learned during these five crucial years spent in Latin America was the necessity of avoiding at all costs the dangers of caudillismo, which in fact he had witnessed at first hand in all of the countries in which he resided, as well as the accompanying necessity of preventing all forms of military governments in Latin America. His observations on General Díaz in Mexico had convinced him that such regimes were to be vigorously discouraged, and his personal separation in 1884 from Generals Gómez and Maceo, after he had detected in their behaviour an intent to impose a military government on the Cuban people after the Island's "liberation," shows the firmness of this conviction. Moreover, as will be shown in Chapter III, it was also during his stay in Mexico that José Martí expressed his unqualified support for the concept of an active and effective democracy. In Mexico, then, Martí became a convinced democrat and, as his strict adherence--almost twenty years later--to the democratic principles of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano shows, it is probable that he hoped to cultivate this form of government in the liberated Republic.

Martí also made substantial observations on a variety of economic, social and political reforms that he deemed necessary for the full development of Latin America. To give some idea of the wide range of reforms planned by Martí during his stay in Latin America, it is only necessary to glance briefly at the far-reaching social changes envisaged by him. All of these reforms will be examined in some detail in the following chapters. Among the most important of these reform

programmes were the need for all citizens, regardless of wealth or social standing, to obtain a decent and necessarily practical education; the need for all Latin American countries to follow primarily an agricultural economy; the pressing need for social harmony and for a fair and equitable distribution of wealth, since this would guarantee true social justice in "Nuestra América"; the need of workers' organizations, of the right to strike, and finally of workers' solidarity in order to achieve a just reward for their labours; the need for the Church to be stripped of all power and influence within the community and also to be prevented from offering any form of religious education.

All of these programmes would be dealt with in far greater detail by Martí during his residence in North America, when he would develop and refine these original ideas. It is important to note, however, that it was in "Nuestra América," based upon the reality of Latin American society, that Martí first conceived and planned these necessary reform programmes. Equally important is the fact that at this point Martí saw their relevance primarily to Latin America as a continent, and to a lesser extent to his own country. In every sense of the word, José Martí appeared intoxicated by the vital dramatic reality of "his" America, and appears to have temporarily concentrated his attention upon offering much-needed solutions to urgent problems faced by the already-independent nations of the sub-continent. Nevertheless, the lessons he learned in connection with Latin America as a whole, when combined with his determination to win political independence for Cuba, represented an important foundation for his renewed liberation campaign,

which began soon after he arrived in New York in January of 1880. The basis, then, for Martí's socio-political aspirations for an independent Cuba was thus established long before his arrival in the United States. For the next fifteen years, supported largely by his observations on the changing nature of North American society, Martí would continue to develop the rudiments of his national programme, convinced that after political independence had been won from Spain a totally new direction would have to be followed if Cuba were to be truly "liberated."

It is important to realise that, despite his pronouncements on the urgent need for social justice, on the right of all those who worked the land to own it, on the need for workers' solidarity, and a host of other progressive proposals, José Martí was essentially at this point (1880) a generous, idealistic--and somewhat naïve--liberal. In fact his political programme (if such it can be termed at this particular stage of generalizations) resembled quite closely many of the ideas of the so-called French utopian socialists of the beginning of the nineteenth century.[8] It is also interesting to note that at this time Martí was still not concerned at showing the relevance of these programmes to the particular situation of Cuba: in actual fact, initially--and perhaps understandably--he appears to have had few specific interests for his own country other than winning political independence.

Over the course of the next fifteen years, which Martí spent in the United States while following a variety of pursuits--as teacher, reporter, diplomat and revolutionary--Martí's political thought clearly matured, as did his plans for the type of social and political innovation

that he aspired to introduce into an independent Cuba. Indeed, after the impression made upon him by his stay in San Lázaro, this period spent in the United States probably represented the most intense series of experiences in his entire life and, without any doubt, constituted the most significant influence on the formation of his socio-political thought. Consequently a new--and crucially important--period began for Martí in the 1880's: based upon his unflagging scrutiny of North American life and society, he intensified his analysis of the needs and problems of both "Nuestra América" and Cuba, while at the same time rekindling his determination to lead Cuba to independence. Martí the Latin American poet and statesman was soon to become Martí the international revolutionary.

From an objective standpoint it appears fairly obvious that José Martí's political consciousness developed dramatically during his stay in the United States. By May of 1880, just five months after arriving in North America, he had been appointed acting head of the New York Revolutionary Committee, and was increasing steadily his influence among all sectors of Cuban exiles living in the United States. But as well as a renewed revolutionary zeal, visible in all Martí's work written in the United States, there were also several noticeable stages in the degree of radicalization of his plans for a liberated Cuba, as Martí himself became affected by a variety of stimuli in North America. This did not necessarily affect his basic plans for the patria, since by 1880 Martí had already decided on the predominant characteristics he wanted for the society of a liberated Cuba. Instead, there was a general intensification of these same plans as Martí--basing his arguments on

events and general observations of North American society--became increasingly convinced of the validity of his earlier observations, and at the same time increasingly determined that they would be implemented in an independent Cuba. There appear to be two fundamental explications behind these developments: on the one side was Martí's disillusionment with the United States, which can be deduced from his extensive correspondence and numerous reports on the subject, whereas on the other side were the unfortunate implications that Martí gradually realised that this conduct of the United States held for Latin America as a whole. A close study of Martí's life and work in North America thus shows a process of steady disillusionment with the United States as a country, from which originally he had expected so much, soon to be paralleled by an increasing fear that the many basic changes (unfortunately for the worse) in the national character of the United States could not help but have adverse effects on his own continent. More than any other single factor, then, it would be this obviously selfish interest of the United States in "Nuestra América," Martí's America, which would prove responsible for the radicalization of his thought.

To appreciate the extent of José Martí's disillusionment it is only necessary to study his initial impressions of the United States which he published in a series of articles, "Impressions of America (by a very fresh Spaniard)" for a New York newspaper, The Hour. In the first of these articles, published on July 10, 1880, Martí expressed (in English) his pleasure at being--finally--in a free country: "I am,

at last, in a country where every one looks like his own master. One can breathe freely, freedom being here the foundation, the shield, the essence of life" (XIX, 103). Closely linked with this admiration for the many basic freedoms available to all Americans was Martí's astonishment at the industrious and energetic character of the New York inhabitants:

> Activity, devoted to trade, is truly immense. I was never surprised in any country of the world I have visited. Here I was surprised . . . I remarked that no one stood quietly in the corners, no door was shut an instant, no man was quiet. I stopped myself, I looked respectfully on this people, and I said good-bye for ever to that lazy life and poetical inutility of our European countries (XIX, 103).

It is extremely important to note, then, that when Martí arrived in the United States in 1880, his was an entirely positive attitude, since he had come to a land that he admired and respected deeply, and from which, in short, he expected so much. The tradition of American freedom that had sprung from the struggle to win Independence from the British overlords had thus left a lasting impression on Martí, who saw an obvious parallel between the U.S. defeat of the British colonialist system and the liberation campaign that he still firmly aspired to lead against the Spanish madre patria in order to restore dignity and freedom to his own country. Unfortunately this parallel was not to be observed by the United States which, as Martí was soon to conclude, had departed dramatically from its original tradition of freedom.[9]

One of the principal reasons for this dramatic change in the American character, as Martí clearly noted, was the huge influx of European immigrants to the United States during the 1880's, people whom

Martí described as bringing with them "their odiums, their wounds, their moral ulcers" (XIX, 106).[10] Unlike the "true Americans" (descendants of the original settlers), this "thirsty foreign population, that must not be confounded with the true American people, shows that anxious desire for money" (XIX, 105) which he regarded as being unhealthy. From this surge of European immigrants a "new American" had already begun to arise, totally disinterested in the noble origins upon which the Republic had been founded (and which Martí at all times admired), and instead concerned primarily with the acquisition of material goods. In a later report in this series Martí revealed his apprehensions in regard to these obvious materialistic concerns: "What will this little girl, so fond of jewelry at seven years, do for it at sixteen? Slavery would be better than this kind of liberty; ignorance would be better than this dangerous science" (XIX, 122).

In many respects these "Impressions of America" can be taken as a scaled-down parallel of Martí's disillusionment with the United States and, by extension, as an illustration of the radicalisation of his socio-political thought. Some months after claiming that freedom was "the essence of life," in another report Martí told of the "many pitiful sights" he had observed during his evening walk: "a poor woman knelt on the sidewalk, as if looking for her grave" (XIX, 123); and while walking around Madison Square he claims to have seen a hundred men, all without work, and possessing neither adequate clothing nor food. These people, "evidently suffering from the pangs of misery" (XIX, 123) mark the beginning of a new phase in Martí's interpretation of the United

States. From abundant praise he passed now to a thorough and uncompromising study of the major social problems faced by North America, and this examination of American society in turn afforded him a further understanding of the many fraudulent political practices in the United States. By the end of 1890, disillusionment with the United States had firmly set in, and that country no longer appeared to Martí as the Beacon of Hope, and the inspiration for a liberated Cuba that he had earlier conceived it to be.

If it appears that Martí's disillusionment with U.S. society began in the latter half of 1880, it can be claimed with some justification that a year later Martí had arrived at what would later prove to be his definitive stance on North American political life, an interpretation that in fact could be subtitled "What to avoid in a liberated Cuba." Writing in October of 1881, Martí informed his Latin American readers of the existence of powerful business interests that controlled the official policies of both the Republican and Democratic parties, and blatantly manipulated these parties in order to further their own ends:

> Estas corporaciones directoras que solían venir a escandalosos tráficos para asegurarse mutuamente la victoria en las elecciones para determinados empleos, impedían que interviniesen en la dirección de los partidos hombres sanos y austeros, cuya pureza no hubiera permitido los usuales manejos, o cuya competencia se temía (IX, 64).

With a few exceptions (the most notable being the early years--1885 and 1886--of Grover Cleveland's first presidency, when Martí wholeheartedly supported the President's attempts to escape from the clutches of this

powerful ruling bloc)[11] this would prove to be the general reaction of Martí to politics as practised in the United States. His understanding of the major social issues and fundamental problems of U.S. society would also develop during this time, eventually reaching its peak with the Haymarket riots in Chicago and the resulting trial in 1886 and 1887, all of these lessons serving to illustrate to Martí the pitfalls of North American "Liberty."

The profound disappointment of José Martí at the apparent overlooking of the noble traditions of the United States by the nation as a whole, the many major social problems and flagrant abuse of political power (in May of 1884, referring to the Democrats as "tenido por mejor, por el hecho eficaz de no estar en el gobierno" (X, 31)) all combined to increase both his disillusionment at the United States for squandering this potential, and too his determination that such mistakes must at all costs be avoided in the liberated patria.[12] He had arrived in 1880 hoping that the United States would prove a valuable inspiration for his own master-plan for the liberated Cuban Republic, but by 1885 at the very latest Martí was totally convinced that in fact he had been gravely mistaken. He still advocated studying the reality of North America, but now instead of seeking inspiration, Martí advised his fellow Latin Americans to use the United States as a model of what to avoid in the future Cuban Republic:

> En lo que peca, en lo que yerra, en lo que tropieza, es necesario estudiar a este pueblo, para no tropezar como él . . . Gran pueblo es éste, y el único donde el hombre puede serlo; pero a fuerza de enorgullecerse de su prosperidad y andar siempre alcanzando para

> mantener sus apetitos, cae en un pigmeísmo moral, en un envenenamiento del juicio, en una culpable adoración de todo éxito (X, 299).

Based upon his observations of the problems faced by North American society, Martí steadily became aware that his hopes had been ill-founded, and that the United States (which he had earlier viewed as an invaluable social experiment with great relevance for the future of mankind) had carelessly abused its vast potential. Racial problems were rampant, and Chinese, Indians and black Americans were widely discriminated against; political life was both cynically regarded and widely abused; industrial magnates and powerful labour groups faced each other menacingly, all leading Martí to predict in March of 1882 that in the United States "se librará la batalla social tremenda" (IX, 278). The grand social experiement had failed, Martí concluded: "este Norte es como momia galvanizada a puro ejemplo y tesón, y tierra de donde todo nos expulsa" (III, 111). For Martí, then, the United States had flagrantly ignored its great tradition of freedom and dignity, deliberately replacing it with a cult of materialism: a new American had thus arisen, one who was far removed from the noble origins of the Republic.

Moreover, as Martí came to realise that the United States did not represent the shining example of hope for humanity that he had earlier conceived it to be, he began to analyse the basic characteristics of the new American nation, concluding in 1886 that the common trait of this society was "esta rudeza general de espíritu que aquí aflige tanto a las mentes expansivas y delicadas. Cada cual para sí. La fortuna como único objeto de la vida" (X, 375). But disturbing as this may be,

Martí became more concerned as he probed beneath the surface of this aggressive national character, and of this seemingly amoral political conscience, finally beginning to understand the reasons for such conduct. Moreover, on the horizon there loomed an even more frightening prospect for Martí, one that could only have an adverse effect on "Nuestra América." Consequently, added to Martí's displeasure at the internal U.S. structure was his eventual conviction that the United States were also becoming increasingly interested in extending their dominion over Latin America, and his reports--or rather warnings now--accordingly adopted a more concerned tone. Indeed, as early as January of 1882 José Martí had informed his fellow Latin Americans about this over-fond interest felt by many sectors of U.S. society in "Nuestra América":

> Los hijos de los peregrinos tuvieron también su fiesta: mas ¡ay! que ya no son humildes, ni pisan las nieves del Cabo Cod con borceguíes de trabajadores, sino que se ajustan al pie rudo la bota marcial; y ven de un lado al Canadá, y del otro a México . ... Decía así el Senador Hawley: "Y cuando hayamos tomado a Canadá y a México, y reinemos sin rivales sobre el continente, ¿qué especie de civilización vendremos a tener en lo futuro?" ¡Una terrible a fe: la de Cartago!" (IX, 205-206).

Mindful of this increasingly dubious interest of the United States in Latin America, an entirely new perspective was added to Martí's outlook as he redoubled his efforts not only to inform readers about North American life in general, but also now to warn them of possible incursions into his continent. Thus Martí's task became one of "definir, avisar, poner en guardia, revelar los secretos del éxito, en

apariencia--y en apariencia sólo--maravillosos de este país" (VIII, 268). Before he had been personally disturbed by the internal politics of the United States, and by the materialism-oriented direction in which it appeared determined to move, but now--after seeing a firm intention on the part of many U.S. interest groups to exploit the countries of "Nuestra América"--Martí found himself forced to adopt, quite noticeably, a more radical stance.[13] There were thus two major conditioning elements in the obvious radicalization of Martí's socio-political thought. On the one hand was his deeply-felt frustration at what he clearly interpreted as the United States flagrantly spurring its noble heritage and immense potential, preferring instead to subscribe to a "survival of the fittest" philosophy. On the other hand Martí could definitely see how this widely-accepted policy would eventually have dire consequences for all of Latin America, since U.S. industry would ultimately need both a cheap source of raw materials and a market for the resulting surplus of its manufactured goods--and Latin America was the obvious choice to satisfy both needs. From 1881 until 1889 these two obsessive preoccupations combined to encourage in Martí a steadily-increasing process of radicalization.

A new and highly significant phase in this process was initiated in March of 1889, one that would in fact last until Martí's death in 1895. Concerned less now with preparing his famous "Escenas norte-americanas" for his Latin American readers (By early 1892 Martí had ceased to write for the multitude of Latin American periodicals to which he had earlier contributed) Martí now busied himself with preparations for the campaign that he hoped would liberate Cuba. This campaign was

threatened seriously, though, in 1889 as talk resurfaced in the United States as to whether that country should purchase Cuba from the Spanish government and convert the Island into a U.S. protectorate. Then on March 16, 1889, the Philadelphia Manufacturer published a highly critical article entitled "Do we want Cuba?" (later reprinted in the Evening Post of New York), to which Martí wrote a blistering reply. Martí considered these articles to be of extreme importance, since he wanted his fellow Cubans to see the little regard in which they were held by many influential Americans. Accordingly he translated all of the pertinent documents into Spanish, publishing them soon afterwards in a pamphlet called Cuba y los Estados Unidos.

Of particular concern to Martí was the conclusion of the original article which, given his heartfelt distrust of U.S. interest in Cuba, and by extension in "Nuestra América," was totally unacceptable for him: "La única esperanza que pudiéramos tener de habilitar a Cuba para la dignidad de Estado, sería americanizarla por completo, cubriéndola con gente de nuestra propia raza" (I, 234). For Martí, any attempt to sell his patria, his nation, as if it were some negotiable article, and of course without taking into account the wishes of the people, was completely unacceptable--particularly when the prospective purchaser was the United States. Martí felt that he knew this society well enough to know that such a change of overlords could only result to the detriment of Cuba, and so he redoubled his efforts for the liberation of the patria.

The six-page reply of Martí, "Vindicación de Cuba," can truly be taken as representing accurately the beginning of this last, and

most radical, stage in his socio-political thought. In fact, now that his own patria was being bandied around as if it were some piece of merchandise to be bought and sold at will, Martí's frustrations at the United States finally exploded. Before he had been deeply troubled both by the cold-blooded attempts to disregard the best interests of "Nuestra América" and subsequently by the growing U.S. economic penetration into Latin America in general. Now, however, that the United States was seriously considering the idea of purchasing the Island and of "americanizarla por completo," Martí spoke out loudly and bravely against such action, stating the opinion of many Cubans on the United States of America:

> Admiran esta nación, la más grande de cuantas erigió jamás la libertad; pero desconfían de los elementos que, como gusanos en la sangre, han comenzado en esta República portentosa su obra de destrucción. Han hecho de los héroes de este país sus propios héroes . . . pero no pueden creer honradamente que el individualismo excesivo, la adoración de la riqueza, y el júbilo prolongado de una victoria terrible, estén preparando a los Estados Unidos para ser la nación típica de la libertad, donde no ha de haber opinión basada en el apetito inmoderado del poder, ni adquisición o triunfos contrarios a la bondad y a la justicia. Amamos a la patria de Lincoln, tanto como tememos a la patria de Cutting (I, 237).

This tone of consternation at the attempt of the United States to extend its influence into Latin America became increasingly noticeable in Martí's work after this revived interest in purchasing Cuba from Spain, since he now realised that, in order to win political independence for the patria not only did he have to defeat the Spanish forces but also to keep the United States firmly at bay. Writing in

April of 1889 (a month after publishing this reply to U.S. interest in Cuba) Martí expressed his profound distress at such a selfish desire to purchase the Island, all the more damnable, Martí reminded his readers, because only a century earlier the United States had embarked upon a similar struggle for freedom: "¿Quién medita siquiera en el proyecto ya público de la compra de Cuba, donde no se ha secado todavía la sangre que el vecino astuto vio derramar, por la misma carta de principios con que se rebeló él contra sus dueños, sin tender un manojo de hilos, sin tender los brazos?" (XII, 168). The events of 1889 would completely dispel any remaining doubts that Martí might have entertained concerning U.S. interest in "Nuestra América," while at the same time encouraging him to develop an even more radical position, as can be deduced from his letter to Enrique Estrázulas:

> ...ahora que estoy fuera de mí, porque lo que desde años vengo temiendo y anunciando se viene encima, que es la política conquistadora de los Estados Unidos, que ya anuncian oficialmente por boca de Blaine y Harrison su deseo de tratar de mano alta a todos nuestros países, como dependencias naturales de éste, y de comprar a Cuba (XX, 203).

Two other major contributing factors to the radicalization of Martí were the first Inter-American Conference, held in Washington from the end of 1889 until April 1890 (upon which Martí reported in great detail), and the International Monetary Conference in 1891, at which he acted as the official representative for the Uruguayan government. The first of these two conferences gathered together for the first time representatives of almost all of the Latin American countries. From the

beginning of the Conference everything was geared towards convincing the representatives of the value of having closer ties with the most powerful country of the Americas, the United States: there was an elaborate 5,500-mile train journey intended to impress the delegates with an exhibition of American society and industry, the American press continually listed the advantages to be gained by the Latin American countries through closer ties with the United States, while at the same time advocating a hard-line treatment in dealing with the countries south of the Río Grande,[14] and the delegates appeared flattered by the constant attention they received from the host country. (At one point Martí described how "los negros van y vienen, diez para cada huésped, cepillo en mano" (VI, 42)).

Faced with this high-powered campaign to win the allegiance of the countries of "Nuestra América," Martí could only urge the Latin American representatives to probe beneath the veneer of progress and material wealth found in the United States. He was by this time totally convinced of the rather dubious motives that lay behind the organization of this conference, and explained these personal fears in some detail to his readers. There was no longer any doubt in his mind when discussing U.S. interest in Latin America, nor did he treat the United States as any great power worthy of imitation:

> Jamás hubo en América, de la independencia acá, asunto que requiera más sensatez, ni obligue a más vigilancia, ni pida examen más claro y minucioso, que el convite que los Estados Unidos potentes, repletos de productos invendibles, y determinados a extender sus dominios en América, hacen a las naciones americanas de menos poder, ligadas por el

> comercio libre y útil con los pueblos europeos, para ajustar una liga contra Europa y cerrar tratos con el resto del mundo. De la tiranía de España supo salvarse la América española; y ahora, después de ver con ojos judiciales los antecedentes, causas y factores del convite, urge decir, porque es la verdad, que ha llegado para la América española la hora de declarar su segunda independencia (VI, 46).

Although on a much lower key, Martí's direct participation at the International Monetary Conference (held in Washington from January to April of 1891) was of even greater importance in warning the Latin American delegates against any lasting ties that they might make with the United States. The Conference had been summoned with two purposes in mind: first to win the support of the Latin American delegates on the subject of bimetallism, which would allow gold and silver to be circulated on equal terms (instead of the traditional system which set only gold against paper currency) and second, to encourage the Latin American nations to sever their economic ties with Europe (which continent was opposed to any such change in currency matters), and subsequently to increase their trade with North America.[15] If the United States' proposal was accepted, the result would be partially beneficial to Mexico and Peru (and of course to the United States, at that time the world's leading silver manufacturer), while almost all of the remaining Latin American countries would receive little, if any, benefit. More important, if the proposal of the United States was accepted, this could very possibly lead to a drastic cut-back in trade between Latin America and Europe, with the result that "Nuestra América" would become increasingly dependent on the United States for her trade.

An examination of the Minutes of the Monetary Conference reveals the active role played by Martí, who was a leading member of two important committees, one to study the credentials of the representatives, and the other to debate the proposal of the U.S. delegates on bimetallism. It was in this second role that he delivered one of the most important speeches of the Conference. Martí was in short convinced that few Latin American countries would benefit from the suggested changes, and was most definitely concerned about the loss of sovereignty that he saw might well result if the proposal dealing with bimetallism was approved. He claimed that this was not the appropriate time to exert pressure on the great European commercial powers, so that they would enter into such an agreement. As a result, the committee in which Martí played such an active role recommended that:

> While fully recognizing the great convenience and importance to commerce of the creation of an international coin or coins, it is not deemed expedient at present to recommend the same, in view of the attitude of some of the great commercial powers of Europe toward silver as one of the metallic currencies.[16]

This last phase in the radicalization of Martí's thought, initiated by his letter to the Evening Post, was characterised by an increasingly militant tone, as José Martí devoted his attention both to the task of overthrowing the Spanish control of Cuba and of making his fellow Latin Americans aware of U.S. interest in "Nuestra América." As late as October of 1889 Martí was still prepared to allow the United States the benefit of the doubt (in a letter to Gonzalo de Quesada he stated how the United States "está a nuestra puerta como un enigma, por

lo menos" (I, 250)), although soon afterwards (and particularly after the two Conferences) he lost all hope of Cuba ever receiving a fair hearing from the North, which he now called "un pueblo diverso, formidable y agresivo, que no nos tiene por igual suyo, y nos niega las condiciones de igualdad . . . un pueblo que se tiene por su superior y lo quiere para fuente de azúcar, y pontón estratégico" (IV, 424).[17]

The effect of the two Inter-American Conferences upon Martí should not be underestimated, since in many ways they proved to him that his earlier longstanding mistrust of U.S. interest in Cuba had been totally justified. After the Conferences he appears to have been infinitely more aware of the definite danger posed to the future of the Republic by this rather obvious American intent to purchase the Island. On a more personal level, he now reacted angrily against the open harassment of the revolutionary groups living in the United States, since he realised that without the support of the Cuban exiles his hopes for liberating the patria would be greatly curtailed. In particular he was disturbed at the breaking up of the strike of tobacco workers at "La Rosa Española" Factory in Key West through the illegal importation of Spanish workers from Cuba by the factory owners.[18]

More important, however, was Martí's apparent conviction after 1891 that not only did the United States intend to purchase Cuba and Puerto Rico from Spain, but also that they planned to use the two islands as a base upon which to launch an offensive action against the rest of Latin America, thus fulfilling the old dream of continental supremacy. Writing in Patria in 1893 Martí claimed that in fact the

two islands were "indispensables para la seguridad, independencia y carácter definitivo de la familia hispanoamericana en el continente, donde los vecinos de habla inglesa codician la clave de las Antillas para cerrar con ellas todo el Norte por el istmo, y apretar luego con todo este peso por el Sur" (II, 373).

Before 1891, as Alberto Andino has clearly shown, Martí's character was inherently opposed to any manifestation of "el colonialismo, la explotación de los humildes por los poderosos."[19] It was this same highly-developed moral conscience that led him to fight first against the Spanish domination of Cuba, and later to condemn in such outspoken form U.S. involvement in "Nuestra América."[20] A further stage in Martí's seemingly inevitable radicalization was now reached, since after discerning an increased desire on the part of the American government to annex the two islands, Martí now revealed himself as a committed anti-imperialist revolutionary, concerned now not only with winning independence for his own patria, but also with protecting the equilibrium of the Americas, and indeed of the world:

> En el fiel de América están las Antillas, que serían, si esclavas, mero pontón de la guerra de una república imperial contra el mundo celoso y superior que se prepara ya a negarle el poder,--mero fortín de la Roma americana;--y si libres--y dignas de serlo por el orden de la libertad equitativa y trabajadora, serían en el continente la garantía del equilibrio, la de la independencia para la América española aún amenazada y la del honor para la gran república del Norte, que en el desarrollo de su territorio --por desdicha, feudal ya, y repartido en secciones hostiles--hallará más segura grandeza que en la innoble conquista de sus vecinos menores, y en la pelea inhumana que con la posesión de ellas abriría contra las

> potencias del orbe por el predominio del mundo.--No a mano ligera, sino como con conciencia de siglos, se ha de componer la vida nueva de las Antillas redimidas. Con augusto temor se ha de entrar en esa grande responsabilidad humana . . . Es un mundo lo que estamos equilibrando: no son sólo dos islas las que vamos a libertar (III, 142).

In this dramatic way did Martí outline his revolutionary hopes. At first glance such a scheme to stop the "república imperial" from doing irreparable harm not only to Latin America but also to humanity at large appears truly incredible. Indeed, as Roberto Fernández Retamar has rightly noted, Martí "se había propuesto nada menos que salvar a todo el continente, e incluso contribuir al equilibrio aún vacilante del mundo. Probablemente nadie en sus cabales, con medios tan exiguos (la isla de Cuba tenía entonces algo como más de millón y medio de habitantes) se ha propuesto nunca hazaña tan desmesurada."[21] It is important to note, however, that far from constituting a reckless or foolhardy venture, this plan of Martí in actual fact is the natural reaction to what he firmly believed to be an inherently harmful and evil policy, one which could have had adverse effects on the entire world. For Martí, then, an independent Cuba, while rewarding Cuban aspirations for a vigorous and essentially moralistic form of government, would also protect the rather shaky foundations of North American integrity: "Las Antillas libres salvarán la independencia de Nuestra América, y el honor ya dudoso de la América inglesa, y acaso acelerán y fijarán el equilibrio de mundo" (IV, 111), as he wrote in 1895.

Consequently this belligerent denunciation of "los Imperialistas de allá" (IV, 168), issued by Martí in 1895, can indeed be interpreted

as having originated from the same righteous indignation that had led him to condemn the Spanish colonialist policy in El presidio político en Cuba almost a quarter of a century earlier. The very substance of Martí's thought had thus changed remarkably little since 1870, for in essence his own rigorous moral conscience would never have allowed him to condone any political act that he considered either unjust or selfish.[22] Seen in this light, his condemnation, among others, of Porfirio Díaz (1876), of Máximo Gómez (1884) and of Secretary of State Blaine (1889) can all be viewed as further examples of this highly moralistic outlook of Martí, which remained constant throughout his life.

Therefore, while the substance of Martí's thought differed very little indeed during the course of his life, it appears obvious that there was instead a fundamental change in the degree in which it was held by Martí. In other words the many important and at times traumatic experiences in his life did not so much effect the essence of his thought, but rather influenced the degree to which he supported these fundamental beliefs. In this way then, the honest, idealistic and highly-sensitive Martí found himself inextricably--and perhaps one can say inexorably--bound to a path of gradual radicalization. José Martí's entire political career can thus be viewed as a continuous enrichment, based upon these formative experiences, of the original high ideals exhibited in La Patria Libre in 1869.

Of particular importance in the development of Martí's socio-political thought, as has been indicated in this chapter, were the many years he spent both in "Nuestra América" and in the United States.

The resulting knowledge from his stay in the Americas, together with his firmly-established code of ethics visible from his earliest work, convinced him that his aspirations for the liberated patria were truly just. In the famous letter to Manuel Mercado in May of 1895, written just a few days before Martí met his death in battle against the Spanish forces at Dos Ríos, Martí explained the necessity of a long arduous struggle against both the Spanish and the "Norte revuelto y brutal que [nos] desprecia" (IV, 168).[23] Fortunately, however, they would ultimately win, claimed Martí, in essence because honour was with the Cuban cause. Martí the revolutionary, anti-imperialist and internationalist of 1895 was thus the natural culmination of a process which started when he emerged from San Lázaro prison in 1870: the degree of his radicalization might have changed, but the essential nature of his thought had remained constant.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

[1]Julio Le Riverend, "Martí: ética y acción revolucionaria," Casa de las Américas, 10 (Nov.-Dec. 1969), p. 40. Ezequiel Martínez Estrada arrives at similar conclusions: "Cuando Martí va a España nada tiene que aprender sino que asimilar; posee las claves y normas y nada podrá desviarlo de ellas." Martínez Estrada, p. 19. See also Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring's support of Isidro Méndez' statement that "desde sus primeros escritos Martí define sus ideas políticas en notas de El Diablo Cojuelo." (Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, "El americanismo de Martí," Memoria del congreso de escritores martianos (feb. 20 a 27 de 1953) (La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento de Martí, 1953), p. 287.

[2]I therefore do not accept the validity of the famous claim made by Antonio Martínez Bello that the radicalisation of Martí was initiated by his observations on the lack of justice received by the defendants in the Haymarket trial (pp. 159-160). José Antonio Portuondo agrees with this view in his "Introducción al estudio de las ideas sociales de Martí," Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942 (La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942), II, p. 243. In a more recent article, Jaime Díaz Rozzotto claims that it was the coup of Porfirio Díaz that was in fact responsible for this radicalisation: "De aquí en adelante el Apóstol cubano, tropezando aquí, atinando allá, llega a constituir el puente que va del liberalismo moribundo a la revolución antimperialista del siglo veinte americano." Jaime Díaz Rozzotto, "Nuestra América, la plena libertad y José Martí," Cuadernos Americanos, 34 (May-June 1975), p. 85.

[3]This is despite the view expressed by Pedro Pablo Rodríguez in his article, "La idea de la liberación nacional en José Martí," Anuario martiano, 4 (1972) in which he grossly oversimplifies the development of Martí's thought, by attempting to show the three basic stages into which it can be "divided," namely 1871-1884; 1884-1889; and 1890-1895 (p. 179). Similarly unconvincing are the divisions outlined by Cintio Vitier and Fina García Marruz, who claim that there were in fact six essential periods in the evolution of Martí's thought. See Cintio Vitier and Fina García Marruz, "Etapas en la acción política de Martí," published in Temas martianos (La Habana: Instituto del Libro, 1969).

[4]Julio Le Riverend, "Martí en la revolución de 1868," pp. 109-110.

[5]A study of Martí's work of this period shows that in fact he devoted himself to his studies, obtaining two degrees in law and philosophy. Politically, apart from a lecture on the harsh exploitation to which Cuba was subjected by the 'madre patria'--at which he was given the nickname "Cuba llora" after repeating this dramatic flourish many times during his discourse--, Martí was relatively inactive. His interest, both in politics in general, and in the situation of Cuba, thus may be said to have laid fallow for this period, being awakened only after he journied to Latin America.

[6]Cintio Vitier, "Imagen de Martí," Anuario martiano, 3 (1971), p. 238.

[7]Andrés Iduarte, "América," Revista Hispánica Moderna, 18 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), p. 88.

[8]In particular there were several similarities between Martí's thought of this time and that of Louis Blanc, who himself appears to have utilised quite extensively ideas of Charles Fourier and Saint-Simon. For a discussion of the different platforms of these "Utopian Socialists," see Chapter 16, "The Genius in Politics," of Theodore Zeitlin's recent study, France 1848-1945; Vol. 1, Ambition, Love and Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

[9]Carlos Rafael Rodríguez has described well this disillusionment of Martí: "Llegó a los Estados Unidos creyendo que entraba en el país del futuro, y quien lee las primeras crónicas norteamericanas se da cuenta inmediatamente de la admiración y de la espectativa que los Estados Unidos crean en él. Pero tan pronto va adentrándose en la vida americana, va viendo que los desequilibrios y las monstruosidades de aquella sociedad que él había creído una sociedad ejemplar, en la que un tipógrafo podría llegar a Presidente . . . se da cuenta, al poco tiempo, de que esa sociedad soñada por él no existe, de que el monopolio ha corroído la entraña de aquella sociedad jeffersoniana que nunca existió en la práctica, y empieza poco a poco a radicalizar sus análisis políticos." Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, "José Martí, contemporáneo y compañero," Universidad de La Habana, 196-197 (1972), p. 15.

[10]Martí's stand on the idea of immigration was quite simple, as he noted in February of 1884. Essentially he was not opposed to the basic concept of immigration, although he did stipulate that only the "right kind" of immigrant should be admitted (to any society), the decisive factor being that the prospective immigrant should not be of a spirit which would clash with that of the society he wanted to enter: "Se piden inmigrantes en muchas de nuestras Repúblicas . . . Sólo debe

procurarse la inmigración cuyo desarrollo natural coincida, y no choque, con el espíritu del país.--Vale más vivir sin amigos, que vivir con enemigos. Importa poco llenar de trigo los graneros, si se desfigura, enturbia y desgrana el carácter nacional . . . No se debe estimular una inmigración que no pueda asimilarse al país" (VIII, 384). For further information concerning Martí's views on immigration to the United States, see Judith Ginsberg, "Los juicios de José Martí acerca de la inmigración a los Estados Unidos," The Bilingual View/La Revista Bilingüe, 1 (May-Aug. 1974), pp. 185-192.

[11]Martí fully supported President Cleveland at this point, and appears in total agreement with his views on the dangers faced by the United States: "El [Cleveland] sostiene que el gobierno democrático de los Estados Unidos . . . corre peligro, si no se pone coto al vicio norteamericano de tratar la política no como santuario, sino como una profesión, como un tráfico, como un 'trade' en que se coalizan para dirigir en su provecho los asuntos públicos todos aquellos abundantes y voluminosos holgazanes que no tienen valor, conocimientos o vergüenza suficientes para ganar su pan en un trabajo duro y honrado: la política es el deber de todo el mundo, y el derecho de todo el mundo, y el amarla es señal de nobleza y el abandonarla es señal de innobleza . . . Todo el mensaje es como el Presidente: prudente, de una pieza, inspirado en ese noble valor que prefiere caer con la honradez desatenida que prosperar por la complicidad con los que atentan a ella" (X, 366-367).

[12]Lest it be deduced that Martí was guilty of harbouring any base "anti-yanqui" feelings per se, one has only to study his many reports full of admiration for the "founding fathers" of the United States. In 1885, for instance, he wrote: "Yo esculpiría en pórfido las estatuas de los hombres maravillosos que fraguaron la Constitución de los Estados Unidos de América . . . y cada cierto número de años, establecería una semana de peregrinación nacional" (X, 183).

Some five years later, Martí expressed his profound displeasure with the direction being taken by political life in the United States, while showing his undying faith in the political judgement of Abraham Lincoln: "De partido redentor que fue en su cuna; de levantamiento admirable--dice un republicano disidente--ha pasado el partido republicano a mera máquina de gobierno . . . Gobernará con los ricos o con los ignorantes. Verá donde hay deseos, y los halagará; donde hay rencores, y les prometerá satisfacción" (XII, 403). Later he concludes: "a vivir Lincoln hoy, no estaría con los que le sucedieron, ni con los demócratas híbridos e indecisos, sino con los que, preparando cosa mejor, oyen con alarma y asombro que un partido político, el partido de la mayoría, proclame . . . esta frase típica y temible: 'El país quiere resultados, y se cuide poco del modo con que se consigan" (XII, 405).

[13]Typical of his gradually-radicalising position was his moral indignation at what appeared to be the official U.S. position on Central

America, and its intent to exploit the countries of that area: "El Sunday Herald lo decía, por boca de un miembro del gobierno, que tendrá más o menos que hacer con las miras del Presidente sobre la América Central:--'Vale más que se sepa desde ahora'--ha dicho el miembro del gobierno . . . 'que aunque no se proyecta plan alguno de anexión, ni ha tomado aún el gobierno en consideración el establecimiento de guarniciones militares permanentes en la América Central, sea lo que quiera lo que las circunstancias demanden, eso será hecho. La política exterior de los Estados Unidos será a la vez guiada por los principios más humanitarios, y en acuerdo con las necesidades de la civilización anglosajona'" (VIII, 97). Later in his report Martí gave his own analysis of the position, concluding: "Por violencia confesada, nada tomarán. Por violencia oculta, acaso. Por lo menos, se acercarán hacia todo aquello que desean. Al istmo lo desean. A México no lo quieren bien" (VIII, 99).

[14]"El Tribune dice: 'ha llegado la hora de hacer sentir nuestra influencia en América: el aplauso de los delegados al discurso de Blaine fue una ovación'. Dice el Star: 'el Congreso americano es de Blaine'. Y el Sun dice: 'Están vendidos a los ingleses estos sudamericanos que se le oponen a Blaine'" (VI, 41). In his next report to La Nación, Martí quoted the Sun again, showing his total opposition to the hard-line tactics supported by the North American press: "El Sun de Nueva York, lo dijo ayer: 'El que no quiera que lo aplaste el Juggernaut, súbase en su carro'. Mejor será cerrarle al carro el camino" (VI, 54).

[15]Writing in La Revista Ilustrada of New York in May of 1891, Martí told of the disadvantages of overly close political and economic ties with the United States: "Si los países de Hispanoamérica venden, principalmente, cuando no exclusivamente, sus frutos a Europa, y reciben de Europa empréstitos y créditos, ¿qué conveniencia puede haber en entrar, por un sistema que quiere violentar el europeo, en sistema de moneda que no se recibiría, o se recibiría despreciada en Europa?" (VI, 161-162).

[16]Minutes of the International Monetary Commission. Washington, 1891, pp. 49-50.

[17]Martí asked his readers to evaluate the U.S. proposal carefully, while warning them of many fundamental aspects of the U.S. national character: "Creen en la necesidad, en el derecho bárbaro, como único derecho: 'esto será nuestro, proque lo necesitamos'. Creen en la superioridad incontrastable de 'la raza anglosajona contra la raza latina'. Creen en la bajeza de la raza negra, que esclavizaron ayer y vejan hoy, y de la india que exterminan. Creen que los pueblos de Hispanoamérica están formados, principalmente, de indios y negros. Mientras no sepan más de Hispanoamérica los Estados Unidos y la respeten

más . . . ¿pueden los Estados Unidos convidar a Hispanoamérica a una unión sincera y útil para Hispanoamérica? ¿Conviene a Hispanoamérica la unión política y económica de los Estados Unidos?" (VI, 160).

[18]In Patria of January 5, 1894, while talking about this deliberate attempt to break the strike of the tabaqueros, Martí wrote: "Nadie disputará el derecho de cualesquiera hombres, españoles o de cualquier otro país, a desembarcar libremente en suelo norteamericano; pero cuando, so capa de defensa de la imparcialidad de los Estados Unidos, se intenta importar contra sus leyes una suma de obreros advenedizos que priven de trabajo a los obreros arraigados en la localidad, el derecho violado no es el del advenedizo a quien se va a buscar fuera del país sino el de la localidad en que se importa una suma de obreros que no pueden hallar empleo sin desalojar a los residentes y fundadores del lugar" (III, 31). He concluded: "¡Ah cubanos! el extranjero que nos debe su pan, nos quita el pan de la boca" (III, 32). (See also his report "A Cuba," published in the January 27 edition of Patria (III, pp. 47-54)).

Also interesting is the account of the Cubans' lawyer, Horatio Rubens, who in his memoirs recalled an encounter that he had with the local judge: "He [Judge] then remarked that I had no business to take up the cause of 'those Cubans,' and I suggested that, as a lawyer admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States, I had always the right to defend a criminal in a Federal Court, although he be accused of the foulest crime. He then launched into a tirade, charging the Key West Cubans were criminals, raising funds, he was creditably informed, to start a revolution in Cuba against Spain. 'You should all of you be in jail!' he cried, and I realized that at last, in an open court of law, we had the real objective of the situation revealed,--the breaking up, by intimidation, of the Martí organization." Horatio Rubens, Liberty: the story of Cuba (New York: Brewer, Warner and Putman, 1932), p. 42.

[19]Alberto Andino, Martí y España (Madrid: Colección Plaza Mayor, 1973), p. 151.

[20]While commenting on the moralistic basis of Martí's thought, Manuel Pedro González raises an interesting point: "If the situation had been reversed and the United States had been the weak nation and Cuba or Latin America the oppressing power, he would have struggled with equal fervor and heroism in defense of the United States against the abusive country. Justice and freedom were indivisible for him. In spite of his intense patriotism, he would never have endorsed the doctrine of 'my country, right or wrong.' Such a creed would have been repugnant and barbarous to him, proper only to primitive tribes." Manuel Pedro González, José Martí, Epic Chronicler of the United States in the Eighties (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 21.

[21]Roberto Fernández Retamar, "Introducción," Martí (Montevideo: Biblioteca de Marcha, 1970), p. 32.

[22]Martí's plans for the liberation of "Nuestra América" reflect this moral base of his thought, for as he explained in 1891: "Ni mayordomos de raza ajena, ni mayordomos de nuestra raza. No es cuestión de razas, sino de independencia o servidumbre. Ni pueblos fuertes rubios, para su beneficio y moral, sobre los pueblos meritorios y capaces de América; ni pueblos fuertes trigueños, para su poder injusto, sobre las naciones afligidas de la América del Sur" (VI, 91).

[23]Given the fundamental importance of this letter to Mercado, it seems advisable to reproduce the oft-quoted dramatic beginning: "Mi hermano queridísimo . . . ya estoy todos los días en peligro de dar mi vida por mi país y por mi deber--puesto que lo entiendo y tengo ánimos con que realizarlo--de impedir a tiempo con la independencia de Cuba que se extiendan por las Antillas los Estados Unidos y caigan, con esa fuerza más, sobre nuestras tierras de América. Cuanto hice hasta hoy, y haré, es para eso. En silencio ha tenido que ser y como indirectamente, porque hay cosas que para lograrlas han de andar ocultas, y de proclamarse en lo que son, levantarían dificultades demasiado recias para alcanzar sobre ellas el fin.

Las mismas obligaciones menores y públicas de los pueblos . . . más vitalmente interesados en impedir que en Cuba se abra, por la anexión de los Imperialistas de allá y los españoles, el camino que se ha de cegar, y con nuestra sangre estamos cegando, de la anexión de los pueblos de nuestra América, al norte revuelto y brutal que los desprecia,--les habrían impedido la adhesión ostensible y ayuda patente a este sacrificio, que se hace en bien inmediato y de ellos.

Viví en el monstruo y le conozco las entrañas:--y mi honda es la de David" (IV, 167-168).

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF MARTÍ'S PATRIA

Having outlined the origins of Martí's political career, as well as the principal influences upon the development of his thought, it is now necessary to study in greater detail the character of society that José Martí aspired to introduce into an independent Cuba. Accordingly, this chapter is intended as an introduction to the type of political reforms that Martí viewed as necessary for the patria, after more than three centuries of colonialist rule.

In attempting to outline the basic political structure desired by Martí for Cuba, it is perhaps advisable at the outset to eliminate those aspects of government which Martí's views definitely, and most obviously, forbade. Although this may be somewhat self-evident, it must be stated that essentially Martí wanted a Republican form of government for his patria. Having already experienced at first-hand the injustice of an oppressive monarchy in Cuba, he was determined that this form of government should never again be instituted in the Island.

His campaign to liberate Cuba was therefore based upon the very clear understanding that a monarchic government was unjust--as well as being manifestly outdated--and would not be tolerated in Cuba. His thoughts on the subject were exemplified by an article published in the Caracas newspaper La Opinión Nacional on September 17, 1881. Léon Gambetta had recently been elected Prime Minister of France, and Martí was clearly overjoyed with the results: "Ésta es la conquista del

hombre moderno: ser mano y no masa; ser jinete y no corcel; ser su rey y su sacerdote; regirse por sí propio" (XIV, 58).[1] France was indeed fortunate, Martí emphasised for, "desde que no tiene rey este pueblo, es en verdad un pueblo-rey" (XIV, 58). In short, as he wrote in 1877, "el primer deber de un hombre de estos días, es ser un hombre de su tiempo" (VII, 97).

At the same time it is interesting to note that Martí did not blindly accept the Republican system per se, nor did he apparently intend to base the Cuban Republic upon any particular model then in existence. Martí had observed the frequent abuse of Republican principles in other parts of the world--in Spain, in various countries of Latin America, and most noticeably in the United States, where he spent so many years. His report on the "behind-the-scenes" activities of Práxedes Sagasta in Spain summarised what Martí saw as the many potential abuses facing any nascent Republic:

> Sagasta, espíritu perspicaz . . . batalla, indudablemente, a la sombra de la monarquía, para preparar el advenimiento de la república, mas no de la enérgica, práctica y activa república . . . sino es esa otra república nominal, represiva, heterogénea, transitoria . . . (XIV, 37).

Martí was therefore well aware that the Republican system did not constitute an automatic answer to all national problems. It was quite simply that he considered such a form of government to offer the best foundation on which to build his desired society, in order to make it, like Gambetta's France, "un pueblo-rey."

As well as being a firm Republican, Martí was also convinced that the government which he hoped to institute in Cuba would of

necessity be a civil one, entirely free of any vestige of military control. This latter danger had to be avoided at all costs, since for him it could ultimately lead to a form of oppression not unlike that which he had already witnessed under Spanish rule in Cuba. In a letter to his friend Manuel A. Mercado, written on November 10, 1877, Martí vividly described the necessarily anti-militaristic nature of any viable government in Cuba: "el poder de las Repúblicas sólo debe estar en manos de los hombres civiles. Los sables, cortan.--Los fracs apenas pueden hacer látigos de sus cortos faldones.--Así será--" (XX, 37).

Seven years later Martí was to see this very danger loom ominously before him as he made preparations for the liberation of the Island. His principal associates in the venture were Máximo Gómez and Antonio Maceo, both of whom were popular military heroes because of their active participation in the 1868-78 struggle against Spain. By 1884 Martí was the accepted leader of the Cuban immigrants in New York, and his assistance was therefore greatly needed by Gómez and Maceo. Martí originally appears to have respected their genuine patriotic intent, although he gradually came to suspect that both men were in fact motivated by the idea of their own personal gains after Independence had been won. As a result of his disillusionment, Martí reluctantly--for in effect it meant the collapse of all his dreams of an independent Cuba at this point--withdrew his support from the campaign. His letter to Máximo Gómez in October of 1884 showed his displeasure with what he interpreted as their selfish desire to exploit the revolutionary struggle of the Cuban people as a whole for their own personal benefit:

> Y es mi determinación de no contribuir en un ápice, por amor ciego a una idea en que me está yendo la vida, a traer a mi tierra a un régimen de despotismo personal, que sería más vergonzoso y funesto que el despotismo político que ahora soporta . . . Un pueblo no se funda, General, como se manda en un campamento (I, 177).[2]

The bravery of Martí's stand on this issue should not be underestimated. Not only was he forced to postpone his planned campaign for the liberation of Cuba in 1884, but Martí also incurred the wrath of the majority of the Cuban revolutionaries living in the United States. Martí was subsequently accused of being a megalomaniac, prepared to halt indefinitely the entire revolutionary struggle simply because he was jealous of the way in which Gómez and Maceo were taking charge of the expedition. (In actual fact, a careful examination of Martí's pronouncements concerning all military governments, both before and after this incident, shows that his attitude was constant throughout his revolutionary career). Consequently, at all times Martí regarded military control as being essentially incompatible with a true form of Republican government.

Martí appeared well aware that the responsibilities and duties inherent in governing a country fairly constituted an exceptionally difficult task, one that could only be undertaken by an experienced and essentially honest political leader. For, as he noted on another occasion, "no hay faena más complicada y sutil que la del gobierno, ni cosa que requiera más práctica del mundo, sumisión y ciencia" (XIII, 106). Consequently career military men, because of their very background, were far removed from a proper understanding of the intricacies

and compromises needed to convince--and not to order--the members of that society to comply with official policies. Referring to the presidency of General Ulysses Grant, an excellent military tactician but a poor political leader, Martí showed how the general typified the dangers of the career soldier-turned-politician:

> Mascaba fronteras cuando mascaba en silencio su tabaco. La silla de la Presidencia le parecía caballo de montar; la Nación, regimiento; el ciudadano, recluta . . . concebía la grandeza cesárea, y quería entrañablemente a su país, como un triunfador romano a su carro de oro (XIII, 82).

Thus Martí accepted wholeheartedly that the military had an extremely important role to play in the winning of independence for Cuba, but at the same time he clearly stipulated that, after the triumph of the liberation movement, all military power was to be transferred to the civil authorities.

After determining that José Martí envisaged both a Republican and civil form of government for an independent Cuba, it is now interesting to consider the type of political life that he hoped to implement in the Republic, in particular the relationship between the government and the people, as well as the roles and obligations expected of them both. It must also be ascertained how exactly Martí understood the emotion-laden term "Democracy," and whether he expressly supported a system whereby all citizens would vote in regular elections or whether he planned a selective democracy in which only some Cubans fulfilling certain conditions (wealth, revolutionary background, education, etc.) would be allowed a voice in government. Based upon

such an examination it will be possible to determine whether Martí's thoughts on the desired democratic society were vague and loosely worded, or whether they in fact constituted a consistent and well-planned reform programme.

Surprisingly enough, and despite his early revolutionary determination to liberate Cuba from Spanish oppression, few if any references to the idea of democracy appear in Martí's work written during his younger years.[3] Spanish domination of the Island was so ruthless, the Cuban people as a whole had so little confidence in their own abilities to govern the homeland,[4] and there were so many immediate injustices to condemn that Martí understandably concentrated his attention on the immediate goal of defeating the Spanish forces. However desirable a democratic government may have appeared to him, he realised that any opposition group had of necessity to concentrate on a convincing military defeat of the Spanish Administration as its first objective. Martí therefore devoted himself religiously to this necessary first step in the liberation process.

In actual fact, the first major references to the theory and practice of democracy to be found in Martí's Obras completas date from his arrival in Mexico in 1875. It was then that he discovered the government of President Lerdo de Tejada, which he viewed as a fair approximation to the democratic ideal. At the same time Martí was aware that the shady manoeuvres of General Porfirio Díaz, whom he considered both ruthlessly ambitious and fully intent upon wresting the government from Lerdo by whatever means he deemed necessary, could very

well rob Mexico of all social progress made in that country since the presidency of Benito Juárez.

Consequently, in an article significantly entitled "Catecismo democrático," published by the Mexican newspaper El Federalista in December of 1876, Martí left no doubts as to his wholehearted support of the democratic process. He vehemently denounced all military take-overs of the kind envisaged by Porfirio Díaz, claiming that such an action had been clearly planned by Díaz as a means of furthering his own ambitions, while also warning that if a caudillo of this type were appointed, the country would suffer greatly. Martí therefore urged all Mexicans not to support their candidates with weapons, since this would only plunge Mexico into a state of senseless anarchy from which--he (correctly) predicted--a selfish and militaristic régime would emerge. Instead he advised them to follow the alternative solution afforded by the next election, when they could vote for the leader of their choice. This was of fundamental importance for Martí who claimed: "la voluntad de todos, pacíficamente expresada: he aquí el germen generador de las repúblicas" (VIII, 54). Thus in a country which possessed the necessary electoral machinery for effecting a meaningful political change by truly representative means--as Martí conceived Mexico in the mid-1870's to be--this type of military takeover was, for him, totally unacceptable.

Martí's interest in the practice of democracy, awakened by his stay in Mexico, was further strengthened after his arrival in the United States in 1880. From that time onwards, while he was still in favour of the theory of democracy, his appreciation of the practical application of that theory--at least in the North American context--was

highly critical. As in Mexico he contrasted the victories resulting from a democratic election with those won by force of arms: "allí donde con un ejército de papelillos doblados se logran victorias más rápidas y completas que las que logró jamás ejército de lanzas" (X, 123) as he wrote in 1885.

However, when describing the practice of democracy in North America, at times he accepted with reservations, while more often he roundly condemned, the fraudulent practices surrounding the polling booth. Writing for La Opinión Nacional in 1881, for example, he criticised severely the phenomenon of "bossism," the controlling of politics by influential party leaders:

> Allí estaba descrito el boss odioso; el cabecilla de partido; el que prepara las elecciones, las tuerce, las aprovecha, las da a sus amigos, las niega a sus enemigos, las vende a sus adversarios; el que domina los cuerpos electorales; el que exige a los empleados dinero para llevar a cabo las elecciones que han de conservarlos en sus empleos (IX, 97).

What is perhaps a fair summary of this ambivalent approach of Martí is his report written for La Nación of Buenos Aires in 1885, which is cited above. While admitting the many obvious injustices that resulted from the irregularities at the poll, Martí still considered this unfortunate system infinitely more acceptable than the total lack of democracy to be found at that time in Cuba. His conclusion was that such corrupt practices, while regrettable, at least constituted a step in the right direction: "¡Oh! muchos votos se venden; pero hay más que no se venden" (X, 123).

From his severe criticisms of political life in the United

States it is thus possible to make several important deductions concerning the type of political practices that Martí advocated implementing in an independent Cuba. What had to be avoided at all costs in the *patria* was the selfish approach to politics which Martí interpreted as typifying the attitude of the U.S. electorate at large, and in particular that of both major political parties. In general he remarked that in North America the idea of working selflessly for the well-being of the nation had clearly been completely subordinated to the protection of personal interests. Honesty and true merit had become totally irrelevant in the North American context, Martí noted, since deceit and corruption--at least in the political area--had become the order of the day. For Martí, then, political life in the future Republic had to be channelled away from this model represented by the infamous *políticos de oficio*,[5] and instead had to spring from a new highly moral, and necessarily honest, source.

It has been suggested by several *martianos* that, following the Haymarket riots and subsequent trial in Chicago in 1887, Martí's attitude shifted suddenly and dramatically away from the bourgeois liberal approach that he had followed until that date. However, based upon an examination of his writing on both the theory and practice of democracy it appears that his attitude was little, if at all, changed by the Haymarket incident. Indeed, writing in 1889 for the Mexican newspaper *El Partido Liberal* on a contemporary study entitled *La democracia práctica*, Martí re-iterated his total support for the democratic process, despite the difficulties inherent in implanting it in a Latin

environment: "Nada es tan autocrático como la raza latina, ni nada es tan justo como la democracia puesta en acción: por eso no es tan fácil a los americanos convencernos de la bondad del sistema democrático electivo" (VII, 347) (My underlining).

Some three years later, in an article for Patria, the official journal for the Partido Revolucionario Cubano, Martí again underlined his intent to fight "con alma democrática" (II, 147) for the liberation of Cuba. It is important to note, however, that there were few specific recommendations made by Martí as to the actual form of democracy, since for him the need to awaken--and subsequently to mobilize--the support of the Cuban exiles for the independence struggle was of far greater importance at this time. Democracy at this stage thus represented basically an abstraction that was eminently desirable, and that would--in one form or another--be implemented in revolutionary Cuba.

Moreover, based upon the many abuses that he had observed in the United States' democratic system, Martí was convinced that a necessary first step before democracy could be introduced in any form into Cuba would be to raise the level of political consciousness of all Cuban voters, "mejorar la masa votante" (X, 43) as he put it, so that the population at large would be more adequately prepared to understand the platforms of the political aspirants in an independent Cuba, and the theory of democracy itself. Martí thus demanded that all Cubans should question every political candidate and every official policy, their co-operation in this matter being truly crucial for Martí. In this way he hoped to end the Spanish habit of "favoreciendo entre los obreros

el desamor a la política para que no haga el obrero política cubana" (II, 201), changing this apathetic attitude towards political life into an active participation in national affairs, for as Martí himself wrote: "vale más un rebelde que un manso. Un río vale más que un lago muerto" (XXI, 142).

Again using the U.S. political system to illustrate his aspirations for the liberated patria, Martí in his Fragmentos clearly emphasised the need for his compatriots to take an active, and necessarily selfless, interest both in national politics and in political theory, hoping that in this way they would avoid being manipulated as were their American counterparts:

> Quiero que el pueblo de mi tierra no sea como éste [United States], una masa ignorante y apasionada, que va donde quieren llevarla, con ruidos que ella no entiende, los que tocan sobre sus pasiones como un pianista toca sobre el teclado. El hombre que halaga las pasiones populares es un vil.--El pueblo que abdica del uso de la razón, y que deja que se explote su país, es un pueblo vil (XXII, 73).

There should not be, however, any sinister implications of thought control in respect to this desire of Martí to raise the political consciousness of his fellow Cubans. Quite simply, Martí hoped that as a result of their own patriotic and selfless reasoning, all Cubans would be able to decide the best form and system of government, as well as the most suitable policies, for the Island. Thus he expected (perhaps somewhat over-optimistically) that, following an honest study of the national situation, the Cuban voters would be able to choose between the patriotic statesmen (among whom he definitely numbered himself) and those people interested in personal gain, the políticos de

oficio. Martí's hopes in this direction were extremely straightforward, as can be seen from a letter to José Dolores Poyo in December of 1891:

> Es mi sueño que cada cubano sea hombre político enteramente libre, como entiendo que el cubano es, y obre en todos sus actos por sus simpatías juiciosas y su elección independiente, sin que le venga de fuera de sí el influjo dañino de algún interés disimulado (I, 276).

In a liberated Cuba, then, Martí was determined that all forms of manipulation, largely attributable to the political ignorance of the masses, had to be avoided at all costs, so that then a dedicated, selfless and honest government could emerge, supported and totally understood by the Cuban people as a whole.

José Martí thus considered political consciousness--or at the very least an objective appreciation of politics--as an absolute necessity for his Republic. Equally important for him, though, were the concepts of an effective and legal opposition to the government and of freedom of expression, whether it be of press or speech. All Cubans had to be conscious of every political alternative before electing their representatives, and as a result Martí was adamant at all times that freedom of expression should be guaranteed: "tres grandes vías tiene la oposición en los países libres: la palabra, las cámaras, y la prensa" (VI, 242). This early view (which was expressed in June of 1875) was consistently defended by Martí, who always appeared aware of the necessities of such basic liberties.

Indeed, some fourteen years later Martí, in a report to La Nación, stated clearly that "la primera libertad, base de todas, es la de la mente" (XII, 348). He saw the potential danger that some

teachers might exploit their position to indoctrinate students less politically-aware than themselves, and warned that this would not be tolerated in the future Republic. The teacher, he stated, was not to act as a mould that shaped the students' minds, but rather was to be "un guía honrado, que enseña de buena fe lo que hay que ver" (XII, 348). Illustrative of this determination of Martí that all Cubans participate in political discussion was his desire that every citizen of the Republic should have the right to criticise any aspect of national government, since this was both a privilege and a duty. There was, however, one proviso--the criticism levelled at the administration was of necessity to be an honest attempt to offer constructive suggestions on methods of improving the government: "Los pueblos han de vivir criticándose, porque la crítica es la salud, pero con un solo pecho y una sola mente" (VI, 21), as he wrote in 1891. It is therefore possible to conclude, without reservations, that freedom of expression was essential for Martí, who in his Fragmentos (mostly written between 1885 and 1895) firmly defended this policy, claiming that "me parece que matan un hijo cada vez que privan a un hombre del derecho de pensar" (XXII, 114).

For Martí the direct result of these two basic necessities--a high level of political consciousness and this fundamental freedom of expression--was the definite obligation for all citizens to vote in every election in the patria. In the same report to La Nación in which he spoke of the need to "mejorar la masa votante," Martí also outlined his theories on the common moral obligation of the entire country to

cast their ballot: "Deber es el sufragio, como todo derecho; ¡y el que falta al deber de votar debiera ser castigado con no menor pena que el que abandona su arma al enemigo!" (X, 43).[6] Martí's stance on this issue was quite clearly that anybody who ignored this civil and moral obligation by failing to vote in an election, whatever his political affiliation, was abdicating from one of his most sacred responsibilities, and should be imprisoned, for as Martí noted, "es un ladrón" (XI, 125).

At all times, then, Martí warned his fellow Cubans that their active co-operation was not only desirable but also obligatory. It was their duty to take an active interest in all levels of government, to question every official policy, and to vote in all elections. Even then, they were expected to vote not necessarily for what was in their personal best interest, but rather for what would most benefit the patria. Understandably, this essentially selfless and highly responsible attitude that Martí expected of his fellow Cubans was even more firmly demanded of those prospective leaders who would guide them. Martí's profound disillusionment with the manner in which the noble democratic inspiration of North American politics had been prostituted by an ever-increasing number of greedy and self-seeking politicians had ultimately convinced him that a totally new direction had to be followed in Cuba, one that would be dedicated to the well-being of all Cubans.[7]

Writing in 1883 Martí clearly summarised the two very different approaches that could be followed in Cuba after independence had been won. On the one side was what Martí considered the example of the North American political system, at that time controlled by large

corporations and rich industrialists, and seemingly unconcerned about the problems facing the less fortunate members of their society. Essentially this appeared to him a cold, unfeeling system whose maxim, based upon Martí's reports, could well have been "Might is Right."

On the other side was the approach to politics that Martí favoured, one that can be described as a sensitive and "caring" attitude. He was determined that political life in Cuba should not revolve solely around the economic development of the nation and that, instead of regarding politics as a profession, an oficio, the Cuban people should always consider it a sacred vocation, a sacerdocio:

> La política es un sacerdocio cuando empujan a ella gran peligro patrio, o alma grande. Hay criaturas que se salen de sí, y rebosan de amor, y necesitan darse, y traen a la tierra una espada invisible, siempre alta en la mano, que enciende con su fulgor los campos de batalla . . . Pero suele ser villanía la política, cuando decae a oficio. Este espectáculo ofrece este pueblo . . . (IX, 355).

In the liberated patria, then, everything would have to be subordinated to the well-being of the nation as a whole, as a new form of politics--a selfless and patriotic one--would be introduced.

Another integral feature of the political structure that Martí hoped to institute in Cuba was its essentially Latin American nature. For, despite any charge of being an idealistic dreamer that could possibly be levelled at Martí, he was well aware that any form of government implanted on the Island had to make a definitive break with all of its artificial (and primarily Spanish) traditions and customs, reverting instead to a system based directly upon the reality of Cuba.

For Martí the government instituted after independence had been won from Spain had to be "la copia legítima" of the nation that had elected it, in both its objectives and traditions, "y si no lo es, ha de tenderse a que lo sea" (XIV, 364), he urged. Writing in 1891 Martí was even more adamant about this need for a form of government based upon the reality of the patria:

> el buen gobernante en América no es el que sabe cómo se gobierna el alemán o el francés, sino el que sabe con qué elementos está hecho su país, y cómo puede ir guiándolos en junto, para llegar, por métodos e instituciones nacidas del país mismo, a aquel estado apetecible donde cada hombre se conoce y ejerce . . . El gobierno ha de nacer del país. El espíritu del gobierno ha de ser el del país. La forma del gobierno ha de avenirse a la constitución propia del país. El gobierno no es más que el equilibrio de los elementos naturales del país (VI, 17).

In summary, prior to the organisation of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano (of which he was the Delegado or leader), Martí's plans for the type of government he aspired to introduce in an independent Cuba revolved around two basic programmes, upon each of which he placed equal emphasis. The first programme, his desire for an essentially just and actively democratic society, was, because of a lack of concrete planning, both sincere and somewhat simplistic. The second broad plank in Martí's reform programme was the need for "Cuban content" in all spheres of life in the patria--economic, social, cultural and political--and in fact his attitude can be well summarised by his famous dictum: "El vino, de plátano; y si sale agrio ¡es nuestro vino!" (VI, 20). These programmes, Martí claimed, would together ensure that the political structure emerging after the liberation of the Island

would constitute an essentially new--and truly Cuban--Administration: "Hombres somos, y no vamos a querer gobiernos de tijeras y de figurines, sino trabajo de nuestras cabezas, sacado del molde de nuestro país" (IV, 275).

Prior to 1891, Martí's actual revolutionary efforts were of a somewhat fragmented nature. He was demanding nothing less than the liberation of the patria and the introduction (for the first time in Cuba's history) of a democratic and Cuban form of government--yet he had remarkably little experience in an undertaking of this magnitude. The year 1891 saw a redoubling of Martí's attempts to gain the support of large numbers of the Cuban exiles, and more important, to organise them into a cohesive revolutionary party.[8] The subsequent founding of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano in January of 1892, and the election of José Martí as the leader of the Party would thus afford him the opportunity to unite the Cuban exiles living in the United States, and by doing so, to develop valuable organisational experience.

The inauguration of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano (henceforward to be referred to as the PRC), and the role of Martí within the Party structure, provide a new and vitally significant source of evidence with which to analyse the type of political structure envisaged for the liberated patria by Martí. Indeed, because Martí did not live to see an independent Cuba, his role in the PRC is really the sole practical evidence of his views on the workings of democracy, or on the desired nature of post-independence Cuban society. The validity of such an examination is indicated by Martí himself, who claimed that the Party truly represented a microcosm of the type of democratic society

that he hoped to found in Cuba:

> La grandeza es ésa del Partido Revolucionario: que para fundar una república, ha empezado con la república. Su fuerza es ésa: que en la obra de todos, da derecho a todos (II, 278).

The success of Martí in consolidating the diverse interests of the exiles into a powerful political party was a very considerable achievement. At that time some thirty-four clubs were in existence, according to one source.[9] And, while the vast majority of these were in Florida, particularly in the towns of Key West (usually referred to by the Cubans as "Cayo Hueso") and Tampa, there were also sizeable clubs in New York, Philadelphia and New Orleans. Martí thus had the task not only of winning the goodwill and co-operation of these clubs, obviously at great distances from each other, but also of channelling their support into effective and concerted political action in an attempt to overthrow the might of Spain. Moreover, since many of the clubs had been formed principally as cultural and social centres rather than as hives of conspiracy, Martí also had to impress upon them all the urgent need for complete revolutionary solidarity among all Cuban exiles. Another serious problem faced by Martí in the task of uniting these diverse associations into a common united front was the wide range of social levels, of religious and political persuasions, and of racial origins that the members of the many Cuban clubs came from.[10] And, as if these obstacles were not of themselves insurmountable, Martí was also faced with the constant problem of keeping in communication with all of the revolutionary associations, for he was well aware that any successful revolutionary effort would have to depend upon the active

support of as many of his fellow Cuban exiles as he could muster. Martí's ability to win the support of so many clubs and individual Cubans, and to direct this support into an effective and extremely well-planned liberation campaign, reveals a great deal not only about his personal charisma and patriotic conviction, but also about his organizational ability, an aspect rarely mentioned by martianos. Consequently, Martí truly appears to have been an organizer and a propagandist of the first order, far removed from the romantic and idealistic poet that pre-1959 interpretations generally depicted him as.

The type of self-denial and dedication to the revolutionary cause that José Martí expected from his fellow Cubans can in many ways be gauged from his own willing devotion to the cause of independence, and in particular from 1891. His home life had long ago collapsed since his wife Carmen Zayas Bazán, failing to understand his patriotic zeal much less his apparent determination to wrest control of the Island from the Spanish, had already returned to Cuba several years before, taking with her their young son José (the object of so many of Martí's poems in Ismaelillo). In 1891 Martí renounced all of his official posts, as well as the income that he received from his teaching and from his literary work. Consequently, without family ties or official commitments in New York, Martí was then able to direct his full attention to the task of uniting the Cuban population of the United States, and uniting them into a revolutionary force capable of liberating their homeland.

Since morale among revolutionary groups in Cuba itself was so

low and since the Spanish control of the colony was as repressive as ever, Martí realised that the necessary first step in the liberation process had to be taken among the Cubans living abroad. It is important to note, though, that the type of expedition that José Martí hoped to form in North America was entirely different from any earlier campaign planned by Cuban revolutionaries. Instead of the traditional filibustering type of scheme--such as that planned in 1884 with Máximo Gómez--which in essence was intended to offer arms and military leaders with which to provide the necessary revolutionary spark in Cuba, Martí's plans were far more ambitious. In fact what Martí hoped to accomplish was the unification of all the Cuban exiles in the United States into a cohesive political party, with the intention then of exporting to Cuba not only the necessary spark for the revolution but also the firmly-established outline (within the PRC itself) of revolutionary social and political structures which he subsequently hoped to found in Cuba after independence had been won. In other words Martí did not plan simply to overthrow the Spanish forces, but rather--and far more important--to offer to the patria the broad outline for the future society and political administration of the Island.

In many ways the charismatic form of democracy favoured by Martí for the liberated patria can be seen from the manner in which he organized the Cuban exiles. Invited by the Cuban population of Tampa to speak in the Ignacio Agramonte Club, Martí travelled down from New York and addressed his fellow Cubans on November 26 and 27. Martí's presence whipped up such a frenzy of militant patriotism among the

Cuban exiles that the next day he helped to draw up a series of recommendations, the "Resoluciones tomadas por la Emigración Cubana de Tampa," which summarised the widely-felt longing among these Cubans for the liberation of their country. Martí had thus acted as a stimulus to their patriotic yearnings, and within two months the Partido Revolucionario Cubano had been formed, the revolutionary constitution of this party (the "Bases del Partido Revolucionario Cubano") clearly being based upon the earlier "Resoluciones."[11]

Both of these brief documents, the "Resoluciones tomadas por la Emigración Cubana de Tampa" and the "Bases del Partido Revolucionario Cubano" were extremely important, since for the Cuban revolutionaries they represented something similar to the "Declaration of Independence" for John Hancock and his co-firmants. The "Resoluciones" were particularly noteworthy, since until this time revolutionary fervour among the exiled Cubans had been of an essentially fragmentary nature, with most of the clubs of Cuban exiles tending to consider themselves rather isolated from each other, while all lacked a common identity or sense of purpose. The presence of Martí among these same Cuban exiles dramatically remedied this situation as his sincere patriotism, his personal fame as an exceptional poet and newspaper reporter, and finally his abundant encouragement and energy combined to create a stimulating atmosphere, the end result of which was a single revolutionary party, determined to unite, as the first Resolution stated "en acción común republicana y libre, todos los elementos revolucionarios honrados" (I, 272). Martí personally drew up this revolutionary charter and,

because of his obvious sincerity and great personal charisma, immediately established himself as a symbol around whom to rally, while at the same time he was accepted enthusiastically by his compatriots as their undisputed leader.

Moreover, the "Resoluciones" are particularly important because they represented a significant first step towards formalising, in a single document, Martí's fundamental reform programme for the political structure of a liberated Cuba: in other words Martí's own broad aspirations for the future Republic had now been accepted as the official policy of the majority of Cuban exiles and, a couple of months later, with the foundation of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano, these objectives were to be unanimously accepted as the official goal of the entire Party. Martí had thus gained the wholehearted support of the Cuban exiles, while at the same time had convinced them that his ideas on the necessary liberation struggle should form the basis for the future society of the patria: the PRC, a united party of Cuban exiles, all of whom had agreed to the revolutionary constitution of the "Bases," finally represented an effective revolutionary force.

The "Resoluciones" are composed of four very brief recommendations, all of which were developed in the "Bases" after the founding of the PRC. The most important of these was the third resolution, which repeated several familiar themes of Martí, including the need to accommodate all political activity of the Cuban exiles to the nature of Cuban reality and, more important, the need to ensure that the Revolution was to be fought for the benefit of the entire country:

> La organización revolucionaria no ha de desconocer las necesidades prácticas derivadas de la constitución e historia del país, ni ha de trabajar directamente por el predominio actual o venidero de clase alguna; sino por la agrupación, conforme a métodos democráticos, de todas las fuerzas vivas de la patria; por la hermandad y acción común de los cubanos residentes en el extranjero; por el respeto y auxilio de las repúblicas del mundo, y por la creación de una República justa y abierta, una en el territorio, en el derecho, en el trabajo y en la cordialidad, levantada con todos y para bien de todos (I, 272).

Bearing in mind that these brief "Resoluciones" represent the core of the subsequent "Bases del Partido Revolucionario Cubano" (and, by extension, of the type of Republic that Martí aspired to found in an independent Cuba), it is possible to make some general, but pertinent, observations on several key items of his political hopes for Cuba. Above all it is clear that Martí wanted an inherently egalitarian society, "levantada con todos y para bien de todos," in which no particular class or group would receive preferential treatment. The inclusion of <u>all</u> Cubans, and not just the white exiles, deserves special attention, since in the 1868-78 revolutionary struggle initiated by Céspedes the rebels--fearing a possible uprising against them of the freed negro slaves, and desperately needing the support of the rich plantation owners--had decided to refrain from condemning slavery. Now, however, Martí's projected plans for the liberation of the <u>patria</u> clearly stated that all Cubans were to be equal before the law, a concept never before accepted in Cuba.

The fulfillment of Martí's desire to "reunir en acción común republicana y libre, todos los elementos revolucionarios honrados" (I,

272) was taken a step further less than two months later with the foundation of the PRC, once again in Florida. On January 2, 1892, Martí was presented to the population of Cayo Hueso, after which there followed a meeting of Martí with the leaders of the Cuban separatist groups. Within three days Martí had drawn up the "Bases del Partido Revolucionario Cubano" (as well as a supplement detailing matters of procedure, the "Estatutos secretos del Partido"), which were approved unanimously by the presidents of the various associations, and the PRC was inaugurated.

The "Bases" truly represented an interesting summary of Martí's earlier political statements, now united in a single revolutionary manifesto, and regarded as the fundamental reform programme for the liberation of Cuba. In all there were only nine "Bases," although each of them clearly showed a determination to change radically the entire spirit of life on the Island, rapidly replacing "el espíritu autoritario y la composición burocrática de la colonia" (I, 279) with a far more equitable type of society from which all Cubans would benefit. Moreover it appeared that after what Martí termed "una guerra generosa y breve" (I, 279),[12] there would be instituted in the Republic an honest and necessarily democratic political system. One phrase that sums up admirably the broad sweep of these intended reforms is taken from Article 5 of the "Bases." After the war of liberation ("que se ha de hacer para el bien y decoro de todos los cubanos"), the plans of the PRC were essentially to "entregar a todo el país la patria libre" (I, 280).[13]

The objectives of the PRC, as presented in the "Bases," were

straightforward: to obtain the total and uncompromising independence of Cuba (and to assist Puerto Rico in her struggle for independence), and subsequently to institute a totally new life style in a fully-liberated country:

> fundar en el ejercicio franco y cordial de las capacidades legítimas del hombre, un pueblo nuevo y de sincera democracia, capaz de vencer, por el orden del trabajo real y el equilibrio de las fuerzas sociales, los peligros de la libertad repentina en una sociedad compuesta para la esclavitud (I, 279).

In this way, then, the "Bases" represented an amplification of the original goals of the "Resoluciones," since the later document also constituted a "statement of intent," almost an approximation to a revolutionary national constitution, as well as a general outline of the type of society to be founded in a liberated Cuba.

One of the most interesting aspects of the political structure of the PRC, as Leonardo Griñán Peralta has indicated, is the position of Martí as the Delegado of the Party.[14] The choice of this word by Martí himself--instead of the more common term of Presidente--reveals a great deal about the way in which Martí viewed his role in the revolutionary struggle, and indeed by implication the role of any future leader in the liberated patria. Martí at all times stressed the need for a highly selfless and essentially moralistic form of government--from all citizens of the Republic, and in particular from the Delegado:

> Ni en este deber, ni en ningún otro, entiende esta Delegación que sea su puesto mera ocasión de levantar en sí una persona revolucionaria opuesta a otros . . . Todo debe sacrificarlo a Cuba un patriota sincero--hasta la gloria de caer defendiéndola ante el enemigo (II, 43).

Indicative of the individualistic and selfless form of democracy advocated by Martí was his conviction that he had not only been elected by his corevolutionaries, but also had been "delegated" with the task of freeing his homeland from Spanish domination. He did not regard this task as an imposition, nor too did he consider this an opportunity to win personal glory or renown. Quite simply, as he wrote to Federico Henríquez y Carvajal in March of 1895, he interpreted his role of Delegado as being based upon two fundamental premises--great personal sacrifice and unbounded patriotism: "Para mí la patria no será nunca triunfo sino agonía y deber" (IV, 111).

Ideally, then, any ruler of the patria, whatever his title, had of necessity to subordinate all personal triumph to the collective well-being of the Republic. And, although one can detect a desire on the part of José Martí to continue serving his country as a director of the nation's destiny after independence had been won, nevertheless it is very obvious that he had not the least intention of imposing himself upon the Cuban people. Above all else, Martí considered himself an instrument of the people, the one delegated by them to liberate the patria. Writing in 1893 Martí expressed very clearly that he was totally dependent upon the will of his fellow revolutionaries: "es una idea lo que hay que llevar a Cuba: no una persona. No es Martí el que va a desembarcar: es la unión magnífica de las emigraciones" (II, 278).

From a close examination of both the "Bases" and the accompanying "Estatutos secretos" it appears fairly obvious that Martí favoured

a highly personal form of government, essentially radical in nature, and in which supreme authority lay with one person, the Delegado. Equally interesting is the fact that the leader of the PRC was elected annually by all members of every associated organization and, should all of his counselling bodies (the "cuerpos de consejo," consisting of the leaders of the various revolutionary clubs) so decide, he could be asked to resign before his term of office expired. (Martí himself was re-elected twice after his initial appointment.) Consequently the "Estatutos secretos" of the PRC, with their extremely precise regulations, reveal a rigid adherence to democratic practices, providing detailed information on the duties of the Delegado, the Treasurer, and the various cuerpos de consejo, as well as on terms of office and election procedures.

These details provide a valuable insight into the workings and internal structure of the PRC, particularly useful--as has been stated--because of Martí's determination to base the social and political structure of the Republic on that of the Party itself. Thus, although the PRC cannot strictly be classified as following a parliamentary democratic system, nevertheless it is obvious that it strongly favoured a form of democratic centralism, with the final decision in any matter being taken by the Delegado. In an independent Cuba, and of course had Martí survived, it thus appears fairly clear that he would have striven to ensure a similar political model being established in the Republic, one in which all Cubans would have been actively encouraged to participate in the decision-making process, and in which the chosen leader (whether it had been Martí himself or another) would

at all times have been accountable to the people at large, who in turn would have been at liberty to vote on the leader's performance at regularly-stipulated intervals.

It is equally important to note, however, that there are extremely few concrete proposals for the actual means of providing the "sincera democracia" promised by Martí in the fourth article of the "Bases." This is largely due to the many difficulties inherent in any attempt to "unir en esfuerzo continuo o común la acción de todos los cubanos residentes en el extranjero" (I, 280), since the Cuban exiles belonged to such a wide variety of backgrounds and beliefs. Consequently Martí understandably had to maintain a low profile, hinting at many reforms--although not always directly stating them--lest he alienate the support of any one of the diverse groups that belonged to the PRC. Yet despite the apparent lack of explicit and minutely-planned schemes for the control of the Island after independence had been won, there were many definite intentions of the Party, and a general overall plan was obviously in evidence.

What is contained in both these important documents (the "Resoluciones" and the "Bases") are the barest essentials, the lowest common denominator as it were, of the revolutionary politics that Martí envisaged for a liberated Cuba. There were obviously more immediate concerns to Martí (even had he so desired) than the drawing up of a detailed political constitution, and his first--and most crucial--task was to unite the Cuban exiles, convincing them that his scheme for the defeat of the Spanish forces by their comparatively limited resources

was in fact feasible. Moreover José Martí had to reshape the sense of national confidence, obviously at a low ebb after more than three and a half centuries of Spanish colonialism, promoting a sense of cubanidad, in short of nation-building.[15]

Of fundamental importance in Martí's programme for political reform was his deeply patriotic and at the same time highly moralistic approach to government.[16] The whole spirit of political life had to be changed, he consistently argued, so that all Cubans (and not just a limited nucleus of upper-class creoles, representatives of the Spanish controlling forces) would benefit from the wealth of their country. Moreover, if Martí had been allowed his way in the liberated patria, an entirely new approach to politics would obviously have resulted, in which all citizens of the Republic would have been expected to take an active interest in politics at all levels. The result that Martí clearly appears to have expected from such an approach was the construction of a new society--necessarily honest and just--for the first time in Cuba's history. Martí's dream, then, completely supported by all of his political pronouncements, and neatly summarised in the "Resoluciones," was for "la creación de una República justa y abierta, una en el territorio, en el derecho, en el trabajo y en la cordialidad, levantada con todos, y para bien de todos" (I, 272). His concept of the patria was really nothing more than this--but neither was it anything less.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

[1]Martí was thus convinced that, apart from being essentially immoral, the Spanish domination of Cuba was also totally anachronistic. He therefore wanted the Island to "move with the times," in an attempt to fight for the same Independence already won by her sister republics more than sixty years earlier. Speaking to a meeting of Cuban exiles in New York on January 31, 1893, he poured scorn on those Cuban Autonomists who had spoken at the last session of the Cortes in Spain, and concluded ironically: "¡porque todavía, en esta grandiosa América, como hombres en pañales, estamos hablando de Cortes!" (IV, 313).

He again took up the theme of the "new age" later that year, claiming that Cuba would ultimately defeat the Spanish government, "porque no puede un pueblo perezoso, dividido, retardado, lejano y cruel, regir, en el crucero del mundo moderno, en la puerta misma de la nueva humanidad, a un pueblo ágil, unido en el afán de mejora y el concepto de un mundo mejor, ya a nivel con la edad moderna" (V, 336) (My underlining).

[2]His letter to Mercado shortly after his break with Generals Gómez and Maceo underlines the same point, and concludes: "No vi, en suma, más que a dos hombres decididos a hacer esta guerra difícil a que tantos contribuyen, una empresa propia" (XX, 75).

[3]"Democracy" is defined by The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary as "Government by the people; that form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people, and is exercised either directly by them or by officers elected by them."

[4]In order to appreciate the deeply-felt frustrations of the Cuban-born citizens because of their exclusion from power on the Island, it is interesting to study some tables recently compiled by Hortensia Pichardo.

In 1860, for instance, there were 513,461 Cubans officially registered on the Island, as opposed to 82,997 peninsulares (p. 365). Yet despite being quite clearly in the majority, these same criollos were consistently discriminated against by their Spanish overlords, causing Pichardo to comment: "es ostensible no sólo la desproporción de empleados cubanos respecto a los procedentes de España, sino que los del país no figuran o figuran en forma mínima en los cargos más importantes y mejor pagados de la Administración. (En la enseñanza, mal

retribuída, de personal de cultura superior, nada tenían que buscar en Cuba los inmigrantes españoles salvo honrosas excepciones.)" (p. 368).

On the following page these observations are supplemented by a list portraying the "Distribución de los empleos públicos en Cuba en 1868":

"Organismos

	Españoles	Cubanos
Gobierno Superior	7	1
Dirección General Administrativa	17	7
Consejo de Administración	7	4
Gobierno Político de la Habana	8	1
Tenencias de Gobierno	29	-
Real Hacienda	50	14
Real Audiencia	27	6
Alcaldías Mayores	26	8
Catedráticos de la Universidad	7	29
Catedráticos de Segunda Enseñanza	15	52
Escuelas profesionales	8	13
Academia de Pintura y Escultura	4	-
Correos	12	-"

Hortensia Pichardo, Documentos para la historia de Cuba (La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1973), I, p. 369.

[5]Hence his remarks in La Opinión Nacional, in February of 1883: "¿Qué son los pueblos en manos de los políticos de oficio? Éstos los mueven como si fuesen escudos de batalla, y se sientan sobre ellos, luego del triunfo, o les ponen en alto, en la hora de la derrota, como banderín de pelear . . . ¡Cuándo habrá de ser que se fatiguen los hombres de esas tierras viejas de ser gobernados por vanidosos logreros" (XIV, 373).

[6]In 1885 Martí again referred to this duty, after criticizing General Grant for his lack of interest or participation in earlier presidential elections, since "en una República, un hombre que no vota es como en un ejército un soldado que deserta" (XIII, 88).

[7]As early as 1881 Martí had predicted the growing menace afforded by what he termed the "aristocracia política" in the United States, which he saw as steadily destroying the noble foundation of the land of Lincoln: "Una aristocracia política ha nacido de esa aristocracia pecuniaria, y domina periódicos, vence en elecciones, y suele imperar en asambleas" (IX, 108). Obviously this was totally unacceptable to Martí, and it appears obvious that in the liberated Republic he would have attempted to curtail the power and influence of such an "aristocracia."

[8]Indicative of this redoubling of Martí's efforts to organize the resistance of the Cuban exiles was the amount of travelling undertaken by him in the United States prior to, and subsequent to, 1891. Martínez Estrada offers a detailed list of all of Martí's travels, in which the period from 1882 to 1890 is characterised by the observation, "se ignora que viajara." Afterwards, between Martí's visit to Tampa in November of 1891 and his arrival on Cuban soil on April 11, 1895, there are more than 50 journeys through the United States and parts of Latin America. Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, pp. 225-228.

[9]Leonardo Griñán Peralta, Martí, líder político (La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1970), p. 89.

[10]In regard to the widely-ranging political tendencies of the various groups of Cuban exiles that Martí was attempting to unite, it is only necessary to consider the variety of ideological beliefs held by many of the leading figures of the PRC. They range from regular republicans like Varona, through a large gathering of anarquists, to the socialist group comprising Diego Vicente Tejera and Fermín Valdés Domínguez and other radicals, the best known of which was Carlos Baliño, later one of the main founders of the Communist Party of Cuba. With reference to this extremely wide background of ideological tendencies, Blas Roca has noted well the importance of Martí as a unifying factor in the PRC: "En el Partido Revolucionario Cubano une Martí, en un verdadero frente de unidad nacional, a los clubes de más diversa ideología y composición social: desde el 'Enrique Roig', donde se cobijan socialistas principalmente, hasta el 'Mercedes Varona', de mujeres. En el Partido Revolucionario Cubano junta Martí al independista sin más preocupaciones, con el revolucionario radical que ve en la independencia la etapa necesaria para ulteriores conquistas: al rico y al obrero; al negro y al blanco; a las fuerzas nuevas de la revolución y a los representativos de la guerra del 68." Blas Roca, "José Martí: revolucionario radical de su tiempo," Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), p. 15.

[11]For a more detailed description of Martí's startling effect on the Cuban workers in Florida, and of the subsequent founding of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano, see Carlos J. Díaz' article, "Martí y el Partido Revolucionario Cubano," Verde Olivo, 27 Jan. 1963, pp. 33-34.

Griñán Peralta describes well this effect that Martí had upon the Cuban exiles, stating in effect that his charisma cannot ever be underestimated: "Su premio fue poder decir con orgullosa satisfacción que actuaba en nombre de residentes de la isla y emigrados que, además de su voz, le habían dado su corazón. Y si se pregunta cómo logró premio tal, dígase que fue haciéndose amar: amando y agradando a todos." Griñán Peralta, p. 125.

[12]This idea of a "generous war" can be seen to comply with Martí's concept of revolution. For, while there was any hope at all of meaningful reforms being introduced into Cuba, Martí was initially prepared to abandon his revolutionary projects. It was only after he realised that the Spanish Republic (instituted after Amadeo I) intended to continue its repression of the Island, that Martí realised the absolute necessity of a revolutionary war. In fact, Martí appears to have delayed mention of this for as long as he could, probably because, despite his conviction that a revolutionary war offered the only definitive solution to Cuba's many problems, he continued to hope that this would not be necessary. Consequently, despite the apparent contradiction, Martí can in many ways be considered a pacifist-revolutionary, for indeed he was both.

[13]With regard to this necessary "decoro," an illustrative example of Martí's determination that this should be implemented in the Republic is his refusal of a large sum of money, contributed to the liberation cause by a Cuban highway robber. Martí, as Jorge Ibarra and many other martianos have shown, did not accept the contribution, despite a pressing need for funds, claiming instead that a liberated Cuba would have to spring from clean roots. Indeed, as Ibarra accurately claims, "todo esto nos hace pensar necesariamente que Martí no concibió el Partido solamente como un instrumento para liberar a Cuba de la dominación española, sino para transformar radicalmente la sociedad cubana." Jorge Ibarra, "José Martí y el Partido Revolucionario Cubano," Ideología mambisa (La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1972), p. 172.

[14]"Delegado, no presidente, quiso ser Martí, porque, aunque fuese cierto que todo líder obra sólo por impulso o cuenta propia . . . siempre será bueno que sus seguidores le vean convencido de que obra por mandato o delegación de ellos." Griñán Peralta, p. 85.

[15]Speaking in 1896, Martí's corevolutionary, Enrique José Varona explained the achievements of Martí in uniting the Cuban exiles, given the national psyche at that time: "Rebelarse parece siempre fácil. Rebelarse en los momentos y las condiciones en que lo hizo el patriota cubano, resulta, sin embargo, extraordinario. Cuba yacía desangrada e inerme después de dos luchas tremendas. Si algo parecía flotar sobre ella era el anhelo de paz, para restaurar las heridas y recuperar las fuerzas . . . El lema era reconstrucción." Enrique José Varona, "Martí y su obra política," (reprinted in) Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), p. 93.

Julio Le Riverend, talking about Martí's role on the PRC, also highlights Martí's great political ability: "Por encima de todo fue consecuente y hábil político; su política no era, desde luego, simple maniobra, ayuna de contenido, pero, al cabo, era maniobra, fina, en que el amor neutralizaba la incomprensión de los hombres." Julio Le Riverend "Teoría martiana del partido político," p. 108.

[16]Writing about this moralistic form of government, Alfonso Bernal del Riesgo terms Martí an "etócrata": "Parte de su verbo, y de su obra y va derecha, como una saeta, contra los vicios de la colonia que perduran en la República. Y esto ocurre naturalmente, sin necesidad de convertir a Martí a ninguna doctrina política moderna. Fue un etócrata--de eptos, carácter, moralidad y cratos, autoridad, gobierno--" Alfonso Bernal del Riesgo, "Estampa psíquica de Martí," Revista Bimestre Cubana, 41 (1968), p. 241.

CHAPTER IV

THE MORAL FOUNDATION OF THE LIBERATED PATRIA

Essential to José Martí's new approach to political life in a liberated Cuba were the innovations that he hoped to introduce in what can be termed the human dimension of the Republic. Martí was well aware of the pressing need for sweeping political reforms in the patria, but also realised that, in order for them to be successfully instituted, it would be necessary from the outset to inculcate into every Cuban citizen certain moral qualities which together would result, he hoped, in a heightened moral consciousness, and would eventually lead to the formation of a "new man."

Martí, then, wanted to reshape completely the Cuban national character, injecting into his compatriots first a measure of confidence --in both their own potential as well as that of the nation as a whole-- and then building upon this self-assurance by encouraging them to adopt a deeply patriotic and, more important, humanitarian interest in their fellow man. For Martí this new humanitarian consciousness was absolutely essential in order to complement--and ultimately to guarantee-- the application of this revolutionary socio-political programme. Consequently this moral foundation, so rigorously defended by Martí, offers an interesting insight into his plans for a liberated Cuba, since in fact it underlies all aspects of his political thought.

Martí was well aware, however, that the necessary first step

before even attempting to introduce these rather dramatic changes into Cuban society was to convince his fellow Cubans of their common ability--united as the Cuban nation--to fully realise these programmes. This role of "nation-building" (for indeed it was nothing less than this), as well as Martí's achievements in promoting a united front among his co-revolutionaries, should never be underestimated, since Cuba had been ruthlessly exploited by Spain for more than three hundred years, during which time the creole population had been forced to bear the brunt of official Spanish discrimination. In effect they had always been regarded as "second-class citizens," receiving few privileges from their Spanish overlords, while their country was virtually held in contempt by the Spanish forces on the Island. Moreover, although these many injustices had always been deeply resented, the Cuban people as a whole had never accepted a common goal in relation to the form of political liberation they desired, nor had a common method for achieving their independence ever been derived. Martí thus saw his initial task in the awakening of a national consciousness, in promoting a sense of nationality, of common "identity," and subsequently in making his compatriots proud of their distinct cubanidad.

Because of their status as a colony of the madre patria, most native-born Cubans had never considered their homeland as anything other than an appendage of Spain: from the cradle they had been reared in a "Spanish" environment, had been educated in "Spanish" traditions, and had been encouraged to identify with the "Spanish" system of government, with all attempts at straying from this norm being harshly

suppressed. Martí's intention to foster a spirit of dignity and self-confidence, in short (as he wrote about another "pueblo abrumado," the North American Indians) to "devolver a todo un pueblo abrumado el respeto y la conciencia propia" (VI, 34), therefore had to overcome three centuries of what can rightly be termed a national inferiority complex. Writing in 1894, Martí noted the pressing need to overcome this complex, and indeed to promote a deserved pride in Cuba's vast potential:

> ¿Taberna nada más ha de ser Cuba, u holgazana cervecería de San Jerónimo, y fonda de las Cuatro Naciones? ¿O pueblo propio, trabajador y americano? Ésta, y no menos, es la obra de Cuba. (III, 359).

Indeed, if José Martí had been successful solely in this goal, his achievements would have been remarkable.

Martí's earliest writings revealed his clear understanding of the needs of the patria to develop its own national identity, as can be judged from his patriotic composition "¡10 de octubre!" written shortly before his sixteenth birthday to honour the Céspedes rebellion. This poem, apparently his earliest plea to his compatriots to liberate themselves from their Spanish shackles and, at last, to appreciate their distinct national identity, portrayed Cuba as "El pueblo que tres siglos ha sufrido/ Cuánto de negro la opresión encierra" (XVII, 20). Fortunately, however, Martí took hope from the activities of the Céspedes expedition, and encouraged his fellow Cubans to emulate this desire not only to grasp the true importance of their cubanidad, but also to liberate the patria from Spanish domination:

¡al fin con entereza
Rompe Cuba el dogal que la oprimía
Y altiva y libre yergue su cabeza! (XVII, 20).[1]

Writing more than twenty years later, after the failure of several military expeditions that had attempted to bring about this much-needed Independence, Martí indicated how, for the vast majority of Cubans, life in the Colony was still as oppressive and as demeaning as it had been some three centuries earlier. He examined the basic lack of human and national dignity in colonial Cuba, concluding: "¡Eso es Cuba ahora, una rosa mustia, empolvada y comida, una rosa regada con lágrimas y sangre!" (IV, 392).[2] Quite obviously, Martí's task in establishing any sort of national pride was fraught with many serious problems.

José Martí's ambitious plans to arrest both this lack of national self-assurance and the trend toward self-denigration, while at the same time promoting a sense of "belonging" to all Cubans, had two definite and self-complementing objectives. First, by overcoming this national inferiority complex he hoped to make his compatriots proud of their cubanidad and subsequently to act (preferably against the Spanish control of the Island) in order to defend the much-maligned national identity. Second he was convinced that once Cubans became conscious of their cultural heritage, they would be more inclined to treat their compatriots, and ultimately their fellow man, with the dignity that he felt they richly deserved. There would thus be a dramatic change of temperament in his fellow Cubans, Martí reasoned, since once they were liberated from the oppressive colonialist system, they would be more prepared to treat their compatriots, and of course themselves, with both respect and esteem. Consequently, the conditions would be

ripe to foster an appreciation of the inherent dignity of one's fellow man, the necessary initial step in the long complicated procedure of creating a "new man."

The importance that the concepts of dignidad and self-respect held for Martí can be gauged from his much-cited statement made in a speech in 1891 to the Cuban exiles living in Tampa: "Yo quiero que la ley primera de nuestra república sea el culto de los cubanos a la dignidad plena del hombre" (IV, 270). In his famous letter to the editor of the New York Herald, dated May 2, 1895, José Martí further revealed his high regard for this concept of dignidad, while explaining that one of the fundamental intentions of the liberation campaign was to establish--and to protect by law--the doctrine of human dignity. In the letter Martí related the moral depression into which his country had been plunged:

> El hijo de Cuba . . . padece, en indecible amargura, de ver encadenado en suelo feraz, y en él su sofocante dignidad de hombre, a la obligación de pagar, con sus manos libres de americano, el tributo casi íntegro de su producción, y el diario y más doloroso de su honra, a las necesidades y vicios de la monarquía (IV, 152).

It must be stressed that this attempt by Martí to erase the national inferiority complex, while at the same time cultivating this necessity of "la dignidad plena del hombre," was not the result of any blind nationalism. Martí's aspirations for a moral regeneration of Cuba were unquestionably related with his hopes of re-awakening the patriotic zeal of his compatriots, since this would obviously facilitate his far-reaching plans for the revolutionary struggle. At the same

time, it is important to note that Martí was also fervently intent upon encouraging--virtually for the first time in the realm of Latin American belles lettres--a close spiritual union with the other countries of the continent, since he was convinced that, with regard to his master plan for the liberation of Cuba, there was much that the Island could learn from her--already independent--sister republics in Latin America.

Therefore in order to protect this concept of dignidad, Martí was certain that a certain spirituality--which he had discovered on his travels through various Latin American countries--would have to be introduced into Cuba. This fervent desire for a spiritual union with "la tierra americana, hermana y madre mía" (VI, 362) became far more noticeable after he began to reside in the United States in 1880. Less than two years later Martí was totally convinced that, because of their very different origins, "his" America should avoid being unduly influenced by North America:

> Y hay razas avarientas que son las del Norte, cuya hambre formidable necesita pueblos vírgenes. Y hay razas fieles, que son las del Sur, cuyos hijos no hallan que caliente más sol que el sol patrio, ni anhelan más riqueza que la naranja de oro y la azucena blanca que se cría en el jardín de sus abuelos (IX, 224).

Based upon his observations of the United States, Martí became increasingly disturbed by the obvious preoccupation of a large sector of the North American population with accumulating vast hoards of money. Writing for La Nación in May of 1884 he informed his readers: "¡En la médula, en la médula está el vicio en que la vida no va teniendo en esta tierra más objeto que el amontonamiento de la fortuna"

(X, 39). The result of this widespread lust for money was aptly termed the "metalificación del hombre" (XXI, 16) by Martí--a process which obviously had to be avoided in the future Republic.[3] In another article in La Nación two years later, and again using the United States as a model of the pitfalls to be avoided in the patria, Martí explained the very definite need for the Cuban nation to develop spiritually as well as economically:

> esta rudeza general de espíritu que aquí aflige tanto a las mentes expansivas y delicadas. Cada cual para sí. La fortuna como único objeto de la vida . . . no hay alma suficiente en este pueblo gigantesco: y sin esa juntura maravillosa, todo se viene en los pueblos, con gran catástrofe, a tierra . . . De este empequeñecimiento es necesario sacar estas almas. En el hombre debe cultivarse el comerciante--sí; pero debe cultivarse también el sacerdote (X, 375-376).

In many ways José Martí's pride in the achievements and rich spiritual nature of "Nuestra América" acted as a foil to his desire for the development of a sense of identity, of national dignity, in Cuba itself--which explains his continuous references to the achievements of "his" America. Comparing "Nuestra América" to the United States in 1887, Martí noted how: "Más han hecho nuestras tierras en subir a donde están, que los Estados Unidos en mantenerse, decayendo tal vez en lo esencial, de la maravilla de donde vinieron" (VII, 330). Four years later in his famous report entitled "Nuestra América," Martí heaped abundant praise on the independent republics of Latin America, claiming: "De factores tan descompuestos jamás, en menos tiempo histórico, se han creado naciones tan adelantadas y compactas" (VI, 16).[4] Consequently

the Cuban people as a whole should take heart, Martí insisted, for they sought the same goals already fought for--and decisively won--by the other republics of Latin America.

Martí's respect for both the achievements and essential spirituality of "Nuestra América" was thus intended by him to serve as an example of what Cuba too could hope to accomplish if she were prepared to take the initial step towards independence. It seemed obvious to him that without a firm commitment made by all his fellow citizens, a commitment to promote this awareness of national dignity while attempting to develop the desired Latin "spirituality," Martí's subsequent plans calling for selflessness and for great personal sacrifice in order that the patria at large might benefit, were ill-founded.

The initial step in Martí's master plan, and indeed an absolute prerequisite for a "new" liberated society, was therefore to increase the level of national consciousness among his compatriots: only by respecting the patria's great potential would it be possible to overcome the deeply-rooted colonialist mentality. Having achieved this awareness of their cubanidad, Martí was certain that his fellow countrymen would at last respect their own capabilities and, apprised of these hitherto-unseen talents, would unite to overthrow the Spanish overlords. For Martí this was the essential base for all future revolutionary activity, for without this pride in their nationality, and without too this belief that they were capable of defeating the Spanish forces, the Revolution would be short-lived, and his ambitious plans for the "new society" would be of no avail. Conversely, informed of their distinctive

Latin American spirituality and feeling themselves closely related to their sister republics, Martí was certain that the Cuban people as a whole would be prepared to embark upon the programme of reforms which he saw as essential for the necessary liberation of the Island.

José Martí appeared well aware of the many problems that his nascent Republic would face after political independence had been won. Accordingly he devised a programme of rather severe contingency measures which, if successfully applied, he was certain would guarantee both the immediate stability and the subsequent development of the patria. His desires to promote a feeling of dignidad among his fellow Cubans having proved successful, he then hoped to build upon this newly-found national confidence, impressing upon his co-revolutionaries the urgent need for great personal sacrifice in order to firmly establish the Republic.

It was obvious to Martí that, unless an entirely new approach to all major problems facing the Republic was adopted--an approach in which all members would be expected to participate actively--the freedom won after independence would vanish quickly. Therefore he advocated continually that all Cuban citizens should work together conscientiously and selflessly in order to undertake the many responsibilities that would result after independence had been won. This exhortation for all Cubans to co-operate, at all times placing the best interests of the State before their own, he termed sociabilidad, and in fact as early as 1875 Martí underlined its fundamental importance for the complete restructuring of Cuban society: "La sociabilidad es una ley, y de ella nace esta otra de la concordia" (VI, 307).

There does not appear to be any suitable equivalent in English to Martí's concept of sociabilidad; certainly the definition of "sociability" given by The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary as "The character or quality of being sociable; friendly disposition or intercourse" is inadequate. The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences disregards the term, although the third usage of the word "socialization" is reasonably close to Martí's interpretation:

> Narrowly conceived, political socialization is the deliberate inculcation of political information, values, and practices by instructional agents who have been formally charged with this responsibility. A broader conception [which is necessary in the case of Martí] would encompass all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally nonpolitical learning that affects political behavior, such as the learning of politically relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics.[5]

Yet even this explanation does not fully express Martí's understanding of the concept of sociabilidad. For him it was quite simply a case of exemplary social solidarity, of persuading all Cubans to lead their lives in an exemplary, necessarily selfless, fashion, at all times subordinating their own interests to the pressing needs of Society at large. Or, as Martí himself explained the essence of the term in characteristically direct language: "Vivir en la Tierra no es más que un deber de hacerle bien. Ella muerde y uno la acaricia. Después la conciencia paga. Cada uno haga su obra" (VII, 118).

Sociabilidad meant for Martí the process of shared adversity,

and of mutual assistance, by all Cubans which, he hoped, would constitute the basis for a new revolutionary society. It would, he was certain, unite his compatriots in a common plan of personal sacrifice,[6] while offering them all a bright--and of necessity just--future after the Island had been stabilised. Martí further hoped to develop the individual consciousness of his fellow Cubans in order to ensure the continued success of such a policy, for just as he expected them to make a determined effort to raise the level of their political awareness, so too did he hope that, after studying the strengths and needs of their society, they would decide of their own volition to contribute to the sociabilidad programme.[7] This obviously depended upon many variables--dispassionate reasoning on the part of the Cuban people, the necessity of an honest personal conscience and, finally, the ability of Martí to persuade the Cuban nation as a whole to subject themselves to this rigorous soul-searching, and subsequently to commit themselves to placing the community's best interests before their own.

Yet Martí appeared undaunted by these rather imposing obstacles, apparently steadfastly believing that, based upon their appreciation of the need for human dignidad in a liberated Cuba, and perhaps after reflecting on Martí's own exemplary conduct, an honest and dispassionate appreciation of the needs of their society could be reached by all Cuban citizens, and that eventually all would agree to participate in this new co-operative doctrine. Basically, then, Martí wanted a firm collective consciousness to appear which, after taking into account the necessities of the Republic, would afterwards lead to the Republic's citizens becoming what Martí termed hombres radicales, for as he

explained in 1893:

> A la raíz va el hombre verdadero. Radical no es más que eso: el que va a las raíces. No se llame radical quien no vea las cosas en su fondo. Ni hombre quien no ayude a la seguridad y dicha de los demás hombres (II, 377).

It is interesting to note that this desire to convince his fellow Cubans of the validity of sociabilidad was not restricted merely to Cuban or Latin American circles, for as he claimed in 1894, there was only one "superior" race: "la de los que consultan, antes que todo, el interés humano" (IV, 325). Therefore he did not hesitate to include in his preferred group George Washington ("el anciano de Mount Vernon" (VI, 198)) alongside Bolívar and Hidalgo, since all three had obeyed similar duties toward their fellow man. Indeed, his report on the death of the American industrialist-philanthropist Peter Cooper showed how, even in the heady world of High Finance, it was possible to follow this strict doctrine of sociabilidad since the obituary written by Martí in many ways embodied the essential qualities of these aspirations:

> Creía que la vida humana es un sacerdocio, y el bienestar egoísta una apostasía . . . Sólo una llave abre las puertas de la felicidad: Amor . . . y él vio que quien se encierra en sí, vive con leones: y quien se saca de sí, y se da a los otros, vive entre palomas (XIII, 50).

Thus the two key elements of this programme of sociabilidad are nothing less than a reawakened social conscience, supported by totally selfless conduct. In actual fact, then, as Julio Le Riverend has noted well, Martí's revolutionary plans, intended to bring not only major social and political innovations to the liberated patria, but also to

change the very nature of the members of contemporary Cuban society:

> Objetivamente, la revolución necesita no solamente un hacer para destruir el viejo régimen, sino también y sobre todo una preparación para construir toda una nueva vida. Lo que se necesita, en suma, es una creación de conciencia que produzca cambios sustanciales en la conducta del hombre individual . . . Martí intenta, y lo logra en su nivel histórico, educar a unos, convencer a otros, de que la Revolución no es cambio de nombre sino del hombre (My underlining).[8]

But lest this aspiration of Martí to bring about a "cambio de hombre" be regarded as the rantings of an idealistic, but essentially impractical, dreamer who hoped that his fellow Cubans would suddenly, and as if by magic, decide to work together for the well-being of the nation, it is only necessary to consider Martí's determination--reflected in his intent to introduce legislation if necessary--to ensure that this "co-operative work ethic" was a most definite success. Since it appeared obvious that an immense amount of reconstruction would be required after political independence had been won, Martí was determined that his compatriots of necessity would have to share in the task of laying the foundation of this new Republic. Indeed in this task none would be allowed to shirk their responsibilities and duties: all would be obliged to follow the dictates of this programme of sociabilidad.

Martí frequently emphasised the fundamental immorality of all forms of selfish behaviour, even claiming in 1888 that "es un ladrón el hombre egoísta" (XII, 43). In the context of the re-building of the patria, Martí stated that anybody found guilty of selfishness should be

treated as a thief, for in essence the guilty party was depriving the Republic of a much-needed contribution. Moreover, given the urgent need for all Cubans to co-operate in the liberated patria Martí relentlessly extolled the virtues of work, "llegado a ser considerado por él una nueva santidad"[9] as one critic has noted. The message that Martí preached was extremely clear, since he never departed from the premise that all men possessed an absolute obligation to dedicate their talents--whatever they may be--to the betterment of the Society to which they belonged. Any abilities that they possessed, Martí claimed, really only represented "una deuda que se ha de pagar, la anticipa el Creador y los hombres la cobran" (XIV, 273).

Martí maintained at all times that this debt to Society had to be paid by each and every compatriot: there were to be no exceptions. Moreover, anybody who attempted to avoid paying his "contribution" to the common good was not only to be severely reprimanded, but also to be physically forced to work for the benefit of his Society. Laziness, as he stated very clearly, was truly a heinous offence, "un crimen público" (VIII, 379), and all non-productive members of their Society would be forced to contribute to the patria.

> La holganza es crimen público. Como no se tiene derecho para ser criminal, no se tiene derecho para ser perezoso. Ni indirectamente debe la sociedad humana alentar a quien no trabaja directamente en ella . . . Se debe abominar a los perezosos, y compelerlos a la vida limpia y útil (VIII, 379-380).

Martí never presented a chronological outline of the order in which he wanted his plans for this moral foundation of the Republic to be implemented, although it appears fairly obvious that the initial

necessities for his country were first to raise the level of national awareness and second to encourage the formation of a strict moral conscience in his fellow Cubans which, he hoped, would ultimately lead to a general nation-wide acceptance of his far-reaching sociabilidad programme. The resulting mixture of selflessness and of patriotism would thus constitute the basis of what, as early as 1878, Martí saw as the essential "nueva religión" of the Republic: "La nueva religión; no la virtud por el castigo y por el deber; la virtud por el patriotismo, el convencimiento y el trabajo" (VIII, 120).

In order to stabilise this innovative programme, Martí hoped to fuse other fundamentally important features into the daily life of the patria--the lofty concepts of Justice and Freedom. Both of these terms obviously contain a multitude of possible meanings and nuances, and can be used to support virtually any individual or group action or belief. There is simply no definitive explanation of what constitutes either of these concepts. In the case of Martí, however, it is quite obvious exactly what he understood these terms to mean, since both stem from the same profoundly moralistic, and inherently selfless, thought of Martí.

Justice for Martí was never simply a high-sounding rhetorical slogan, used to arouse the masses and subsequently secure their support. Rather, he always viewed Justice in a personal perspective, a quality which he hoped to inculcate into his compatriots so that eventually this search for lo justo would assist them in developing their own highly-attuned moral consciousness. Justice was thus a concept which Martí urged his fellow Cubans to develop for their own self-realisation, and which he firmly advocated using as the yardstick for all major

political decisions taken in the Republic. Once again, as has been noted in relation to Martí's desires for popular acceptance of sociabilidad, Martí's aspirations for a thorough national awareness of lo justo required, perhaps over-optimistically, the conscious determination by the Cuban people as a whole to selflessly enact the theories that he had presented to them: by means of dispassionate reasoning and selfless conduct, Martí thus hoped to establish a foundation to the Republic centred on the perpetual search for Justice.

In essence, then, Martí's policy of Justice offered his co-revolutionaries no more and no less than a chance to be honest with themselves and fair to each other. Based upon this determination to construct the liberated Republic upon a fresh and necessarily compassionate foundation, Martí interpreted this programme of Justice as a necessary means of strengthening his doctrine of sociabilidad, since in actual fact both features were dependent upon each other.

Given Martí's conviction that there was never automatically a morally "right" or "just" cause, it appears fairly obvious that he could never in conscience afford "blanket support" to any individual or cause: the individual merits of all possibilities had of necessity to be considered before any decision could be taken. Justice thus implied for Martí the necessity, yet again, of a fundamentally honest examination of any problem, in order that an unbiased and essentially "just" solution could be found.

Perhaps an example will serve to illustrate this apparently simplistic, yet fundamentally honest, interpretation of what in fact constituted lo justo for Martí. In his many years of providing his

Latin American readers with the famous "Escenas Norteamericanas," one of the themes most commonly found was that of the increasingly bitter struggle between Capital and Labour, and the multitude of related social problems that resulted from this conflict. Martí's support for the humble and exploited sectors of Society had always been obvious, as indicated in his famous lines of poetry "Con los pobres de la tierra/ Quiero yo mi suerte echar" (XVI, 67). It would thus appear natural for Martí to defend the noble actions of the exploited workers in their struggle for a decent working wage, while at the same time condemning this unfeeling and immoral exploitation by their employers. However, this was not the case, since Martí's approach to such conflicts, and indeed to all major social and political issues, depended entirely upon a conscientious appraisal of the claims and counterclaims of both the participating factions. His report on a tram drivers' strike in 1883 illustrates this careful weighing-up of all arguments both for and against the strike: "Hay huelgas injustas. No basta ser infeliz para tener razón . . . Pero la huelga de los conductores era justa" (X, 396), and as a result Martí supported their case. In essence, then, there was no shortcut to Justice.

The essential ingredients for a proper application of Justice were thus selfless conduct and an objective process of reasoning, obviously a policy that was "easier said than done." Indeed at first this concept of Martí appears to suffer from an overabundance of impractical details, since according to Martí it was an absolute necessity to consider all possible facets of any individual problem before deciding which, if indeed any, solution to a particular problem was correct

or "just." This, however, was not as impractical as it may seem since eventually the "new man" (Martí never estimated how long it would take for his master-plan to develop) imbued with a heightened awareness of his many social responsibilities, and of his innate dignity as a citizen of the Republic, would learn to appreciate quickly the inherent Justice of any particular situation and would thus be able to decide accordingly.

Ideally, Martí hoped that this sense of Justice would be implemented by his compatriots in all everyday situations, and in all dealings with their fellow citizens. This understanding of Justice was thus an ongoing process over which, Martí warned his fellow Cubans, they could never become complacent. Nor were there to be any special rights or privileges for any particular individual or group, since all citizens would be expected to follow closely this preoccupation with justice, and of course to base their conduct upon it. Eventually, Martí was firmly convinced, an objective communal application of Justice would result, one that would then benefit all members of the patria: "A los obreros [and by extension all members of Cuban society] razonadores, mesuradores, activa, lenta y tremendamente enérgicos, no los vencerá jamás, en lo que sea justo nadie" (VIII, 352-353). (My underlining).

The second major feature of Martí's "nueva religión" was nothing less than Freedom itself, regarded by him as being of paramount importance for the stability, and the self-respect, of the Republic. Political independence was obviously the first necessary step in the liberation process, but as Jorge Mañach has correctly noted this same

political independence really constituted only one manifestation of the wider concept of Freedom, of the many basic liberties that would be available to all Cubans in the Republic.[10] Freedom, then, along with Justice and Dignity, three intangible--but essential--concepts, would be for the first time ever within the reach of all citizens.

The determination to implement Freedom in the patria represented for José Martí even more of a personal crusade than his preoccupation with the concept of Justice. This may well be explained by his experiences in Cuba when no attempt was ever made by the Spanish authorities to claim that their domination of the Island--in all political, social, economic and even cultural matters--was "just." (On the other hand the Spanish administration did make an attempt, albeit at irregular intervals, to promote a façade of Liberty--the most noteworthy example being the tragically short-lived rule of Governor Dulce.) Martí's bitter disappointment at this pretense of "Liberty," withdrawn almost as soon as it had been introduced, thus made him more determined than ever that in a liberated Cuba this exceedingly thin veneer would be replaced by a true form of political freedom. Martí openly despised the artificial philanthropic pose of the madre patria,[11] and frequently condemned the few meagre liberties "generously" bestowed upon the Island as "migajas de libertad" (XIV, 183) and "merienda de ratones" (XIV, 462), which he claimed were an affront to the intelligence of the Cuban people.

In their place he proposed a new and effective concept of freedom such as his countrymen had never before experienced. Writing for La América in 1883 he explained the nature of the "libertad ilustrada"

(VIII, 381) that he offered them. It was not, he took great pains to explain, that rather simplistic view of the domination of the privileged élite by the working classes, since as he explained, "ya se sabe que ésa es nueva y terrible tiranía" (VIII, 381). Nor was it to be what he termed "la libertad nominal, y proclamaria, que en ciertos labios parece . . . lo que la cruz de Jesús bueno en los estandartes inquisitoriales" (VIII, 381). Instead it was to be an essentially practical liberty, based upon the needs of the patria and upon a general respect for the rights and privileges of our fellow man, a respect which, Martí insisted, would result from a selfless appreciation of our society:

> aquella libertad en las costumbres y las leyes, que de la competencia y equilibrio de derechos vive, que traye de suyo el respeto general como garantía mutua, que libra su mantenimiento a ese supremo e infalible director de la naturaleza humana: el instinto de la conservación (VIII, 381).

The appeal which the idea of Freedom held for Martí is probably best judged by his lyrical description, published in La América in September of 1883, in which he described Freedom as "la esencia de la vida . . . la condición ineludible de toda obra útil" (IX, 451).[12] Yet despite this emotional pull exercised upon him by the idea of introducing the noble doctrine of Liberty into his country, Martí was well aware that there were several possible interpretations of that term. As The Encyclopedia of Philosophy points out:

> When men speak of their being free or claim freedom for themselves, they are referring not only to the absence of coercion and restraint imposed by others (freedom from) but also to that on behalf of which freedom is being claimed (freedom for).[13]

As this observation relates to Martí's desires for a "liberated Cuba," it appears quite obvious that Martí wanted both freedoms for the patria, the first desired to free his country from the clutches of Spanish domination, from the oppressive colonialist system which exploited the Island so ruthlessly, from a general position of servility not far removed from slavery. This is self-evident. On the positive side of the balance ("freedom for") Martí also possessed very explicit ideas in regard to what he desired his compatriots to be able to attain.

Among the benefits that he firmly believed would accrue from an honest application of his concept of freedom was an intellectual and political freedom, which would offer his fellow Cubans--again for the first time in their history--the opportunity to discuss both the validity and the defects of official policy, to offer constructive criticism as to how the government could be improved, and thus to participate in the governmental decision-making process. In short, as one critic has noted, Martí's plans were essentially to convert his fellow citizens into "entes conscientes, cultos, responsables, capaces de llevar sobre sí la carga de una gigantesca tarea."[14]

The physical benefits of Freedom with which Martí hoped to provide his compatriots will be outlined in some detail in the next chapter on Martí's specific plans for the revolutionary society of Cuba. In general, however, it appears fairly clear that Freedom was again not merely an empty concept for Martí, since he made it obvious that the entire struggle for political independence really only constituted a means of bringing about a more healthy, educated and just society.[15]

Indeed Martí's interpretation of Freedom was essentially a social-oriented view that at times was rather vague and naïve, while at others was truly thought-provoking because of its quite startling relevance to modern times (as for instance his plans for a concentrated mass literacy campaign, upon which an almost identical scheme was modelled by the Castro government in 1961, "Year of Education"). A study of all the basic freedoms that Martí dreamed of implementing in a liberated Cuba further reveals that all had to be subordinated to what Martí considered the most pressing needs of society, thus emphasising even more the social orientation of his policies.

In other words, after the liberation of the Island there would be many hitherto-unknown liberties available to all Cubans, liberties which, Martí stated, would respond to fundamental social needs. Thereafter Cubans would be able not only to enjoy the intangible benefits (dignidad, pride in their national origins, colour and culture, a sense of "identity"), but would also be "free" to enjoy social privileges previously reserved for the peninsulares: a thorough education, an honourable and respected position in society, and full-time employment. These were all new freedoms for Cuba, and all were planned to reshape totally the structure and the very fabric of Cuban society. Moreover, it is important to note that, should his compatriots choose to ignore a programme regarded by Martí as essential for the development of the patria, and of course if he had been elected Delegado, he was fully prepared to actually force their acceptance through legislation. This can be deduced from his determination that all Cubans should of necessity co-operate in the rebuilding of the Republic, and thus in the

liberation process. Consequently these new-found freedoms, available to all Cubans regardless of colour or social standing, were not without severe social obligations, to be imposed on all citizens.

The success of Martí's plans to introduce such ambitious reforms into the Republic obviously hinged closely upon the popular acceptance of the rigorous sacrifices inherent in his sociabilidad programme, yet Martí was confident that his fellow Cubans would, upon mature reflection, accept the validity of his theories. Nevertheless Martí was well aware, from his fifteen-year stay in the United States, of the facility with which seemingly excellent human and social liberties could be abused, and realised that these many new freedoms that he hoped to implement in Cuba would require much care and attention. Once again, then, as in so many other aspects of life in revolutionary Cuba, the successful application of an important governmental policy depended almost entirely upon the co-operation and goodwill of all citizens. All Cubans would therefore be expected to ensure that these new liberties were not subject to manipulation or abuse, while at the same time constantly exercising them in order that they be better appreciated, for as Martí graphically explained in 1881:

> En la gimnasía nacional, como en la individual, no se llega a alzar pesos mayores sino después de haber alzado gradualmente por largo tiempo pesos menores. Crecen las fuerzas por su ejercicio constante y regular: piérdense cuando se les compele a extemporáneas explosiones. No es fuerza galvánica ocasional, ficticia, externa, la que los pueblos necesitan para prosperar seguramente; sino fuerza muscular, bien ejercitada, bien repartida, permanente, interna, propia. La libertad es un premio que la Historia da al trabajo. No puede ser

> que se entre en el goce de una recompensa, sin haberla antes merecido por una labor sólida y útil (XII, 146).[16]

In order to better appreciate Martí's dedication to achieving this "libertad verdadera," it is useful to study his reaction to the campaigns waged by two mild opposition groups in Cuba--the Autonomists and the Annexationists--both of whom he saw as trying hard to foist off upon the Cuban people a partial liberty, one that would leave the vast majority of Cubans under an equally unsympathetic régime. For Martí, Freedom was a privilege to be enjoyed by all Cubans, and was not merely the prize possession of any selfish minority group. This conviction led him to condemn vociferously the self-centred attempts of both the Autonomists and the Annexationists to maintain their own advantageous economic, social and political position, while paying little attention to the best interests of the country at large.[17]

The Autonomists, a monied Cuban élite with even greater social and financial prospects to look forward to if their plans proved successful, were attempting at this time to convince the Cuban people that, rather than risk the well-being and economic stability of the Island by plunging into a needless and necessarily violent war against Spain, instead they should submit to the well-intentioned dictates of the 'madre patria', since the benevolent motherland had promised that gradually Cuba would be allowed to adopt an autonomous position, similar in status to that bestowed upon the Dominion of Canada by Great Britain.[18] Martí fought vigorously against this group, for he could clearly see the danger of what he termed "el funesto imperio de una

oligarquía criolla" (II, 264), determined to preserve their special privileges at all costs, as they gradually filled the lucrative posts vacated by the Crown's representatives, and continued to exploit the vast majority of the citizens of an "autonomous" Cuba. Freedom, Martí countered, should not be a hollow-sounding term tossed around high-handedly by this influential group, but instead should offer practical applications to everyday life situations, and should of necessity be enjoyed in all of its forms by every Cuban citizen.

For similar reasons Martí violently condemned those other members of the creole élite, the Annexationists, who also attempted to dissuade their fellow Cubans from forging a path towards full political independence, claiming that Cuba was in no condition to govern itself, since it lacked both the economic stability and the national maturity for such an undertaking. Their solution was instead to encourage the country to change masters, allowing itself to be absorbed by the nearby United States of America, and thereby become a protectorate of that country.[19] The Annexationists also enjoyed a favoured status on the Island and so, convinced that annexation of the Island by the United States could only improve their own standard of living (since in effect they would simply replace all the Spanish administrators and owners), they consistently preached to their compatriots that they should forget the short-term need of political liberty and instead reflect upon the economic advantages to be enjoyed as a dependency of the United States. This condition of exchanging one national dependency for another was completely unacceptable to Martí, who called the Annexationists "la minoría soberbia, que entiende por libertad su predominio libre sobre los conciudadanos a

quien juzga de estirpe menor" (III, 104). Again, Freedom for him not only had to be decisively won as a result of the determined effort of all Cubans (Martí frequently referred to the need for "el respeto conquistado por la propia emancipación" (II, 347)), but also had to be enjoyed equally by all of his compatriots. Indeed, as the opening paragraph of the "Resoluciones tomadas por la Emigración Cubana de Tampa" states, Martí quite simply wanted to "fundar, con los restos de una colonia de esclavos sobre esclavos, un pueblo útil y pacífico de hombres verdaderamente libres" (I, 271).

Manuel Pedro González, commenting upon the vast moralistic and humanitarian essence of José Martí's plans for socio-political reform in Cuba, and in particular upon Martí's "loving" or "caring" attitude, has voiced a common reaction of many people who attempt to unravel the foundation of Martí's work:

> Tan inusitada y de tan noble jerarquía es la trinidad de valores que en él se dio que el lector--o el oyente--no iniciado en su conocimiento se torna escéptico y suspicaz, y reputa como loa de adepto o hipérbole lo que es mero recuento de excelsitudes auténticas intelectuales, artísticas y éticas.[20]

Martí the Idealist, it is felt by many, was totally removed from the reality of his time, a blatantly unjustifiable optimist, similar in many ways to the stereotyped concept that we have of Cervantes' Don Quixote--noble but quite mad. It further appears that because of the amazing variety of talents and ideas of Martí, this unusual blend of vivid lyrical description, of great poetic ability, with a programme of radical social reform--and in particular because of his determination

to create a selfless "new man"--, that José Martí has been widely misunderstood.

In actual fact the key to understanding this deeply-rooted idealism, which in the modern era seems somewhat out of place, lies in Martí's fundamental concept of the new man, whom he obviously interpreted as a being with boundless potential. Martí, as Carlos Alberto Montaner has pointed out, firmly held "una visión antropocéntrica del cosmos. Para él el hombre es el centro del orden cósmico y la justificación de todo lo creado."[21] Indeed Martí's firm beliefs in the essential virtue of Man can be seen in his reply to a fellow Cuban exile when he was asked why he pursued such lofty goals: "No hay quien no tenga algo bueno--decía--; falta saberlo descubrir."[22] Given the faith in his fellow man that Martí most definitely possessed, as well as his conviction that the best guarantee for the success of his radical reform programme was a revitalised moral consciousness, his campaign to build a "new man," and by doing so to build the liberated patria upon a moral foundation, appears quite sound. His planned revolution, unlike that of the other Spanish colonies, was then not simply a move to gain political independence: "Para Martí no hay revolución sin creación de una conciencia ética, en la que la persona juega un papel primordial."[23] Without this necessary moral foundation it was quite probable that the more radical of his plans would have come to naught, while conversely with the creation of what Martí clearly saw as a "new revolutionary man," the Revolution would have had an excellent chance of surviving. Seen in this light, the creation of the "nueva conciencia ética" was

the very keystone to the Revolution that Martí aspired to lead after political independence had been won, while too it constituted an absolute prerequisite for his extensive programme of social reform, to be studied in the next chapter. The liberation of the patria thus had to begin with a raising of national and social consciousness, in short the liberation of the Cuban citizen.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

[1]Similar sentiments are expressed by Martí in his short play written on the struggle for Guatemalan independence, Patria y libertad. One of the characters, Coana, narrates how an Indian friend of hers, Martino, is prepared to fight to the death if necessary, in order that the patria in general might at last possess this necessary dignidad:

> Martino ansía la muerte una y mil veces
> a esclavo ser, sin patria ni bandera
> (XVIII, 131).

[2]It is interesting to note Martí's views on what he considered the absolute duty of all honourable men to fight for their self-respect, their sense of dignidad, whenever they see liberty threatened: "Todo hombre de justicia y honor pelea por la libertad dondequiera que la vea ofendida, porque eso es pelear por su entereza de hombre; y el que ve la libertad ofendida, y no pelea por ello, o ayuda a los que la ofenden, --no es hombre entero" (IV, 391). In the context of contemporary Cuba, Martí stated that this duty clearly revolved around replacing the immoral and uncaring administration of Spain with a new, moral and necessarily Cuban form of government.

[3]Martí described the de-humanising effect of life in North American society in a poem entitled "Amor de ciudad grande," written in New York in April of 1882:

> ¡Así el amor, sin pompa ni misterio
> Muere, apenas nacido, de saciado!
> ¡Jaula es la villa de palomas muertas
> Y ávidos cazadores! Si los pechos
> Se rompen de los hombres, y las carnes
> Rotas por tierra ruedan ¡no han de verse
> Dentro más que frutillas estrujadas!
>
> Se ama de pie, en las calles, entre el polvo
> De los salones y las plazas; muere
> La flor el día en que nace.
> . . . . . .
> Pues, ¿quién tiene
> Tiempo de ser hidalgo? . . .
> ¿Qué es lo que falta

> Que la ventura falta? Como liebre
> Azorada, el espíritu se esconde,
> Trémulo huyendo al cazador que ríe,
> Cual en seto selvoco, en nuestro pecho
> (XVI, 170-171).

[4]In a similar vein is an entry made in a personal notebook of Martí in 1894: "Y yo pregunto cuando se trata de España . . . ¿valía más lo que había en América cuando expulsamos a los conquistadores que lo que había cuando vinieron?--En poesía, ¿qué versos de la colonia valen lo que la única oda u odas, que se conocen de Netzahualcoyotl? En arquitectura, ¿qué pared de iglesia o celebrado frontispicio, ni aun el del churrigueresco Sagrario de México, vale lo que una pared de Mitla o de la Casa del Gobernador?" (XXI, 375).

Martí's pride in "Nuestra América," as well as his determination to help the people of his continent is confirmed by a letter to Valero Pujol dated November 27, 1877: "Estoy orgulloso, ciertamente, de mi amor a los hombres, de mi apasionado afecto a todas estas tierras, preparadas a común destino por iguales y cruentos dolores. Para ellas trabajo, y les hablaré siempre con el entusiasmo y la rudeza . . . de un hijo amantísimo, que no quiere que sus amigos llamen a la energía necesaria, inoportunidad; a las resistencias sordas, circunstancias.

Vivir humildemente, trabajar mucho, engrandecer a América, estudiar sus fuerzas y revelárselas, pagar a los pueblos el bien que me hacen: éste es mi oficio. Nada me abatirá, nadie me lo impedirá" (VII, 112).

[5]International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. David L. Sills (New York: Cromwell, Collier and Macmillan Inc., 1968), 14, p. 551.

[6]Manuel Isidro Méndez, referring to Martí's astonishing capacity for self-sacrifice, claims that this manifestly selfless attitude was the basis of Martí's plans for all forms of social and human progress: "Filosofías, religiones y credos de toda índole tenían que caer naturalmente bajo su afanosa proposición de culto al progreso de la humanidad, que sólo se redime por el sacrificio constante y desinteresado de los hombres, los cuales, a medida que se cultivan, comprenden mejor tan grave y hermosa misión." Manuel Isidro Méndez, p. xviii.

[7]In short, what Martí wanted to inculcate into his compatriots was the same highly moralistic consciousness that he already possessed. As he had already discovered, Martí essentially wanted his fellow Cubans to realise that "El género humano no tiene más que una mejilla: ¡dondequiera que un hombre recibe un golpe en su mejilla, todos los demás hombres lo reciben!" (X, 288).

It is interesting to note that Martí was a consistent proponent of all men making a conscious effort to overcome temptation in general, sacrificing their own comfort in order to "purify" themselves. Indeed a close study of his life reveals that Martí's claims in this regard were no idle boast. As he wrote in a letter in 1882, Martí was truly "good": "Dime que no soy bueno, o que no vivo enamorado del bien de los hombres, y me enojaré, porque sería injusticia" (XX, 301). Perhaps the most lyrical summary of this faith in his personal ability to overcome potential evil or selfish impulses was his poem in Versos sencillos:

> No me pongan en lo oscuro
> A morir como un traidor:
> ¡Yo soy bueno, y como bueno
> Moriré de cara al sol! (XVI, 98).

[8]Julio Le Riverend, "Martí: ética y acción revolucionaria," p. 48.

[9]Willy de Blanck, "José Martí, el gran político cubano que se adelantó a su tiempo," Archivo José Martí, 5 (July-Dec. 1950), p. 228.

[10]Mañach states that "aunque la independencia política era para Martí esa condición indispensable, la palabra 'independencia' aparece muy rara vez en sus escritos. Se trataba de un valor menor, de un valor implícito en el concepto más amplio de la libertad." Jorge Mañach, El pensamiento político y social de Martí (La Habana: Edición Oficial del Senado, 1941), p. 17.

[11]See Martí's report to La Opinión Nacional of November 18, 1881: "De las colonias, ¡míseras colonias! habló con halagadoras promesas de reforma, y dijo que la Constitución había sido promulgada, y la censura de la prensa abolida. Y decía esto el rey de España, ante las Cámaras, en el instante en que 'por considerar ineficaz la ley de imprenta', el Capitán General de Cuba suprimía tres periódicos, y enviaba a sus redactores, que habían escrito amparados por la ley, desterrados a España" (XIV, 141).

Some four months later, again writing for La Opinión Nacional, Martí related how "ya tiene el jefe de la Isla autoridad, que le envía el rey, de mirar como no concedidas aquellas leyes de libertad de prensa y de garantías de persona que, como don raro y generoso, había enviado el gobierno de Sagasta a los cubanos" (XIV, 444). Finally, Martí's own experiences in Cuba, during the extremely brief administration of Cuba by Captain-General Dulce had convinced him of the sheer impossibility of the Island being awarded any form of meaningful freedom by the Crown.

[12]"Sin aire la tierra muere. Sin libertad, como sin aire propio y esencial, nada vive . . . Como el hueso al cuerpo humano, y el eje a una rueda, y el ala a un pájaro, y el aire al ala,--así es la libertad la esencia de la vida. Cuanto sin ella se hace es imperfecto, mientras en mayor grado se la goce, con más flor y más fruto se vive. Es la condición ineludible de toda obra útil" (IX, 451).

[13]The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, ed. Paul Edwards (New York: Cromwell, Collier and MacMillan Inc., 1967), 3, p. 223.

[14]Julio Le Riverend, "Martí y Lenin," Política Internacional, 8 (1970), p. 62.

[15]Jaime Suchlicki, studying this intent of Martí to build such a model society, is correct when he affirms: "Martí can only be understood if we think of him as a student of social problems, rather than a purely political doctrinaire." Jaime Suchlicki, "The Political Ideology of José Martí," Caribbean Studies, 6 (Apr. 1966), p. 31.

[16]Martí was truly determined that Freedom was to be constantly exercised in a liberated Cuba: "Lo que ha de hacerse es tener incesantemente la libertad en ejercicio; por donde el bueno se fatiga, el malo entra: la república no puede dormir: el tirano o el bribón sólo se levantan sobre los pueblos viciosos o indiferentes" (XII, 472).

[17]For Martí, all was exceptionally clear: "Amamos a la libertad porque en ella vemos la verdad. Moriremos por la libertad verdadera, no por la libertad que sirve de pretexto para mantener a unos hombres en el goce excesivo, y a otros en el dolor innecesario" (II, 255).

[18]"Con respecto a España, los miembros de este partido político predicaban la autonomía de Cuba 'bajo la nacionalidad española', identificándose así con el programa de los liberales españoles que pedían la inclusión de Cuba en el Estado español, con el carácter de una provincia federal pero sin llegar a concederle su independencia." Agustín Cué Cánovas, Martí, el escritor y su época (México: Ediciones Centenario, 1961), p. 35.

[19]Cué Cánovas notes well their position: "Los anexionistas argumentaban que para salir del dominio de España y lograr la seguridad interior y la paz, no quedaba otro camino que buscar un aliado poderoso incorporando Cuba a los Estados Unidos. Estas aspiraciones eran alentadas por declaraciones y propuestas de compra que con respecto a Cuba habían hecho gobernantes y políticos norteamericanos. Desde 1812 el notable político Jefferson había declarado que Cuba debía pertenecer, tarde o temprano, a los Estados Unidos." Ibid., p. 25.

Martí parodied the attempts of the Anexationistas to take control of Cuba in an amusing poem entitled "Tengo que contarles...":

Tengo que contarles
Una fabulita
A los caballeros
Anti-anexionistas.
Cierto enamorado
Fuése de visita
A la casa hermosa
De su novia linda.

Le pidió la mano
Da la mano niña,
--¡No más que la mano!
--¡No más! Y qué fina
Tiene la muñeca
Esta novia linda
--¡Déjame que bese
La muñeca linda!
--No más que la muñeca.

Y a los nueve meses--
Les nació una niña.
Cuéntoles el caso
Sin mayor malicia
A los caballeros
Anti-anexionistas
(XVII, 274-275).

On a more sombre note, Martí tackled the same theme of this annexationist movement, revealing now his despair at this attempt to unite Cuba and the "bárbaro extranjero":

Hoja tras hoja de papel consumo:
Rasgos, consejos, iras, letras fieras
Que parecen espadas: lo que escribo,
Por compasión lo borro, porque el crimen,
El crimen es al fin de mis hermanos . . .
¡Allí, mas sólo allí, decir pudiera
Lo que dicen y viven!, que mi patria
Piensa en unirse al bárbaro extranjero (XVI, 255).

[20]Manuel Pedro González, Indagaciones martianas, p. 53.

[21]Carlos Alberto Montaner, p. 7.

[22]Blanca Z. de Baralt, El Martí que yo conocí (New York: Las Américas, 1968), p. 41.

[23]Julio Le Riverend, "Martí: ética y acción revolucionaria," p. 48. Le Riverend concludes that in many ways Martí can indeed be regarded as a true humanist: "Es un humanista en el sentido de que tiene confianza en los hombres, los cree capaces de superar sus propias limitaciones, y en fin, de ser conducidos para bien de ellos mismos, adquiriendo en base a la realidad que se transforme, una mayor altura moral" (p. 48).

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF MARTÍ'S LIBERATED REPUBLIC

Although José Martí was killed before he was able to put his reform programmes into effect (which therefore means that we have to base our analysis of Martí's intentions in regard to social reform upon what he said he would do, and not what he actually did), it appears fairly obvious that, had he survived the war against the Spanish forces, he would have fought tirelessly to institute sweeping social changes in the patria. Indeed, a study of Martí's exemplary selfless life, when compared with the strength of his convictions, reveals quite dramatically that he did in fact "practice what he preached," thus bearing out a commonly-cited claim that José Martí was "el hombre más puro de la raza."[1]

Turning now to the type of society and social structure that Martí aspired to found in a liberated Cuba, there appear to be four basic and extremely clearly-defined social innovations that Martí supported wholeheartedly, and undoubtedly would have strived to introduce after independence had been won. (It is interesting to note that all of these programmes can in fact be viewed as the logical conclusion of Martí's desires for a new and necessarily moral basis of the patria, since their successful application was dependent largely upon a national determination to implement such previously unheard-of reforms.) First, Martí was determined to eliminate all racial inequality in an independent

Cuba. Second, he was equally convinced that a meaningful form of social equality should be introduced, thus reducing the glaring inequalities, and hence the grave social tensions that he had observed in North America. The third broad plank of Martí's social reform programme was to ensure that the highly influential Catholic Church be stripped of all its earthly power in the Island, while at the same time Martí strongly encouraged his compatriots to develop a lay, anti-clerical perspective. Finally, as the keystone to all of these policies, Martí stipulated that all citizens should be both informed and well-educated, so that they would better appreciate the justification for these necessary programmes, and thus would be more willing to co-operate in their implementation.

In regard to Martí's concern with the blatant injustice of racial discrimination, it was shown in Chapter I how, when he was a young boy, Martí had been deeply affected by the sight of negro slaves being maltreated. His attitude toward racial prejudice was thus conditioned both by his experiences in Cuba and, more noticeably, by the extensive period of his residence in the United States, where he condemned discrimination practised against Indian, black and oriental Americans.

In the North America of that period the rate of immigration had soared dramatically as millions of oppressed and poverty-striken people seeking to start a "new life" flocked into the continent every year. Understandably this flood of immigrants, the "huddled masses" as Alistair Cook descriptively termed them,[2] placed enormous pressures

upon both the economy and the society of the United States, particularly in the port-cities where they first arrived. Incentives were subsequently offered to the recent arrivals to encourage them to leave the cities for the virgin wastes and settle on farming land in the more remote areas: money was often awarded such settlers and a substantial parcel of land was usually given to them.

This solution may well have relieved much of this social pressure within the cities but unfortunately, as Martí lost no opportunity to indicate, in the vast majority of cases this land so graciously awarded to the settlers in fact belonged solely to the original settlers of North America, the indigenous Indian tribes, who in one fell swoop saw themselves deprived of both their land and their principal means of livelihood. Thus, Martí pointed out, the Indian tribes were the first "Americans" against whom racial discrimination was widely practised in the United States. Writing for La Opinión Nacional in 1881, Martí criticized the crude and callous attempts by the American government to force the Indian people "a que abandone para siempre sus risueños poblados, frondosos bosques y valles alegres" (IX, 37). Equally disturbing for Martí were the alternative arrangements instituted by the federal government since the Indians were subsequently herded together on reserves, where the government agents appointed to ensure their well-being in fact paid little attention to their charges, concentrating instead on devising schemes to steal the money provided for the Indians' maintenance (IX, 297).

Martí detested the cruel treatment meted out to the Indian peoples by their supposed protectors, and violently condemned the

supercilious attitude of these white agents toward a people who, he constantly reminded his readers, were also human beings, and who therefore merited at the very least their respect and compassion, if not their understanding and support:

> No los miran cual debieran los agentes, como a una raza rudimentaria y simpática, estancada en flor por el choque súbito con la acumulada civilización de los europeos de América; sino que los tienen como a bestias (X, 287).

Martí's grief at this brutal form of racial discrimination and his firm opposition to allowing it in the liberated patria can be deduced from a report published in La Nación in August of 1885, in which he presented a harrowing description of living conditions for the Indians, and concluded: "¿Cómo podemos andar, historia adelante, con ese crimen a la espalda, con esa impedimenta?" (X, 273).

In his chronicles to La Nación, and despite an infrequent spark of optimism at the racial harmony that might result from the commonly-held belief in the "melting pot" theory,[3] Martí also revealed his strong personal disgust at the obvious abuse of other non-white minority groups in the United States and in particular the black and Chinese immigrant sectors. In Martí's view the black population in North America was really in a similar situation to their black counterparts in Cuba, since both groups were exploited to the limits of their endurance, while being maltreated by their white "superiors." Consequently, given Martí's uncompromising opposition to the pitiful conditions that black Cuban workers were forced to live under on the Island, it is not surprising to see his fierce condemnation of the immoral treatmented received by black

Americans, particularly in the South:

> la caza de negros que va de creces en el Sur . . . Crece el negro en el Sur, y el blanco indígena no crece como él ni van al Sur que sólo por donde toca al Norte resucita, las arribadas de inmigrantes blancos. Y el blanco del país, antes que verse dominado por el negro o mezclarse con él de hembra o varón, decide exterminarlo, espantarlo, echarlo de la comarca como al zorro (XII, 335-336).

Later in the same month, November 1889, La Nación published another report of Martí in which, to give his Latin American readers some idea of the extent of racial discrimination in the United States, Martí related the case concerning a former Senator named Douglass, who had recently been sent by the U.S. government as Minister to Haiti. Unfortunately his mission had been plagued with ill fortune from the outset since on the trip to Haiti, "los oficiales republicanos del buque de guerra en que iba Douglass se negaron a ir de viaje con él, porque 'no podían sentarse a la mesa con un mulato'" (XII, 351). Clearly the "land of opportunity" was not without serious racial problems.[4]

The other "non-white" minority group which Martí defended against the abuses of widespread discrimination were the Chinese immigrants, for whom Martí expressed great personal admiration. By dint of hard work and frugal living they generally managed to save sufficient money to buy property wherever they settled, a fact which unfortunately aroused the envy and subsequently the resentment of other less industrious workers: "Llega el chino a la mina: levanta casas, fonda, lavandería, tienda, teatro y con menos dinero, vive próspero, de lo que

el minero europeo se encona y encela" (X, 306). Even more disturbing for Martí, however, was the decision of the American Congress, in an attempt to release much of this distrust and racial tension, to actually prevent all Chinese immigration to the most popular centre of settlement for immigrants from the Orient, San Francisco:

> Era el duelo mortal de una ciudad contra una raza. Por mantener la esclavitud de los negros hizo una guerra el Sur. Pues por lograr la expulsión de los chinos hubiera hecho una guerra el Oeste . . . es la ira de una ciudad de menestrales que han menester de altos salarios contra un pueblo de trabajadores que los vencen, porque pueden trabajar a sueldos bajos. Es el rencor del hombre fuerte al hombre dócil (IX, 282-283).[5]

From all these reports of Martí on racial strife in the United States it is fairly easy to see his fervent disapproval of all attempts by any majority group to impose itself upon, or to discriminate against, any racial minorities. Martí was specifically referring to the United States, but his impassioned plea for racial equality was perfectly clear, and was obviously applicable to the Cuban situation as well: in the liberated patria, then, all Cubans regardless of colour would thus be assured of equal privileges.

It is interesting to note that Martí himself, because of his situation as a creole or person born in Latin America, was automatically relegated to the status of "second-class citizen" within his own country, since the vast majority of high-ranking administrative posts were reserved for Spanish-born residents of the Island. Moreover, since Martí was planning to overthrow completely the Spanish domination of his homeland, it would not therefore be entirely surprising to find

"anti-Spanish" references in his work. Martí, however, took extreme care to ensure that no reprisals would be taken against the Spanish inhabitants of Cuba, and continually expressed his desire that, after political independence had been won, all inhabitants of Cuba, regardless of colour or racial background, would be able to live in harmony.[6] To a certain degree, however, Martí's attitude can also be attributed to his desire to maximize the basis of his support on the Island, since in his campaign to liberate Cuba Martí obviously needed all the help that he could muster. Consequently, his overtures to the Spaniards living in Cuba could, theoretically at least, be interpreted as an adroit political manoeuvre to acquire additional support.

More probable than this explanation, though, was Martí's patently clear conviction (repeated on a number of occasions) that all human beings, regardless of race or nationality, were essentially and innately equal, and therefore all deserved the same common respect and recognition from their fellow man. When viewed in this light, even "the enemy" were to be accorded the fullest respect, both during and after the struggle for independence, and eventually were to be cordially invited to remain in Cuba, should they so desire. Martí's intentions were thus quite clear: "pelear con ellos hasta morir, para convidarlos luego a quedarse, libres como nosotros, en nuestra casa libre" (IV, 253). Consequently, although the Cuban creoles had been consistently discriminated against during the three centuries of Spanish domination of the Island, Martí was adamant that there should be no repercussions against those Spaniards who chose to stay on the Island as Cuban citizens, since both criollos and peninsulares shared a similar cultural tradition, and

all would be guaranteed equal opportunities in an independent Cuba:

> Soy cubano y he padecido mucho por serlo; pero mi padre fue valenciano, y mi madre es canaria, y así como ellos me tuvieron en mi tierra, asi tengo en mí un ardentísimo cariño para mis dos patrias, sin el odio y la injusticia que los afearían (XXII, 12).

In short, as Martí stated on at least two separate occasions, "Los españoles buenos, son cubanos" (XX, 371 and IV, 389).

Martí further defined his position in regard to the issue of racial equality in several articles written in the early 1890's. In essence, his plans called for all Cubans to be judged on their moral qualities and on their contribution to the patria, and by extension to their fellow Cubans, rather than on the colour of their skin. For, as he wrote to Serafín Bello, "El hombre de color tiene derecho a ser tratado por sus cualidades de hombre, sin referencia alguna a su color" (I, 255). In an article entitled "Basta," published in Patria in March of 1892 he further criticized all attempts to categorize citizens on the basis of their colour, both militant black and white groups, since for him this was both irrelevant and obnoxious: "Debiera bastar. Debiera cesar esa alusión continua al color de los hombres" (I, 338).

Martí discounted, in frankly unscientific fashion, the possibility of racial tension in a liberated Cuba, claiming that "no hay odio de razas, porque no hay razas" (VI, 22), while poking fun at attempts made by anthropologists to classify racial origin and identity. All such efforts to label the different racial classifications appeared to him entirely artificial, and in fact he haughtily called them the "razas

de librería" (VI, 22). Such a high-handed and summary dismissal of the distinct racial types is very important for it obviously reflected his extremely strong personal desires to ensure racial harmony and equality in the Republic. In sum, all divisions on the basis of colour would thus be unacceptable to Martí's Republic.

Probably the best synthesis of Martí's thoughts on the question of racial equality, and by extension the basis for his future "colourless" society, was his article "Mi raza," also published in Patria. Martí first criticized all attempts to label any other human group or racial identity as inferior, since as he noted somewhat ironically, even "los galos blancos de ojos azules y cabellos de oro se vendieron como siervos, con la argolla al cuello, en los mercados de Roma" (II, 298). Martí then explained in no uncertain terms his personal views on the subject of racial "identity," showing how he disagreed vehemently with these attempts to classify human beings:

> El hombre no tiene ningún derecho especial porque pertenezca a una raza u otra: dígase hombre, y ya se dicen todos los derechos. El negro, por negro, no es inferior ni superior a ningún otro hombre: peca por redundante el blanco que dice 'mi raza'; peca por redundante el negro que dice 'mi raza'. Todo lo que divide a los hombres, todo lo que los especifica, aparta o acorrala, es un pecado contra la humanidad (II, 298).

Consequently, both from the pragmatic point of view--since Martí definitely required the help of as many of his fellow Cubans as possible--and, more important, from the moral viewpoint, Martí made it extremely clear that not only would racial tolerance be encouraged in Cuba, but also that he fervently hoped to see a cessation of all

references to Cuban citizens by their colour or racial origin: in the liberated patria, all were to be equal citizens, and racial discrimination was to be unacceptable. Thus, as Jesus Sabourín has rightly noted, "toda la obra de Martí constituye un hermoso, incuestionable y útil testimonio de antirracismo."[7] Essentially, then, what Martí passionately desired for a liberated Cuba was the emergence of a true hombre, and a true cubano: "Hombre es más que blanco, más que mulato, más que negro. Cubano es más que blanco, más que mulato, más que negro" (II, 299).

Therefore, based both upon an examination of Martí's chronicles dealing with racial tension in the United States, and upon his direct references to the desired nature of Cuban society, it can be shown how Martí was determined that revolutionary Cuba should not be divided by the question of colour or racial origins of the Republic's citizens. By means of a similar method it is possible to show how in essence Martí not only demanded a "colourless" Republic, but desired a "classless" society, one in which all Cubans would belong to the same social level, and in which no social class (be it "rich" or "poor"), would dominate. Martí's awareness of, and displeasure with, the fundamental injustice of class divisions can be seen in his "Diario de Montecristi a Cabo Haitiano," in which he poked fun at one of the more farcical manifestations of class inequality in Cuba:

> Es Es Arturo que se acaba de casar, y la mujer salió a tener el hijo donde su gente de Santiago. De Arturo es esta pregunta: ¿Por qué si mi mujer tiene un muchacho dicen que mi mujer parió,--y si la mujer de Jiménez tiene el suyo dicen que ha dado a luz? (XIX, 186).

At first glance this desire for a classless society, the second fundamental reform programme of Martí for the patria, clashes with the general impression given by Martí's "Escenas Norteamericanas," since almost invariably he defended the position of the workers in their conflicts within the capitalist system. Certainly an analysis of the number of industrial disputes treated by Martí would support this view.[8] It must be remembered, however, that, as has been shown in Chapter IV, for Martí there was never any particular viewpoint that was morally "right." Every individual dispute thus had to be dispassionately judged on its individual merits before any decision could be made.

This obsession of Martí with ensuring that in all conflicts Justice be wrought can be gauged from his views on the most valuable of weapons possessed by the worker--the right to strike. Once again for Martí there was never any such thing as an automatic defence of a strike movement, since as he explained when commenting upon "el difícil problema de las huelgas," the act of striking was "reprochable cuando sirve de órgano a exageradas peticiones de los obreros, salvador y necesario cuando se usa para rechazar exageradas exigencias de los capitalistas" (VI, 229). In short, Martí did not defend either of the two sides without first examining carefully the central issues, and then deciding which of them was morally justifiable. Social justice, with the emphasis being placed upon "Justice," would thus be applied to all members of the liberated patria, and would be based directly upon the individual moral conscience as noted in Chapter IV.

In the context of North American society of the 1880's, which

constituted the fundamental laboratory for most of Martí's social "deductions," it seems fair to say that Martí was greatly disappointed by what he interpreted as the "money cult" of that society. Equally troubling to Martí was the seemingly inevitable struggle in North America between Capital and Labour in which--albeit with many reservations--he generally supported the latter. For Martí there was an obvious social injustice being perpetrated when he contemplated the massive profits being piled up by enterprising capitalists, almost all of whom were totally unconcerned that their employees were hard-pressed to earn a decent living wage. Commenting upon a strike of railway porters in 1882, Martí emphasised the fundamental injustice of this particular situation:

> Para el capitalista, unos cuantos céntimos en libra en las cosas de comer son apenas una cifra en la balanza anual. Para el obrero, esos centavos acarrean en su existencia de centavos, la privación inmediata de artículos elementales e imprescindibles. El obrero pide salario que le dé modo de vestir y comer. El capitalista se lo niega (IX, 322).

In sum, Martí undoubtedly experienced immense personal sympathy for the exploited workers, and indeed for the oppressed and less fortunate members of American society in general. As he noted in La América in September of 1883, "No se puede ver a un obrero de estas grandes ciudades sin sentir lástima, respeto y cariño" (VIII, 437). However, despite this identification of José Martí with the lot of the workers--and not the "working class" as will be seen shortly--and despite his despair at the path of blind materialism upon which American

society as a whole seemed bent, Martí at all times refused to sanction the use of violent means to rectify this situation and bring deserved benefits to the workers.[9] Social justice, however desirable it may be, was of necessity to be implemented by pacific means.

Martí's views on the immorality of violence to bring about social justice are seen in an undated article, "Un viaje a Venezuela," in which he sharply criticized both the selfishness of the upper class, and the means advocated by the lower classes to wrest control from their "superiors," referring to this in fact as "la lucha pueril e indigna entre una casta desdeñosa y dominadora que se opone al advenimiento a la vida de las clases inferiores,--y esas clases inferiores que enturbian con sus excesos de pasiones la fuente pura de sus derechos" (XIX, 155-156). That Martí was opposed to the use of violence as a means of bringing about social justice is further borne out by his reports on the infamous Haymarket Incident in Chicago in which many innocent bystanders were killed after several bombs were thrown during a workers' rally. Although Martí later changed his opinions quite dramatically about the supposed authors of the crime (after he became convinced that there was clearly insufficient evidence to incriminate the accused), he could never forget the barbarity of the crime.[10] His revulsion was further strengthened after material was located replete with detailed instructions in the art of preparing explosives: "mucho texto donde se enseña, por diez centavos, el modo de incendiar y de matar. ¡Al más noble de espíritu, da arrebatos de ira esta perversión de la naturaleza humana!" (X, 450).

Martí was thus, in the context of this period, unable to condone the use of hate or violence as a means of bringing about social change, no matter how justified this change may be. Instead at all times he preferred a constructive political approach, since for him--as he wrote in 1886--"sólo los que desesperan de llegar a las cumbres, quieren echar las cumbres abajo . . . Ese odio a todo lo encumbrado, cuando no es la locura del dolor, es la rabia de las bestias" (X, 451).[11] It was for this reason that Martí condemned attempts to change society by violent means, while fully endorsing both the goals and the non-violent conduct of workers' groups such as the "Orden de los Caballeros de Trabajo" (XI, 18).

In regard to this preoccupation with the use of violence as a means of bringing about social justice, his moving epitaph on the death of Karl Marx can be taken as best exemplifying Martí's views. On the one side Martí praised in glowing terms Marx's boundless humanitarian feelings, his sincere determination to help the oppressed (Martí related how at all times Marx "se puso del lado de los débiles" (IX, 388)), and his acute social conscience, describing Marx as an "hombre comido del ansia de hacer bien" (IX, 388). On the other side, Martí could not support either Marx's theories concerning the necessity of class struggle or his defence of violence as a means of implementing social justice. Martí thus possessed a truly dialectic interpretation of Marx with whom, although he might not have agreed completely, nevertheless he obviously admired deeply:

> Karl Marx estudió los modos de asentar al mundo sobre nuevas bases, y despertó a los dormidos, y les enseñó el modo de echar a

> tierra los puntales rotos. Pero anduvo de prisa, y un tanto en la sombra, sin ver que no nacen viables, ni de seno de pueblo en la historia, ni de seno de mujer en el hogar, los hijos que no han tenido gestación natural y laboriosa (IX, 388).[12]

Moreover, just as Martí denied the very existence of "races" in Cuba, so too did he attempt to convince his followers that there were no natural social "classes," at all times preferring to emphasise his determination that in a liberated Cuba, as Manuel Pedro González and Ivan A. Schulman have correctly noted, all Cubans would possess the same rights and privileges, and would thus all belong to the same "class":

> La que él propugna es una sociedad horizontal, una sociedad sin privilegiados y sin castas dominadoras ya sean plutocráticas o misérrimas . . . una sociedad sin clases, culta y económicamente nivelada.[13]

In short Martí was aspiring to introduce "la libertad ilustrada" (VIII, 381), which would guarantee equal rights to all Cuban citizens, regardless of colour or social standing.

Writing in Patria in 1894 Martí took great pains to explain that the vast majority of his fellow Cubans, previously blatantly discriminated against because of their creole status, would benefit from this innovative programme, while at the same time notifying all of his supporters that there would not be preferential treatment for any sector of the population: "Si desde la sombra entrase en ligas, con los humildes o con los soberbios, sería criminal la revolución, e indigna de que muriésemos por ella . . . Sea nuestro lema: libertad sin ira" (III, 141). In the liberated Republic, Martí thus hoped to

prevent both "los soberbios" and "los humildes" from exploiting the country to their own advantage (as the Spanish overlords had previously done and as the Autonomists and Annexationists also desired): both sectors of Cuban society would therefore be awarded equal social privileges, and in return would be expected to devote both their time and their attention to the well-being of the patria.

Between 1892 and 1894 Martí developed this concept of "libertad sin ira," particularly in the journal Patria, official organ of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano, which Martí edited. His platform, although of a low-key nature, nevertheless was perfectly clear in its objectives, or rather in its aspirations, for a liberated Cuba. In particular, based once again upon his observations on the Capital versus Labour struggle at that time being enacted in North America, Martí criticized all endeavours to apply labels denoting class origins or social position, since for him--as in the case of the racial labels--such an act was both unnecessary and demeaning. In fact in the very first issue of Patria, in an important article entitled "Nuestras ideas," Martí clearly showed his displeasure at even the idea of class divisions in an independent Cuba:

> Apena ver a los hombres reducirse, por el mote exclusivo de obreros, a una estrechez más dañosa que benigna; porque este aislamiento de los hombres de una ocupación o de determinado círculo social, fuera de los acuerdos propios y juiciosos del mismo interés, provocan la agrupación y resistencia de los hombres de otras ocupaciones y otros círculos (I, 320).[14]

It could well be argued, as in the case of the "race" issue, that this desire of Martí to stifle all references to social class was

intended primarily as a practical means of directing the attention of his compatriots to the singular task of liberating the Island. Certainly the task of protecting the unity of the revolutionary group must have been a prime concern of Martí. Another possible practical explanation for his "low-key" references to "los soberbios" is that Martí wanted to avoid scaring off potential rich contributors to his campaign. This last point is extremely doubtful, however, since the vast majority of the funds collected by Martí for the liberation campaign came from small offerings gathered by low-income Cuban workers residing in the United States, and particularly from the tobacco workers in Florida.[15]

It thus appears probable that, in formulating his plans for the future society of the Republic, José Martí denied the necessity of a class structure not only because he wanted to stave off all possibilities of division among the Cuban exiles at a time when unity was an absolute necessity, but also--and undoubtedly the underlying reason for this stance--because Martí firmly desired a liberated patria in which all Cubans would be able to participate actively. As he wrote in October of 1894, "de los derechos y opiniones de sus hijos está hecho un pueblo, y no de los derechos y opiniones de una sola clase de sus hijos" (III, 303).[16] Moreover, after living in the United States during a period of such astronomic economic growth closely paralleled, as he took great pains to convey to his Latin American readers, by an ever-increasing spiral of racial and social tension, Martí most definitely wanted to avoid the possibility that Cuba might fall into the same

unfortunate situation. His description of American society in 1893 showed very clearly the type of tensions that he knew at all costs would have to be avoided in the Republic of Cuba: "Aquí se amontonan los ricos de una parte y los desesperados de otra. El Norte se cierra y está lleno de odios. Del Norte hay que ir saliendo" (II, 367).[17]

Martí's observations on the many social problems of the United States explain to a large extent his strong personal aversion to the very idea of allowing separate classes, and in July of 1892, Martí confessed how "se nos queman los labios, de estas palabras innecesarias de 'obreros' y de 'clase'" (II, 52). He continually emphasised the basic immorality of anybody being exploited by their fellow human beings, and on at least three occasions promised that in the case of Cuba, if he was allowed his way, all forms of unduly harsh exploitation would be made illegal (II, 86 in a letter to Gerardo Castellanos; and in articles published in Patria, II, 255 and III, 303). Probably his most outspoken condemnation of the whole idea of any type of class system was that found in Patria in June of 1892, which in many ways resembles closely his angry and categoric denunciation of the "razas de librería":

> El rico que cumplió con su deber, y hubo muchos ricos que lo cumplieron, será honrado en Patria. Y el pobre que cumplió con su deber, y hubo muchos pobres que lo cumplieron, será honrado en Patria. Hermanar es nuestro oficio. No hay más que dos clases entre los hombres: la de los buenos y la de los malos. Enoja oír hablar de clases. Reconocer que existen es contribuir a ellas. Negarse a reconocerlo, es ayudar a destruirlas (V, 52-53) (My underlining).[18]

The third major feature of Martí's intended reform programme was his determined anti-Catholic, and in fact anti-clerical, stance, since had he been allowed, undoubtedly Martí would have attempted to make massive inroads into the Church's influence in Cuba. The earliest critical references to the Church can be found in Martí's first personal notebook which dated from his initial deportation to Spain following his stay in San Lázaro political prison. In this notebook Martí stated very bluntly his desires for a necessarily secular state in Cuba: "Yo quiero educar a un pueblo que salve al que va a ahogarse, y que no vaya nunca a misa" (XXI, 16). Later in the same notebook Martí was even more explicit in his criticism of the Church, while at the same time proffering his hopes for spiritual regeneration in the Republic:

> El catolicismo fue una razón social.--Aniquilada aquella sociedad, creada otra sociedad nueva, la razón social ha de ser distinta, el catolicismo ha de morir . . .
> Una sola cosa no ha de morir.--El Dios Conciencia, la dualidad sublime del amor y del honor, el pensamiento inspirador de todas las religiones, el germen entero de todas las creencias . . . he aquí el eje del mundo moral;--he aquí a nuestro Dios omnipresente y sapientísimo . . . Este Dios y el Dios Patria, son en nuestra sociedad las únicas cosas adorables (XXI, 28-29).

Martí's writings on the Church contain at all times a highly bitter, almost vengeful, attitude toward the Church's interference in non-spiritual matters. Typical of these was his comment in 1875: "El cristianismo ha muerto a manos del catolicismo. Para amar a Cristo, es necesario arrancarlo a las manos torpes de sus hijos" (VI, 313). Of particular ongoing concern to Martí was the doctrine of resignation preached by the Church, which he angrily depicted as feeling "fuerte

entre las masas por una fe que no pregunta" (XI, 143). The Church's suppression of the process of reasoning was totally unacceptable to the free-thinking Martí, who was convinced even by this early stage that, in order to participate in a liberated Cuba, the Church's attitude would have to change dramatically.

Martí's vitriolic attacks on the Catholic Church continued unabated for the rest of his life, during which time his stance varied remarkably little. In essence he claimed at all times that "nos han enseñado a creer en un Dios que no es el verdadero--El verdadero impone el trabajo como medio de llegar al reposo, la investigación como medio de llegar a la verdad, la honradez como medio de llegar a la pureza" (XIX, 363). His interest in ecclesiastical abuses dropped somewhat after he arrived in the United States in 1880, but resurfaced in dramatic fashion in 1887 when a Catholic priest, Father McGlynn, went against the wishes of his Archbishop in order to defend the economic and social programme of a progressive political candidate, Henry George, and was subsequently summoned to Rome after the archbishop complained about the priest's insubordination and lack of respect. Apparently based solely upon his support of Henry George (According to Martí the Catholic hierarchy supported another more conservative candidate), the unfortunate priest was excommunicated.

In two scathing articles ("El cisma de los católicos en Nueva York" and "El conflicto religioso en los Estados Unidos") Martí denounced the selfish meddling of the Church leaders in political matters over which they did not, or rather should not, have any control. Moreover

in view of Martí's firm defence of the democratic ideal, described in Chapter III, it is not surprising therefore that he should become even more disturbed after seeing the Church leaders suppressing all competition for their "official" candidate, while advising their "flocks" to support their candidate. Martí was shocked by this trafficking in votes and by the blatant forming of dubious alliances of these clerics with both "los poderosos por la alianza que les ofrecía para la protección de los bienes mundanos, y entre los políticos por la necesidad que éstos tienen del voto católico" (XI, 143).[19] Father McGlynn obviously owed obedience to his archbishop in all ecclesiastical matters, Martí argued, although the priest's opinion on politics and economic theory were, or at the very least should be, his own concern. Writing in a personal notebook some seven years later, Martí's indignation at such unjustified interference in non-liturgical matters had still not abated:

> Pues eso (curas en política) de meterse en las casas con la autoridad indiscutible e infalible de las cosas de Dios, esenciales y eternas, para influir en las cosas políticas, locales y de mero accidente, es un robo peor que cualquier otro, y usurpación de almas (XXI, 409).

For Martí, then, the conduct of the Catholic hierarchy, which he closely identified with the interference of Church officials in the McGlynn case, was unforgivable on two counts: first it tended to deprive people of their right to choose their own political afiliations by applying undue pressure upon the "faithful," and second because the Church was obviously prepared, when faced by an alternative stance, to

exploit its religious position in order to suppress dissent and thereby eliminate all competition. Such an usurpation of what Martí regarded as essential freedoms would definitely not be tolerated in a liberated Cuba: the Church, in order to survive there, would have had to change quite drastically.[20]

In contrast to Martí's virulent attacks on the Catholic Church, the Protestant religions tended to fare quite favourably on the few occasions that they were mentioned. To a large extent this was quite simply because they did not wield the same dominating influence over their congregation, and by implication were thereby unable to manipulate the political leanings of the faithful in the same way that their Catholic counterparts could. On the positive side, though, Martí also praised the Protestant Churches for their ability to present Christianity in a truly modern, highly relevant light. Typical of this attitude of Martí was his article, published in La Nación in 1890, on a Methodist community in Chatanqua which he interpreted as being successful because "allí tomó fila con los humildes, y abrió sus flancos a los tiempos, que no quieren férula dominical ni puerta cerrada, ni están por guerras de topo, por credo más o credo menos, sino que piden a la naturaleza el secreto de ella . . . Las Iglesias acá, para no perecer en el mundo, andan con él" (XII, 438).

This theme of the necessity for religion to "move with the times" is also encountered in Martí's moving report on the activities of a famous American minister, Henry Ward Beecher. Christianity as it had been traditionally presented, claimed Martí, was losing all relevance

to the modern era, and therefore was gradually dying out. Moreover, he stated, it was no longer possible for religions to stand isolated simply because of matters of dogma. Martí therefore advocated the unification of all churches in order to attack the prevailing social problems of the day, hoping eventually to see the emergence of "la Iglesia nueva donde, con el cielo por techo, se sentará el Cristo católico junto al Cristo hindú, con Confucio de un lado y Wotan de otro, sin más clérigo que el sentimiento del deber" (XII, 418).

Martí's moving interpretation of Christ, basically an attempt to demystify the traditional image and to present the Christ figure in a more modern light, reveals his personal conviction that true Christianity was potentially a constructive force:

> Fue un hombre sumamente pobre, que quería que los hombres se quisiesen entre sí, que el que tuviera ayudara al que no tuviera, que los hijos respetasen a los padres, siempre que los padres cuidasen a los hijos; que cada uno trabajase, porque nadie tiene derecho a lo que no trabaja; que se hiciera bien a todo el mundo, y que no quisiera mal a nadie.
>
> Cristo estaba lleno de amor para los hombres. Y como él venía a decir a los esclavos que no debían ser más que esclavos de Dios, y como los pueblos le tomaron un gran cariño, y por donde iba diciendo estas cosas, se iban tras él, los déspotas que gobernaban entonces le tuvieron miedo y lo hicieron morir en una cruzada (XIX, 381-382).

Theoretically at least, Martí appeared confident that if the power of the Christian movement could be harnessed to a practical application, a new essentially relevant religion would emerge, one that would be welcomed in the liberated patria. Unfortunately however, Martí saw the

Christian religions, and in particular the Catholic Church, openly rejecting this opportunity to channel their resources to the common benefit of society, preferring instead to follow more materialistic pursuits while hiding behind a façade of religious dogma.[21] Writing in La Nación in July of 1884, Martí revealed his aspirations for this new (and truly "Christian") Church:

> ¿No estarían mejor los fieles de las iglesias levantando estas almas, y calzando a estos desnudos y apartando estas botellas de los labios, que oyendo estos comentarios sobre la bestia del Apocalípsis, y regocijándose en los picotazos que se dan los pastores de los templos rivales del distrito? ¿Quieren levantar templo? Pues bájense a este infierno, no con limosnas que envilecen, sino con las artes del ejemplo (X, 60).[22]

José Martí frequently despaired of Christianity moving onto this necessarily socially-oriented and therefore necessarily practical path, and in fact even before his first deportation from Cuba in January of 1871, had severed ties with Catholicism in order to join a local freemason group.[23] It is interesting to note that Martí never boasted about belonging to any particular religious group, nor did he ever praise excessively any religious faith. Instead he praised individuals whom he viewed as practising in their daily lives a truly Christian faith, which in fact closely resembled a basically humanist set of beliefs. Thus it was the practical application of one's religious faith (whatever it may be), and never the label applied to any particular religious leaning, which Martí praised and vigorously defended. Commenting upon the foundation of Martí's religious beliefs, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada outlines well the major aspects:

> El cristianismo de Martí es humanitarismo más que religión especulativa. Es el pre-cristianismo que Simone Weil averiguó y explicó en su libro Intuitions pre-chrétiennes, pues lo esencial en el cristianismo de Martí no es lo que Cristo cataliza en dirección a un credo y dogma religiosos, sino lo que era anterior a él y que subsiste fuera del ámbito religioso y místico, lo que rodea a su persona y su doctrina, y que se confunde con otras formas análogas de sabiduría reverencial y piadosa, como el budismo y los moralistas griegos. Los principios del cristianismo de Martí no son los de la fe y la obediencia, sino la limpieza de alma, la rectitud de conducta y el sacrificio de sí, por amor, en bien del prójimo.[24]

It appears quite obvious that by the time of his first deportation to Spain, José Martí already possessed a fairly clear set of religious beliefs, which would remain with him--with remarkably little alteration--for the rest of his life. On the one side he was outspokenly anti-Catholic, and by extension opposed to what may be termed the "traditional" approach to religion in general, while on the other he had developed a deeply-felt confidence that the only meaningful and true religion was to be found within the boundless potential of Man himself. Thus, as he wrote as early as 1875, Man "no ha de volver a Dios los ojos: tiene a Dios en sí" (VI, 286).[25] This rather unorthodox claim is obviously closely-related to Martí's desire for a more practical form of Christianity, since both deliberately deny the relevance of religious dogma in the vital process, while at the same time placing enormous emphasis not only upon the social obligations of man, but also upon his ability to meet them:

> Hay un Dios: el hombre;--hay una fuerza divina: todo. El hombre es un pedazo del cuerpo infinito, que la creación ha

> enviado a la tierra vendado y atado en
> busca de su padre, cuerpo propio (VI, 226).

As to the type of religious life that Martí would have liked to see in the liberated Republic, it appears fairly clear that he would have actively encouraged the established religions to tone down their theoretical content and instead concentrate upon pursuing a more practical goal, adapting their faith to help solve major social problems. It is highly doubtful if there would have been any official state religion in the patria. Disturbed by the rather immoral liaisons between the powerful landowning classes and the Church which Martí had observed in almost all of the countries that he had visited, it seems a fairly logical step for him to have advised against having an "official" religion particularly when, as was noted earlier, he strongly recommended the union of all religious groups, Christian and non-Christian (XII, 418).

In conclusion, it must however be stated that, despite Martí's obvious abhorrence of the corruption that he saw in most established religions and despite too his determination to encourage the Churches to assist the Republic in a totally practical fashion, Martí would never have moved to curtail freedom of worship. Admittedly he was defiantly outspoken when considering the idea of Catholic education--or for that matter any form of religious education--being taught in the Republic's schools, claiming in fact "Ni religión católica hay derecho de enseñar en las escuelas, ni religión anticatólica . . . Sea libre el espíritu del hombre y ponga el oído directamente sobre la tierra" (VII, 416). Nevertheless, as a report published in Patria as late as September of

1894 indicated, Martí felt that religious freedom was an absolute necessity for all those Cubans who desired it, whatever their religious persuasion:

> Venérese a los hombres de la religión, sean católicos o tarahumaras: todo el mundo, lacio o lanudo, tiene derecho a su plena conciencia: tirano es el católico que se pone sobre un hindú, o un metodista que silba a un católico (VIII, 257).

For Martí, then, religious life clearly would need to be totally reshaped in the Republic. Consequently, while guaranteeing an essential freedom of worship to all Cubans, Martí obviously would have striven to guide the various Churches towards socially-oriented goals. In this way Martí would have attempted to make the various religious denominations contribute in a practical manner to the common good, in essence a compilation of the Christian and humanist ethics.

The fourth, and final, major characteristic of the society that Martí hoped to establish in a liberated Cuba was the necessarily informed and generally educated nature of its members. Some mention was made in Chapter III of the way in which Martí urged his fellow Cubans, and indeed people everywhere, to cultivate an active interest in both political theory and practice, since he saw in this process an important guarantee of a healthy and balanced political life far removed from the machinations of the infamous "políticos de oficio." This necessary political education, however, only represented one element of his ambitious plans for the formulation of a totally new and far-reaching educational policy, as can be seen from his notes on the theme of "Educación popular":

> II.--Educación popular no quiere decir exclusivamente de la clase pobre; sino que todas las clases de la nación, que es lo mismo que el pueblo, sean bien educados. Así como no hay ninguna razón para que el rico se eduque, y el pobre no, ¿qué razón hay para que se eduque el pobre y no el rico? Todos son iguales . . .
> IV.--El pueblo más feliz es el que tenga mejor educados a sus hijos, en la instrucción del pensamiento, y en la dirección de los sentimientos . . .
> V.--Al venir a la tierra, todo hombre tiene derecho a que se le eduque, y después, en pago, el deber de contribuir a la educación de los demás.
> VI.--A un pueblo ignorante puede engañársele con la superstición, y hacérsele servil. Un pueblo instruído será siempre fuerte y libre (XIX, 375).

A full education of all citizens was regarded by Martí not only as an inviolable right of every Cuban, regardless of colour or social standing, but also--and far more important--it constituted an absolute necessity for the successful founding of the Republic.

The topic of education was a true obsession of Martí, so convinced was he that in essence it represented a guarantee of the successful implementation of his other social programmes in the patria. This concern of Martí helps to explain why there are references to an amazingly wide variety of topics dealing with education, amongst which the most commonly found are the need for a practical agricultural education (VII, 164; VIII, 286-278; VIII, 380; XIV, 229); for the development of a carefully-planned mechanical education (VIII, 278-279; X, 375; XI, 80; XI, 85); the need for instituting night schools so that workers could receive a decent education (XII, 459); the need to avoid looking abroad automatically for solutions to Cuban problems (VII, 325); and

also to avoid educating Latin American students abroad (V, 260-262); the need for special care in the education of children (XVIII, 302; XVIII, 382); and the need for establishing kindergartens, free to the public, and situated particularly in poorer districts (XII, 414); and finally the fundamental need, given the lack of facilities outside the city, to provide a well-balanced education to the rural dwellers, the guajiros, by means of a system of travelling teachers, the "maestros ambulantes" (VIII, 16; XVIII, 284; VIII, 289-291). In short, as he wrote in La América in August of 1883, the modern era demanded a new, and essentially practical, form of education:

> El mundo nuevo requiere la escuela nueva. Es necesario sustituir al espíritu literario de la educación, el espíritu científico . . . Quien abona bien su tierra, trabaja menos, tiene tierra para más tiempo, y gana más (VIII, 299).

Of particular note is Martí's desire to provide an education to people who otherwise would be unable to receive any formal training, either because they did not possess sufficient funds to study, or because they lived in isolated parts of the Island. As an educational observer, Martí is surprising both in his insight into the needs of his Cuba, and in the programmes he designed to meet these needs. Indicative of this goal of implementing a socially-oriented education were his plans for educating the workers. In general he saw that both in Cuba and in the United States the poor uneducated workers were easily exploited, and Martí therefore concluded: "hasta que los obreros no sean hombres cultos, no serán felices" (VIII, 352). To this end, that of converting the workers into "hombres cultos," he drew up plans for a

large-scale development of the North American idea of free night-schools for all those who would otherwise be deprived of the chance to learn. Since Martí himself had taught for several years in an institution organised by "La Liga," a society of Black Cuban workers living in the United States, he thus had first-hand knowledge of the benefits that resulted from these night schools:

> las escuelas de noche, donde el educando que salió de las de día para ganarse el pan, o el que no ha tenido tiempo ni lugar de educarse de día, va, después del trabajo a aprender lo más fino y complicado del entendimiento a las primeras letras (XII, 459).

Equally impressive in Martí's programme for assuring all citizens of the Republic a decent standard of education were his plans to "crear en los barrios pobres kindergartens gratuitos" (XII, 44). In order to solidify the gains made by the Revolution, it appeared obvious to Martí that it would be necessary to provide the future generation with the immediate benefits of the liberation struggle, so that they would be better able to continue the revolutionary process. This emphasis that Martí placed upon the education of the young can be judged by his opinion that, before providing even food to his compatriots, it would be necessary first to guarantee the young members of the Republic the right to an education: "Pan no se puede dar a todos los que lo han menester, pero los pueblos que quieren salvarse han de preparar a sus hijos contra el crimen: en cada calle, un kindergarten" (XII, 414). Finally, to ensure that there would be sufficient staff to supervise these much-needed schools, Martí advocated a system of drafting teachers into an instructional corps and obliging them to work in the newly-

constructed schools:

> se han de reclutar soldados para el ejército y maestros para los pobres: debe ser obligatorio el servicio de maestros, como el de soldados: el que no haya enseñado un año, que no tenga el derecho de votar: preparar un pueblo para defenderse, y para vivir con honor, es el mejor modo de defenderlo (XII, 414-415).

Moreover, for Martí it was also a moral obligation to ensure that even in the most remote areas of the Island his fellow Cubans should have the right to a basic education. He was deeply aware of the many dangers inherent in the existence of an ignorant mass of people, and at one point even intended to write a study on "La educación de campo, para evitar que se cree el caudillaje" (XVIII, 284). In two articles published in La América in 1884 he argued the need for the establishment of "un cuerpo de maestros viajeros" (VIII, 16), who would teach a mixture of agricultural sciences and basic philosophy to the country-dwellers: "He ahí, pues, lo que han de llevar los maestros por los campos. No sólo explicaciones agrícolas e instrumentos mecánicos, sino la ternura que hace tanta falta y tanto bien a los hombres" (VIII, 289). Martí's plans of opening scores of schools, "para regarlos luego por valles, montones y rincones" (VIII, 291) was thus intended to place a fundamental education for the first time in Cuban history within the grasp of all citizens of the Republic, who would thus have the opportunity to become "hombres cultos."

Having determined that education was intended for all Cubans, it is now interesting to study the general nature of the education that Martí desired for the Republic. As early as 1881 he had decided that "Nuestra América" badly needed to adopt an education based upon "las

fuerzas vivas y productoras de la tierra en que han de ser" (XIV, 229), namely a sound agricultural training: "Habituar al hombre a la utilización de sí y al comercio eficaz con la naturaleza productora; . . . he aquí el que ha de ser objeto de los esfuerzos de los educadores nuevos" (XIV, 229).

Martí was particularly distressed to see the many serious blunders being made in Latin America where, despite having an economy based almost entirely upon agriculture, the educational systems of the former Spanish colonies still pursued a path of classical education, preferring to ignore the needs of their respective countries, and deliberately spurning the opportunity to offer a more practical form of education. Martí was particularly concerned that courses were not given in agricultural sciences. As a result, he explained in 1884, "se está poniendo una cabeza de gigante a un cuerpo de hormiga. Y cada día, con la educación puramente literaria que se viene dando en nuestros países, se añade a la cabeza, y se quita al cuerpo" (VIII, 369). Martí's many years in the United States also afforded him a valuable insight into the type of education that he advocated for the Republic, since it revealed to him other ways in which a modern, more practical form of teaching could be established. In an article entitled "Reforma esencial en el programa de las universidades americanas" he summarised this new direction:

> La educación tiene un deber ineludible para con el hombre--no cumplirlo es un crimen: conformarlo a su tiempo--sin desviarle de la grandiosa y final tendencia humana. Que el hombre viva en analogía con el universo, y con su época; para lo cual no sirven el Latín ni el Griego (VIII, 430).

Thus the dominant note of Martí's philosophy of education was that it should be of an inherently relevant, practical nature, or as he wrote in September of 1883: "Que la enseñanza elemental sea ya elementalmente científica: que en vez de la historia de Josué se enseñe la de la formación de la tierra" (VIII, 278).[26] Martí was initially very excited by the many educational reforms being introduced into the United States, although he appeared unable to decide whether Latin American students should study there.[27] In particular he was enthusiastic about the use of manual labour in some of the American colleges he visited, and gratefully emphasised the words of the Director of Michigan Agricultural College, when claiming that "no hay virtud agrícola a que no ayude el trabajo manual en la Escuela" (VIII, 286).

Yet despite this desire for an invigorated and essentially practical system of education, Martí was aware too of the many potential pitfalls inherent in such an approach. He was thus an ardent admirer of the American intent of familiarising young students with the reality of their country, but at the same time recommended against an exclusively pragmatic form of education: "Tiene muchos abogados, fanáticos tiene ya, ésta que llaman industrial o manual, sin ver que ésa es también una educación parcial" (XI, 80). On other occasions he criticised also this "over-reaction" to the former classical education, showing how the materialism-oriented society of North America forced its children to count before learning anything else.[28] The results of this over-concern with the practical approach were, according to Martí, as disturbing as those of the traditional Latin American system: "El hombre, máquina, rutinaria, habilísimo en el ramo a que se consagra, cerrado por completo

fuera de él a todo conocimiento, comercio y simpatía con lo humano. Ése es el resultado directo de una instrucción elemental y exclusivamente práctica" (X, 375).

José Martí's comments on an extraordinary range of education-related topics show clearly his deep concern with ensuring all Cubans the opportunity to receive an adequate, free education. But this was not merely a well-intentioned and magnanimous gesture, for Martí also realised that the successful introduction of his other programmes into revolutionary Cuba depended heavily upon having a well-informed, aware public which, after reflecting upon the validity and the necessity of the measures proposed by Martí, would not hesitate to support them wholeheartedly. Therefore, together with Martí's doctrine of sociabilidad, this wide-ranging educational policy of Martí constituted the essential and necessary foundation for his entire programme of social reform--hence his obsession with ensuring that it reach the most far-flung corners of the Republic, and his desire to conscript an "army" of instructors.[29]

The four reform programmes studied in this chapter, namely his intent to change Cuba into a "colourless," classless, lay and well-educated society, all reveal José Martí's firm determination to construct in the patria a life-style totally different from anything ever witnessed before in Cuba. Martí was thus attempting to rebuild the entire social structure of Cuba, as he explained to Néstor Ponce de León in October of 1889:

> En la patria de mi amor
> Quisiera yo ver nacer

El pueblo que puede ser,
Sin odios y sin color.

Quisiera en el juego franco
Del pensamiento sin tasa,
Ver fabricando la casa
Rico y pobre, negro y blanco
(XVI, 357).

Each of these major social reform programmes studied in this chapter was of crucial importance to the radical restructuring of Cuban society intended by Martí in post-independence Cuba, since all were designed to develop in an inherently practical form the major elements of the essential moral foundation studied earlier. Therefore, based upon the successful inculcation of these programmes, Martí was certain that a "new man" would gradually emerge from the reconstruction process, one who, Martí hoped, would subsequently unite with his peers to eventually create a new, revolutionary society.[30] Martí's fundamental dream to "llenar nuestras tierras de hombres originales, criadas para ser felices en la tierra en que viven . . . hombres de su tiempo, y hombres de América" (XX, 147) would thus be accomplished and the new society, both inherently just and totally comprehending the necessary continual reshaping of the patria, would then be instituted.

CHAPTER V

[1]This quotation was taken from an inscription in a Cuban girl's autograph album written by the Chilean poetess Gabriela Mistral. The actual contents of the message were: "No te olvides, si tienes un hermano o un hijo, de que vivió en tu tierra el hombre más puro de la raza, José Martí, y procura formarlo a su semejanza, batallador y limpio como un arcángel." Cited by Gaspar Mortillaro in his article, "José Martí, el hombre más puro de la raza," Archivo José Martí, 1 (July-Aug. 1940), p. 57.

[2]For a light, but thorough, introduction to the plight of immigrants to the United States of this time, see Chapter 9 ("The Huddled Masses") of Alistair Cook's America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1973), pp. 273-301.

[3]"En los Estados Unidos hierve ahora una humanidad nueva; lo que ha venido amalgamándose durante el siglo, ya fermenta: ya los hombres se entienden en Babel . . . va eliminando el fotógrafo las facciones desiguales e indecisas, hasta que quedan en uno final los rasgos enérgicos y dominantes en el tipo, tal en esta hornada grandiosa,--que estallará acaso por falta de levadura de bondad,--razas, credos y lenguas se confunden, se mezclan los misteriosos ojos azules a los amenazantes ojos negros, bullen juntos el plaid escocés y el pañuelo italiano, se deshacen, licúan, y evaporan las diferencias falsas y tiránicas que han tenido apartados a los hombres, y se acumula y acendra lo que hay en ellos de justicia" (XI, 172).

[4]Writing for La Nación in July, 1887, Martí included details on the problems encountered by both Indian and black minority groups: "Los indios, donde aún les quede un árbol a que acogerse y un adivino que los cure, viendo cómo es vano que la ley los ampare cuando en virtud de ella los echa el blanco ambicioso de su hogar . . . Los negros, tristes, porque ya no hay sol que no salga sobre el cadáver de uno de ellos, muerto a manos de los blancos del Sur por tener amistad o consorcio con mujeres blancas" (XI, 263).

[5]Martí described the tragic situation of the Chinese immigrants to the United States in a report published in December of 1888: "El hombre amarillo lleva el ojo de la fiera cazada: va mirando a su alrededor, como para precaverse de una ofensa: va blasfemando a media voz, lleno el ojo de fuego: va con la cabeza baja, como para que le perdonen la culpa de vivir" (XII, 78).

[6]Gabriela Mistral's original description of Martí as a "luchador sin odio" (in her moving article, "La lengua de Martí," Anales de la Universidad de Chile, 111 (1953), p. 114) appears to have acted as a catalyst to the discussion of Martí's attitude towards the Spanish inhabitants of Cuba. On the one side are Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring,

Julio Le Riverend and Leonardo Griñán Peralta who claim, in the words of Roig de Leuchsenring, that "no se encuentra en ningún trabajo de Martí frase alguna de rencor u hostilidad contra el pueblo español, ni aun contra los españoles de Cuba en general; porque no ve en aquél, sino en el Estado español, el culpable de los males de su patria." Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, "La república de Martí," Vida y pensamiento de Martí: Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942 (La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942), II, 417.

On the other side is the viewpoint sustained by Roberto Fernández Retamar, carried to unnecessary extremes by José Ignacio Rodríguez, who claims that Martí "a los cubanos que tenía cerca de sí, especialmente a los pobres y más ignorantes, los ayudaba en sus necesidades y les daba clases por las noches, enseñándoles gratuitamente a leer, a escribir, etc., etc.: y a todos y de todos modos, en cuanto estaba a su alcance, les predicaba el odio a España, el odio a los cubanos autonomistas, . . . el odio al hombre rico, cultivado y conservador . . . el odio a los Estados Unidos de América." José Ignacio Rodríguez, "Martí y el Partido Revolucionario Cubano," Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), p. 99. This interpretation I find totally unacceptable and, in the context of his supposed "odio a España," can only offer Martí's own words in Patria: "Ni el español es enemigo de Cuba . . . Como a hermanos los tratará la revolución" (III, 351-352). Even more explicit was his article, "Nuestras ideas," published in the first edition of Patria: "No es el nacimiento en la tierra de España lo que abomina en el español el antillano oprimido; sino la ocupación agresiva e insolente del país donde amarga y atrofia la vida de sus propios hijos. Contra el mal padre es la guerra, no contra el buen padre; contra el esposo aventurero, no contra el esposo leal . . . La guerra no es contra el español, sino contra la codicia e incapacidad de España" (I, 321).

[7]Jesús Sabourín, "Martí: raza y humanidad," Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), p. 68. In this regard see also Juan Marinello, "Martí, maestro de unidad," Actualidad de Martí (La Habana: Editorial Páginas, 1943), p. 9.

[8]One of the most damning of Martí's (many) reports on the intrigues of a group of capitalists was published in La Nación in March of 1888: "¡Ésa es la estación que la compañía de Reading, que descaradamente reparte este año un dividendo mayor que el de muchos años ha, elige para forzar a sus mineros que les rebajara el miserable que hoy cobran! Intentarón los diarios venales, so pretexto de condenar abusos de los gremios obreros levantar la opinión contra los pobres mineros de Reading, que a lo más ganan un peso diario (y no son bohemios, ni húngaros, ni 'alemanes pestíferos';. . . La compañía, claro es, quiere repartirse mayores dividendos en el año entrante: como el carbón no sube, rebaja los salarios: como cuenta en caja seis millones libres, y cada accionista tiene otros negocios de que vivir, ¡bien puede la compañía esperar a que los mineros capitulen, vencidos por el hambre! (XI, 386-387).

[9]"Martí funda, pues, en una colaboración estrecha de las clases y no en la lucha de éstas, el futuro y la eficacia de la revolución que ha de fundar la república." José Antonio Portuondo, II, p. 246. (See also Portuondo's article "Juárez en Martí," in which he refers to the "planteamiento de tesis que lo aproximan al Marxismo, del que lo separa siempre fundamentalmente, su no aceptación del concepto de la lucha de clases como motor de la historia." José Antonio Portuondo, "Juárez en Martí," Casa de las Américas, 13 (Sept.-Oct. 1972), p. 141).

Thus the interpretation of Martínez Bello is clearly incorrect when he claims to "haber evidenciado la coincidencia de Martí con los Socialistas revolucionarios en 'considerar la lucha de clases como el medio adecuado para ascender a un plano--histórico--de existencia mejor.'" Martínez Bello, p. 151.

[10]After the trial Martí wrote about the oppressive circumstances that eventually crystallised in the workers' reactions in Chicago. Once again it must be stressed that Martí did not condone this action, although at the same time he most definitely understood the underlying circumstances that had led the workers to demonstrate in the first place, and sympathised in general with them: "Cree el obrero tener derecho a cierta seguridad para lo porvenir, a cierta holgura y limpieza para su casa, a alimentar sin ansiedad los hijos que engendra, a una parte más equitativa en los productos del trabajo de que es factor indispensable, alguna hora de sol en que ayudar a su mujer a sembrar un rosal en el patio de la casa, a algun rincón para vivir que no sea un tugurio fétido donde, como en las ciudades de Nueva York, no se puede entrar sin bascas. Y cada vez que en alguna forma esto pedían en Chicago los obreros, combinábanse los capitalistas, castigábanlos negándoles el trabajo que para ellos es la carne, el fuego y la luz; echábanlos encima la policía, ganosa siempre de cebar sus porras en cabezas de gente mal vestida; mataba la policía a veces a algún osado que le resistía con piedras, o a algún niño; reducíanles al fin por hambre a volver a su trabajo, con el alma torva, con la miseria enconada, con el decoro ofendido, rumiando venganza" (XI, 339).

[11]In many ways this complies with his whole view of politics, which for him required a constructive and necessarily "loving" approach: "En política, es crimen derribar lo que no se puede reconstruir . . . Se ha de amar al adversario mismo a quien se está derribando en tierra. Los odiadores debieran ser declarados traidores a la república. El odio no construye" (XIV, 496).

[12]Given this ambivalent attitude of Martí, it is unfortunate that many critics, of differing ideological beliefs, have seen fit to highlight only those parts of Martí's report which supported their particular viewpoint. Typical of this abuse is Carlos Márquez Sterling's blanket statement that "Martí encontraba, en la prosa del autor de El

Capital, amargura y resentimiento." Carlos Márquez Sterling, Martí, ciudadano de América (New York: Las Américas Publishing Co., 1965), p. 179. His conclusion ("Marx, el apóstol del odio. Martí, el apóstol del amor" (p. 406)) and in particular his comments on the following page, reveal deep personal political frustrations of which he seeks to rid himself by exploiting his knowledge of Martí.

[13]Manuel Pedro González and Ivan A. Schulman, José Martí, esquema ideológico (México: Publicaciones de la Editorial Cultura, 1961, p. 385.

Given Martí's determination to afford the same fundamental privileges to all Cubans, Jorge Mañach's earlier view of "un difuso aristocratismo de artista" in Martí is completely mistaken. Mañach (who even misquotes Martí by substituting "mundo" for "tierra" in one of Martí's most widely-known phrases) claims: "En el conflicto de las humanas fortunas, la ternura nativa le pone del lado de 'los pobres del mundo' y frente a las clamantes injusticias sociales. Pero hay también en él un difuso aristocratismo de artista, y sobre todo una intensa observación de la variedad humana, que pugnan con la tentación igualitaria del demócrata." Jorge Mañach, El pensamiento político y social de Martí, p. 21.

[14]Despite an over-emphasis by Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring (in his study La república de Martí (La Habana: Impresa Modelo, 1953), pp. 78-79) on Martí's union with the working classes, several other martianos have commented, rightly, upon the lack of relevance that the term "proletariat" held for Martí. Aquiles Nazoa cites a letter from Martí to Carlos Baliño, founding member of the PRC and later of the Communist Party of Cuba, in which "entre las frases de un fraternal afecto que le dedica, deja entrever que a la palabra proletario siempre preferirá la más universal de pueblo." Aquiles Nazoa, Cuba de Martí a Fidel Castro (Caracas: Ediciones Populares de "Pensamiento Vivo," 1961), p. 14.

Highly informative is Paul Estrade's article, "Un 'socialista' mexicano: José Martí," Casa de las Américas, 14 (Jan.-Feb. 1974), in which the French critic shows how the imported socialist ideas from Europe were not immediately understood in Latin America (pp. 45-47). Thus the idea of the "proletariat" was in many ways not strictly relevant to that milieu, given the lack of either large factories or industrial masses. Moreover, even later, as Cantón Navarro has pointed out, Martí's ideas in regard to the proletariat were still far removed from the European model: "Pero esas simpatías de Martí no se relacionan con la función social del proletariado como clase que constituye un factor decisivo del desarrollo social. Cuando habla del obrero, tiene la imagen del constructor, del creador, sólo en cuanto se refiere a la producción de bienes materiales." José Cantón Navarro, Algunas ideas de José Martí en relación con la clase obrera y el socialismo (La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1970), pp. 31-32.

[15]Fernández Retamar quotes a contemporary of Martí, and fellow organizer of the PRC, Enrique Collazo, who stated that the vast majority of the Party's funds were gathered from the Cuban workers residing in the United States: "'la masa obrera daba sin preguntar su óbolo con absoluta confianza y fanatismo ciego por su ídolo Martí'. De la burguesía cubana, en cambio, Martí no recibió sino ataques e injurias." Roberto Fernández Retamar, "Introducción a Martí," José Martí: Cuba, Nuestra América, Los Estados Unidos (México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1973), p. XLVIII.

[16]Cantón Navarro is thus correct when he states: "Se nos dirá que Martí sentía lo indispensable de la unión de todos los cubanos para lograr primero la independencia con respecto a España, y para mantenerla frente a Estados Unidos . . .

Todo eso es, en nuestra opinión, enteramente cierto. Pero no creemos que las ideas de colaboración de todas las clases sociales en la creación de la república fueran en Martí una cuestión de táctica solamente. Pensamos que él aspiraba realmente al equilibrio de la sociedad cubana mediante la renuncia voluntaria, por parte de los ricos, a una porción de sus exageradas ganancias, a fin de asegurar a los trabajadores, como él decía, 'más justicia en el reparto social' (tomo 11, p. 335); 'una parte más equitativa en los productos del trabajo del que es el obrero factor indispensable' (tomo 11, p. 339)." Cantón Navarro, pp. 82-83.

[17]A week after writing this article, Martí again referred to "esta agitada jauría, de ricos contra pobres, de cristianos contra judíos, de blancos contra negros, de campesinos contra comerciantes, de occidentales y sudistas contra los del Este," and concluded that American society at that moment was a "cráter que ya humea" (II, 379).

[18]In this way Martí's sentiments can be seen as a rebuttal of Andrés Valdespino's views concerning the social structure desired by Martí for the patria: "La imagen de un Martí partidario de una sociedad sin clases resulta, sin embargo, bien difícil de configurar teniendo a la vista los escritos del Apóstol. Una cosa es que Martí censurara y condenara los vicios, injusticias y explotaciones del sistema capitalista --cosa que hizo con frecuencia--y otra que propusiera como panacea a esos males una sociedad 'sin clases.'" Andrés Valdespino, "Imagen de Martí en las letras cubanas," Revista Cubana, 1 (July-Dec. 1968), p. 321.

[19]"Martí ve siempre a la Iglesia en indisoluble consorcio con el lujo y la opulencia. Jamás la describe unida a los humildes o batallando en su defensa y por su redención económica contra la sordidez de los ricos." Manuel Pedro González, "José Martí, anticlerical irreductible," Cuadernos Americanos, 73 (Jan.-Feb. 1954), p. 185.

[20]Martí in fact claimed that "La libertad está frente a la iglesia . . . . ¿Se puede ser hombre y católico, o para ser católico se ha de tener alma de lacayo?" (XI, 243). For a more thorough understanding of the "caso McGlynn" see Martí's reports in volume XI, and in particular pages 141-148, and 242-251, respectively.

[21]Probably the most damning example of this materialistic interest of the Catholic Church was found in Martí's second article on the McGlynn affair: "Así hablaba la Iglesia:--Al político: 'Dame esta tierra, esta ley, este derecho exclusivo: yo haré que vote por tu candidato mi rebaño.' Al rico: 'Las masas se están echando encima: sólo la Iglesia prometiéndoles justicia en el cielo, puede contenerlas: es necesario hacer frente a las masas.' Al pobre: 'La pobreza es divina: ¿qué cosa más bella que un alma fortificada por la resignación? ¡Allá en el cielo se encuentra luego el premio y el descanso!'" (XI, 245).

[22]Martí's inherently practical form of humanitarian Christianity is thus far removed from that depicted in the earlier interpretation of Raquel Catalá: "No es cristiano Martí, más que en cuanto el cristianismo tiene, forzosamente, de común con casi toda modalidad de espiritualismo: concepto de alma, o de espíritu, de Dios, de justicia final, de vida ultraterrena." Raquel Catalá, "Martí y el espiritualismo," Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942 (La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942), I, 315.

[23]In regard to Martí's relations with the freemason movement, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada refers to the influence of "el masón, librepensador y humanista Mendive," thus showing yet another sphere of Mendive's guidance. Martínez Estrada, p. 107.

[24]Ibid., p. 107.

[25]Félix Lizaso is thus correct in his interpretation of Martí's concept of Man: "Es fundamental en Martí la creencia en la bondad natural del hombre, aunque sabía que era preciso ayudarlo a descubrir lo mejor de sí . . . El hombre es el centro de su filosofía, de su concepción universal. Cree en el hombre." Félix Lizaso, p. 56.

[26]Writing for La América that same month he developed this theme, showing the need for "una revolución radical en la educación," and advocating the replacement of the traditional subjects by more relevant material: "Contra teología, Física; contra retórica, Mecánica; contra preceptos de lógica . . . preceptos agrícolas" (VIII, 279).

[27]In September of 1883, for example, he stated that "a aprender cultivos en las haciendas . . . a aprender mecánica en los talleres; a aprender, a la par que hábitos dignos y enaltecedores de trabajo, el manejo de las fuerzas reales y permanentes de la naturaleza . . . a eso sí se debe venir a los Estados Unidos" (VIII, 279), although in August of that same year he advised against sending young students to "la civilización viril, pero brusca, peculiar y extraña que aquí les espera . . . Los árboles de un clima no crecen en otro, sino raquíticos, descoloridos, deformes y enfermos" (VIII, 276).

[28]"Contar sí, eso lo enseñan a torrentes.

Todavía los niños no saben leer una sílaba, cuando ya les han enseñado ¡a las criaturas de cinco años! a contar de memoria hasta cien" (XI, 85).

[29]"...combatió el formulismo imperante en su época, la enseñanza humanística y la inútil y falsa erudición, preconizando la necesidad de que los maestros fueran hasta el pueblo como misioneros, y en lenguaje sencillo y comprensible lo instruyeran con lecciones que el pueblo pudiese aprovechar para mejor desenvolverse en la lucha por la vida," Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, "La república de Martí," II, 414.

[30]Fernández Retamar is thus correct when he claims that Martí was essentially a "revolutionary": ""Esto sólo puede escandalizar a quienes, aun a estas alturas, se hagan una idea pobre y empobrecedora de lo que sea un revolucionario . . . Es un hombre que quiere hacer un mundo nuevo para que sea habitado por un hombre nuevo. Decir que Martí fue esencialmente un revolucionario es afirmar que quiso sobre todo transformar la realidad profundamente, para hacerla más acorde con lo justo." Roberto Fernández Retamar, Lectura de Martí (México: Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1972), p. 15.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC THEORIES AND POLICIES OF MARTÍ

Unlike Martí's far-reaching, and extremely clear, aspirations for social reform in Cuba, his programme for economic reform was both less developed and less central to his overall plan for the liberated patria. This does not mean that Martí was uninterested, much less unversed,[1] in prevailing economic theories--the important role he played as Uruguay's representative at the International Monetary Conference in 1891 in fact dispels all doubt that might arise on this account. Rather it appeared that, after winning political independence from Spain, Martí's major preoccupation, quite understandably, was to solidify his position (if he was allowed to continue as the Delegado) with the majority of his fellow Cubans.

Consequently, José Martí's immediate plans were to gain the committed support of the Cuban people as a whole, defeat the Spanish forces, and then seek to retain (and indeed to build upon) that support by implementing as soon as possible a programme of sweeping social and political reform. Undoubtedly economic development was necessary for the stability of the new government but was not as immediate a priority as the need for the Delegado to be able to count upon the unswerving loyalty of the nation as a whole.

As a result of these circumstances, one finds few innovations detailed by Martí regarding specific reform, much less evidence of any

particular economic "school" or ideology followed by Martí. Nevertheless there are many astute observations on the basic nature of economic development that he deemed advisable for the patria. In general it appears that José Martí's economic aspirations for an independent Cuba were essentially based upon the same personal highly moralistic and inherently socially-oriented awareness that characterised his programme for extensive social reform in Cuba. The "moral foundation" of the Republic studied in Chapter IV thus led Martí to conclude that, however necessary economic development might be, this was at all times to be subordinated to the best interests of the nation as a whole: Cuba would thus embark eagerly upon a programme of much-needed economic reform, but with the overriding proviso that the fruits of this development be at all times awarded to the people at large, and never to minority interest groups, whatever their nationality.

The firm desire on the part of Martí to ensure that the Cuban people as a whole, and not any specific social group, benefitted from the economic policies followed in the patria is prominent in all of Martí's work, from his earliest writings to his famous last letter to Manuel Mercado in 1895. Moreover, as in the case of his philosophical views, Martí was also very noticeably an "economic eclectic," reading widely, and at all times supporting viewpoints which he found just and morally acceptable, even when such theories appeared to contradict earlier statements of his. Yet there was no fundamental contradiction in Martí's comments on economic and philosophical matters: consistently he supported whatever observation appeared the most honest and justifi-

able, while at all times refusing to restrict himself by adopting a label denoting any definitive political, philosophical or economic theory.[2] Once again, the broad moral basis, both of Martí's own character and of his aspirations for the "new society" in a liberated Cuba cannot be unduly emphasised.

The basic principle of channelling economic development so that it best served the interests of the vast majority of the population of course originated from his righteous indignation at the Spanish social and political (and thus economic) domination of the Island, which for Martí was totally unjustifiable. From his earliest writings Martí was most definitely opposed to the idea of any foreign group controlling the sovereignty of another nation. Indeed, from the age of fifteen José Martí showed clear signs of being in favour of the struggle against both colonialism and imperialism, a conviction which his later work--and in many ways his entire life--would develop to the full. In fact his pamphlet La República Española ante la Revolución Cubana set the dominant tone for all future pronouncements dealing with the struggle between what can be termed majority-social interests and minority-economic considerations. In this work Martí condemned in vigorous fashion what he viewed as the fundamentally immoral situation of a colonial power crushing so brutally any attempt by the Cuban people to protect their sense of national dignity, while at the same time exploiting ruthlessly the natural resources of the colony. In the case of Cuba in the 1860's the only conceivable goal for all honourable Cubans, as Martí saw it, was to fight tirelessly in order to overthrow such an immoral system of callous exploitation:

> ¡Es la independencia; castigo tremendo de vuestros seculares errores de colonización, de vuestra política absolutista de conquistadores en tiempo de libertad, de vuestra opresión sin límite en lo dura, y sin descanso en lo cruel . . . ¡estado de postración y de riqueza infame en que la dominación de España la sujetaba y oprimía! (I, 107).

The theme of the oppression and exploitation of weaker nations by other larger and more powerful nations occurs frequently in Martí's Obras completas, and in each case Martí condemned vociferously all manifestations of such colonialist and imperialist action.[3] To give some idea of this continuity in Martí's thought, it is only necessary to examine his report on what he considered to be the completely unjustifiable position of the Spanish forces in Africa, written some twenty years after his early pamphlet. In the later report there is both the same determination that all nations have the inalienable right to self-determination, and the same highly-moralising tone of righteous indignation at any such colonialist or imperialist venture:

> Cuatro siglos hace que está España en Melilla, y no tiene allí más que el castillo de matar y una iglesia vieja. El corazón honrado, español con Pelayo en Covadonga, es hoy moro con el Riff contra la posesión injusta de España, e inútil al mundo. Poseer es obligarse. Bañar en sangre un pueblo, o deshonrarlo con el vicio, no es justo título para poseer, ni en el Riff ni en Cuba (V, 333).

However, Martí was not specifically anti-Spanish, but rather condemned harshly the attempts of all governments to exploit the natural resources of other nations, paying little heed to the desires or necessities of the people from the exploited area, and concerned only with what they can obtain for themselves from this arrangement. Thus

Martí attacked, for example, the British, especially for their activities in Ireland and the Middle East, the French in the Orient and, most extensively and vigorously, the United States for their continuous incursions into Latin America. No colonising attempt was spared Martí's ire: for all these powers seeking to impose themselves upon other weaker sovereign nations Martí offered the same moral condemnation, while at the same time expressing the hope that some day Justice (meaning in effect full political independence) would be done. Typical of his thoughts on such colonising attempts, and undoubtedly the most startling given recent historical events, was his article "Un paseo por la tierra de los anamitas," published in the fourth issue of the children's magazine that Martí edited, La Edad de Oro, in which report Martí portrayed the struggle of the Vietnamese people to liberate themselves from their colonial masters:

> Usamos moño, y sombrero de pico, y calzones anchos y blusón de color, y somos amarillos, chatos, canijos y feos; pero trabajamos a la vez el bronce y la seda; y cuando los franceses nos han venido a quitar nuestro Hanoi, nuestro Hue, nuestras ciudades de palacios de madera, nuestros puertos llenos de casas de bambú y de barcos de junco, nuestros almacenes de pescado y arroz, todavía con estos ojos de almendra, hemos sabido morir, miles sobre miles, para cerrarles el camino. Ahora son nuestros amos, pero mañana, ¡quién sabe! (XVIII, 461-462).

Probably the greatest threat to Martí's plans for the economic independence of Cuba was that posed by the United States, which had long been enjoying a very favourable balance of trade with the Island. As early as the mid-1870's Martí had observed the growing U.S. interest

in, and subsequent exploitation of, Latin America, particularly at this point in regard to Mexico, and had warned his fellow Latin Americans against the noticeably unselfless attitude shown by many of the North American business interests.[4] The numerous interventions of the United States in Mexico, the infamous "caso Cutting,"[5] the omnipresent slurs in the American press, and the general desire of the North to "'tomar el país para los americanos, a fin de cultivarlo conforme a la civilización moderna'" (VII, 42) all helped to increase Martí's ever-growing disillusionment with the land of Lincoln.[6]

Mention has already been made of Martí's unbounded pride in "Nuestra América." It is therefore not in the least surprising that Martí's resentment at the increasing amount of exploitation of Latin America by U.S. interests should have hardened even more upon seeing the continuous barrage of propaganda printed in the United States deriding the Latin American character as impoverished, feminine and inherently mediocre. The resulting mixture of a profound distrust of North American interest in "his" continent, combined with a deep personal attachment to "Nuestra América," is encountered with great regularity in Martí's work of the 1880's and 1890's, typical of which was his report published in La Nación in December of 1887:

> Así es que siendo en verdad admirables la mayor parte de los pueblos de nuestra América por haber subido, entre obstáculos, mortales a su condición presente, de los más oscuros y opuestos orígenes, no pasa día sin que estos diarios ignorantes y desdeñosos nos traten de pueblecillos sin trascendencia, de naciones de sainete, de republicuelas sin ciencia ni alcance, de "pueblos de piernas pobres"--como decía

> ayer Charles Dudley Warner hablando de México--"¡escoria de una civilización degenerada, sin virilidad y sin propósito!" (VII, 330).

Undoubtedly one of the most important reasons for Martí's enduring fame in Latin American letters was his ability to foresee the nature of a growing interest in Latin America by the United States at a time when most of his contemporaries, enraptured by the impressive economic and industrial developments taking place in that country, eagerly accepted the North American model as worthy of imitation in their homeland. José Martí, however, saw that the North American economic concerns were less interested in assisting their Latin neighbours to develop their own resource industries than they were in stripping, and subsequently exporting to the United States for processing, such valuable natural resources as they could find in the Latin American republics. For Martí this conduct was as inexcusable as the more blatant Spanish oppression of his own homeland, and he protested vigorously against such savage exploitation of "Nuestra América."

Yet despite his concern with protecting Latin America from what Martí generally interpreted as unnecessarily greedy exploitation on the part of North American interests, as well as an overly-patronising attitude of that nation ("un pueblo diverso, formidable y agresivo que no nos tiene por igual suyo, y nos niega las condiciones de igualdad" (IV, 424) as he wrote in 1892), Martí was not automatically opposed to the idea of productive foreign investment in Latin America, with a "reasonable" return being taken by the investor. Indeed, writing for La Opinión Nacional in 1881, he strongly recommended that Venezuela should consider "el establecimiento de una red de negocios . . . entre

los Estados Unidos, exuberantes de riquezas, ganosos de mercados, y Venezuela, mercado fácil y grandioso y necesitado del caudal extranjero" (IX, 34). Some five years later, referring to Honduras, Martí reiterated this point, showing how foreign investment could prove to be a boon for the national economy and should therefore not be summarily dismissed. For as Martí noted, it was indeed "riqueza para las compañías extranjeras; pero riqueza sin la cual jamás sería posible la de la patria; riqueza que no es pecuniaria sino moral, por la seguridad pública que engendra" (VIII, 31-32).

In Martí there was then a basic distrust of foreign interests which were investing in Latin America. However, this distrust was not so great as to preclude all foreign investment per se, since Martí could see the possibility of such groups providing an important stimulus to a much-needed economic growth (and thereby political stability) for this developing area. Moreover, despite his obvious distress at the apparently neo-colonialist designs of many influential North American politicians,[7] Martí was nevertheless prepared to leave open the possibility that a mutually beneficial arrangement could be agreed upon by all sides. This would of necessity require an attitude of respect on the part of the developer for both the traditions and aspirations of the country in which he was investing, and in turn would assure the investor of a fair profit in order to repay his interest and trust in the host country.[8]

It is important to note however that, if in theory Martí accepted the possibility of "constructive" foreign investment, in practice he

became increasingly sceptical at the ability of foreign investors, and more particularly of foreign governments, to be satisfied with an "honest return" on their investment, and his later reports understandably adopted a more bitter tone. Nevertheless, as he noted in Patria as late as December of 1894, any foreign developers would be allowed to invest in the Cuban economy, provided that they were prepared to abide by regulations concerning respect for national sovereignty and traditions, and to accept a "just" return on their investment:

> Todo trabajador es santo, y cada productor es una raíz; y al que traiga trabajo útil y cariño, venga de tierra fría o caliente, se le ha de abrir hueco ancho, como a un árbol nuevo; pero con el pretexto del trabajo, y la simpatía del americanismo, no han de venir a sentársenos sobre la tierra sin dinero en la bolsa ni amistad en el corazón, los buscavidas y los ladrones (VIII, 36).

Martí was certain that an active economy--which would ensure that all Cuban citizens were employed--was an absolute necessity, for as he wrote in 1886, "No hay más medio de asegurar la libertad en la patria y el decoro en el hombre, que fomentar la riqueza pública" (VIII, 27). In arguing this point Martí was basing his theory on two unrelated beliefs. The first was his (at times overly romantic) obsession with the noble concept of work, noted in Chapter IV. Secondly he was convinced that in an economy where a large proportion of the population either did not work or else, as in the case of those many Cubans employed in the sugar industry, only worked for part of the year, there was far greater likelihood of discontentment and thus potential civil unrest than one in which all workers were employed

throughout the entire year. Therefore Martí argued that the Cuban economy, after the Island's liberation, would depend very heavily upon the successful employment of all able-bodied citizens. He had already seen in Venezuela (XIX, 155) and in Spain (XIV, 37), and of course in numerous cases in the United States, how volatile political situations had been made far worse by mass unemployment, and was convinced that this should not be the case in the Republic:

> Amplio trabajo, trabajo fácil y bien remunerado, bastante a satisfacer las necesidades exasperadas de las clases pobres, fuera el único remedio para este gran riesgo futuro. Las cóleras contenidas al fin estallan: y es necesario desarmar las cóleras. La miseria las mueve: es necesario vencer a la miseria. El trabajo las ahuyenta: es necesario perseverar en la creación y alimento de fuentes incesantes de trabajo . . . Crear intereses, es asegurar la paz (XIV, 37).[9]

Another fundamentally important feature of Martí's economic policy for the Republic was his conviction that a liberated Cuba, in order to survive economically, would need to trade with all friendly nations. Above all else, he argued that it would be fatal for the patria to restrict itself in any way to trading with only one economic partner, for as he wrote in 1888, "quien estudia la economía de las naciones . . . sabe que es mortal para un pueblo tener todo su tráfico ligado a un solo pueblo" (VII, 373). A few years later Martí was even more specific, warning his fellow Latin Americans of the potential dangers resulting from such an unbalanced situation:

> Quien dice unión económica, dice unión política. El pueblo que compra, manda. El

> pueblo que vende, sirve. Hay que equilibrar el comercio, para asegurar la libertad. El pueblo que quiere morir, vende a un solo pueblo, y el que quiere salvarse, vende a más de uno. El influjo excesivo de un país en el comercio de otro, se convierte en influjo político . . . El pueblo que quiera ser libre, sea libre en negocios. Distribuya sus negocios entre países igualmente fuertes. Si ha de preferir a alguno, prefiera al que lo necesite menos, al que lo desdeñe menos. Ni uniones de América contra Europa, ni con Europa contra un pueblo de América (VI, 160).

Cuba and the United States, because of their geographical situation, obviously constituted natural markets for each other's products. Therefore, despite his total distrust of U.S. interest in Latin America, and despite too his conviction of the many fundamental differences between the people of the two Americas, Martí realised the many advantages to be obtained from trading--on an equitable basis--with the North. Indeed, as late as 1894, after the trauma of the "caso Cutting," of the two Inter-American Conferences in the United States, and of general animosity towards Latin America, particularly in the case of Mexico and Cuba, Martí still did not discount the United States as a potential trading partner, referring in fact to "la América que no es nuestra, cuya enemistad no es cuerdo ni viable fomentar, y de la que con el decoro firme y la sagaz independencia no es imposible, y es útil, ser amigos" (VIII, 35).[10]

Although Martí stated that, because of their physical situation if nothing else, both Cuba and the United States should attempt to maintain cordial trade relations with each other, nevertheless he was certain that the spiritual composition of the North American character was in the process of being drastically changed--and for the worse--, and

that therefore the patria should not rely too heavily upon United States' goodwill. The economic boom that had resulted from large-scale industrial development in the United States had not been without serious social and human drawbacks, Martí argued consistently.

In particular the predominant theory of protectionism, according to which foreign goods arriving in North America had been assessed high taxes in order to place them at an even higher cost than locally-manufactured goods (and thereby encourage Americans to purchase the local product) was severely criticised by Martí. The United States, he informed his Latin American readers, was not only guilty of stripping "his" America of its natural resources, but also intended to restrict the flow of manufactured goods into North America; and indeed to rid itself of the surplus of these that it already had upon its Latin American trading "partners." Thus Martí could foresee the direct effects that such a policy could have upon the Latin American economy, and so warned his audience accordingly. In effect, Martí was firmly opposed to the very idea of protectionism, but understandably more so when it implied potential economic doom for "Nuestra América," as can be seen from an imaginary dialogue he drew up between two businessmen:

> 'Pero a la verdad, si el que ha de comprar tiene menos dinero que antes, porque le cuesta más cuanto compra, ¿quién es el que va a comprar, si el dinero va a ser menos, ese excesivo de artículos que producían los talleres y fábricas nuevos?'
>
> '¿Quién? ¡pues la América española! ¿para qué está ahí la América española, sino para comprar lo que le queramos vender!' (XII, 463).

To avoid the flooding of the Latin American market by goods manufactured in the United States, Martí felt that reciprocal trade agreements would

have to be clearly formulated with particular emphasis being placed upon the need for an evenly-distributed balance of trade between the participating nations. Moreover, Martí advised his fellow Latin Americans, this apparent intent of many North American industrialists to "vaciar la producción excesiva en las tierras flojas de la América del Sur" (III, 49) should serve as a warning to "Nuestra América" as a whole that a determined effort be made immediately to pursue a goal of basic self-sufficiency so that, should trade relations with the United States ever be severed, it would indeed be possible to survive without outside economic aid.

One of the few specific features of Martí's economic programme concerned the nature of the national economy that he hoped to develop in an independent Cuba, and in this respect Martí possessed extremely definite ideas.[11] Writing for La Nación in November of 1883, Martí wrote of the eventual need for industrial development:

> ¡Cuánto ingenioso invento, cuanta preparación útil, cuánta mejora mecánica, cuánto mérito artístico, cuánta teoría brillante, quedan desconocidos, y mueren como si no hubieran existido nunca en nuestras tierras de América, por falta de aire industrial, de capitales para el tiempo de la prueba, de exposiciones que sancionen con sus premios el invento, de talleres donde puedan perfeccionarse, de espíritu brioso que afronte los riesgos de sacarlos a plaza (VIII, 363).

In general it appears quite clear that, with regard to his plans for the national economy, Martí was prepared to advocate the idea of industrial development after the Republic had been firmly established. Before that time, though, it would be necessary to develop a solid base

for steady economic development in the patria. It is important to note that Martí was not prepared to even consider the idea of mining as a viable base for the economy, preferring instead the adoption of an agriculture-based structure as the required foundation for the Republic's economic growth. Martí's outspoken opposition to the concept of an essentially mining-oriented economy is extremely interesting, for it reveals--as early as 1875--very strong social concerns on the part of Martí, and a determination that economic development benefit the country as a whole, and never any specific investor. As a purely financial proposition mining was considered by him as being of a dubious nature, since as he noted in the Revista Universal, such an industry depended excessively upon the exploitation of essentially non-renewable resources, and therefore constituted a rather precarious mainstay for the economic development of a nation struggling to emerge from three centuries of colonial exploitation. Or, as Martí himself noted, "es la riqueza minera bien que pasa o disminuye; y el pueblo, vidas que han de quedar y que constantemente aumentan (VI, 310). More important, however, was his observation that in such an industry only an extremely limited nucleus of people benefitted directly from mining activity: "Es la riqueza minera tal, que enriquece sobre todo encomio a algunos sin que estas súbitas exaltaciones de los pocos, favorezcan y se distribuyan bien entre la masa común (VI, 310).

The remaining possibility, an agriculture-based economy, was at all times defended by Martí, for whom it represented the most certain guarantee for stable, if unspectacular, economic progress:

> La riqueza agrícola, como productora de elementos primos necesarios, más rápida que la industrial, más estable que la minera, más fácil de producir, más cómoda de colocar, asegura al país que la conoce un verdadero bienestar. Las minas suelen acabarse; los productos industriales carecen de mercado; los productos agrícolas fluctúan y valen más o menos, pero son siempre consumidos, y la tierra, su agente, no se cansa jamás (VII, 163-164).

Moreover, as Martí commented in 1884, not only would such an economy provide sufficient food, and employment for the Cuban population (given Cuba's benign climate and excellent soil resources), but would also help to generate much-needed funds through the development of certain popular cash-crops. Martí took hope from the recent dramatic increase of trade with European countries, and in particular from the increase of volume in the coffee trade, predicting (quite accurately) that it would be extremely profitable to develop and market such exotic products of Latin America which were not available in Europe. In general, then, Martí affirmed consistently the unbounded potential of the Republic, and indeed of the continent, provided that they were prepared to follow this slow, but steady, plan of development: "Más oro y plata que en nuestras minas tenemos en nuestras plantas textiles, en nuestra farmacopea vegetal y en nuestras maderas tintoreas y aromáticas" (VIII, 367).

It is interesting to note that, apart from a few rather naïve observations, the most famous of which being his statement that "Pero no hay contradicciones en la naturaleza. La tierra basta a sustentar todos los hombres que cría" (VIII, 378), Martí was in fact very much aware of the extreme care required to protect such an economy. Writing in January of 1882, for example, he stressed the absolute necessity that

"los cortadores de madera deben estar, como están en todos los países productores de madera exportable, sujetos a leyes rigurosas y a estrecha vigilancia, que hagan que el corte se efectúe de modo que se preserve el bosque original, y se tienda a la reposición de las maderas que se arrancan" (XXIII, 149). Furthermore on at least two occasions (VII, 164 and VIII, 366-367) he underlined the fundamental importance of "mejorar nuestros cultivos" (VIII, 366) as he put it, of producing new--and more profitable--varieties of products that were already successful, and of undertaking extensive research in order to protect Latin America's favoured position in this field:

> Y como nuestras tierras fueron por la naturaleza tan ricamente dotadas; como tenemos en todas partes a la mano este agente infatigable de producción, al progreso agrícola deben enderezarse todos los esfuerzos, todos los decretos a favorecerlo, todos los brazos a procurarlo, todas las inteligencias a prestarle ayuda (VII, 164).

In the light of both his general moralistic theories and his specific plans concerning the economic development of the patria, it is interesting to look at the more controversial question of the basic economic school of thought to which Martí subscribed. From the outset it should be stated that one can find examples of the influence of both the liberal and the socialist philosophies of economic development. At the same time it appears obvious that, starting in the mid-1880's, Martí gradually moved away from the traditional liberal approach, adopting an increasingly radical position on many social issues. However it is important to note that Martí never accepted either philosophy as the

definitive model to be followed in the Republic, nor did he ever separate himself totally from the mainstream of either philosophy.

In regard to Martí's general outlook on the type of economy that he desired for an independent Cuba, it appears that to a large degree he supported many features of the traditional liberal approach, summarised here by J. Salwyn Schapiro:

> The fundamental principle of the classical economists was derived from the idea that natural laws infallibly regulated economic transactions. Therefore, they upheld laissez faire, and even more dogmatically than their master, Adam Smith. In a free market, prices of commodities would be determined by the natural, economic law of supply and demand. An unhampered, unregulated economy would increase production by encouraging enterprise. And it would lower prices through competition. Business would then prosper, and on the prosperity of business would depend the prosperity of the nation. Capitalists would reap profits; laborers would find employment; farmers would receive good prices for their products; and landlords, high rents.[12]

At least as far as the policy of laissez faire, Martí appears to have been in total agreement with the liberal philosophy, as can be seen from his conclusions following much public debate in Mexico on the importation of foreign goods:

> Proteccionismo:--
> Por proteger en México a una veintena de fabricantes de zarapes (chales, largos y estrechos) se impedía, por el exceso de los dros. de importación, la introducción de los zarapes alemanes. Éstos se vendían a dos pesos y medio. Los mexicanos a cinco . . . ¿Qué sucedía en México con el sistema proteccionista? ¿A quién protegía? ¿Al numeroso pueblo, que pagaba jugosamente cinco pesos por zarape no siempre bueno,-- en vez de pagar dos pesos y medio, por otro

> zarape, que por la competencia estaba obligado a ser bueno spre.;--al pueblo numerosísimo,--o a la veintena de fabricantes o al escaso número de obreros, que sin dificultad, y con más utilidad propia y común, podían dedicarse a la Nación, precisamente para hacerla víctima de tan visible monopolio? (XXII, 180).

Martí also appears to have agreed with the basic liberal philosophy of rewarding personal initiative and hard work. Mention was made in Chapter IV of Martí's firm support of a "work ethic," when it was shown how he advocated in no uncertain terms making wilful idleness a crime in the Republic. In essence he recommended strongly that all Cubans work hard, both for the patria and for themselves, saving the money that resulted from their toils:

> El ahorro es inútil para quien no conoce los placeres que produce el capital, el ahorro inteligente, honrado y acumulado. Nada tiene porque nada desea. No trabaja por su bienestar porque no quiere hogar más amoroso, lecho más blando, vestido más valioso, mesa mejor provista que los que tiene ya (VI, 283).

It should thus be noted that, in theory at least, Martí was not a dogmatic anticapitalist, since he greatly admired, and indeed defended vigorously, the right of the individual to better his standard of living through hard work. This desire for "el honesto lucro" as he called it (VII, 163),[13] the result of great personal sacrifice and industry, is probably best exemplified by his report--full of admiration--on the death of the owner of the Delmonico Restaurant in New York, a man who had arrived a penniless immigrant in North America and who had assiduously saved his earnings until he became one of the richest, and most generous, men in New York. Martí related how he worked until the very day of his death, concluding that he typified "resplandeciente en toda

su figura la dignidad hermosa del trabajo" (IX, 43).

It is also interesting to note that, despite disagreeing fundamentally with the exploitative measures employed to increase their fortune, nevertheless Martí did at least show the noble deeds of several of North America's richest, and in many cases greediest, philanthropists. Thus there are in Martí's work references to the benevolent deeds of, among others, Ezra Cornell (X, 228), Vanderbilt (X, 147), Peter Cooper (XII, 47-53), Isaac Williamson (XII, 198), Andrew Carnegie (XI, 362) and Judge Courtlandt Palmer (XI, 363 and XIII, 319).

Consequently in his support for free enterprise in general, reward for personal initiative and finally for a laissez faire trade structure, Martí was in many ways a typical nineteenth-century liberal. However, his "liberal" statements come also entirely from his early writings, this point of view being rarely defended after the mid-1880's. This does not mean that Martí passed automatically from a liberal perspective to a socialist one (It is only necessary to read his report in 1884 on Herbert Spencer's study La futura esclavitud (XV, 388-391) to realise that Martí's knowledge of socialism was not over-profound),[14] but rather that he realised gradually that liberalism did not constitute the definitive economic philosophy that he desired for the patria.

As has been noted elsewhere, when studying the thought of José Martí it is impossible to escape from his at times overbearing, but always sincere, moralising, and his writing on the question of wealth and the rights to acquire it were no exception. Martí was realistic enought to admit that all men were not born with the same socio-economic advantages, and it is important to note that he never sought

to correct this by legalistic means. Nor did he ever move to forbid the possibility of one generation inheriting from their predecessors the economic advantages earned by the previous generation (VI, 276). In addition he was, as has been indicated in this chapter, fully prepared to allow his compatriots to work hard and to save their honestly-earned money in order to improve their material situation, although he counselled strongly against the misuse of such funds:

> pues así como es gloria acumularla [riqueza] con un trabajo franco y brioso, así es prueba palpable de incapacidad y desvergüenza, y delito merecedor de pena escrita, el fomentarla por métodos violentos o escondidos, que deshonran al que los emplea, y corrompen la nación en que se practican (XI, 426).

During his many years in North America, Martí had many opportunities to observe closely this process of people accumulating wealth, and he became progressively disillusioned with both the methods by which it was obtained and the use to which wealth was put after it had been earned. As a result of these experiences, although he was not essentially opposed to the idea of earning an "honest" wage or profit, Martí became convinced during the 1880's that, at least in the context of the United States of that time, his concept of "honest pay for an honest day's work" was rather outmoded, especially because of the rather dubious alliances being struck up by large influential corporations. During the 1880's, then, Martí realised, and indeed noted vigorously, that even at that time free enterprise was not excessively "free":

> Del abuso de la tierra pública, fuente primaria de toda propiedad, vienen esas atrevidas acumulaciones de riquezas que arruinan en la competencia estéril a los aspirantes pobres: vienen esas corporaciones monstruosas, que

> inundan o encogen con su avaricia y estremicimientos la fortuna nacional: vienen esos inicuos consorcios de los capitales que compelen al obrero a perecer sin trabajo, o a trabajar por un grano de arroz: vienen esas empresas cuantiosas que eligen a su costo senadores y representantes: o los compran después de elegidos, para asegurar el acuerdo de las leyes que les mantienen en el goce de su abuso; y les reparten con la autoridad de la nación, nuevas porciones de la tierra pública, en cuyo producto siguen amasando su tremenda fuerza (XI, 19).

Martí was thus aware that his ideas concerning the ability to earn an "honesto lucro" were rather outdated in the United States of this time, although this clearly did not preclude their relevance in the society of the liberated patria. Indeed it seems highly likely that in the Republic Martí, depending heavily upon a steady economic growth, would have used two different (but not necessarily contradictory, it is important to note) approaches to encourage the successful application of this work ethic: the idea of the spiritual "dignidad del trabajo" (so highly regarded by Che Guevara), and also this concept of an "honesto lucro," of material rewards for hard work.

In many ways his comments on the two distinctive generations of rich North Americans, "los ricos de la primera y segunda generaciones" as he called them, is a fitting illustration of the two distinctive types of wealth and materialism, one which he was prepared to encourage in an independent Cuba, the other being totally repulsive to him. The first generation represented the wealth resulting from personal initiative and hard work, and was completely acceptable to Martí, whereas the second generation exemplified the dangers of unrestrained greed

after Man had tasted the material advantages that resulted from this toil, and had steadily embarked upon an increasingly-materialistic path. What was in fact even more disturbing for him was the way in which such "ricos" not only became totally corrupt themselves, but also managed to influence others, eventually dragging large sectors of the population down in their wake. This, Martí warned sternly, would never be acceptable in the Republic:

> Los ricos de la primera generación recuerdan con cariño aquella época en que fueron mozos de tienda, cuidadores de caballos, cargadores de lana, manderillos miserables, criadores de vacas. Pero los ricos de la segunda generación, que montan galanamente en los caballos que llevaron de la brida sus padres, ven como blasón de indecoro en los neorricos aquello que fue para sus padres blasón de honra: la creación de sí. . . . Y hay abismo hondísimo entre los poderosos por herencia, delgados, pálidos, y a modo de lengua flauta--porque es la usanza de la señoría inglesa--aderezados; y los poderosos del trabajo, saludables, castos, decididores, rollizos, y extremadamente limpios, con la antigua limpieza americana, sobria y sólida.
>
> Una aristocracia política ha nacido de esta aristocracia pecuniaria, y domina periódicos, vence en elecciones, y suele imperar en asambleas sobre esa casta soberbia, que disimula mal la impaciencia con que aguarda la hora en que el número de sectarios le permita poner mano fuerte sobre el libro sagrado de la patria, y reformar para el favor y privilegio de una clase, la magna carta de generosas libertades, al amparo de las cuales crearon estos vulgares poderosos la fortuna que anhelan emplear hoy en herirlas gravemente (IX, 108).

Martí was thus unable to see any advantages to be gained from earning unnecessarily excessive quantities of money, and although he did not state that there should be a limit to the amount of money that

a citizen could earn, nevertheless there was implicit in his comments the feeling that, since money could corrupt so easily (and thus as a means of averting the possibility in the Republic of "una aristocracia política"), all Cubans would be encouraged to discipline themselves into requesting no more than what they honestly considered a just and honourable wage for their work. (Indeed the reader of Martí's work receives the distinct impression that he felt deeply sorry for people with excessive wealth, since invariably it appears to have eroded their personal happiness.)[15] Once again, Martí's plans for the future development of the patria depended extensively upon the successful emergence of the "new man," within a radically new revolutionary society.

It is also important to note that there were many important issues in which Martí was in direct disagreement with liberal theories. An obvious example was the position of Labour and Trade Unions, for the liberal viewpoint considered Labour, as J. Salwyn Schapiro has noted, "a commodity, bought and sold like any other commodity in the free market. What the laborer received in wages, the 'natural price,' was a 'subsistence wage,' just enough to maintain him and his family."[16] Such a situation was completely unacceptable to Martí, who at all times demanded both respect and a just living wage for all workers. Writing in La Nación in 1886 on a railway strike, Martí explained the reasons for the workers' actions, totally justified in his view, given the uncompromising attitude of their employers, whose original desires for an "honesto lucro" had obviously been surpassed by an unfortunate materialistic lust:

> Como ellos ven que sus males provienen en parte visible de la insolencia y desdén del capital organizado, de las combinaciones ilegítimas de éste, del sistema de desigual distribución de las ganancias que mantiene al trabajador en un perpetuo estado de limosnero; como ellos no hallan justo que los salarios de los trabajadores de ferrocarril no pasen de un mendrugo y una mala colcha, para que puedan repartirse entre sí dividendos gargantuescos los cabecillas y favorecidos de las compañías, que por cada mil pesos de gasto real en la empresa emitieron veinte mil acciones . . . resulte que con una justicia acá, y allá una violencia, los trabajadores se han puesto en pie, decididos a no sentarse sino mano a mano con el capital que los emplea (X, 413).

As has already been shown, Martí was determined that in a free Cuba a system based upon the necessity of social justice for all would prevail. In the context of North America of the 1880's this desire to see social justice implemented led Martí to lend his support to a number of movements designed to show solidarity with striking workers and to advocate strongly the formation of trade unions as a means of protecting the workers' rights. In fact, from as early as 1875 (when he himself had been nominated as a workers' representative at a conference in Chihuahua) Martí had consistently praised the unity shown by workers' organizations as they strived to obtain what he viewed as essential characteristics of any post--respect and a just salary. He was proud to describe the "hermoso fenómeno el que se observa ahora en las clases obreras. Por su propia fuerza se levantan de la abyección descuidada al trabajo redentor e inteligente: eran antes instrumentos trabajadores: ahora son hombres que se conocen y se estiman" (VI, 625).

Martí's generous support of the principle of trade unions and

his justification of workers groups uniting to demand a fair reward for their labours represented another direct refutation by him of classic economic liberalism. When the workers' cause was obviously justified (but, again it is important to note, only when the cause was justified) Martí most definitely endorsed their decision to strike and appears generally to have been delighted with the extent of solidarity shown by their fellow workers:

> Los que empezaron junto a una mesa de cortar ropa hace veinte años unos cuantos sastres de buena voluntad, es hoy asociación técnica, organizada como vastísima masonería, por medio de la cual, si en un ferrocarril de Téxas despiden a un obrero sin razón, ya están los herreros de Pittsburgh, los zapateros de la Nueva Inglaterra, los cigarreros de Nueva York disponiéndose a ayudar con su cuota de los ferrocarriles de Téxas, hasta que el obrero despedido sin justicia sea vuelto a su puesto (X, 403).

Martí's consistent claims that social justice should be the major concern and the deciding factor in all Labour-Capital disputes also led him to diverge further from the path of liberalism, particularly after he supported the notion that both workers and capitalists should share equitably the profits that resulted from the work of both groups. In June of 1886, for example, Martí wrote favourably of the idea of a tribunal which would judge all industrial disputes, and whose goal would be "hacer leyes en acuerdo con una distribución justa de los productos del trabajo" (X, 394). Some three years later, as the danger of severe social unrest loomed ominously, Martí again referred to a similar idea, claiming that in order to stave off severe social and political unrest, it would be absolutely essential to "distribuir mejor la riqueza nacional" (XII, 250).

Consequently, although he did not offer any specific schemes as to how these riches would be divided, either in the United States or in Cuba, obviously Martí did regard this distribution of "excessivé" wealth to be both desirable and necessary. Moreover, this division was not intended solely for the benefit of the poorer members of society who would thus receive extra funding, but also for those people "relieved" of their riches and thereby free from the corrupting power of money. Such a policy would thus benefit the nation as a whole. Writing in the Revista Universal in 1875, Martí announced the central features of this rather simplistic, although undoubtedly sincere, plan for the solution of social unrest:

> Tienen hambre: redímaseles el hambre. No sea vana la enseñanza del demócrata romano; ábranse al pueblo los graneros, cuando el pueblo no tiene granos en su hogar. Piense cada Estado en la manera de remediar el grave daño en sus comarcas; cree trabajo para los que sin él perecerían; den los que tienen sobrado a los que tienen la mesa vacía y el lecho sobre la tierra (VI, 284).

A few years later in his pamphlet Guatemala, Martí developed the theme of introducing social justice into the nation by sharing the riches of the wealthy, as he showed the basic immorality of having a few citizens possessing vast estates while the vast majority toiled on the land of the hacendado for a mere pittance, without any hope of possessing land of their own. The ideal solution to these obvious inequalities was to redistribute the land among those people living in such pitiable conditions--yet another major divergency from standard liberalism. Once again there were absolutely no plans as to how this

would be accomplished, nor did Martí ever stipulate that the land would indeed be taken away from its wealthy occupants. Instead he simply stated the essential immorality of such a situation, while claiming that the healthiest possible situation for any nation of Latin America (and he was most definitely planning to use this as the base for the future Republic) was to have an agriculture-based economy in which all citizens participated as small-property owners:

> La riqueza exclusiva es injusta. Sea de muchos; no de los advenedizos, nuevas manos muertas, sino de los que honra y laboriosamente la merezcan. Es rica una nación que cuenta muchos pequeños propietarios. No es rico el pueblo donde hay algunos hombres ricos, sino aquél donde cada uno tiene un poco de riqueza. En economía política y en buen gobierno, distribuir es hacer venturosos (VII, 134).

On the basis of this analysis of Martí's economic thought it is possible to make some general observations as to the type of economic programme that he would have attempted to introduce into Cuba after independence had been won. Probably the most obvious feature, basically because it is one of the remarkably few concrete measures proposed by Martí, was his firm desire that the patria should commit itself wholeheartedly to following a varied, strictly agricultural form of development, while at all times refraining from becoming dependent upon either a mining- or an industrial-based economy.

Among the general aspirations for a future economic policy it is fairly obvious that Martí relied heavily upon his own deeply-moralistic convictions concerning the fundamental "spirit" behind the more specific programmes. In essence Martí hoped, and in fact was confident, that

the "new man" would arise from the revolutionary struggle in the patria, prepared to contribute effectively to the Republic. This "new man," politically conscious and innately selfless, would then decide, after a process of painstaking rationalization, that a new moral direction had to be followed in the nation's economic development. Thereafter an entirely new approach would be introduced in the patria as riches and land were distributed to the needy, a code of humanist ethics would eventually be adhered to by the nation, and all major decisions taken would depend upon Martí's famous "en lo que sea justo" evaluation. The Revolution would thus be firmly established.

NOTES

CHAPTER VI

[1]Felipe de Pazos y Roque puts Martí's prowess in economic matters in proper perspective: "quien supo bastante para que Uruguay lo nombrase su delegado en materia tan difícil como la monetaria, y en circunstancia tan trascendente como la de una conferencia internacional, quien podía hacer crónicas tan atinadas y frecuentes sobre proteccionismo y libre cambio, o sobre nuevas técnicas industriales y agrícolas; quien comprendió con tanta exactitud los problemas económicos de nuestras repúblicas 'feudales y teóricas de Hispanoamérica': y quien intuyó y explicó con tanta claridad los peligros de la expansión económica de la América rubia sobre nuestra América trigueña, tiene, por fuerza, que ser considerado como un profundo conocedor de la técnica económica." Felipe de Pazos y Roque, "Las ideas económicas de Martí," Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942 (La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942), II, p. 178.

[2]Once again it is interesting to consider Martí's own words on the subject: "Adoro la sencillez, pero no la que proviene de limitar mis ideas a éste o aquel círculo o escuela, sino la de decir lo que veo, siento o medito con el menor número de palabras posibles, de palabras poderosas, gráficas, enérgicas, y armoniosas" (XXII, 101). (My underlining).

José Pérez Cubillas during a lecture in 1932 explained well the difficulties involved in placing Martí within the mainstream of any economic philosophy: "No es muy fácil decir a qué escuela económica perteneció el Apóstol.

En esto, como en otras cosas, Martí siguió prácticamente el consejo del Maestro José de la Luz y Caballero: 'todos los sistemas y ningún sistema' . . .

En los problemas relativos a la producción de la riqueza, Martí se nos presenta encuadrado dentro del marco de la escuela liberal librecambista.

En los problemas relativos a la distribución y al consumo, tiene algunas frases que parecen inclinarlo hacia las nuevas tendencias socialistas-moderadas.

En general, sus ideas económicas se encuentran influídas por la pasión predominante en él: la justicia." José Pérez Cubillas, Martí, economista y sociólogo (La Habana: Molina y Cía., 1932), pp. 13-14.

[3]Writing for La Nación in August of 1889, Martí explained the essence of his anti-imperialist beliefs, which he illustrated through the example of "los americanos puros que no creen que el brazo que ha crecido con la salud de la libertad deba, matricida, volverse a ella. Ni hemos de ir de barateros por el mundo, cobrando el tanto del comercio universal, porque tenemos el brazo más fuerte; ni es menos sagrada la libertad política en un enano que en un gigante; . . . Ni han de correr los siglos en vano . . . para que nuestra libertad, pregondada por el águila como la libertad definitiva no sea más que la libertad aristocrática de Grecia o la libertad hipócrita del pueblo inglés, con un tacón clavado en la Irlanda y una rodilla metida en el corazón de los cipayos" (XII, 239-240).

Martínez Bello also comments on this universal nature of Martí's anti-imperialism: "No se crea que al asumir una actitud beligerante frente al imperialismo, Martí solamente tuvo en cuenta el de los Estados Unidos del Norte. El Maestro procedió con vistas a las ambiciones de las potencias imperiales de todos los continentes." Antonio Martínez Bello, p. 86.

[4]See his report to La América, published in February of 1884, in which he warned Mexico about the dangers of allowing the United States to dominate the Mexican economy: "Como siete años hace, decíamos con nuestra previsión latina, lo que ahora después de su experiencia sajona, reconocen los que a su costa lo tienen aprendido." Whereupon Martí quotes from The Herald:

"'Aun ahora, los ferrocarriles que desde este país están siendo introducidos en México están exclusivamente bajo el poder de ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos, y el capital americano se ha invertido en considerables cantidades en empresas de México. Cualesquiera que hayan sido nuestras desventajas cuando sólo existía entre los dos países el comercio marítimo los norteamericanos poseeremos (y este futuro lo expresa el Herald con su will absoluto y no el shall que deja abierto campo a la posibilidad o a la duda, el shall cortés), todas las ventajas comerciales que deben surgir de la terminación de los ferrocarriles'" (VII, 31).

[5]For a summary of the "caso Cutting," see vol. VII, pages 36-45.

[6]As early as 1882, Martí had highlighted the changing nature of the American character: "Los hijos de los peregrinos tuvieron también su fiesta: mas ¡ay! que ya no son humildes, ni pisan las nieves del Cabo Cod con borceguíes de trabajadores, sino que se ajustan al pie rudo

la bota marcial; y ven de un lado al Canadá, y del otro a México . . . Decía así el senador Hawley: 'Y cuando hayamos tomado a Canadá y a México, y reinemos sin rivales sobre el continente, ¿qué especie de civilización vendremos a tener en lo futuro?' ¡Una terrible a fe: la de Cartago!" (IX, 205).

[7]See, for example, Martí's report to La Nación, published in January of 1890, in which he quoted the views of spokesmen for the Ministries of the Admiralty and of Finance: "La [Secretaría] de Marina sí: quiere, y pronto, veintiún acorazados, veinte costeros, sesenta cruceros, torpedos suficientes, escuadra de reserva, no trece millones, como acordó el Congreso pasado, sino veinticinco y medio . . . la Secretaría de Hacienda quiere tarifa más alta para que no entre nada de afuera, y el sobrante, 'empléese en extender el mercado extranjero, en buques de guerra y en fortificaciones en la costa' . . . '¡Somos los amos, y que nos pague el mundo!'" (XII, 360-361).

[8]In his Fragmentos, Martí mentioned a scheme to cross the subcontinent, into which an English company was prepared to invest large sums of money. This possibility did not disturb Martí, though: "¡Que la Inglaterra, (La Great Zaruma Gold Mining Co.), ha obtenido ya la concesión de la mitad de la vía!--Pues lo que otros ven como un peligro, yo lo veo como una salvaguardia: mientras llegamos a ser bastante fuertes para defendernos por nosotros mismos, nuestra salvación, y la garantía de nuestra independencia, están en el equilibrio de potencias extranjeras rivales.--Allá, muy en lo futuro, para cuando estemos completamente desenvueltos, corremos el riesgo de que se combinen en nuestra contra las naciones rivales pero afines.--(Inglaterra, Estados Unidos): de aquí que la política extranjera de la América Central y Meridional haya de tender a la creación de intereses extranjeros,--de naciones diversas y desemejantes, y de intereses encontrados,--en nuestros diferentes países, sin dar ocasión de preponderancia definitiva a ninguna aunque es obvio que ha de haber, y en ocasiones ha de convertir q. haya, una preponderancia aparente y accidental, de algún poder, que acaso deba ser siempre un poder europeo" (XXII, 116).

[9]In a similar vein was Martí's undated article, "Un viaje a Venezuela," in which he again defended the need for solid economic growth in order to guarantee political stability: "Por medio de una constitución política esperan aliviar sus desgracias y obtener el desarrollo de la nación, sin ver que no serán bastante fuertes para tener una constitución política respetada y duradera sino cuando sean bastante trabajadores y bastante ricos para que el interés general ordene y preserve la fórmula de las libertades que hayan de garantizarla" (XIX, 155).

[10]In a recent article, Ramón de Armas has detailed the outstanding dependence of Cuba upon trade with North America, thus showing that Cuba badly needed to retain good economic relations with the United

States: "En 1881, el cónsul norteamericano en Cuba ya había podido decir: 'Comercialmente, Cuba se ha convertido en una dependencia de los Estados Unidos, aunque políticamente continúe dependiendo de España.' Y hacia 1884, los Estados Unidos absorbían el 85% de la producción total de Cuba, y el 94% de su producción de azúcar y mieles." Ramón de Armas, "La revolución prospuesta: destino de la revolución martiana de 1895," Anuario martiano, 4 (1972), p. 253.

[11]In the same article Armas summarises well Martí's plans for economic reform in Cuba: "Reforma agraria que permita instaurar un régimen económico fundamentado en la pequeña propiedad agrícola y que . . . permita alcanzar, como objetivo a largo plazo, la industrialización del país. Desarrollo, tecnificación y diversificación de la producción agrícola como base del desarrollo económico inmediato y de la eventual industrialización mencionada . . . Preferencia a las industrias 'artificiales' que tienen intercambio equivalente y digno ('comercio inteligente' y 'sano'). Recepción de inversiones extranjeras a condición de que respondan a los intereses nacionales, favorezcan el desarrollo, y no sean vehículo de penetración y sometimiento políticos." Ibid., p. 236.

[12]J. Salwyn Schapiro, Liberalism: its meaning and history (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company Inc., 1958), p. 33.

[13]Cintio Vitier and Fina García Marruz, citing the observation of Manuel Pedro González, also arrive at this conclusion: "Como observó Manuel Pedro González, 'si condenó la riqueza excesiva o mal habida y la explotación de los desvalidos, en cambio defendió su posesión cuando era producto del esfuerzo honrado y sin detrimento de los proletarios.'" Cintio Vitier and Fina García Marruz, p. 106.

[14]In a recent article, Paul Estrade claims that at this time the influence of Marx in the Americas was extremely slight. Indeed, in the context of Mexico of this period he describes socialism as "reformismo social más bien" (p. 47). In regard to Martí he continues: "No vamos a evocar de nuevo los límites de aquel 'socialismo' parcial. A ello se deben tanto como al dogmatismo del socialismo norteamericano en la década del ochenta, su corta comprensión del marxismo, como se ve a las claras en el artículo necrológico dedicado a Carlos Marx, o su negación repetida del fenómeno clasista en la sociedad. No fulgen sus ideas en México por la originalidad o el radicalismo. Pero existen, coherentes, sanas, amasadas por cierta praxis social. Lo ubican en el grupo más avanzado de su tiempo." Paul Estrade, p. 50.

[15]Julio Le Riverend, underlining Martí's fundamental dislike for money, correctly notes that "creía Martí que el hombre realmente debe renunciar a la riqueza personal si tiene conciencia y decisión para realizar una vida conforme a principios y objetivos trascendentes."

Julio Le Riverend, "Martí: ética y acción revolucionaria," p. 42.

[16]Salwyn Schapiro, p. 33. Therefore, as Professor Schapiro continues, "buyer and seller, employer and employed, landlord and tenant were to be free to negotiate the terms of their contracts, and contracts thus negotiated would generally prove beneficial to both parties. Combinations, whether of labor or capital, were deemed conspiracies and, as such, violations of the freedom of contract. For this reason economic liberalism opposed trade unions as stoutly as it did industrial monopolies (p. 34).

CONCLUSION

"hay que tomar al hombre en toda su realidad tumultuosa y exaltada. No temamos a la gran prueba. Hay tal grandeza personal e histórica en José Martí que puede y debe irse sin miedos a su intimidad y a su contradicción. Pero se hace indispensable que la búsqueda en la espesa selva se realice con recto sentido: que no se deje de visitar ningún paraje . . . que ningún accidente nos distraiga de la totalidad trascendence."[1]

José Martí's use as a source of inspiration by the many different regimes of independent Cuba demonstrates his fundamental importance as a symbol of cubanía, as the exemplary Cuban whom all citizens of the Republic should emulate. However, Martí's employment by politicians of totally opposing political beliefs suggests a certain lack of consistency in his basic political philosophy, and many critics have interpreted Martí's plans for an independent Cuba in terms similar to the view held by Richard Butler Gray:

> Did Martí, however, have an intimate knowledge of the governmental system upon which to base concrete suggestions for bringing about an orderly transition from a colonial bureaucracy to a republic? It must be remembered that his only experience with the colonial government was at age sixteen, and was confined to the walls of a rock quarry . . . Martí was never confronted with the problems of running a governmental organization. By profession he was a journalist. One searches in vain, therefore, to find any concrete proposals for the establishment of governmental institutions once the Spanish bureaucracy had been destroyed.[2]

In short, since so many different administrations since the war of independence have used Martí as their source of "inspiration," it is generally concluded that his writings must necessarily have been of an essentially bland, general nature.

In actual fact a thorough study of his Obras completas reveals Martí to be a coherent thinker with clear and most definite priorities for the complete reshaping of Cuba after independence had been won from Spain. Moreover, although Martí refused to support any particular ideology or set of political beliefs, there is a fairly noticeable development in his thought. Therefore, although cut short by his

untimely death in 1895, Martí's political thought was evolving very clearly, and was moving in an increasingly radical direction.

As to the stimuli which brought about this progression in Martí's ideology, it would appear from a study of his writings, which include his correspondence and diaries, that he was primarily influenced by the dramatic events of his own life. The steady radicalization of both his political thought and his plans for a liberated Cuba was thus caused not by abstract intellectual influences but rather by the events of his youth and by the many years spent in "Nuestra América" and the United States.

Martí conceived of an independent Cuba in which extensive social, political and economic changes would occur. There was to be a complete reshaping of the social structure, of political life, and of economic planning. More important, Martí stipulated that in regard to his plans, no sector of society would be exempt!

Probably Martí's most revolutionary plans revolved around the restructuring of social life in the patria. The previous colonialist system, which had blatantly discriminated against the native-born Cubans while giving great advantage to the peninsulares, would be abolished immediately. In its place Martí planned a classless and "colourless" state in which, for the first time in Cuban history, all citizens would be allowed equal privileges. A determined attempt would be made to provide full employment for all Cuban workers, and all citizens would be able--again for the first time--to receive a basic education. In return for the many concrete social advantages which would be available to the people as a whole, Martí hoped to convince his fellow Cubans of

the validity of a re-invigorated work ethic, of the essential dignity of honest toil.

In regard to the sweeping political reform planned by Martí for a liberated Cuba it is clear that he wanted a totally new appreciation of political life by his fellow Cubans. Instead of the days of colonial Cuba, when the criollos were unable to participate directly in the decision-making process, Cubans would not only be encouraged, but also would be expected, to play an active role in politics, discussing official policies and suggesting alternatives in an attempt to make the political system work for the people as a whole. Equally important was the creation of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano. The structure and the activities of the Party, of which Martí was the Delegado, illustrate well the general aspirations of Martí in this regard, since the PRC was intended by him as a microcosm of the general political structure to be instituted in an independent Cuba.

Martí's economic plans, although less developed than his programme of social and political reform, nevertheless reveal his determination to ensure that profits from Cuban sugar crops would no longer be siphoned off to Spain and the United States, but in fact would remain in Cuba to provide the necessary funds so that his planned changes in the social sector could be undertaken. Martí foresaw a slow but steady process of economic growth based principally upon Cuba's plentiful agricultural resources, although at a later date, after the Republic had been firmly established, he stipulated that there would be some industrialization. Trade would be encouraged with as many countries as possible, and in particular with European nations, in order to break

commercial dependence upon a limited number of trading partners.

Perhaps the most important innovation planned by Martí for the liberated patria, and undoubtedly the key to the successful implementation of his specific reforms, was his determination to change the national character of the Cuban people. After convincing his co-revolutionaries of the necessity to feel proud of their distinct cubanidad (a tremendous feat in itself, given the three centuries of Spanish domination on the Island), Martí planned to inculcate into his fellow Cubans a deep moralistic sense of selflessness which, together with his invigorated work ethic, he hoped would lead eventually to the creation of a new revolutionary man, totally dedicated to the well-being of the nation. Indeed, as Andrés Iduarte has observed, "El pensamiento político de Martí es, desde el principio hasta el fin, una prédica moral."[3]

Thus Martí's plan for a fundamental transformation of Cuban society in essence depended upon moral imperatives rather than upon any ideological stance. Indeed, for Martí all ideologies were vague abstractions, devoid of any saving grace unless they contributed directly to the well-being of society as a whole. What Martí advocated for a liberated Cuba was thus a radical restructuring of the economic, social and political spheres, based not upon ideology but on a moral transformation of what can be termed the human dimension of the patria. Indeed, as Martí himself noted, "A la sustancia vamos, más que a las formas . . . De cambiar de alma se trata, no de cambiar de vestido" (V, 368-369).

Therefore, however much Martí has been used as a source of inspiration by the many differing regimes of independent Cuba, Martí himself was extremely specific in regard to his plans for the liberated patria. Rather than being the bland humanitarian that he has so often been depicted as, the writings of Martí provide ample proof that in fact he possessed a well-developed blueprint for the social, political and economic development for an independent Republic. Moreover, such plans as he aspired to introduce in Cuba show clearly that Martí wanted to provide a new and necessarily revolutionary solution to the many ills of the patria: minor amendments were thus unacceptable to him. It is to be hoped that this study has not only made clear the undisputable fundamentals of José Martí's socio-political thought as seen in his aspirations for the liberated patria, but has further demonstrated the uniqueness of José Martí as a man and as a political thinker.

NOTES

CONCLUSIÓN

[1]Juan Marinello, "El caso literario de José Martí," Once ensayos martianos (La Habana: Comisión Nacional Cubana de la UNESCO, 1964), p. 74.

[2]Richard Butler Gray, José Martí, Cuban Patriot (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962), p. 66. Earlier in this work Gray had been similarly patronising: "By no stretch of the imagination can Martí be considered to have thought out a consistent political theory. He had little time for closet philosophy in the matter of politics. He was, first and last, from his revolutionary tract Patria Libre to the Manifiesto de Montecristi, an active revolutionist" (p. 59).

[3]Andrés Iduarte, Martí, escritor, p. 307.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

WORKS BY MARTÍ

Martí, José. Obras completas. 27 vols. La Habana: Editorial Nacional de Cuba, 1963-1966.

ANTHOLOGIES OF MARTÍ'S WORK

Martí, José. "Antología." Revista Hispánica Moderna, 18 (Jan.-Dec. 1962), 189-248.

----------. Antología mínima, ed. Pedro Álvarez Tabío. 2 vols. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1972.

----------. Argentina y la primera conferencia panamericana, ed. Dardo Cúneo. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Transición, 1955.

----------. Cartas a Manuel A. Mercado, ed. Francisco Monterde. México: Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1946.

----------. Cuba, Nuestra América, los Estados Unidos, ed. Roberto Fernández Retamar. México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1973.

----------. "Dice José Martí." Lunes, 30 Jan. 1961, 19-43.

----------. El pensamiento político de Martí, ed. Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring. La Habana: Capitolio Nacional, 1960.

----------. Escritos desconocidos de José Martí, ed. Carlos Ripoll. New York: Eliseo Torres and Sons, 1971.

----------. Ideario, ed. Isidro Méndez. La Habana: Editorial Cultural, 1930.

----------. Ideario, ed. Luis Alberto Sánchez. Santiago (de Chile): Ediciones Cultural, 1930.

----------. Inside the Monster: Writings on the United States and American Imperialism by José Martí, ed. Philip S. Foner. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975.

----------. "José Martí 1853-1895." Conciencia intelectual de América: Antología del ensayo hispanoamericano 1836-1959, ed. Carlos Ripoll. New York: Las Américas Publishing Co., 1970, 215-266.

----------. José Martí en los Estados Unidos. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1968.

----------. José Martí: sus mejores páginas, ed. Raimundo Lazo. México: Editorial Porrúa, 1970.

----------. Martí, ciudadano y apóstol, su ideario, ed. Homero Muñóz. Miami: Editorial AIP, 1968.

----------. Martí on the U.S.A., ed. Luis A. Baralt. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966.

----------. Martí y la primera revolución cubana, ed. Ernesto Goldar. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1971.

----------. The America of José Martí: Selected Writings, ed. Juan de Onís. New York: Noonday Press, 1953.

----------. "Tres cartas de José Martí." Boletín del Archivo Nacional, 67 (Jan.-Dec. 1974), 165-168.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES ON MARTÍ

Anderson, Robert Roland. Spanish-American Modernism, A Selected Bibliography. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970, 107-128.

Biblioteca Municipal, La Habana. Guía bibliográfica sobre José Martí. La Habana: Publicaciones de la Biblioteca Municipal, 1937.

Blanch y Blanco, Celestino. Bibliografía martiana 1954-63. La Habana: Ediciones de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1966.

Blondet, Olga. "José Martí: bibliografía selecta." Revista Hispánica Moderna, 18 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 151-161.

Carmona Romay, Adriano G. Fuentes para el estudio del pensamiento de José Martí en materia municipal. La Habana: Editorial Martí, 1953.

Corbitt, Duvin C. "Historical publications of the Martí Centennial." Hispanic American Historical Review, 34 (Aug. 1954), 397-405.

Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias, Universidad de la República. Aportes para una bibliografía de José Martí. Montevideo: Universidad de la República, 1954.

Godoy, Armand. "Una bibliografía y una carta inédita." Repertorio Americano, 10 June 1933, 339.

González, Manuel Pedro. "La revaloración de Martí. Anotaciones en torno a su bibliografía." Universidad de La Habana, 4 (1953), 5-22.

----------. Fuentes para el estudio de José Martí. La Habana: Dirección de Cultura, 1950.

Peraza Sarausa, Fermín. "Martí, los libros y sus libros." Revista Interamericana de Bibliografía, 3 (Sept.-Dec. 1953), 242-251.

----------. Bibliografía martiana, 1853-1953. La Habana: Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento de Martí, 1954.

----------. "Bibliografía martiana, 1956-1968." Revista Cubana (New York), 1 (July-Dec. 1968), 487-499.

Roig de Leuchsenring, Emilio. "La benemérita labor de los escritores martistas." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1953), 178-184.

JOURNALS DEVOTED TO MARTÍ

Anuario Martiano (La Habana). 4 vols. (1969-1972).

Archivo José Martí (La Habana). 6 vols. (1940-1953).

'HOMENAJES': COMMEMORATIVE TRIBUTES TO JOSÉ MARTÍ

Banco Nacional de Cuba. José Martí en la Comisión Monetaria Internacional Americana. Washington 1891. Minutes of the International American Monetary Commision [sic]. Actas de la Comisión Monetaria Internacional Americana. La Habana: Banco Nacional de Cuba, 1957.

Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Études Hispaniques. En torno a José Martí (coloquio internacional). Bordeaux: Éditions Bière, 1974.

Departamento de Extensión y Relaciones Culturales, Universidad de Oriente. Pensamiento y acción de José Martí. Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1953.

"Edición extraordinaria en homenaje a nuestro apóstol José Martí." Bohemia, 1 Feb. 1953, 1-127.

El Archivo Nacional en la conmemoración del centenario del natalicio de José Martí. La Habana: Archivo Nacional, 1953.

Embajada de Venezuela en Cuba. Venezuela a Martí. La Habana: Editorial Lex, 1953.

González, Manuel Pedro, ed. Antología crítica de José Martí. México: Editorial Cultura, 1960.

Hispanic Institute in the United States (Columbia University) and Departamento de estudios hispánicos, Universidad de Puerto Rico. José Martí (1853-1895). Vida y obra. Bibliografía. New York and Río Piedras: Úcar, García y Cía, 1953.

"Homenaje a José Martí." Carteles (La Habana), 1 Feb. 1953, 26-150.

"Homenaje a José Martí en el 38 aniversario de su muerte." Repertorio Americano (San José, Costa Rica), 20 May 1933, 289-302.

"Homenaje a José Martí en el centenario de su nacimiento." Anales de la Universidad de Chile, 111 (1953), 1-165.

"Homenaje a José Martí en el centenario de su nacimiento." Boletín de la Academia Cubana de la Lengua, 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1952), 481-787.

"Homenaje a José Martí en el centenario de su nacimiento." Revista Cubana, 29 (July 1951-Dec. 1952), 7-517.

Homenaje a Martí en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942. La Habana: Municipio de La Habana, 1942.

"José Martí." Revista Bimestre Cubana, 41 (1938), 161-303.

"José Martí (1853-1895). Vida y obra. Bibliografía." Revista Hispánica Moderna, 18 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 1-164, 189-248.

Memoria del congreso de escritores martianos (feb. 20 a 27 de 1953). La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento de Martí, 1953.

"Número extraordinario: homenaje a José Martí." Revista Cubana (New York), 1 (July-Dec. 1968).

Secretaría de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes. Homenaje al Apóstol Martí, 28 de enero de 1928. La Habana: Carasa, 1928.

Seminario José Martí. Estudios martianos (Memoria del Seminario José Martí, celebrado bajo los auspicios de la Fundación José Martí y el Departamento de estudios hispánicos, Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad de Puerto Rico). San Juan: Editorial Universitaria, 1974).

Seminario juvenil de estudios martianos. Estudios sobre Martí, ed. Juan Sarría y Juan José Soto. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1975.

"Sobre Martí, a ochenta años de su muerte." Casa de las Américas, 15 (May-June 1975), 1-68.

"Todo Martí." Lunes, 30 Jan. 1961, 1-63.

Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942. 2 vols. La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942.

CRITICAL STUDIES ON MARTÍ

Acosta, Agustín. "Ya sería un viejo..." Boletín de la Academia Cubana de la Lengua, 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1952), 776-778.

Acosta, Leonardo. "La concepción histórica de Martí." Casa de las Américas, 11 (July-Aug. 1971), 13-36.

----------. "Martí descolonizador. Apuntes sobre el simbolismo náhuatl en la poesía de Martí." Casa de las Américas, 13 (July-Aug. 1972), 29-43.

----------. "Los apologistas de la conquista y la refutación martiana." Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), 53-65.

----------. José Martí, la América precolombina y la conquista española. La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1974.

Agramonte, Roberto. "Martí y el mundo de lo colectivo." Archivo José Martí, 3 (Jan.-Dec. 1942), 126-142.

----------. Martí y su concepción del mundo. Río Piedras: Editorial Universal, 1971.

Aguirre, Sergio. "Frustración y reconquista del 24 de febrero." Cuba Socialista, 2 (Feb. 1962), 1-21.

Alpizar Poyo, Raoul. Ideario filosófico de José Martí. La Habana: Imp. Ojeda, 1944.

Álvarez Ríos, Baldomero. "La revolución de Martí." Bohemia, 24 Feb. 1952, 8-9, 138-139.

Andino, Alberto. Martí y España. Madrid: Colección Plaza Mayor Scholar, 1973.

Ardura, Ernesto. "Martí y la libertad." Archivo José Martí, 5 (Jan.-June 1950), 90-95.

Armas, Ramón de. "La revolución prospuesta: destino de la revolución martiana de 1895." Anuario Martiano, 4 (1972), 315-325.

----------. "La república cubana de Martí." Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), 44-50.

Arrom, José J. "Martí y el problema de las generaciones." Thesaurus. Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 28 (Jan.-Apr. 1973), 29-45.

Augier, Ángel. "Martí: tesis antimperialista en la cuna del panamericanismo." Casa de las Américas, 14 (Jan.-Feb. 1974), 52-64.

Baeza Flores, Alberto. "Agonía y deber en José Martí." Atenea (Concepción, Chile), 69 (July 1942), 90-101.

Balseiro, José A. "El sentido de la justicia en José Martí." Memoria del congreso de escritores martianos (feb. 20 a 27 de 1953). La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento de Martí, 1953, 388-398.

Baralt, Blanche Zacharie de. El Martí que yo conocí. New York: Las Américas Publishing Co., 1968.

Batista y Zaldívar, Fulgencio. "Batista speaks at Palace Reception closing year of centennial of Martí." The Havana Post, 29 Jan. 1954, 1, 10.

Bernal del Riesgo, Alfonso. "Estampa psíquica de Martí." Revista Bimestre Cubana, 41 (1938), 233-242.

Bisbé, Manuel. "El sentido del deber en la obra de José Martí." Revista Bimestre Cubana, 37 (1936), 330-341.

Blanck y Menocal, Guillermo. "Política de Martí." Revista de La Habana, 6 (Aug. 1945), 508-521.

----------. "José Martí, el gran político cubano que se adelantó a su tiempo." Archivo José Martí, 5 (July-Dec. 1950), 219-228.

Blomberg, Héctor Pedro. Martí, el último libertador. Buenos Aires: Editorial La Universidad, 1945.

Boza Masdival, Eduardo. "La patria que soñó Martí." La Quincena (La Habana), 7 (Feb.-Mar. 1961), 9.

Bueno, Salvador. "Rafael María Mendive, el maestro de Martí." Bohemia, 25 Jan. 1963, 34-35, 83-84.

----------. "Martí y Petofi." Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), 80-87.

Caballero, Armando O. "El primer partido revolucionario-antimperialista de la historia." Anuario Martiano, 2 (1970), 425-431.

Camacho, Pánfilo Daniel. "Martí, una vida en perenne angustia." Archivo José Martí, 4 (Jan.-June 1948), 133-150.

----------. Martí y el partido revolucionario cubano. La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1953.

Campoamor, Fernando G. "Martí, hombre total." Revista Cubana, 9 (1937), 205-212.

----------. "Martí, líder revolucionario." Bohemia, 4 Apr. 1969, 12-19.

Cantón Navarro, José. Algunas ideas de José Martí en relación con la clase obrera y el socialismo. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1970.

----------. "Martí y el anarquismo." Bohemia, 19 Feb. 1971, 20-25.

Carbonell, Miguel A. "Martí: su obra literaria y su obra política." Boletín de la Academia Cubana de la Lengua, 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1952), 763-775.

Carbonell, Néstor. "Martí y la Argentina." Archivo José Martí, 4 (Jan.-June 1948), 151-166.

----------. Martí, carne y espíritu. 2 vols. La Habana: Seoane, Fernández y Cía., 1951-52.

----------. "Martí, sus últimos días." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 350-379.

----------. "Un capítulo en la autobiografía de Martí." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 283-302.

Carilla, Emilio. "Perfil moral de José Martí." Humanitas (Tucumán, Argentina), 1 (1953), 317-335.

Carricarte y de Armas, Arturo R. de. La cubanidad negativa del apóstol Martí. La Habana: Manuel I. Mesa Rodríguez, 1934.

Caso, Quino. "El sentimiento amoroso en la obra literaria de Martí." Cultura: Revista del Ministerio de Educación (San Salvador), 12 (1958), 133-139.

Castellanos García, Gerardo. Martí, conspirador y revolucionario. La Habana: Úcar García y Cía., 1942.

Catalá, Raquel. "Martí y el espirtualismo." Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano, 1892-1942. La Habana: Colección Historica Cubana y Americana, 1942, I, 297-339.

Ceniceros, José Angel. "Martí; o, la tragedia como destino glorioso." Archivo José Martí, 4 (Jan.-Dec. 1947), 61-92.

Center of Studies on Martí. Trajectory and Actuality of Martí's Thought. La Habana: Center of Studies on Martí, 1961.

Chacón y Calvo, José María. "Una figura continental." Archivo José Martí, 1 (July-Aug. 1940), 28-31.

Collor, Lindolfo. "José Martí." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 118-122.

Corbitt, Roberta Day. "José Martí's Views on the United States." Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly, 2 (1955), 152-159.

----------. "This colossal theater: the United States interpreted by José Martí." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1956.

Cordero Amador, Raúl. "América y Martí." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 426-432.

Córdova y de Quesada, Federico de. "Martí, demócrata." Universidad de La Habana, 43/45 (1942), 178-196.

----------. "Martí americanista." Universidad de La Habana, 46/48 (1943), 82-102.

----------. "Martí idealista." Universidad de La Habana, 49 (1945), 23-42.

----------. Martí, líder de la independencia cubana. La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1947.

Cortina, José Manuel. "Apología de José Martí." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 87-105.

Cox, Carlos Manuel. "Marx, Martí y Marinello." Claridad (Buenos Aires), 14 (1935), n.p.

Cué Cánovas, Agustín. Martí, el escritor y su época. México: Ediciones Centenario, 1961.

D'Aquino, Hernando. Sinfonía martiana (Vida y pasión). Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1971.

Darío, Rubén. "José Martí." Antología crítica de José Martí, ed. Manuel Pedro González. México: Editorial Cultura, 1960, 3-11. Reprinted from article published in Los raros. Barcelona: Mauca, 1905.

Desnoes, Edmundo. "Martí en Fidel Castro." Lunes, 30 Jan. 1961, 61-62.

----------. "José Martí, intelectual revolucionario y hombre nuevo." Casa de las Américas, 9 (May-June 1969), 115-121.

D'Estefano del Día, Miguel A. "Ho Chi Minh y José Martí, revolucionarios anticolonialistas." Casa de las Américas, 15 (May-June 1975), 59-67.

Díaz, Carlos J. "José Martí y el Partido Revolucionario." Verde Olivo, 27 Jan. 1963, 33-34.

Díaz Ortega, Enrique. "Humanismo y amor en José Martí." Archivo José Martí, 5 (Jan.-July 1951), 331-340.

Díaz-Plaja, Guillermo. "Martí." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 441-442.

Díaz Rozzotto, Jaime. "Nuestra América, la plena libertad y José Martí." Cuadernos Americanos, 34 (May-June 1975), 77-87.

Directorio Magisterial Revolucionario (en el exilio). José Martí, apóstol de la libertad; un mensaje y una doctrina. Miami: Its Ediciones, 1965.

----------. Martí y los norteamericanos en su propia palabra; pensamiento, sentimiento, vinculación y devoción por los Estados Unidos. Miami: Its Ediciones, 1965.

Donghi de Halperin, Renata. "Nuestra América y su vocero: José Martí." Cursos y Conferencias (Buenos Aires), 30 (1947), 329-346.

Edelman y Pintó, Federico. "Los que conocieron a Martí: visión de Federico Edelman y Pintó." Archivo José Martí, 2 (Dec. 1941), 82-85.

Entralgo Cancio, Alberto. Martí ante el proceso de Jesús. La Habana: Editorial La Verdad, 1956.

Espinoza, Enrique. "Martí, ahora." Boletín de la Academia Cubana de la Lengua, 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1952), 561-566.

Esténger, Rafael. Martí frente al comunismo; glosas de contrapunteo entre el hombre libre y el autómata marxista. Miami: Editorial AIP, 1966.

Estrade, Paul. "Un 'socialista' mexicano: José Martí." Casa de las Américas, 14 (Jan.-Feb. 1974), 40-50.

Fernández Retamar, Roberto. "El mentor directo de nuestra revolución." Cuba, 8 (Feb. 1969), 20-21.

----------. Martí. Montevideo: Biblioteca de Marcha, 1970.

----------. "Notas sobre Martí, Lenin y la revolución anticolonial." Casa de las Américas, 10 (Mar.-Apr. 1970), 116-130.

----------. "Sobre Martí y Ho Chi Minh, dirigentes coloniales." Casa de las Américas, 10 (Nov.-Dec. 1970), 48-53.

----------. "Martí y Ho Chi Minh." Anuario Martiano, 3 (1971), 180-189.

----------. Lectura de Martí. México: Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1972.

----------. "La conmemoración del Centenario de Martí en Cuba." Bohemia, 31 Aug. 1973, 4-9.

----------. "De 'Introducción a Martí.'" Casa de las Américas, 16 (Nov.-Dec. 1975), 33-47.

Florit, Eugenio. "La poesía de Martí." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 106-117.

----------. "Versos." Antología crítica de José Martí, ed. Manuel Pedro González. México: Editorial Cultura, 1960, 297-342.

García Agüero, Salvador. "Secuencias martianas." Revista Bimestre Cubana, 37 (1930), 206-217.

García Galló, Gaspar Jorge. Martí, americano y universal. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1971.

García Marruz, Fina. "José Martí." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 52-86.

García Riverón, Abilio. "Ideario revolucionario de Martí." Universidad de La Habana, 76/81 (1948), 331-336.

García Serrato, Nelson. "José Martí, héroe de Cuba y de América." Memoria del congreso de escritores martianos (feb. 20 a 27 de 1953). La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento de Martí, 1953, 120-149.

Gay-Calbó, Enrique. "Americanismo en Martí." Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942. La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942, I, 27-59.

----------. "Martí americano." Archivo José Martí, 4 (Jan.-June 1948), 202-211.

----------. "Martí y la conducta humana." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 338-349.

Ghiano, Juan Carlos. José Martí. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1967.

Giacosa Bertoli, Atilio. "El sentido americanista de la actuación consular de José Martí, como representante del Uruguay." Memoria del congreso de escritores martianos (feb. 20 a 27 de 1953). La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento de Martí, 1953, 336-347.

Ginsberg, Judith. "Los juicios de José Martí acerca de la inmigración a los Estados Unidos." The Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe (New York), 1 (May-Aug. 1974), 185-192.

Giralt, José A. "Martí, apóstol del panamericanismo." Bohemia, 29 Jan. 1928, 29.

----------. "Martí y La patria libre." Bohemia, 26 Jan. 1930, 17, 62.

González, Manuel Pedro. José Martí, Epic Chronicler of the U.S. in the Eighties. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

----------. "José Martí, anticlerical irreductible." Cuadernos Americanos, 73 (Jan.-Feb. 1954), 170-197.

----------. Indagaciones martianas. Santa Clara, Cuba: Universidad Central de Las Villas, 1961.

----------. Notas críticas. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1969.

----------. "Aspectos inexplorados en la obra de José Martí." Bohemia, 18 July 1969, 4-9.

----------. "Prontuario de temas martianos que reclaman diludación." Anuario Martiano, 1 (1969), 103-115.

----------. "Aforismos y definiciones, o la capacidad sintética de Martí." Anuario Martiano, 4 (1972), 27-50.

---------- and Ivan A. Schulman. José Martí: esquema ideológico. México: Editorial Cultura, 1961.

González Palacios, Carlos. "Valoración de Martí." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 16-51.

González Veranes, Pedro N. ¿Quién fue el progenitor espiritual de José Martí? La Habana: Editorial Luz-Hilo, 1942.

González y Gutiérrez, Diego. La continuidad revolucionaria de Varela en las ideas de Martí. La Habana: Edición de la Academia de la Historia de Cuba, 1953.

Gray, Richard Butler. José Martí, Cuban Patriot. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962.

Griñán Peralta, Leonardo. Martí, líder político. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1970.

Guervara, Ernesto (Che). "Apología de Martí." Humanismo (La Habana), 8 (1959/1960), 35-40.

Henríquez Ureña, Pedro. "Martí." Sur, 1 (1931), 220-223.

Heredia, Nicolás. "La obra de José Martí." Archivo José Martí, 5 (July-Dec. 1950), 193-198.

Hernández-Catá, Alfonso. Mitología de Martí. Buenos Aires: Club del Libro, 1939.

Hidalgo, Ariel. "Martí y el neocolonialismo imperialista." Casa de las Américas, 14 (May-June 1974), 89-95.

Hill, Roscoe R. "Martí, intérprete de los Estados Unidos de América." Memoria del congreso de escritores martianos (feb. 20 a 27 de 1953). La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento de Martí, 1953, 375-387.

Iduarte, Andrés. "Ideas religiosas, morales y filosóficas de Martí." La Nueva Democracia (New York), 25 (1944), 3-7, 26-32.

----------. Martí, escritor. México: Cuadernos Americanos, 1945.

----------. "José Martí: prosa." Revista Hispánica Moderna, 18 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 71-82.

----------. "José Martí: América." Revista Hispánica Moderna, 18 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 83-113.

----------. "El americanismo de Martí." Pensamiento y accion de Martí, ed. Departamento de Extensión y Relaciones Culturales. Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1953, 311-358.

----------. Sarmiento, Martí y Rodó. La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1955.

Infiesta Bages, Ramón. Martí constitucionalista. La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1951.

----------. Martí the Statesman. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1953.

----------. "Martí político." Pensamiento y acción de Martí, ed. Departamento de Extensión y Relaciones Culturales. Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1953, 49-70.

----------. El pensamiento político de Martí. La Habana: Universidad de La Habana, III curso, 1952.

Isaacson, William D. "What motivated Martí's life." The Havana Post, 28 Jan. 1953, 13.

Jimenes-Grullón, Juan I. "Convergencias y divergencias entre Bolívar y Martí." Pensamiento y acción de José Martí, ed. Departamento de Extensión y Relaciones Culturales. Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1953, 235-256.

Jiménez, Francisco. "Martí y las razas." Cuadernos Americanos, 188 (May-June 1953), 155-164.

Jiménez, Juan Ramón. "José Martí." Antología crítica de José Martí, ed. Manuel Pedro González. México: Editorial Cultura, 1960, 215-217.

Jornada Martiana. Martí y la revolución cubana. Montevideo: Embajada de Cuba, 1961.

Jorrín, Miguel. "Martí y la filosofía." Antología crítica de José Martí, ed. Manuel Pedro González. México: Editorial Cultura, 1960, 459-478.

Karras, Bill J. "José Martí and the Pan American Conferences 1889-1891." Revista de Historia de América, 77/78 (Jan.-Dec. 1974), 77-99.

Landa y Bacallao, Martín A. José Martí y Fidel Castro; sus pensamientos afines. La Habana: Impresora Modelo, 1959.

Landaluce, Miguel L. de. "Vía crucis de José Martí." Archivo José Martí, 3 (Jan.-Dec. 1942), 143-158.

Lazo, Raimundo. Martí y su obra literaria. La Habana: Imprenta La Propagandista, 1929.

----------. "Martí y la política." Archivo José Martí, 5 (Jan.-June 1950), 29-43.

----------. "La personalidad y el mensaje de Martí." Pensamiento y acción de José Martí, ed. Departamento de Extensión y Relaciones Culturales. Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1953, 31-48.

Le Riverend, Julio. "Teoría martiana del partido político." Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942. La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942, I, 83-110.

----------. "Martí en la revolución de 1868." Casa de las Américas, 9 (Sept.-Oct. 1968), 95-110.

----------. "Martí: ética y acción revolucionaria." Casa de las Américas, 10 (Nov.-Dec. 1969), 38-48.

----------. "Martí y Lenin." Política Internacional (La Habana), 8 (1970), 57-71.

Leyva, René Armande. Trayectoria de Martí. n.p., n.d. [Miami: AIP, 1960's?]

Lizaso, Félix. Martí y la Utopía de América. La Habana: Úcar, García y Cía., 1942.

----------. Martí, espíritu de la guerra justa. La Habana: Úcar, García y Cía., 1944.

----------. "La intimidad literaria de Martí." Boletín de la Academia Cubana de la Lengua, 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1952), 715-733.

----------. "Busca y hallazgo del hombre en Martí." Archivo José Martí, 4 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 225-236.

----------. "Hombre para el hombre." Anales de la Universidad de Chile, 111 (1953), 27-34.

----------. Martí, Martyr of Cuban Independence, trans. of Martí, místico del deber by Esther Elise Shuler. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974. Reprinted from original 1953 edition.

----------. Proyección humana de Martí. Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1953.

---------- and Ernesto Ardura. Personalidad e ideas de José Martí. La Habana: Úcar, García y Cía., 1954.

López Gutiérrez, Juan C. "La personalidad de José Martí." Archivo José Martí, 4 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 212-218.

López Morales, Eduardo. "Apuntes para un estudio de la lucha armada en Ho Chi Minh y José Martí." Casa de las Américas, 10 (Nov.-Dec. 1970), 54-63.

Lubián y Arias, Rafael. Martí, una demostración de energía moral y volitiva. Miami: Directorio Magisterial Cubano (Exilio), 1967.

Magdaleno, Mauricio. José Martí, fulgor de Martí. México: Editorial Botas, 1941.

Maldonado-Denis, Manuel. "Martí y su concepto de la revolución." Casa de las Américas, 11 (July-Aug. 1971), 3-11.

----------. "Martí y Fanon." Casa de las Américas, 13 (July-Aug. 1972), 17-27.

Mañach, Jorge. "Perfil de Martí." Archivo José Martí, 2 (July 1941), 22-34.

----------. El pensamiento político y social de Martí. La Habana: Edición Oficial del Senado, 1941.

----------. "Perfil de hombre." Anales de la Universidad de Chile, 111 (1953), 55-71.

----------. "Martí: legado y posteridad." Pensamiento y acción de José Martí, ed. Departamento de Extensión y Relaciones Culturales. Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1953, 71-101.

----------. "Fundamentación del pensamiento martiano." Antología crítica de José Martí, ed. Manuel Pedro González. México: Editorial Cultura, 1960, 443-457.

----------. "Espíritu de Martí." Revista Cubana, 2 (1968), 289-305.

----------. Martí el apóstol. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1968. Reprint of 1933 edition, also published in Madrid.

----------. Martí, Apostle of Freedom, trans. Coley Taylor. New York: Devin-Adan Co., 1950.

Marinello, Juan. "Gabriela Mistral y José Martí." Sur, 1 (1931), 156-163.

----------. "Sobre Martí escritor. La españolidad literaria de José Martí." Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano, 1892-1942. La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, I, 159-186.

----------. Actualidad de José Martí: Martí, maestro de unidad. La Habana: Editorial Páginas, 1943.

----------. "Actualidad americana de José Martí." Archive José Martí, 5 (July-Dec. 1945), 199-203.

----------. "El caso literario de José Martí." Pensamiento y acción de José Martí, ed. Departamento de Extensión y Relaciones Culturales. Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1953, 103-124.

----------. José Martí, escritor americano. México: Editorial Grijalbo, 1958.

----------. "El pensamiento de Martí y nuestra revolución socialista." Cuba Socialista, 2 (Jan. 1962), 16-37.

----------. The philosophy of José Martí and our socialist revolution. Ottawa: Embassy of Cuba, 1962.

----------. Martí desde ahora. La Habana: Universidad de La Habana, 1962.

----------. "Martí en su obra." José Martí, Obras completas. La Habana: Editorial Nacional de Cuba, 1963, I, 9-20.

----------. Once ensayos martianos. La Habana: Comisión Nacional Cubana de la UNESCO, 1964.

----------. José Martí. Paris: Éditions Seghers, 1970.

----------. "Fuentes y raíces del pensamiento antimperialista de José Martí." Casa de las Américas, 15 (May-June 1975), 5-12.

Márquez Sterling, Carlos. Discursos leídos en la recepción pública del dr. Carlos Márquez Sterling la noche del 20 de octubre de 1938: Martí y la Conferencia Monetaria de 1891. La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1938.

----------. Martí, ciudadano de América. New York: Las Américas Publishing Co., 1965.

Martí-Ibáñez, Félix. "El mensaje de José Martí." Archivo José Martí, 5 (July-Dec. 1945), 204-216.

Martínez Arango, Felipe. "Perfil vigente de José Martí." Pensamiento y acción de José Martí, ed. Departamento de Extensión y Relaciones Culturales. Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1953, 11-17.

Martínez Bello, Antonio. Ideales sociales y económicas de José Martí. La Habana: La Verónica, 1940. [illegible] XX," 1940

----------. La adolescencia de Martí (Notas para un ensayo de interpretación psicológica). La Habana: P. Fernández y Cía., 1944.

----------. "El 'suicidio' de Martí. Su 'inadaptación.'" Archivo José Martí, 4 (July-Dec. 1948), 372-392.

Martínez Durán, Carlos. "Martí, maestro de América." Pensamiento y acción de Martí, ed. Departamento de Extensión y Relaciones Culturales. Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1953, 421-432.

Martínez Estrada, Ezequiel. "Martí revolucionario." En Cuba y al servicio de la revolución cubana. La Habana: Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba, 1963, 47-57.

----------. "Dos capítulos sobre Martí." Sur, 295 (July-Aug. 1965), 8-19.

----------. Martí, el héroe y su acción revolucionaria. México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1966.

----------. Martí, revolucionario. La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1967.

Martínez Sáenz, Joaquín. Martí, el inadaptado sublime. La Habana: Editorial Cenit, 1956.

Mas, José L. "Perspectiva ideológica de José Martí en sus crónicas sobre los Estados Unidos." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1974.

----------. "José Martí y el Romanticismo Social (F.R. Lámennais: una posible influencia en el joven José Martí.)" Cuadernos Americanos, 193 (Mar.-Apr. 1974), 160-181.

----------. "En torno a la ideología de José Martí (su identificación con F.R. Lamennais y el Romanticismo Social.)" Cuadernos Americanos, 199 (Mar.-Apr. 1975), 82-114.

Melis, Antonio. "Lucha antimperialista y lucha de clases en José Martí." Casa de las Américas, 9 (May-June 1969), 126-133.

Mella, Julio Antonio. "Martí y el proletariado." Verde Olivo, 13 Jan. 1963, 38-39.

----------. "Glosando los pensamientos de José Martí." Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), 5-9.

Méndez, Manuel Isidro. "Ideas sociológicas de José Martí." Archivo José Martí, 1 (Dec. 1940), 33-39.

----------. Martí, estudio crítico-biográfico. La Habana: P. Fernández y Cía., 1941.

----------. "Humanidad de Martí." Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942. La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942, I, 9-25.

Menéndez, Aldo. "José Martí: el ensayo." Bohemia, 25 Jan. 1974, 14-21.

Mercado, Alfonso. "Mis recuerdos de José Martí." Archivo José Martí, 5 (July-Dec. 1945), 217-221.

Mesa Rodríguez, Manuel I. "Letra y espíritu de Martí a través de su epistolario." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 315-337.

Mikulski, Richard M. "José Martí: His Political Ideas." M.A. dissertation, Columbia University, 1948.

----------. "Martí en tierra yanqui." Archivo José Martí, 4 (Jan.-Dec. 1949), 428-443.

Miranda Valera, Aurelio. Martí político (a la luz actual). La Habana: Instituto del Libro, 1969.

Mistral, Gabriela. "La lengua de Martí." Antología crítica de José Martí, ed. Manuel Pedro González. México: Editorial Cultura, 1960, 23-39.

Monal, Isabel. "José Martí: del liberalismo al democratismo antimperialista." Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), 24-41.

Montaner, Carlos Alberto. El pensamiento de José Martí. Madrid: Plaza Mayor Ediciones, 1971.

Morales, Salvador. "José Martí y sus ideas económicas." Anuario Martiano, 2 (1970), 164-175.

Mortillaro, Gaspar. "Martí, el hombre más puro de la raza." Archivo José Martí, 1 (July-Aug. 1940), 57-62.

Navarro Luna, Manuel. "Martí en Fidel Castro." Bohemia, 25 Jan. 1963, 108.

Nazoa, Aquiles. Cuba: de Martí a Fidel Castro. Caracas: Ediciones Populares del Pensamiento Vivo, 1961.

Novás, Benito. "Tributo a Martí." Anuario Martiano, 4 (1972), 143-168.

Onís, Federico de. "José Martí: valoración." Antología crítica de José Martí, ed. Manuel Pedro González. México: Editorial Cultura, 1960, 13-21.

Ortiz, Fernando. "Martí y las razas." Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942. La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942, II, 335-367.

----------. "Martí y las 'razas de librería.'" Anales de la Universidad de Chile, 111 (1953), 117-130.

----------. "La religión de Martí." La Nueva Democracia, 38 (1958), 52-57.

Oullion, Juliette, "La discriminación racial en los Estados Unidos vista por José Martí." Anuario Martiano, 3 (1971), 9-94.

Pan American Union. José Martí. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1954.

Pazos y Roque, Felipe. "Las ideas económicas de Martí." Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942. La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942, II, 177-209.

Pérez Cubillas, José. Martí, economista y sociólogo. La Habana: Molina y Cía., 1932.

Picón Salas, Mariano. "Arte y virtud en José Martí." Memoria del congreso de escritores martianos (feb. 20 a 27 de 1953). La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento de Martí, 1953, 150-156.

Pichardo, Hortensia. "Martí y el problema agrario." Anuario Martiano, 2 (1970), 176-189.

Piedra-Bueno, Andrés de. Martí. La Habana: Ministerio de Educación, 1956.

Piñera, Humberto. "Martí, pensador." Antología crítica de José Martí, ed. Manuel Pedro González. México: Editorial Cultura, 1960, 527-537.

Portuondo, Fernando. "Martí, Gómez y el alzamiento del 95 en Camagüey." Universidad de La Habana, 196/197 (1972), 158-169.

Portuondo, José Antonio. "Introducción al estudio de las ideas sociales de Martí." Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942. La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942, II, 227-248.

----------. "José Martí: crítica." Revista Hispánica Moderna, 18 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 114-144.

----------. "Martí y el escritor revolucionario." Anuario Martiano, 2 (1970), 145-163.

----------. "Juárez en Martí." Casa de las Américas, 13 (Sept.-Oct. 1972), 140-144.

----------. "Teoría martiana del partido revolucionario." Casa de las Américas, 15 (May-June 1975), 14-23.

Prío Socarrás, Carlos. "Martí, arquetipo de lo cubano." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1946), 380-391.

Quesada y Miranda, Gonzalo de. "Martí en Dos Ríos." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 272-282.

----------. "La juventud de Martí." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 486-499.

----------. "Patria de New York." Universidad de La Habana, 177 (1966), 115-135.

Redondo, Susana. "José Martí: vida." Revista Hispánica Moderna, 18 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 1-20.

Ríos, Fernando de los. "Reflexiones en torno al sentido de la vida en Martí." Antología crítica de José Martí, ed. Manuel Pedro González. México: Editorial Cultura, 1960, 429-441.

Ripoll, Carlos. 'Patria': el periódico de José Martí, registro general (1892-1895). New York: Eliseo Torres and Sons, 1971.

----------. Índice Universal de la obra de José Martí. New York: Eliseo Torres and Sons, 1971.

----------. José Martí: letras y huellas desconocidas. New York: Eliseo Torres and Sons, 1976.

Roa, Raúl. Martí y el fascismo. La Habana: Úcar, García y Cía., 1937.

----------. "José Martí. El autor intelectual." Bohemia, 3 Aug. 1973, 32-37.

Roca, Blas. "José Martí, revolucionario radical de su tiempo." Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), 10-21.

Rodríguez, Carlos Rafael. José Martí and Cuban Liberation. New York: International Publishers, 1953.

----------. "José Martí, contemporáneo y compañero." Universidad de La Habana, 196/197 (1972), 3-29.

Rodríguez, José Ignacio. "Martí y el Partido Revolucionario Cubano." Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), 98-100.

Rodríguez, Pedro Pablo. "La idea de la liberación nacional en José Martí." Anuario Martiano, 4 (1972), 169-213.

Rodríguez Feo, José. "Martí en la Revolución." Lunes, 30 Jan. 1961, 10-12.

Rodríguez Hidalgo, Alfonso. "La Biblia en el pensamiento de Martí." La Nueva Democracia, 41 (Jan. 1961), 20-26.

Roig de Leuchsenring, Emilio. "Hostos y Martí, dos ideologías concordantes." Revista Bimestre Cubana, 43 (1939), 5-19.

----------. "Algunos conceptos martianos de la República." Archivo José Martí, 3 (Jan.-Dec. 1942), 60-79.

----------. "Martí y las religiones." Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942. La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942, I, 111-158.

----------. "Libertad y justicia en Martí." Carteles, 4 Jan. 1953, 14-16.

----------. "El americanismo de Martí." Memoria del congreso de escritores martianos (feb. 20 a 27 de 1953). La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento de Martí, 1953, 285-317.

----------. La república de Martí. La Habana: Imp. Modelo, 1953.

----------. "Formación revolucionaria de Martí." Carteles, 24 Jan. 1953, 68-70.

----------. Martí, antimperialista. La Habana: Imp. Modelo, 1961. Reprint of original 1953 edition.

Rojas, Manuel. "José Martí y el espíritu revolucionario en los pueblos." Revista Bimestre Cubana, 41 (Mar.-June 1938), 216-223.

Sabourín, Jesús. "José Martí: letra y servicio." Anuario Martiano, 3 (1971), 191-200.

----------. "Martí en el Che." Casa de las Américas, 13 (July-Aug. 1972), 5-15.

----------. "Martí: raza y humanidad." Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), 68-77.

Salomon, Noël. "José Martí y la toma de conciencia latinoamericana." Anuario Martiano, 4 (1972), 9-25.

Sanguily, Manuel. José Martí y la revolución cubana. New York: Tipografía de El Porvenir, 1896.

Santovenia y Echaide, Emeterio Santiago. Política de Martí. La Habana: Seoane, Fernández y Cía., 1943.

----------. Lincoln in Martí: A Cuban View of Abraham Lincoln, trans. Donald F. Fogelquist. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1953.

Sardiña y Sánchez, Ricardo Rafael. Martí político. Miami: n. pub., 1963.

Schulman, Ivan A. "José Martí y el 'Sun' de Nueva York. Nuevos escritos desconocidos." Anales de la Universidad de Chile, 124 (1966), 30-50.

----------. Símbolo y color en la obra de José Martí. Madrid: Gredos, 1970.

----------. "Literature and Society: Martí as Historian of His Age and the Future." South Eastern Conference on Latin American Studies, 3 (Mar. 1972), 131-146.

----------. "Modernismo, revolución y pitagorismo en Martí." Casa de las Américas, 13 (July-Aug. 1972), 45-55.

Schultz de Mantovani, Fryda. "Dimensión íntima de Martí." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 133-144.

----------. Genio y figura de José Martí. Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1968.

Shuler, Elise. "José Martí. Su crítica de algunos autores norteamericanos." Archivo José Martí, 5 (July-Dec. 1950), 164-192.

Smith, George. "The revolutionary ideas of José Martí." The Havana Post, 28 Jan. 1953, 13.

Solís, Carlos A. (hijo). "La libertad en el pensamiento de Martí." Revista de la Universidad (Tegucigalpa, Nicaragua), 16 (1953), 13-15.

Suchlicki, Jaime. "The Political Ideology of José Martí." Caribbean Studies, 6 (1966), 25-36.

Toledo Sande, Luis. "José Martí hacia la emancipación de la mujer." Casa de las Américas, 15 (May-June 1975), 25-41.

Torriente, Loló de la. "El nombre más venerado y más explotado de Cuba." Carteles, 5 Apr. 1959, 4-5, 84.

Valdespino, Andrés. "Raíces martianas de nuestra revolución." Bohemia, 7 Feb. 1960, 13, 104-105.

----------. "Imagen de Martí en las letras cubanas." Revista Cubana, 1 (July-Dec. 1968), 307-331.

Varona, Enrique José. "Martí y su obra política." Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), 90-95. Reprint of speech delivered by Varona at a commemorative meeting of the "Sociedad Literaria Hispanoamericana de Nueva York" on 13 Mar. 1896.

Vasconcelos, Ramon. "Promesas y entrelíneas del Manifiesto de Montecristi." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 190-195.

Vázquez Candela, E. "Martí anti-imperialista: hombre de su momento." Verde Olivo, 27 Jan. 1963, 35-37.

Vitier, Cintio. "Los 'Versos Libres' de Martí." Antología crítica de José Martí, ed. Manuel Pedro González. México: Editorial Cultura, 1960, 381-390.

----------. "Martí futuro." Cuadernos Americanos, 156 (Jan.-Feb. 1968), 217-237.

----------. "Los discursos de Martí." Anuario Martiano, 1 (1969), 293-318.

----------. "Martí, el integrador." Anuario Martiano, 2 (1970), 190-192.

----------. "Imagen de José Martí." Anuario Martiano, 3 (1971), 231-248.

----------. "Visión del Maestro." Cuba Internacional, 4 (May 1972), 4-9.

---------- and Fina García Marruz. Temas martianos. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1969.

Vitier, Medardo. Martí: estudio integral. La Habana: Publicaciones del Centenario y del Monumento de Martí, 1954.

Weber, Fryda. "Martí en 'La Nación' de Buenos Aires 1885-1890." Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), 458-482.

Wilgus, A. Curtis and Karna S. Wilgus. "Las crónicas de José Martí sobre la Primera Conferencia Internacional Americana celebrada en Washington." Memoria del congreso de escritores martianos (feb. 20 a 27 de 1953). La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento de Martí, 1953, 318-335.

Zulueta, Luis de. "Martí, el luchador sin odio." Revista Bimestre Cubana, 43 (1939), 161-177.

OTHER READING

Academia de la Historia de Cuba. Homenaje en memoria de José Martí y Zayas Bazán, celebrado en sesión pública el día 28 de mayo de 1953. La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1953.

Aguilar, Alonso. Pan-Americanism From Monroe to the Present: A View from the Other Side. Trans. Aza Zatz. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968.

Aguilar, Luis E. Cuba 1933: Prologue to Revolution. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972.

Atkinson, William C. A History of Spain and Portugal. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1970.

Bueno, Salvador. Figuras cubanas: Breves biografías de grandes cubanos del siglo XIX. La Habana: Comisión Nacional Cubana de la UNESCO, 1964.

Castro, Fidel. La história me absolverá. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1973.

----------. La historia me absolverá. La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1974.

Crawford, William Rex. "The Cubans and Hostos." A Century of Latin American Thought. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1944, pp. 218-246.

Connor, James E., ed. Lenin on Politics and Revolution: Selected Writings. New York: Pegasus, 1968.

Cooke, Alistair. America. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973.

Erikson, Erik H. Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History. New York: W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1958.

----------. Life History and the Historical Moment. New York: W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1975.

Estévez Romero, Luis. Desde el Zanjón hasta Baire. 2 vols. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1974.

Foner, Philip S. A history of Cuba and its relations with the United States. New York: International Publishers, 1962.

Franco, Jean. The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1970.

Henríquez Ureña, Max. Breve historia del Modernismo. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1962.

Henríquez Ureña, Pedro. A Concise History of Latin American Culture. Trans. Gilbert Chase. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966.

Ibarra, Jorge. Ideología mambisa. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1972.

International Monetary Commission. Minutes of the International Monetary Commission. Washington, 1891.

Leigh, Denis, C. M. B. Pare and John Marks. Encyclopaedia of Psychiatry. Vaudreuil, Québec: Hoffman-La Roche Ltd., 1972.

Le Riverend, Julio. Economic History of Cuba. La Habana: National Book Institute, 1967.

Lieuwin, Edwin. U.S. Policy in Latin America: A Short History. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970.

Livermore, Harold V. A History of Spain. New York: Grove Press, 1960.

Matthews, Herbert L. Fidel Castro. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970.

----------. Revolution in Cuba: an essay in understanding. New York Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.

Mouat, Kit. What Humanism is About. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1963.

Nelson, Waldo E. Textbook of Pediatrics. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1964.

Olivera, Otto. Cuba en su poesía. México: Ediciones de Andrea, 1965.

Onís, José de. The United States as seen by Spanish American Writers (1776-1890). New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1952.

Payne, Stanley G. A History of Spain and Portugal. 2 vols. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973.

Pendle, George. A History of Latin America. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1970.

Pichardo, Hortensia, ed. Documentos para la historia de Cuba. 3 vols. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1973.

Poumier, María. Apuntes sobre la vida cotidiana en 1898. La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1975.

Remos, Juan J. Proceso histórico de las letras cubanas. Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, 1958.

Ribeiro, Darcy. The Americas and Civilisation. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1971.

Roberts, J. M. The Mythology of the Secret Societies. St. Albans, England: Paladin, 1974.

Rosen, Ephraim and Ian Gregory. Abnormal Psychology. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1965.

Rubens, Horatio S. Liberty, the story of Cuba. New York: Bremer, Warren and Putnam Inc., 1932.

Sinclair, Andrew. Guevara. London: Fontana/Collins, 1970.

Thomas, Hugh. Cuba--or The Pursuit of Freedom. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1971.

Thompson, William R. and Richard C. De Bold. Psychology: A Systematic Introduction. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971.

Vitier, Medardo. Las ideas en Cuba; proceso del pensamiento político, filosófico y crítico en Cuba, principalmente durante el siglo XIX. 2 vols. La Habana: Editorial Trópico, 1938.

Zeitlin, Theodore. France 1848-1945; Vol. 1, Ambition, Love and Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.

APPENDIX 'A'

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF MARTÍ'S LIFE

1853	January 28	José Julián Martí y Pérez is born in Havana.
1857	January	Taken to Spain by his parents.
1859		Returns to Cuba.
1862	October	Travels to Hanábana with his father. There he is shocked by the treatment received by black slaves on the plantations.
1865	March 19	Begins to attend the Municipal School for Boys, directed by Rafael María de Mendive.
1869	January 19	Publishes El Diablo Cojuelo, his first "political" work.
	January 22	Disturbance in the Villanueva Theatre, which resulted in Mendive's arrest.
	January 23	Publishes La Patria Libre, which included his drama Abdala.
	October 4	The voluntarios, after bursting into Fermín Valdés Domínguez' house, discover an "incriminating" letter, of which Martí is one of the co-firmants.
	October 21	Accused of treason, Martí is imprisoned in the Havana Prison.
1870	March 4	Sentenced by a military court to six years' imprisonment in a political prison.
	April 4	Begins to serve his term.
1871	January 15	His sentence having been commuted to one of exile, Martí is deported to Spain.
	January	Publishes El Presidio Político en Cuba, an account of his experiences in political prison in Cuba, shortly after arriving in Madrid.
	May	Matriculates at the University of Madrid.
1873	February	Publishes La República Española ante la Revolución Cubana, a comdemnation of Spanish interest in Cuba.
	May	Transfers to the University of Zaragoza.

1874	January	With the fall of the Spanish Republic, Martí speaks at a public act organized on behalf of the widows and orphans of the fallen republicans of Zaragoza.
	June 25, 27	Obtains title of bachiller.
	June 30	Graduates as licenciado en derecho civil y canónico.
	October 24	Graduates as licenciado en filosofía y letras.
	December	Leaves Spain for Paris.
1875	January	Travels to Mexico.
	March 7	Publication of his first work for the Revista Universal.
1876	January	Represents Chihuahua workers at labour congress.
	November	President Lerdo (whom he supports) flees the capital as Porfirio Díaz enters.
	December 29	Leaves for Veracruz, where he boards a ship for Havana.
1877	January 6	Arrives in Havana, using second Christian name and surname: Julián Pérez.
	February 24	Leaves again for Veracruz, from where he travels to Guatemala.
	May 29	Appointed professor of modern languages and philosophy at Guatemala's Central School.
	December	Returns to Mexico, where he marries Carmen Zayas Bazán.
1878	January	Returns to Guatemala.
	April 6	Resigns his position at the school after President Barrios had unjustly dismissed the director, a fellow Cuban named Izaguirre.
	September	Returns to Havana, where he applies for permission to practice law. His petition is denied.

1879	April 21	Dramatic speech at a banquet in honour of the journalist Adolfo Márquez Sterling, at which he states his total opposition to any "autonomist" plans suggested by Spain.
	September 17	Arrested for "conspiring," and (on the 25th) is deported to Spain for the second time.
	December	Leaves Spain for France, from where he sets out for the United States.
1880	January 3	Arrives in New York.
	January 24	Patriotic lecture given by him to the Cuban exiles living in New York.
	May 13	Proclamation of the Revolutionary Committee of New York (of which he was interim President) to celebrate the arrival in Cuba of the liberating forces led by General Calixto García, and the insurrection known as the "Guerra chiquita."
		Begins his newspaper contributions to The Hour of New York.
1881	March	Arrives in Venezuela, where he teaches.
	July	As the result of a laudatory article on the Venezuelan statesman Cecilio Acosta, he angers President Guzmán Blanco, who expected a similar article to be written about his own accomplishments. Decides to return to New York.
	August 20	From New York, begins to contribute articles to the Caracas newspaper, La Opinión Nacional.
1882	April	Publishes Ismaelillo, a book of verse dedicated to his young son.
	July 15	Sends his first correspondence to the Buenos Aires newspaper La Nación.
		Completes his Versos libres, published posthumously in 1919.
1883		Becomes editor of the New York journal, La América.
1884	October 20	Writes to Máximo Gómez announcing his withdrawal from the revolutionary plans being formulated by Gómez and Maceo.

1887	April 16	Named Consul of Uruguay in New York.
1889	March 21	The Evening Post publishes his letter "Vindication of Cuba."
	April	Submits his first article to La Opinión Pública of Uruguay.
	July	Publishes the first edition of La Edad de Oro, a children's monthly magazine.
	December 19	Addresses the delegates of the Inter-American Conference in a meeting organized by the Sociedad Literaria Hispano-Americana de Nueva York.
1890	January 22	Inauguration of "La Liga," an educational centre designed to provide black Cuban workers with the opportunity of a rudimentary education, in New York. He is one of the teachers of this organisation.
	June 16	Appointed Consul of Argentina in New York.
	July 24	Appointed Consul of Paraguay in New York.
	December 24	Appointed representative of Uruguay to the International Monetary Conference in Washington.
	December	Elected President of the Sociedad Literaria Hispano-Americana de Nueva York.
1891	March 30	Reads his report at the Monetary Conference in Washington.
	May 20	His last newspaper report to La Nación is published.
	June	His collection of poetry, Versos sencillos, is published.
	October 11	Resigns his consular posts.
	October 30	Resigns as President of the Sociedad Literaria Hispano-Americana de Nueva York.
	November 27	Invited by the Ignacio Agramonte Club of Tampa, he arrives in Florida, where he addresses the Cuban workers employed in Tampa.

1891	November 28	Approval of the Resoluciones adoptadas por la emigración cubana de Tampa, dictated by him. Returns to New York.
	December 25	Arrives in Key West, after being invited by a local group of Cuban workers.
1892	January 5	In a meeting with the Presidents of the various groups of Cuban exiles, he outlines the Bases y Estatutos Secretos del Partido Revolucionario Cubano, which are accepted.
	March 14	Publication of the first issue of Patria, the organ of revolutionary activities, which he edits.
	April 8	Elected Delegate of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano.
	September	Travels to Santo Domingo where, on the 11th, he meets Máximo Gómez.
	September 24	Arrives in Haiti.
	October 13	Leaves for New York after visiting Jamaica.
	November 7	Leaves for Tampa and Key West. During his stay in Tampa, an attempt is made to poison him, but fortunately he recovers.
1893	Feb.-March	Fund-raising trip through Florida.
	June 3	Arrives in Santo Domingo for second time, where he confers with Máximo Gómez. Continues to Costa Rica.
	September	A further fund-raising trip to Florida.
	December	Travels to Philadelphia, Key West and Tampa, explaining the need for a well-planned attack to liberate the Island.
1894	January 2	Helps to solve a conflict among the tabaqueros in Key West, caused after Spanish workers were brought from Cuba to break a strike by Cuban tobacco workers.
	April 8	Máximo Gómez arrives in New York to confer with him.
	April 10	Re-elected as Delegate.

1894	May	Travels to various Cuban centres in the United States (Philadelphia, New York, Key West, Jacksonville, Tampa and other settlements in Florida) accompanied by Máximo Gómez' son.
	June	Travels through Costa Rica, Panama and Jamaica, returning to New York in July.
	July	Travels to Mexico, from where he returns in August.
	December	Plans are perfected to invade Cuba with three well-equipped ships.
1895	January 10	Betrayal and failure of this programme, known as the Fernandina Plan.
	January 29	Order authorizing revolution in Cuba is signed in New York by leaders of Cuban exile groups.
	January 31	Leaves for Santo Domingo.
	February 24	The beginning of the Independence War, after the uprising at Baire.
	March 25	Together with Máximo Gómez, he composes the Manifiesto de Montecristi.
	April 11	Sets foot once again on Cuban soil.
	April 16	Proclaimed Major-General by Gómez.
	May 5	Interview at La Mejorana with Generals Maceo and Gómez, at which the general strategy for the war is determined.
	May 19	Killed in action at Dos Ríos.

APPENDIX 'B'

JOSÉ MARTÍ, APÓSTOL OR REVOLUTIONARY?

The influence of José Martí in the life of the Cuban Republic has been truly immense (as can be seen from the quantities of buildings, coins and postage stamps bearing Martí's name). It is therefore no exaggeration to claim that "en alguna medida Cuba es un país en torno a un hombre."[1] It should be emphasised, however, that this deeply-emotional conception of Martí among the Cubans really began to manifest itself only some thirty years after his death in 1895. The total number of studies written on Martí between 1899 and 1933 corresponds to something less than one-tenth of the material written in the period from 1934 to 1953.[2] Martí may be said to have definitely "arrived" as a national figure during this latter period, a process which culminated in the centennial of his birth in 1953.

To date remarkably few attempts have been made to provide a systematic classification and analysis of the plethora of studies on Martí as a political (as opposed to a literary) figure. The most notable analysis in recent years was that of Andrés Valdespino, who sees the studies written on Martí as falling into three periods: "En las letras cubanas la figura de Martí ha pasado de la santificación--Martí mito--a la humanización--Martí hombre--a la falsificación--Martí cartel de propaganda."[3] However, political considerations play an undue part in Valdespino's analysis, and a more balanced examination of the bulk of material written on Martí since his death suggests that in fact there have been in essence only two--and quite noticeably different--periods in the general presentation of Martí to the Cuban people. The watershed between these two periods was, predictably enough, the successful revolution led by Fidel Castro in 1959. In this paper we will refer to

the pre-revolutionary interpretation of Martí--and its present-day continuation in the writings of the Miami-based Cuban exiles--as the traditional one, while the new, post-1959, view will be termed the "revolutionary" interpretation.

One of the most characteristic features of the traditional approach to Martí was the constant reference to him in idealised, reverential and semi-mystical terms. Salvador Agüero, writing in 1936, described Martí as a person "que tuvo en la frente brillo de genio, como en el pecho beatitud de apóstol."[4] Of the many studies written in 1942 (fiftieth anniversary of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano, founded by Martí) Miguel L. de Landaluce's "Vía crucis de Martí" is in fact nothing less than a quasi-religious oration, complete with a series of meditations accompanying each "station of the cross,"[5] while Federico de Córdova's plastically lyrical tribute to Martí deserves quotation:

> El día 28 de enero de 1853, los habitantes de La Habana, que miraron el cielo, creyeron descubrir en él un astro nuevo. Y, no se equivocaron; porque aquel día, nació José Martí . . . Venía, como el inspirado de Nazareth, a juntar a los hombres, a redimirlos del cautiverio, a inspirarles fe y confianza en las buenas obras...[6]

Among the multitude of texts inspired by the Martí centennial of 1953 were several portrayals of Martí as a saintly, Christ-like figure. José Manuel Cortina referred to Martí as "un místico y un santo,"[7] while Rufino Blanco Fombona was more adventurous, calling him "ese Jesús, ese predicador."[8] Finally Félix Matos Bernier, writing in 1952, informed his readers: "No busquéis el perfil moral de Martí en estos días. Su hermano vive en la leyenda: su hermano es Jesucristo."[9] Even the two

most accomplished biographies of Martí from the traditional period suffer from this same reverential awe, as their titles indicate: Félix Lizaso's Martí, místico del deber and Jorge Mañach's Martí el Apóstol. The tendency to "sanctify" Martí, a standard feature of traditional studies, has understandably vanished from the studies of Martí written in Cuba since 1959.

However, what is perhaps the most prominent characteristic of the traditional studies of Martí was a conscious and sincere desire of many martianos to achieve a proper and objective understanding of both the life and personality of Martí. Since Rubén Darío first wrote on Martí's character in 1905, praising his superlative moral qualities and advocating that all Cubans emulate the man he personally called maestro,[10] numerous studies have been written in an attempt to shed fresh light on the details of his extraordinary life. With the exception of a few, noticeably mediocre attempts to provide a "novelised," overly-romantic view of Martí's life,[11] most of the biographies in the traditional period were interesting, well-written and reasonably accurate accounts of Martí's life and personality. These works were written not only by Cubans but also by authors of the other Spanish-speaking nations. Some of the studies, notable for the quality of their portrayal and their pioneering nature, deserve specific mention, particularly those of Andrés Iduarte, Félix Lizaso, Néstor Carbonell, Jorge Mañach, Raimundo Lazo and Manuel Isidro Méndez.[12]

With the single exception of Iduarte's excellent work--the outcome of his doctoral dissertation at Columbia University in 1945--even these good studies of Martí share one common defect. They concentrate

on the life and not upon the ideas of Martí, and they particularly neglect his political and social writings, his vocation as a revolutionary, and his plans for a liberated Cuba. Of their absorption with the fascinating life of Martí to the exclusion of all else, the Argentine scholar Ezequiel Martínez Estrada has commented in no uncertain terms:

> Biografía y bibliografía corrieron la misma suerte. Con el ánimo de suprimir lo que pudo parecer a los ojos del republicanismo satisfecho, producto de su temperamento de inadaptado y disconforme, rebelde y conspirativo, se llegó al extremo de conservarse únicamente en el recuerdo de sus contemporáneos y en la devoción de sus sucesores, los datos episódicos de sus viajes, nombramientos y tareas consulares y periodísticas, relaciones personales y otras comunes que pueden aplicarse a cualquier ciudadano de la burguesía mediana.[13]

In sum, it can be said that the vast majority of studies written in the traditional period agreed in presenting an apolitical, uncontroversial and neutral image of the Apóstol, who was frequently portrayed as "una especie de ente astral, químicamente puro, distanciado hasta lo inalcanzable de nuestra miserable condición humana."[14] Relatively little attention was paid to the political thought of Martí. Among the small number of studies that did consider the subject, two very different approaches were present. On the one side--and in a very distinct minority--were those writers who championed a radical and even revolutionary interpretation of Martí's political thought. On the other side were the more numerous authors who supported, though without much investigation of the evidence, the concept of Martí as a moderate in politics.

The leading proponents of the radical interpretation--a school which, it must be repeated, was never more than a tiny minority among the abundant studies of traditionalist martianos--were Antonio Martínez Bello, Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring and Juan Marinello.[15] However, whatever impact the revolutionary interpretation might have had was further dissipated by disagreements among these writers as to the precise nature of Martí's radicalism. For instance, in a letter published at the end of Martínez Bello's important study of Martí's political thought, Juan Marinello took issue with Martínez Bello's claim that Martí subscribed to the ideas of Marx, typical of which was his observation:

> Coincidió, pues, exactamente el ilustre patricio [Marx], con el pensamiento de nuestro Apóstol. Éste tuvo noción de la necesidad de alianza con esos partidos socialistas, no sólo por razón de conveniencia para el mantenimiento de la paz y del equilibrio sociales . . . sino también por reconocer en tales partidos la legitimidad de sus aspiraciones de reivindicación. Es decir, Martí habría reconocido esos partidos radicales, porque MARTÍ, identificado con la necesidad imperiosa de justicia social y de la liberación económica del proletariado, fue SOCIALISTA.[16]

To spend much time considering the quarrels between the proponents of a radical Martí would be misleading since, of the few authors who did consider Martí's political thought, the clear majority supported the concept of Martí as a moderate. The leading proponents of this viewpoint were Guillermo de Blanck, Federico de Córdova, Ramón Infiesta, Raimundo Lazo, Jorge Mañach and Emeterio S. Santovenia.[17] Their common attitude to Martí's political aspirations for Cuba is perhaps best conveyed by Santovenia's simplistic and indeed naïve interpretation of the "Normas constitucionales" of Martí's political programme:

(no. 2) Organización de la República sobre la base de 'la patria una, cordial y sagaz.'
(no. 3) Articulación de los derechos inherentes a la libertad humana.
(no. 4) Distribución equitativa de los productos de la asociación. Los hombres que trabajan han de vivir con decoro y descanso de su labor.
(no. 5) Acomodación de los elementos peculiares de la patria al fin humano del bienestar en el decoro por métodos que convengan a su estado y puedan funcionar sin choque.
(no. 6) Extinción del pasado nocivo y disposición del presente para un porvenir confuso al principio y seguro luego por la administración justiciera y total de la libertad culta y trabajadora . . .
(no. 12) Adopción de las medidas encaminadas de la solución de los conflictos políticos y sociales ya presentes.[18]

To present Martí as a moderate, it was necessary for these writers to ignore or brush aside the more "militant" of Martí's observations, to downplay drastically the role of Martí in the struggle for liberation of Cuba, and to pay little if any attention to his plans for the future Republic. The general trend of these studies was, then, to present Martí "más como un animador poético exaltado que como juicioso instaurador de un programa."[19]

The best evidence of this "neutered" view of Martí's political thought is to be found in the traditionalists' handling of Martí's views on the United States. Without going so far as Aquiles Nazoa, who claimed that anthologies of Martí's writings on the United States were deliberately shorn of their offending critical references to North America,[20] it can be stated that the anthologies indeed presented a biased and essentially unrepresentative view of Martí's feelings about

the United States.[21] With the important exception of Manuel Pedro González' excellent work, José Martí, Epic Chronicler of the United States in the Eighties, the same criticism can be made of the general studies of Martí and North America.

Indicative of the attitude of these works is a passage of Lizaso in which he describes Martí's famous "Escenas Norteamericanas" as "una pintura magistral de animación y colorido de una de las décadas fundamentales en el proceso de la creación del gran pueblo que pugnaba por salir a formas y realizaciones grandiosas."[22] Also typical of this approach was the constant comparison by the traditionalists of Martí to famous American presidents: to Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt,[23] and even to Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, "de tan grata recordación para el pueblo cubano," in the words of one critic, "porque vino a luchar frente a sus valerosos rough riders por la libertad de Cuba."[24] In short, Martí was widely presented as having been totally enamoured of the United States, very impressed by the many basic freedoms to be found there, an ardent admirer of the country's noble institutions, indeed desirous of transferring many of these established institutions to his own country, and even--quite unbelievably--as an enthusiastic defender of Pan-Americanism.

Writing in 1928, for example, José A. Giralt claimed in the face of abundant evidence to the contrary, that "el panamericanismo, ese anhelo de asegurar por medio de la solidaridad espiritual y la cooperación política de todas las naciones del Nuevo Mundo, un porvenir de gloria y bienandanza para América, tuvo en Martí un apóstol eminentísimo."[25] Some twenty-five years later, at the Congress of Martí specialists held

in Havana to celebrate the Martí centennial, two American writers, again displaying an extraordinary ignorance of the work of Martí, attempted to show how "con su profundo conocimiento de ese país [United States], pudo apreciar los ideales panamericanos de un Henry Clay y de un James G. Blaine."[26] Such a blatant disregard for Martí's express rejection of Pan-Americanism in favour of Pan-Hispanism, "Nuestra América," was not unique. The very words quoted above were proudly repeated in the preface of Richard Butler Gray's work, José Martí, Cuban Patriot, in 1962. In the face of such misuse of the evidence, it is only possible to repeat the words of Manuel Pedro González: "Porque así como en su nombre de Cristo se han perpetrado muchas infamias, el de Martí se invoca frecuentemente para encubrir y disfrazar dolosos procederes y nefandas arterías."[27]

While, in the traditional interpretation, it is therefore true that considerably less attention was paid to the social, political, and economic thought of Martí than to such topics as the details of his life, his character, his psychological traits,[28] and his religious and philosophical affiliations,[29] nonetheless a standard if debatable interpretation of Martí's political thought did exist before 1959. The subject was thus not entirely neglected. The cumulative effect of the traditionalist studies of Martí was to portray the Apóstol as a great and selfless Cuban, determined to give his life for the patria, a noble--but somehow alienated--patriot: in short a Cuban version of Don Quixote.

If quantity rather than quality be the guide, the climax of the traditionalist school occurred during the Martí centennial of 1953. A truly astounding quantity of remarkably obscure works was produced:

"the 'Martí and...' writings were voluminous before the centennial," as Duvon C. Corbitt shrewdly remarked at the time, "they now threaten to become a flood."[30] The dominant theme of this period was one of harmony, with a conscious effort being made to demonstrate that Martí's fears about foreign incursions into Cuba had not been fulfilled, and that in fact his desires for the patria had been generously accomplished.

If any one item can be said to summarise all these characteristics of the traditional interpretation of Martí, then an advertisement inserted by Simmons International Ltd.--purveyors of "Beautyrest," "Deep-sleep" and "Hide-a-bed" products--in the Havana Post of January 28, 1953, says it all. The advertisement displays a large drawing of Martí in a serious pose with a quill behind him and a book in front. The advertisement also contains an interesting quotation, "Lo que importa no es que triunfemos, sino que nuestra patria sea feliz," which not only typifies the "low profile" image of Martí presented in Cuba before the Revolution, but which is as well almost certainly bogus.[31]

It was one of history's ironies that in the very year that this traditional representation of the Apóstol reached its peak in the centennial celebrations, a young revolutionary named Fidel Castro should have presented, in most dramatic fashion, a radically new interpretation of Martí and his thought. In the speech (later published as La historia me absolverá) given by Fidel Castro after his arrest following the Moncada uprising, he made many references to Martí as the autor intelectual of both the revolt and its political goals. In this way originated a very different portrayal of Martí, one diametrically opposed to the existing standard interpretation. As a fresh generation of

martianos sprang up in Cuba, they presented a revitalised view of the man, no longer as an Apóstol, but instead as a "revolucionario radical de su tiempo."[32]

While the new "revolutionary" interpretation of Martí has understandably triumphed in Cuba itself since 1959, the traditional viewpoint has not disappeared, but instead still persists among the writers of the Cuban exile community in Florida. It is fair to state that these writers have quite deliberately continued to maintain in their studies of Martí the same thematic concerns as predominated before 1959, with Martí still being regarded as a type of quasi-divinity, to be revered as a sacred object. In Hernando D'Aquino's recent work, Sinfonía martiana (Vida y pasión), the nine cantos revolve specifically around the "paralelo entre el Redentor de Nazaret y el humanísimo Apóstol de la independencia cubana."[33] Typical of the work is the description of the birth of this 'Cuban Christ,' complete with the presence of "unos magos guajiros" who had come "para ofrecer al Niño/ tabaco y caña/ y el café nectarino/ de una colada."[34] There is even a sketch of the event included in the work.

This small group of Cuban exiles has also continued to proclaim defiantly Martí's admiration for the United States, displaying as little balance and as little concern for the evidence as their predecessors. There is the same blind insistence upon highlighting Martí's praise for that country, while avoiding quite deliberately the many criticisms by Martí to the "monstruo" as Martí referred to the United States in his last famous letter (IV, 168). Even in one of the few moderate and balanced discussions of Martí's views on the U.S.A., Carlos Alberto

Montaner also appears to have consciously minimised Martí's criticisms: "Martí, con toda sus entereza, enronqueció alertando a los pueblos de América, a los cubanos y a los propios norteamericanos, de las maniobras imperialistas que algunos ambiciosos delirantes y algunos ambiciosos intereses financieros querían llevar adelante."[35]

Behind this insistence upon Martí's admiration for the United States there clearly lies an element which was absent from studies produced before 1959. The Cuban exile writers thus use Martí's praise for the United States as a means of discrediting and attacking Fidel Castro, whose antipathy toward that country is well known. Typical of this technique is the pamphlet Martí y los norteamericanos en su propia palabra published by the Directorio Magisterial Cubano (Exilio). The quotations are, as ever, carefully selected to provide a favourable impression of the United States. Martí's report of President Garfield's death is followed by a very revealing comment:

> Únicamente un gran devoto de esta tierra y de sus legítimos valores puede escribir con tanta emoción sobre el Presidente Garfield.
>
> Pinta Martí la grandeza del alma americana.
>
> Pinta Martí la nobleza del espíritu americano . . .
>
> ¿Qué podrán decir los comunistas--que sólo utilizan su nombre para profanarlo--frente a sus legítimas palabras de íntima vinculación a Norteamérica? . . . En Cuba libre, en la Cuba republicana de 1902 a 1958, jamás oímos situar a José Martí como un enemigo de los Estados Unidos de América . . . Pero desde el primero de enero de 1959, en que la traición comunista destruyó la libertad de Cuba, pisoteó su soberanía plena y oscureció el horizonte de su legítima independencia, José Martí ha sido instrumento de la explotación de los marxistas-leninistas.[36]

Even when Martí is not presented as a supporter of the United States and as an advocate of Cuban-American friendship, he is often employed as no more than a stalking horse for attacks on Fidel Castro and his regime, even by exiled martianos such as Rafael Esténger and Carlos Márquez Sterling who earlier enjoyed respectable reputations as Martí scholars in Cuba.[37] Esténger has even gone so far as to claim that Fidel Castro only pays "fingida reverencia" to Martí, for fear that the Cuban people might turn against him if he did not:

> Por eso, ante las infelices muchedumbres de la Plaza Cívica, el omnipotente Fidel Castro pudo anunciar la abolición de la República liberal y democrática; pero jamás se hubiera atrevido a destrozar la imagen gigantesca de José Martí, que suele tener de fondo en sus peroratas demagógicas. Aunque profanándola con los hechos, sigue rindiéndole fingida reverencia. Todavía Castro no ha sido suficiente [sic] loco para execrar públicamente el venerado recuerdo de Martí. Sabe que Martí es un líder al que no se puede encarcelar ni matar.[38]

It appears, quite unfortunately, that Martí, his life and his thought have become for the Cuban exiles no more than vehicles for expressing their frustration and sources of ammunition to hurl against the hated Communist regime. In this respect Martí has indeed become what Valdespino termed a "cartel de propaganda,"[39] though Valdespino undoubtedly had no intention of applying that term to his own political confrères.

The work of the Cuban exiles on Martí can therefore be summarised as presenting Martí in a manner extremely similar to that in which he had been portrayed in pre-revolutionary Cuba. As a person he is regarded with reverential awe, with remarkably little attention being

paid to his political and social aspirations for Cuba. In short, the exiles' interpretation--or, it could be argued, misinterpretation--is intended to be a continuation of the earlier "traditional" approach with the addition of an unfortunate attempt to use Martí as a means of mobilising opposition to the present Cuban regime.

In revolutionary Cuba, meanwhile, a very different development in the area of "estudios martianos" has occurred. Initially, particularly in the first three or four years after 1959, a determined effort was made to demonstrate the direct relevance of Martí's teaching to the contemporary scene. The titles of the articles written in this period reveal their obvious desire to associate José Martí with his revolutionary process: "Trajectory and Actuality of Martí's Thought," "El mentor directo de Nuestra Revolución," "Martí y la Revolución Cubana," "El pensamiento de Martí y nuestra Revolución Socialista," and "Raíces martianas de Nuestra Revolución."[40] This new approach to Martí has been well described by Manuel Pedro González, who made an apt comment on the linking of Martí and the Revolution: "en este instante decisivo, es lógico y natural que se invoque y se emule el ejemplo insensescente de sus héroes de ayer, sobre todo el de su máximo fundador y guía."[41]

Another principal characteristic of Martí studies in Cuba during the early years of the Revolution was clearly influenced by the national anger at external pressures on Cuba such as the Bay of Pigs invasion, the economic sanctions against Cuba imposed first by the United States and subsequently by the OAS, the Missile Crisis, and covert C.I.A. activities. Heavy emphasis was then placed by many martianos on the numerous critical references made by Martí to the United States. Little

attention was paid in the early years of this revolutionary process to the praise expressed by Martí for the North American Republic, as the Cuban critics--relishing the opportunity to present what may be termed the other side of the coin previously ignored by traditionalist writers --concentrated on publishing any of Martí's thoughts that could be construed as anti-American. Typical of this mood, one which in fact was found only at the beginning of this new revolutionary interpretation, was a comment of Juan Marinello in January 1962:

> En efecto, nuestro libertador pudo observar desde las 'entrañas del monstruo', no sólo su voracidad ilimitada sino los elementos que alimentaban sus depredaciones.
>
> Una tercera parte de la obra de Martí, y quizá la mejor, está destinada a ofrecernos un panorama exacto y sorprendente del 'Norte revuelto y brutal que nos desprecia.'[42]

Gradually, as the years passed and national confidence grew both in the Castro government and in the ability of Cuba to survive, as the economy became comparatively stable, and as sweeping social changes took place in Cuba, so a considerable shift occurred in the revolutionary interpretation of Martí. The successful literacy programme in 1961, christened the "Year of Education," in which Martí's works were employed extensively as texts, introduced José Martí to the generality of the Cuban people, who now began to read his work in some detail. The publication by the Editorial Nacional de Cuba of a new and extremely thorough edition of the Obras completas between 1963 and 1966 introduced a new phase of interest in Martí's writings.

With the single exception of Raúl Roa's article, "José Martí. El autor intelectual" published in 1973,[43] there has been a complete

abandonment of what were often laboured and overbearing comparisons between the general aspirations of Martí and the aims of the fidelista government. Instead, the new generation of martianos concentrated on indicating and explaining what they now saw as the fundamental, if long ignored, issue in Martí's work--his political and social thought. Particular attention was given, virtually for the first time since Martí's death, to the role and the organisation of what Martí clearly intended to be the microcosm of the liberated Republic, the Partido Revolucionario Cubano.[44]

As this mood of national confidence grew, there was a very distinct change in the emotional approach of the critics. The early, highly critical references to the United States were replaced by a more reasonable, objective interpretation of Martí's views on the United States. To the Cuban exile writers, even this modified interpretation is still a misreading of Martí's views on North America: "El 'antiyankismo' que se le atribuye a Martí nada tiene que ver con ese odio desmelenado y racista que hoy se predica," as one critic noted.[45] However, what is perhaps the most reasonable and most balanced summary of Martí's attitude toward the United States is to be found (despite Valdespino's criticism that this particular writer is among the most (conveniently) partisan of martianos in contemporary Cuba) in a recent study of Roberto Fernández Retamar:

> Pero no se trata de rechazar mecánicamente, en bloque, a los Estados Unidos, se trata, tan sólo, de hacer ver lo negativo que llevan en su seno ('tal vez es ley que en la raíz de los árboles grandes aniden los gusanos'), y ser inmenso el peligro que representan para la América latina. Por lo demás,

> en los Estados Unidos, como en Europa, mucho hay de útil para nuestras tierras. En primer lugar, el saber: la ciencia, la técnica, y el vasto caudal de las artes y las letras, que Martí divulgó ampliamente entre los lectores de lengua española.[46]

Since the middle of the 1960's the main thrust of the revolutionary interpretation has been a determined--if at times overdone--attempt to show how Martí's thought progressed steadily from a standard "liberal" viewpoint towards a stance of opposition to colonialism, and, more importantly, to imperialism. The result has been a series of studies which have come back to a similar interpretation of Martí presented by Roig de Leuchsenring many years earlier, as Cuban critics portray Martí's struggle for the independence of Cuba as a firmly committed and anti-imperialist action. The quality of the vast majority of these studies is excellent, as can be seen from the thorough studies of Isabel Monal, Juan Marinello and Ángel Augier, although there are a few articles, for instance that of Ariel Hidalgo, which are replete with revolutionary clichés and not much else.[47]

As a result of this new school of "Martí Studies," the general interpretation of Martí has not simply been altered or revamped--it has been utterly changed. No longer is Martí presented as a mystical, Apostle-like figure. He is now seen as a man deeply committed to the revolutionary struggle, both in his own country and in the other countries of "Nuestra América." Studies concerned with purely biographical details, so numerous before the Revolution, are now rarely if ever encountered. Far more common now is a thorough examination of Martí's ideas, with particular emphasis being given to the fact that Martí was

not simply fighting to overthrow the Spanish and win political independence for Cuba, but was also fighting as an international revolutionary to secure the liberation of his continent, and indeed of the world.

Gone too are the studies dealing with Martí's philosophical and religious leanings, as are the psychological analyses of his character. The order of the day now is to present Martí as a convinced anti-imperialist, a man also with a profound interest in the situation of the working class,[48] and of course as a dedicated revolutionary.[49] No longer is Martí compared with American statesmen such as Abraham Lincoln or Franklin D. Roosevelt. Instead his contribution to the patria is frequently likened to that of other revolutionaries such as Petofi,[50] Lenin,[51] Fanon,[52] Ho Chi Minh,[53] Fidel Castro[54] and Che Guevara.[55] As might be expected, the quality of these studies varies enormously, from the excellent studies by Maldonado Denis on Martí and Fanon, and by Fernández Retamar on Ho Chi Minh and Martí, to less successful attempts such as the articles by Jesús Sabourín and Eduardo López Morales.

Within the mainstream of this revolutionary interpretation of Martí it is possible to identify a fairly clear trend, one which closely parallels the growing maturity or "institutionalisation" of the Revolution. The original and somewhat heavy-handed tendency to "sell" the work and thought of Martí for their relevance to the revolutionary situation in Cuba has been steadily replaced by a more profound and fairly-balanced view of Martí's work. Indicative of this new and essentially well-reasoned interpretation of Martí is a recent observation by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, the deputy Prime Minister of Cuba, a comment which reveals the maturity of the current revolutionary approach:

> De modo que tenemos ya un Martí con todos los ingredientes para la batalla de hoy. No tenemos sin embargo un Martí socialista, es bueno repetirlo. En algunos momentos en el afán de llevar a Martí más lejos de lo que podía llegar él mismo, se habló de la corriente socialista en Martí. En realidad lo que encontramos es el respeto de Martí por el socialismo . . . Todo eso le parece parte de lo admirable en Carlos Marx, pero no llega tan lejos en su concepción de la lucha de clases y de las fuerzas revolucionarias en esa lucha de clases . . . la sociedad que Martí quería hacer era todavía una sociedad en que creía posible el equilibrio de las clases, la conciliación.[56]

With this quotation we may conclude this brief but thorough outline of the ways in which José Martí has been presented to the people of Cuba and of the world. The crucial element in this evolving presentation has certainly been the different "profiles" with which he has been endowed. If the "Beautyrest" advertisement in the Havana Post of 1953, already mentioned, can be taken as a fair summary of the profile of Martí contained in the traditionalist interpretation, then the profile presented in the revolutionary interpretation is well illustrated by a collage composed by the Cuban writer and artist Fayad Jamís and included in a special edition of La historia me absolverá prepared by the Casa de las Américas.[57] The collage contains a bold portrait of Martí in the centre of the page with a photograph of Fidel Castro, taken in 1953 after his arrest, superimposed. On the forehead of Martí is a star with the words "autor intelectual," the implicit message being re-inforced by the appearance on the facing page of a page from Fidel Castro's speech: "¿O será porque yo dije que Martí era el autor intelectual del 26 de julio?" Thus, from being regarded as an

innocuous, well-intentioned and somehow mystical figure, José Martí has now evolved into a convinced, hardened and devoted revolutionary.

That such different and flatly contradictory interpretations of Martí's work can exist suggests two possible explanations. Either, as Richard Butler Gray has claimed, his ideas were so inherently "disorganised and contradictory" that "the prolixity of Martí's writings has resulted in his becoming 'all things to all men,'"[58] or else that Martí's ideas, in reality quite coherent, have since his death been "toned down" or over-emphasised, ignored or taken out of context. What is now needed in the study of Martí and his thought has been best and most succinctly expressed by Manuel Pedro González:

> Es necesario acordarle una tregua en esta competencia insustancial en la que todo quisque indocto se ha creído con derecho a participar sin leerlo, sin meditarlo y sin la más remota intención de emularlo.[59]

The need thus exists for a fresh, constructive and essentially "neutral" study, not merely of carefully-selected passages, but rather of the totality of Martí's works, since only in this way will Martí's thought be properly deciphered. It appears fair to say that an important step in this direction has been taken in revolutionary Cuba, although for historians and critics both in North America and in the countries of "Nuestra América" to use Martí's term, there still remains much soul-searching and methodological investigation to be done before a thorough and objective overview of Martí's thought can emerge. It is indeed an arduous task (the twenty-seven volumes of the Obras completas of Martí represent a truly formidable barrier to our reaching this "esencia humana"), but one which is necessary if we are to truly appreciate the

work of José Martí, "el hombre más puro de la raza,"[60] and one of the most advanced political thinkers of his time.

NOTES

APPENDIX 'B'

[1]Carlos Alberto Montaner, El pensamiento de José Martí (Madrid: Plaza Mayor Ediciones, 1971), p. 4.

[2]The total number of studies written on Martí between 1934 and 1955 was no less than 682, while there were more than 6,900 articles written during the same period. For more detailed information see Richard Butler Gray, José Martí, Cuban Patriot (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962), p. 101.

[3]Andrés Valdespino, "Imagen de Martí en las letras cubanas," Revista Cubana, 1 (July-Dec. 1968), p. 307.

[4]Salvador García Agüero, "Secuencias martianas," Revista Bimestre Cubana, 37 (1936), p. 207.

[5]Miguel L. de Landaluce, "Vía crucis de Martí," Archivo José Martí, 3 (Jan.-Dec. 1942), pp. 143-158.

[6]Federico de Córdova, "Martí, demócrata," Universidad de La Habana, 43/45 (July-Dec. 1942), pp. 178-196.

[7]José Manuel Cortina, "Apología de José Martí," Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), p. 94.

[8]Rufino Blanco Fombona, "José Martí," Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), p. 130.

[9]Félix Matos Bernier, "José Martí," Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), p. 171. Gray also offers an interesting list of religious terms used to describe Martí, among which are the expressions "Captain of Archangels," "Redeemer," "The Second Son of God," "The Evangel of Tenderness," "The American Christ," "Jesus Martí" and "Martí the Saviour." Gray, p. 133.

[10]Rubén Darío, "José Martí," reprinted in Antología crítica de José Martí, ed. Manuel Pedro González (México: Editorial Cultural, 1960), pp. 3-11.

[11]See for instance the rather unfortunate attempts by Mauricio Magdaleno, José Martí, fulgor de Martí (México: Editorial Botas, 1941); by Néstor Carbonell y Rivero, "Un capítulo de la autobiografía de Martí," Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), pp. 283-302; and by Alfonso Hernández-Catá, Mitología de Martí (Buenos Aires: Club del Libro, 1939).

[12]Néstor Carbonell y Rivero, Martí, carne y espíritu (La Habana: Seoane, Fernández y Cía., 1951-52); Andrés Iduarte, Martí, escritor (México: Cuadernos Americanos, 1945); Raimundo Lazo, "La personalidad y el mensaje de José Martí," Pensamiento y acción de José Martí, ed. Departamento de Extensión y Relaciones Culturales (Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1953), pp. 31-48; Félix Lizaso, Proyección humana de Martí (Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1953) and Martí, Martyr of Cuban Independence, trans. Esther Elise Shuler (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1953); Jorge Mañach, Martí el apóstol (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1933); Manuel Isidro Méndez, Martí, estudio crítico-biográfico (La Habana: P. Fernández y Cía., 1941).

[13]Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, Martí, revolucionario (La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1967), p. 161.

[14]Aquiles Nazoa, Cuba: de Martí a Fidel Castro (Caracas: Ediciones Populares del Pensamiento Vivo, 1961), p. 9.

[15]Of particular importance was Antonio Martínez Bello's work, Ideas sociales y económicas de José Martí (La Habana: La Verónica 1940). The many studies of Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring are also interesting and well-planned. Among these are "Formación revolucionaria de Martí," Carteles, 24 Jan. 1954, pp. 68-70; La república de Martí (La Habana: Imp. Modelo, 1953); and, perhaps his most famous work, Martí, antimperialista (La Habana: Imp. Modelo, 1953). The two most interesting works of Juan Marinello during this period were his studies Actualidad de José Martí: Martí, maestro de unidad (La Habana: Editorial Páginas, 1943), and José Martí, escritor americano (México: Editorial Grijalbo, 1958).

[16]Martínez Bello, p. 128.

[17]See Guillermo de Blanck, "Política de Martí," Revista de La Habana, 6 (Aug. 1945), pp. 508-521; Ramón Infiesta, El pensamiento político de Martí (La Habana: Universidad de La Habana, 1953); Raimundo Lazo, "Martí y la política," Archivo José Martí, 5 (Jan.-June 1950), pp. 29-43; Jorge Mañach, El pensamiento político y social de Martí (La Habana: Edición Oficial del Senado, 1941); and Emeterio S. Santovenia y Echaide, Política de Martí (La Habana: Seoane, Fernández y Cía., 1943).

[18]Santovenia, pp. 61-63.

[19]Carlos González Palacios, "Valoración de Martí," Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1952), p. 28.

[20]"De la primera se habían expurgado, sin demasiadas explicaciones, todos los grandes artículos y ensayos donde la pluma antimperialista de Martí ahonda como en su tiempo nadie lo había hecho, en ese enorme pudridero de intereses, de rapiño, de hambre." Nazoa, p. 8.

[21]See, for instance, Martí on the U.S.A., ed. Luis A. Baralt (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966) and The America of José Martí: Selected Writings, ed. Juan de Onís (New York: Noonday Press, 1953).

[22]Félix Lizaso, Martí, espíritu de la guerra justa (La Habana: Editorial Úcar, García y Cía., 1944), p. 46.

Santovenia also tones down Martí's reactions to U.S. involvement in "Nuestra América," while even blatantly suggesting that Martí both praised and defended the United States before the delegates at the First Inter-American Conference: "The United States had become a country of admirable institutions and of men who were raising the world to new levels of advancement. Before a great assembly of delegates from nearly all parts of America, Martí spoke eloquently of the greatness of the country in which he lived, and which had given him the hope of freeing his own country." Emeterio S. Santovenia y Echaide, Lincoln in Martí: A Cuban View of Abraham Lincoln (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 73.

[23]See Joaquín Martínez Sáenz, Martí, el inadaptado sublime (La Habana: Editorial Cenit, 1956), p. 263.

[24]Federico de Córdova, "Martí idealista," Universidad de La Habana, 49 (Jan.-June 1945), p. 23.

[25]José A. Giralt, "Martí, apóstol del panamericanismo," Bohemia, 29 Jan. 1928, p. 29.

[26]A. Curtis Wilgus and Karna S. Wilgus, "Las crónicas de José Martí sobre la Primera Conferencia Internacional Americana celebrada en Washington," Memoria del congreso de escritores martianos (feb. 20 a 27 de 1953) (La Habana: Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional Organizadora de los Actos y Ediciones del Centenario y del Monumento a Martí, 1953), p. 319.

[27]Manuel Pedro González, "Aspectos inexplorados en la obra de José Martí," Bohemia, 18 July 1969, p. 5.

[28]See Alfonso Bernal del Riesgo, "Estampa psíquica de Martí," Revista Bimestre Cubana, 41 (1938), pp. 233-242; Antonio Martínez Bello, La adolescencia de Martí (Notas para un ensayo de interpretación psicológica) (La Habana: P. Fernández y Cía., 1944); and Joaquín Martínez Sáenz, op. cit.

[29]See Raoul Alpizar Poyo, Ideario filosófico de Martí (La Habana: Imp. Ojeda, 1944); Raquel Catalá, "Martí y el espiritualismo," Vida y pensamiento de Martí. Homenaje de la ciudad de La Habana en el cincuentenario de la fundación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano. 1892-1942 (La Habana: Colección Histórica Cubana y Americana, 1942), I, 297-339; Andrés Iduarte, "Ideas religiosas, morales y filosóficas de Martí," La Nueva Democracia, 25 (1944), pp. 3-7, 26-32; and Fernando Ortiz, "La religión de Martí," La Nueva Democracia, 38 (1958), pp. 52-57.

[30]Duvon C. Corbitt, "Historical Publications of the Martí Centennial," Hispanic American Historical Review, 34 (Aug. 1954), p. 402.

[31]See The Havana Post, 28 Jan. 1953, p. 13.

[32]From the title of a recent article by Blas Roca, "José Martí, revolucionario radical de su tiempo," Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), pp. 10-21.

[33]Hernando D'Aquino, Sinfonía martiana (Vida y pasión) (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1971), p. 9.

[34]Ibid., p. 19. (The similarity between this presentation and Federico de Córdova's concept of Martí (See note 7) is fairly obvious. In fact it is difficult to tell that there is a distance of some thirty years between them. It thus appears fair to claim that for the Cuban contingent living in Florida there has been remarkably little change in the way that they perceive Martí).

[35]Montaner, p. 20.

[36]Directorio Magisterial Revolucionario (en el exilio), Martí y los norteamericanos en su propia palabra (Miami: Its Ediciones, 1965), pp. 8-9.

[37]See Carlos Márquez Sterling, Martí, ciudadano de América (New York: Las Américas Publishing Co., 1965) and Rafael Esténger, Martí

frente al comunismo: glosas de contrapunteo entre el hombre libre y el autómata marxista (Miami: Editorial AIP, 1966).

[38]Rafael Estenger, p. 8. Márquez Sterling also uses Martí as a means of attacking the Cuban Prime Minister. Typical of the many anti-Castro tirades found in the work is this passage: "Hoy todo es distinto entre la guerra del 95 de Martí y la guerra del 59 de Castro. Hasta la colocación de los números nos muestran la terrible reacción contra el ideario del Apóstol . . . Porque también hay guerras inútiles como la que se libró en Cuba, en favor de Fidel Castro, para que éste derogara la Constitución de 1940, confiscara a todo el mundo, montara el paredón de fusilamiento, y aboliera ferozmente toda la ideología martiana." Carlos Márquez Sterling, p. 404.

[39]Valdespino, p. 307.

[40]See for instance the following works: Centro de Estudios Martianos, Trajectory and Actuality of Martí's Thought (La Habana: Centro de Estudios Martianos, 1961); Roberto Fernández Retamar, "El mentor directo de nuestra revolución," Cuba, 8 (Feb. 1969), pp. 20-21. Jornada Martiana, Martí y la revolución cubana (Montevideo: Embajada de Cuba, 1961); Martin A. Landa y Bacallao, José Martí y Fidel Castro; sus pensamientos afines (La Habana: Impresora Modelo, 1959); Juan Marinello, "El pensamiento de Martí y nuestra revolución socialista," Cuba Socialista, 2 (Jan. 1962), pp. 16-37; Andrés Valdespino, "Raíces martianas de nuestra revolución," Bohemia, 7 Feb. 1960, pp. 13, 104-105.

[41]Manuel Pedro González, "Prefacio," Indagaciones martianas (La Habana: Universidad Central de Las Villas, 1961), p. 16.

[42]Juan Marinello, "El pensamiento de Martí y nuestra revolución socialista," p. 19.

[43]Raúl Roa, "José Martí. El autor intelectual," Bohemia, 3 Aug. 1973, pp. 32-37.

[44]See Carlos J. Díaz, "José Martí y el partido revolucionario," Verde Olivo, 27 Jan. 1963, pp. 33-34; José Antonio Portuondo, "Teoría martiana del partido revolucionario," Casa de las Américas, 15 (May-June 1975), pp. 14-23; José Ignacio Rodríguez, "Martí y el partido revolucionario cubano," Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), pp. 98-100.

[45]Montaner, p. 20.

[46]Roberto Fernández Retamar, "Introducción a Martí," José Martí: Cuba, Nuestra América, los Estados Unidos, ed. Fernández Retamar (México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1973), p. xlii.

[47]See Ángel Augier, "Martí: tesis antimperialista en la cuna del panamericanismo," Casa de las Américas, 14 (Jan.-Feb. 1974), pp. 52-64; Armando O. Caballero, "El primer partido revolucionario-antimperialista de la historia," Anuario Martiano, 2 (1970), pp. 425-431; Ariel Hidalgo, "Martí y el neocolonialismo imperialista," Casa de las Américas, 14 (May-June 1974), pp. 89-95; Juan Marinello, "Fuentes y raíces del pensamiento antimperialista de José Martí," Casa de las Américas, 15 (May-June 1975), pp. 5-12; Antonio Melis, "Lucha antimperialista y lucha de clases en José Martí," Casa de las Américas, 9 (May-June 1969), pp. 126-133; Isabel Monal, "José Martí: del liberalismo al democratismo antiimperialista," Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), pp. 24-41; E. Vázquez Candela, "Martí anti-imperialista: hombre de su momento," Verde Olivo, 27 Jan. 1963, pp. 35-37.

[48]See José Cantón Navarro, Algunas ideas de José Martí en relación con la clase obrera y el socialismo (La Habana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1970); Paul Estrade, "Un 'socialista' mexicano: José Martí," Casa de las Américas, 14 (Jan.-Feb. 1974), pp. 40-50; and the reprint of Julio Antonio Mella's "Martí y el proletariado," Verde Olivo, 13 Jan. 1963, pp. 38-39.

[49]See Fernando G. Campoamor, "Martí, líder revolucionario," Bohemia, 4 April 1969, pp. 12-19; Edmundo Desnoes, "José Martí, intelectual revolucionario y hombre nuevo," Casa de las Américas, 9 (May-June 1969), pp. 115-121; Julio Le Riverend, "Martí: ética y acción revolucionaria," Casa de las Américas, 10 (Nov.-Dec. 1969), pp. 38-48; Manuel Maldonado-Denis, "Martí y su concepto de la revolución," Casa de las Américas, 11 (July-Aug. 1971), pp. 3-11; Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, Martí, el héroe y su acción revolucionaria (México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1966) and Martí, revolucionario (La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1967); Blas Roca, "José Martí, revolucionario radical de su tiempo," Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), pp. 10-21.

[50]See Salvador Bueno, "Martí y Petofi," Casa de las Américas, 13 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), pp. 80-87.

[51]See Roberto Fernández Retamar, "Notas sobre Martí, Lenin y la revolución anticolonial," Casa de las Américas, 10 (Mar.-Apr. 1970), pp. 116-130; and Julio Le Riverend, "Martí y Lenin," Política Internacional, 8 (1970), pp. 57-71.

[52]See Manuel Maldonado-Denis, "Martí y Fanon," Casa de las Américas, 13 (July-Aug. 1972), pp. 17-27.

[53]See Miguel A. D'Estefano del Día, "Ho Chi Minh y José Martí, revolucionarios anticolonialistas," Casa de las Américas, 15 (May-June 1975), pp. 59-67; Roberto Fernández Retamar, "Sobre Martí y Ho Chi Minh, dirigentes coloniales," Casa de las Américas, 10 (Nov.-Dec. 1970), pp. 48-53; and Eduardo López Morales, "Apuntes para un estudio de la lucha armada en Ho Chi Minh y José Martí," Casa de las Américas, 11 (Nov.-Dec. 1970), pp. 54-63.

[54]See Edmundo Desnoes, "Martí en Fidel Castro," Lunes, 30 Jan. 1961, pp. 61-62; and Martín A. Landa y Bacallao, José Martí y Fidel Castro: sus pensamientos afines (La Habana: Imp. Modelo, 1959).

[55]See Jesús Sabourín, "Martí en el Che," Casa de las Américas, 13 (July-Aug. 1972), pp. 5-15.

[56]Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, "José Martí, contemporáneo y compañero," Universidad de La Habana, 196/197 (1972), p. 15.

It is interesting to compare this revolutionary approach with an example of the "traditional" interpretation of Martí as viewed by the former President of Cuba, Carlos Prío. Writing in 1946, Prío described the way in which he had been inspired by the Apóstol: "Yo también, José Martí, he sentido tu presencia y en los días más duros y más amargos de la lucha que por la Cuba soñaste libró nuestra generación, te he visto velando en mis sueños y acariciando lo poco bueno que había en mí. Comprendí a tiempo que no podía imitarte, porque no es posible parangonarse contigo. Pero aspiré a ganarme el silencio aprobatorio de tu augusta sombra." Carlos Prío Socarrás, "Martí, arquetipo de lo cubano," Archivo José Martí, 6 (Jan.-Dec. 1946), p. 391.

[57]Fidel Castro, La historia me absolverá (La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1974), n.p.

[58]Gray, p. 35.

[59]Manuel Pedro González, "Aspectos inexplorados en la obra de José Martí," Bohemia, 18 July 1969, p. 5.

[60]This apt description of Martí by the Chilean poetess Gabriela Mistral was taken from the autograph album of a young Cuban girl. The actual inscription was: "No te olvides, si tienes un hermano o un hijo, de que vivió en tu tierra el hombre más puro de la raza, José Martí, y procura formarlo a su semejanza, batallador y limpio como un arcángel." Cited by Gaspar Mortillaro in his article, "José Martí, el hombre más puro de la raza," Archivo José Martí, 1 (July-Aug. 1940), p. 57.