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## State of Ambiguity

Palmer, Steven

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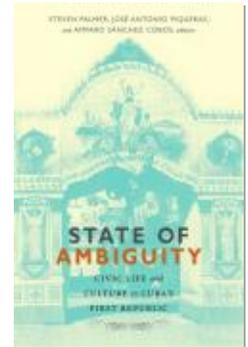
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## CHAPTER 6



### **Transcending Borders**

*¡Tierra!* and the Expansion of Anarchism  
in Cuba after Independence

Amparo Sánchez Cobos

In 1917 the Cuban socialist and writer Carlos Loveira published *From 26 to 35: Lessons from My Time in the Workers' Struggle*. Among his early experiences in Cuba's "workers' struggle," he recounts the harsh impact of the failure of the 1911 railway workers' strike in Sagua la Grande in which he had figured as one of the leaders. Dejected by the way events had developed, he decided to abandon the area and seek better luck in Havana. "I directed my feet to a house at 115 Aguila Street, headquarters of the anarchist weekly *¡Tierra!* a publication widely renowned in the revolutionary workers' movement spanning all languages, races, and countries. . . . I wasn't an anarchist but, not knowing the address of any other workers' centers, and without money, friends, or colleagues who could lend a hand, where better to go than the editorial offices of *¡Tierra!* to get orientation and solidarity in such sad circumstances?"<sup>1</sup>

Loveira's anecdote begs the question, how did *¡Tierra!* come to transform itself into the point of reference for radical labor on the island and transcend its anarchist framework? Loveira knew the anarchists, including the members and distributors of the Havana paper, because he had collaborated with them on a number of occasions, not least during the 1911 strike when he was president of the Sagua la Grande section of the Cuban League of Railway Workers. Nevertheless, the centrality of *¡Tierra!* for radical Cuban intellectuals like Loveira had to do with the paper's capacity to articulate particular international as well as national communities. These were communities that transcended the borders of anarchist ideology. The fol-

lowing pages reconstruct these communities from the pages of *¡Tierra!* in an effort to counter the tendency to conceive narrowly of Cuban labor radicalism in the postindependence period only in terms of a struggle between a national working class and U.S. capital in its new imperial sphere of influence in the Caribbean basin.

Cuba's traditional historiography proposed that anarchism during the first years of the republic was associated with a group of Spaniards who only concerned themselves with the defense of their compatriots and, under the influence of a "pernicious" ideology, left island workers ideologically disoriented and backward in their consciousness and organization. According to this vision, the distortion was corrected by the communists starting with the foundation of the Cuban Communist Party in 1925. Together with this interpretation came the idea that Spanish anarchists did not understand Cuba's political and social realities and that by transplanting Spanish practices and ideology to Cuba—the "Spanification" ("españolización") of the Cuban labor movement—they fomented division and confrontation in the island's working-class community.<sup>2</sup> The role of the Spanish press on the island, and that of *¡Tierra!* in particular, has received scarce attention, although many studies have used the newspaper to glean information on the Cuban labor movement even as authors have disparaged the paper for its ideological perspective.<sup>3</sup>

Some recent studies have acknowledged the relevance of anarchist activity in reorganizing workers following independence and the important legacy of theory and practice they bequeathed to the Cuban labor movement.<sup>4</sup> Kirwin Shaffer's work regarding *¡Tierra!* locates the periodical in the array of radical papers and analyzes its function as the principal nucleus of the transnational anarchist network established in the Caribbean, connecting Havana with Panama, Puerto Rico, and Florida (principally Tampa, St. Augustine, and Key West), and responding, among other things, to North American policies in the region. Shaffer's fine work is representative of current U.S. historiography in that relations established among worker communities in the Caribbean, and particularly in Cuba, are framed and contextualized in terms of the United States and U.S. foreign policy.<sup>5</sup> This context was clearly important, above all in terms of financing. The weekly publication was distributed and had subscriptions throughout the Atlantic world, however, and the relations established by the members of its editorial team transcended the Caribbean region and cannot be fully understood outside of a broader Atlantic context that includes Spain.

The exchanges and connections made through *¡Tierra!* refer us to the exis-

tence of an organic internationalism in the Atlantic world—that is, to organizations and individuals that transcended national frontiers and that related to one another through a print medium that represented their common interests. *¡Tierra!* was in direct and constant contact with what was happening outside of Cuba’s borders, while at the same time serving as a forum for discussing ideas and translating from the local to the international domain issues that were common to the broader community of workers. In some cases the paper became the voice of those “libertarian” communities located in places where the local anarchist press did not have any forceful presence.<sup>6</sup> In the process they participated in the creation of an “imagined community” of adherents in the ideological sense—an international community of workers who perceived themselves to be in analogous situations, with similar problems and desires.<sup>7</sup>

This immersion in the libertarian circuits of the Atlantic world had its reflection in the expansion of common experiences inside Cuba. The direct relation with Spain established during the colonial period and continuing after independence in a context that favored immigrants from the Spanish peninsula—anarchists among them—was visible in the type of enterprises implemented. The nearly 900,000 Spaniards who arrived in the island in the three decades following independence explain in part the continuities with the previous century, especially in terms of organizing workers and in the cultural practices spread after independence that had a European orientation. The new conjuncture demanded putting into practice different strategies to ensure the expansion of anarchism throughout the island and, just as in the late nineteenth century, the press would play a key role in this process. In sum, the success and centrality of *¡Tierra!* in the first two decades of the Cuban republic forces us to take note of a dynamic network in the island’s working-class culture that has been written out of dominant narratives, one that was cosmopolitan, transnational, and nonsectarian, and revolved around a largely Atlantic axis running from Cuba to Spain, and taking in places like Florida, Wales, and France (not to mention California) along the way.

### **Part-Time “Journalists”**

*¡Tierra! Periódico Semanal* (Land! A weekly paper) was born in early July 1902, only two months after the birth of the Cuban republic itself. Aside from a few suspensions in publication caused by the Cuban authorities and the content of some of its issues, and aside from financing problems that slowed its publication at certain points, the most important anarchist publication

in Havana and the island of Cuba in the first years of independence came out with a good deal of regularity until the beginning of 1915, when it was closed by the authorities for having published articles attacking the government. Also contributing to its definitive disappearance were the deficit suffered starting in the final months of 1914, combined with repression directed against anarchists that led to the deportation of some of its most important collaborators.

Two clear periods are distinguishable in the life of the paper, in each case linked directly to the composition of the editorial team: the first runs from its creation to the middle of 1908, and the second from that point until its disappearance in early 1915. The first editorial team was made up principally of native-born Cubans. The founding director was Feliciano Prieto, a tobacco worker. Among the first on the writing staff were the Cubans Juan Aller, Arturo Juvanet, Bernabé Ugarte, Oscar Martínez, Andrés Castillo, and Manuel Martínez Abello and the Spaniards Pedro Soteras and Rafael Cusidó i Baró.<sup>8</sup> The majority of this first team were also tobacco workers, and some were from the Society of Cigarmakers (Sociedad de Torcedores). From its inception the paper enjoyed the collaboration of other Spaniards, among them Domingo Mir Durich and José Guardiola, who were two of its most important distributors in Havana, as well as Adrián del Valle and Luís Barcia, both of whom were well known among the anarchist community in the United States. Barcia had participated along with Feliciano Prieto as a writer on the anarchist paper *El Despertar* (*The Awakening*), published in New York starting at the end of the nineteenth century. Del Valle, commonly known by his pseudonym, Palmiro de Lidia, had emigrated to the United States from Barcelona in the late nineteenth century and quickly distinguished himself by his contribution to the anarchist press. Arriving in Cuba immediately following the war of independence during the years of U.S. occupation of the island, he published *Nuevo Ideal*, the first anarchist paper of the new era that lasted until the beginning of 1902.<sup>9</sup>

This first team carried on with little variation until 1908 when the paper was taken over by the “24th of November” group, whose name referred to the “Apprentices’ Strike” of 1902, essentially a general strike that seized the island. According to the editors, personal problems among the original members motivated the change.<sup>10</sup> From that point on more Spaniards could be found among the dedicated staff. A confidential file put together by the Cuban Secret Police around 1912 claimed the director was Sebastián Aguiar, a carpenter originally from the Canary Islands, and the administrator was Domingo Mir Durich, from Lerida city in Catalonia, who worked

for the Department of Public Works. The same police report listed among the writers the Majorcan day laborer Juan Tur i Tur; a tobacco worker, Juan Tenorio Fernández; a chemist from La Coruña, Paulino Ferreiro del Monte; and shoemaker Juan Búa Palacios and shopkeeper Gregorio Hernández, both from Spain. The police also found, however, that the paper still had significant contributions from natives of Cuba like Miguel Lozano Ariza, a Havana tobacco worker; the builder Joaquín Lucena; and Marcelo Salinas, a tobacco worker from Batabanó. They also made special note of the Colombian schoolteacher Juan Francisco Moncaleano.<sup>11</sup>

Anarchism had been introduced to Cuba in the 1870s in good measure through the arrival in Cuba of publications, mostly from Spain and particularly from Catalonia. The ideas and principles cohering in Europe following the breakup of the First International found a good seedbed among workers in Havana and surrounds who had formed radical republican groups and guild and reform organizations.<sup>12</sup> According to the Cuban historian José Rivero Muñiz, the links grew after the celebration in 1882 of the Second Congress of the Federation of Workers of the Spanish Region (Segundo Congreso de la Federación de los Trabajadores de la Región Española) where a motion was passed to foment the spread of anarchism in Cuba.<sup>13</sup> The Cuban Enrique Roig San Martín founded the Center for Artisan Instruction and Recreation in Santiago de las Vegas, outside Havana, in the same year, and it soon became the principal propaganda nucleus for anarchist ideology because in conjunction with the Spanish anarchist weekly *La Tramontana* it coordinated the distribution of anarchist publications in Cuba. The first Cuban anarchist periodicals appeared soon after, the most important being Roig San Martín's *El Productor*, which was published between 1887 and 1890. As Joan Casanovas has shown, the ideology and tactics of urban workers were coordinated in these papers over the final decades of the colonial period, led principally by workers linked to the tobacco industry, notable among them the Cubans Roig San Martín, Enrique Ceci, Pedro Rodríguez, and Enrique Mesonier and the Spaniards Gervasio García Purón, Maximino Fernández, and Eduardo González Bobés.<sup>14</sup>

Cuba's final war of independence dismantled worker organizations and led to the exile, repression, or death of many of its most important leaders (Ceci, for example, died in the conflict). At the close of the war, it was common to see former anarchists from the colonial era, especially native-born Cubans, become reformists interested in creating nationalist organizations that might represent workers in the legislature—the most important of these being the League of Cuban Workers (Liga General de Trabajadores Cuba-

nos), created by Messonier in September 1899.<sup>15</sup> These organizations would henceforth rival the efforts of a new anarchist movement, born of postindependence politics and economic conditions, in its efforts to attract workers and others from the popular sectors. Parallel with the gradual growth and expansion of the sugar industry, and likewise stretching eastward across the island, came the growth of the working class. It was a working class with a strong Spanish character due to the collaboration of the U.S. authorities and the first republican governments in promoting policies that favored immigration from Spain as a way of combining two key desires of racist elites: satisfying the insatiable need for labor following the abolition of slavery in the late 1880s, and “whitening” what would now be the “national” population.<sup>16</sup> According to the Spanish Geographical and Statistical Institute, 822,291 immigrants from Spain arrived in Cuba between 1900 and 1929—making up 61 percent of the total immigration of the period and roughly 10 percent of the island’s population.<sup>17</sup>

As a result, the end of Spanish colonialism did not mark a clear point of rupture with the workers movement of the late nineteenth century, especially given that this immigration current included many anarchists. Practical experience of anarchism, and the importance given to the press in particular, reinforced links and continuities with both the earlier Cuban movement and the anarchist community in Spain. A novel impulse was added: transcending the frontiers of Havana and environs to reach the new working class. Unless they became naturalized Cubans (the only way they could vote), immigrants were on the margins of the political possibilities being explored by the new reformist organizations. This helps to explain the adherence of many to the anarchist project, as do other factors such as the long-term goals of the native reformists and the extended period of time it might take to gain a foothold in the republican political sphere (of little interest to workers who did not necessarily intend to remain in Cuba forever), and the scant experience of many of the new arrivals from Spain with participation in a democratic political sphere. The pro-Cuban (and thus anti-Spain) discourse of the Cuban reformists also made that option unpalatable to new immigrants.

The anarchists who survived the war and the change in the political character of the island, together with those who arrived as immigrants to participate in the new stage ushered in by independence, focused on the two measures they considered most urgent: the reorganization of their groups and the expansion of anarchist principles. At the same time they spread an “openness and integrationist” discourse that called for the unity of the worker community of the island in defense of its class interests over and

above divisions based on nationality, race, skin color, or any other differentiating characteristic. During the first years of the republic, the anarchist press and especially *¡Tierra!* would become the voice of that workers community, continuing the integrationist spirit that characterized its late colonial ancestor. It railed against the use of immigration to lower production costs by reducing salaries through an abundant labor supply. At the same time it spread the image of a working class that was expanding throughout the island—one that, if united, had great potential to exert pressure in a context of economic growth. The syndicalist tactics promoted by the Havana weekly—among them the general strike—were an attempt to connect that potential to the main desires of the worker community, which could be summed up in most cases as a reduction in the work day, an increase in the daily wage, and payment in U.S. money.

But as with other prior and contemporary anarchist publications, *¡Tierra!* was produced *by* workers, not just for them. A constant characteristic over the more than twelve years *¡Tierra!* was in publication was that its editorial team, just as its correspondents and collaborators, were workers of different occupations—tobacco workers, carpenters, agricultural laborers, shoemakers, or shop clerks—who turned themselves into journalists in their “free time.” All of them, far from seeking profit or recompense from the sale of the paper, participated altruistically, dedicating the greater part of their off-hours to its production. As its editors noted, they worked from 7 to 11 P.M. six days a week, and from 9 to 11 A.M. on Sundays.<sup>18</sup>

The fact that its promoters and writers were workers of distinct nationalities helps to explain why the paper devoted itself to covering the problems of the island’s workers, regardless of their social or political nature. The stance was articulated in the paper’s very first editorial, along with its stated intention of becoming the intermediary and unifier of the working-class community. *¡Tierra!* would be a “truly workers’ paper that without exclusivism or limitations will devote itself to the defense of the working class in general . . . and holding aloft the banner of socialism . . . to foment revolution and the class spirit and rebellious sentiment necessary to achieve the union of all the workers of the island of Cuba.”<sup>19</sup> But it also helps to explain why those who produced the paper involved themselves directly in attempts to resolve those problems, participating in strikes and protest movements that had consequences for them as well as for the paper itself.

For example, anarchists—especially members and collaborators of *¡Tierra!* like Prieto, Del Valle, Manuel Martínez Abello, Francisco Ros Planas y Arturo Juvanet—played a leading role in the Apprentices’ Strike of 1902,

organized by Havana tobacco workers, and soon joined by workers from other sectors and organizations of diverse political tendencies in the capital and neighboring provinces. Prieto, the director of the paper, was the main strike leader, and along with Martínez Abello and Ros Planas he was sentenced to six months in jail for the articles they published in favor of the strike.<sup>20</sup> Throughout the wave of labor actions and the main strikes that took place over the first republican decade, a similar pattern is visible: collaboration of workers linked to different political tendencies; involvement and in many cases leadership exercised by anarchists; repression, again principally against anarchists; and the newspaper *¡Tierra!* subjected to prosecution and temporary suspension of publication due to its support for the strike and protest movements.

At the same time, as with other anarchist newspapers, the relation between *¡Tierra!* and its readers was mutual and reciprocal: in many cases the subscribers and consumers of this type of press were not only readers but also involved in the writing and signed as authors of some of the accounts or news published in its pages. And, though not numerous, some of these occasional correspondents were women. Slowly women began to join the anarchist cause thanks in good measure to the discourse launched by the newspaper, a tendency also visible in the development of anarchist pedagogy and schools in the island.<sup>21</sup> In a majority of cases, there was a direct relationship between the sending of money from different places within and beyond the borders of Cuba, for sales as well as subscriptions, and the sending of chronicles and news from the same places.<sup>22</sup>

Indeed the anarchist press is an excellent resource for illustrating the relations among communities of workers at the national and international levels. As the Spanish jurist Juan Díaz del Moral noted in 1929, beyond their principal function of transmitting messages, anarchist periodicals and publications “served as organs of communication among all the committed and even among all Spanish-language workers. To subscribe to a paper and pay, to announce the creation or orientation of groups, to ascertain the location of a friend or a debtor, to send notice of a change of address—the worker used his newspaper, thanks to its spread through all countries where Spanish was spoken.”<sup>23</sup> The editorial team itself addressed the issue of the nature of those who wrote for the paper: “Here every worker who wishes to improve his own condition and that of others by showing the way is the writer of this newspaper, just as every man of generous feelings and who loves real liberty and equality for that part of humanity that is enslaved and overworked can also find a place in our paper as a writer. . . . Some of our writers are in Lon-

don, others in France, still others in Mexico and sundry countries of this unfortunate planet.”<sup>24</sup>

Shaffer emphasizes the Caribbean-U.S. orientation and significance of *¡Tierra!* by pointing to the collaborators and correspondents who sent reports to the Havana paper, as well as the network of distribution and subscriptions established in that area between 1903 and 1911 and which made up one of the main sources of external financing.<sup>25</sup> But the newspaper’s network exceeded this emerging regional political community. There were essentially two types of foreign writers and collaborators: those who sent news or shared information with the community of readers on an occasional and sporadic basis, and those who sent stories to Havana on a regular basis. Among this latter type of “assiduous correspondent,” the Spaniard Vicente García stands out. An anarchist who wrote for the Havana paper first from England and later from France, he was responsible for a time for the sections “Desde Inglaterra” (From England) and “Cosas de España” (Spanish Happenings). Following the first few installments these were joined together and renamed “Things of the World” (the title was in English, apparently a reflection of its point of origin), with the correspondent tackling a variety of themes. After 1909 this became a regular section that was open to other correspondents. With a focus centered on the proletarian community, García fairly regularly sent to Havana the series titled “Workers’ Struggle,” and between 1908 and 1912 he also sent “Letters from London” and “Letters from Europe”; in 1914 this anarchist, originally from Burgos, was also the one in charge of keeping the Cuban working community up to date on the world war. All his chronicles tended to appear on page 2 of *¡Tierra!* García became well known among the worker community of the Atlantic world for these collaborations sent from Dowlais, in the south of Wales. In fact he is a perfect example of the collaborator profile in the anarchist press.<sup>26</sup> But García was much more than a correspondent for *¡Tierra!* Through him the weekly paper received money originating with the sale of the paper throughout the European anarchist community, principally that of Britain, as well as the donations that he himself coordinated from this Welsh locale.

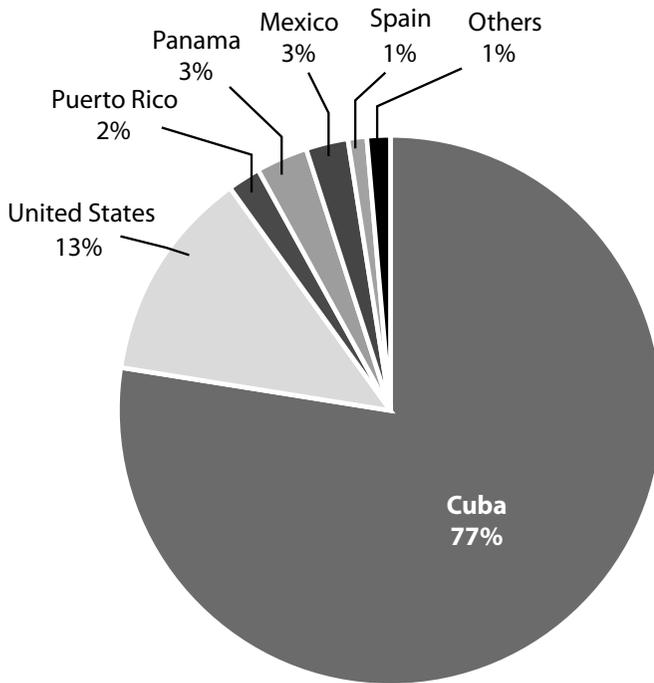
While García is an excellent example of the correspondent-subscriber-distributor, he is not the only one. Indeed, this type of figure was common in the provinces of Cuba as well as in foreign lands. The editors, writers, and collaborators of *¡Tierra!* were, then, “intellectual workers” converted into transmitters of a particular ideology and practices. Among other roles assumed by these “part-time reporters” was that of selecting what to send, and in this sense they functioned as catalysts of a collective way of thinking: an-

anarchist thought. The selections they made, like the news they disseminated or wrote, were subjected to their value judgments, their prejudices, and their particular ideological representations. They were conscious, as well, of their power of persuasion and of the necessity to reach as many readers as possible in order to attain their principal objective, which was the diffusion of anarchist thought. These were transmitters of an ideology of action, of a way of thinking whose main thrust was about practical acts. And stimulating the impulse toward practical activities was precisely another of the missions of *¡Tierra!* If the fact that its promoters were workers explains the orientation of the newspaper and its involvement in workers' issues, the significant presence of Spaniards among those collaborators helps to explain the type of projects they sought to implement.

### **Subscriptions and Distribution inside and outside Cuba**

The expansion in the circulation of *¡Tierra!* beyond Havana to the rest of Cuba, related to the intense activities undertaken by its prime movers, is revealed in its sales and subscription data. In its first months it was sold only in the Havana bookshops La Pluma de Oro, La Única, and La Bohemia and could also be purchased directly from Domingo Mir Durich and José Guardiola. Only two years later it was sent to distant points in the island and distributed in all the provinces.<sup>27</sup> A single issue was sold for three cents, while a fifty-issue package cost fifty cents, making subscription the largest method of sale. Subscriptions partially explain the projection outside the capital, as well as outside the island itself. In 1904 subscriptions had also been taken out in Barcelona, Jerez de la Frontera, and La Línea (Spain); in Dowlais (Wales); Veracruz and Mérida (Mexico); as well as some locales in the United States, from Tampa, Key West, and St. Augustine in Florida to Brooklyn, New York; Paterson, New Jersey; and San Francisco. In 1908 *¡Tierra!* started to be sold in New York, at the Italian Bookshop of B. Spano on Oath Street; the following year it could be bought at the Librería Española on Vallejo Street in San Francisco and from the “Agencia de Publicaciones de Valdespi” in Ibor City, Tampa.

An overview of subscriptions and distribution inside and outside the island (see figure 6.1) gives us an idea of the rather dynamic network established by anarchists around three corners of the Atlantic world, one made possible no doubt by the mobility characteristic of anarchists and especially those with links to Spain. It is no coincidence that those involved were political émigrés immersed in the general migratory currents established between Europe and the Americas starting in the late nineteenth century. State re-



**Figure 6.1** Financing and distribution of *¡Tierra!* Source: Author’s collation of data from available issues of *¡Tierra!* Others include the United Kingdom, Canada, Peru, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina.

pression against the most radical sectors of labor—among them, obviously, anarchists—or the search for work were two of the most common reasons behind this mobility, though in the specific case of the anarchists we should not forget those who emigrated to plant the “libertarian” seed in other places. Indeed, the independence of Cuba—the new era that began for the island’s workers at that point—would compel many anarchists to establish themselves in the island.<sup>28</sup> The advance in communications starting in the second half of the nineteenth century offered them the technical support they needed.

There are multiple examples of this dynamic and of anarchist movements among the foreign subscribers and distributors of *¡Tierra!*—for example, the Spaniard Francisco Ros Planas, mentioned above as having participated in the Apprentices’ Strike of 1902 and having spent time in jail. After getting out of jail in June 1903 he emigrated to Mexico, where he set up in Mérida. Also following jail time for political activities, the Cuban tobacco worker Marcelo Salinas left Havana in 1912 for Ibor City, Tampa, a place where Cuban and

Spanish tobacco workers had settled in the late nineteenth century. Part of the money collected in Ibor City for subscriptions to *¡Tierra!* arrived in Havana via Salinas. For their part, migrants who worked on the Panama Canal explain the connections and subscriptions to *¡Tierra!* in Panama. Shaffer explores nicely how the Havana paper filled the void in anarchist publications in the Canal zone, something that also happened in Puerto Rico, where we find an immigrant community of tobacco workers.<sup>29</sup> The figures on sales of *¡Tierra!* in the United States can be largely explained by the same reasons.

In some cases the subscribers were passionate readers and collectors of the anarchist press, like the German Max Nettleau, who wrote to the paper's offices in Havana to ask for the issues he was missing, or the Spaniard José Sánchez Rosa, who registered among the most faithful subscribers of *¡Tierra!* in the southern Spanish city of Seville. A self-taught teacher, Sánchez Rosa was a perfect incarnation of the anarchist of humble origins converted by his relationship with the anarchist press and its content into an "organic intellectual" of anarchism in the Gramscian sense of the term.<sup>30</sup> Family connections explain the money that arrived occasionally from Brazil, where Nicolás Villamisar lived, brother of the Spanish anarchist Francisco Villamisar, who had resided in Havana since the 1890s.

In many instances the newspaper's relations were woven through support for the great workers' causes. Most notable were the connections with exiled members of the Mexican Liberal Party in the context of the Mexican Revolution. Collections arrived from California sent by Pilar A. Robledo, the pseudonym of the Mexican anarchist and book dealer Rómulo S. Carmona. In 1912 and 1913 Carmona participated in distinct activities with the Colombian Juan Francisco Moncaleano, mentioned above as one of the writing team of the Havana weekly, who had gone from Cuba to Mexico in 1912, though soon after found himself deported to Spain due to his anarchist links. Following a brief stay in the Spanish peninsula, Moncaleano emigrated to Los Angeles, where he played a leading role in the Mexican and anarchist struggle. Carmona and Moncaleano were members of the junta formed to demand the release of the Flores Magón brothers, Ricardo and Enrique, and of Librado Rivera and Anselmo L. Figueroa, imprisoned in the United States on McNeil's Island. María Broussé, the partner of Ricardo Flores Magón, also collaborated by sending money to the Havana offices of the paper. Notable in this regard was the collection taken in the Los Angeles Federal Court during the trial of members of the PLM in June 1912. In many cases, *¡Tierra!* subscribers were members of anarchist groups, and the groups were used as a platform for distributing the paper.<sup>31</sup> The role played by the groups in

solidarity with the paper is especially visible in the Panamanian case and explains the 3 percent share of money gathered there registered in figure 6.1.<sup>32</sup>

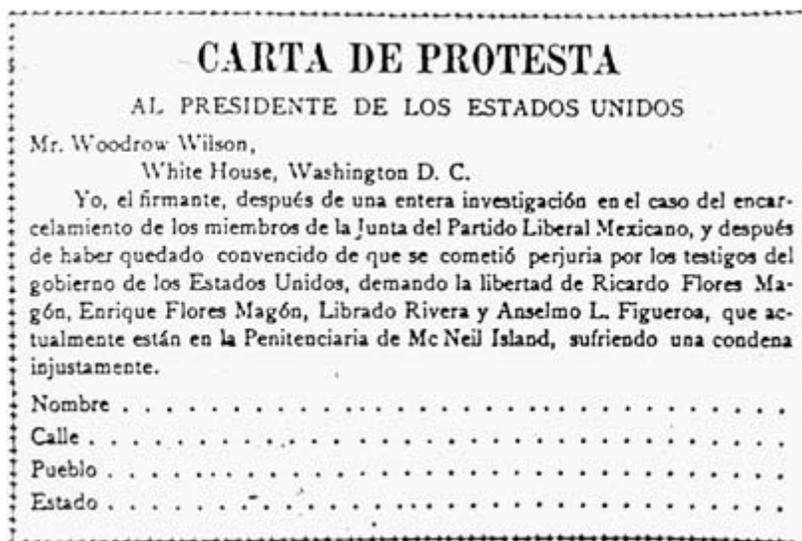
The reception of *¡Tierra!* in international anarchist circles can also be observed in the relations established with other like publications, links that in many cases explain the subscriptions and the money sent to the offices in Havana. The money from Spain generally arrived through the anarchist paper, *Tierra y Libertad*; also *La Protesta* of Buenos Aires was responsible for some of the money received from Argentina, just as the money from Costa Rica came via the periodical *Renovación* and from its administrator, Ricardo Falcó Mayor. Likewise, as we have seen, members of the editorial team of the Mexican anarchist paper *Regeneración* account for some of the remittances coming from California between 1912 and 1914.<sup>33</sup> On more than a few occasions these exchanges included a back-and-forth dimension: through *¡Tierra!* remittances to other countries were sent and other foreign publications were sold in Cuba. Already in 1903 the Havana paper announced that it was selling *Tierra y Libertad*, at the time edited in Madrid; *La Revista Blanca*, also published in the Spanish capital; and the Barcelona periodical *Natura*. The following year the repertoire of foreign publications offered for sale had expanded to include Madrid's *El Rebelde*, Barcelona's *El Productor* and *El Boletín de la Escuela Moderna*, and *La Protesta* and *Vida Nueva* from Buenos Aires. These relations continued to grow, and by 1912 a network had been consolidated connecting the newspaper administration in Havana with those papers with which *¡Tierra!* maintained an open account. This involved, as well, acting as an intermediary for the foreign publications in terms of receiving and sending money collected for subscriptions and for different causes. Among the anarchist papers with which *¡Tierra!* maintained open accounts were *Tierra y Libertad* from Barcelona, *Cultura Obrera* from New York, *Regeneración* from Mexico (though published in California), and Costa Rica's *Renovación*, and after 1913 *La Protesta* from Buenos Aires, *Acción Libertaria* from Madrid, and *El Obrero Industrial* from Tampa.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, to continue underlining the reasons that explain the success of the Havana weekly in reaching workers inside and outside the island, and still related to the monetary question, were the solidarity campaigns. Beyond receiving money to keep itself going, *¡Tierra!* relentlessly collected funds to support innumerable struggles that the international anarchist community waged in distinct moments, both inside and outside Cuba. The solidarity funds collected in 1902 “on behalf of those dead, wounded, or imprisoned during the general strike”—the Apprentices’ Strike—was one such major cause. The fund-raising campaigns most commonly found in the pages of the

newspaper were those in support of people “imprisoned for social questions” and on occasion included the fees of the lawyers contracted for those detained, without whom the workers would not have been able to defend themselves. For example, thanks to appeals in the pages of the newspaper, funds were collected in 1908 to send to a lawyer in Camagüey who had taken on the defense of the four workers imprisoned after the Jagüeyal strike—jailed for demanding the seven months’ pay the sugar mill supposedly owed the workers. Other appeals for donations were made to help comrades or their families in difficult situations, as in the case of the Spaniards Abelardo Saavedra and Francisco González Sola, who had been expelled from the island in 1912, or in the same year the family of Moncaleano after he emigrated. Fundraising was also done to maintain anarchist schools or propaganda excursions around the island, two issues I return to below.

With respect to the campaigns to support international causes, again the most notable were those to help anarchists detained for social struggles—among the most popular were in support of those imprisoned in Alcalá del Valle, Spain, in 1904. Also worth mentioning was the intense support work carried out by *¡Tierra!* in favor of “the Mexican revolutionaries” thanks to a fund-raising campaign that ran from 1912 to 1914, which finished up with another one specifically on behalf of the PLM members who were in prison. In support of the Mexican anarchists, the Havana team published a protest coupon that was also printed by other anarchist publications of the Atlantic world in 1912 (see figure 6.2).

The reflection of this extensive and consolidated network of distribution and subscription can be seen in the slow growth of the weekly’s print run. In 1904 it had already reached 2,000 copies, by the end of 1906 it was 2,500, and in 1912 it surpassed 4,000. In 1913 the run topped 6,000 copies at one point, though the normal print run was about 5,500. Due to funding problems, the final months in the life of *¡Tierra!* saw the print run drop to three thousand copies. The deficit dragging it down combined with the drop in subscriptions meant that by the week of December 10, 1914, the paper ceased to come out due to lack of funds. Overall, these print runs were surprisingly large, especially if compared to anarchist periodicals in other countries with a much larger working-class population than that of Cuba. For example, according to Spanish author Ramiro de Maeztu, at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, the anarchist papers in Spain reached print runs of twelve thousand copies and sold at the very least four thousand copies an issue.<sup>35</sup> In Argentina, another country that had a considerably greater population than Cuba, the anarchist paper of greatest distribution at



**Figure 6.2** Letter of protest to the president of the United States from a 1912 issue of *¡Tierra!*

the beginning of the twentieth century, *La Protesta*, had a print run of between eight thousand and twelve thousand copies, and the rest of like publications oscillated between two thousand and three thousand copies sold.<sup>36</sup> But the *¡Tierra!* numbers are even more surprising if we take into account that, as the historian Lily Litvak has noted, the sales of this type of periodical press were significantly lowered by the fact that the same issue of the paper passed through various hands and might also be read in the workers centers or in the social studies centers (Centros de Estudios Sociales).<sup>37</sup>

**Organization—Diffusion—Inspiration: Following the Spanish Model**

The first U.S. intervention saw the reorganization of groups and periodicals that had been dismantled during the independence war. No organ was able to consolidate itself to the point that it was powerful enough to promote the growth of anarchism throughout the island, despite the efforts made in this regard by Adrián del Valle through his paper, *Nuevo Ideal*. Starting in 1902 *¡Tierra!* did play this role. In order to do so, its members followed a strategy defined in three steps: organization, spread, and practical education of workers and their families. The organizational model pushed by *¡Tierra!* was intended to overcome the existing divisions at the heart of the island's working-class community and to direct their energies according to common objectives and tending to resolve problems in the short or medium term.

Unlike the guilds and associations defined by trade, typical of the nineteenth century, whose actions in the public sphere only represented affiliated workers, the writing team of the Havana weekly advocated the organization of small groups that were intended to overcome the guild framework and congregate workers independently of their trade; they also sought to include their families, which provided a way into the project for women and children. The model involved small action-oriented cells, not to exceed fifteen members, that were without rules governing their functions. They generally met in different places to prepare tactics for direct action or to choose projects that would serve to direct the propaganda or revolutionary orientation of the workers. These groups had an anarcho-communist base in terms of organizational and economic orientation, though they totally disassociated themselves from the use of violent methods. The ultimate objective was to form a Federation of Anarchist Groups in which each group would maintain its independence—including its capacity to abandon the federation—and would be in charge of coordinating the actions of all its members. This organizational structure echoed what were known in Spain in the last three decades of the nineteenth century as anarchist groups of affinity, *tertulias*, or cells, with which the ideology's pioneers coordinated organization and propaganda in the early days of this current of thought in the peninsula.<sup>38</sup> Their transfer to Cuba can be explained by the presence of Spanish anarchists and also because in the recently emancipated island “the group” showed itself to be the best option to overcome the disarticulation of anarchism during the war of independence.

To ensure support, the editorial team spread an “open” discourse in keeping with the spirit of the paper itself, making clear that among its groups, and so in its centers, every worker and his or her family was welcome independently of skin color, gender, nationality, or political status. *¡Tierra!* put it this way: “In our houses the stupid hatred for color or nationality disappears, substituted by love and fraternity, the bases of a new and close form of social organization resulting from our complete emancipation.”<sup>39</sup> The group, and with it the anarchist center, were born in Cuba with an integrating and globalizing intent: they welcomed all workers and extended to all spheres of daily life. “The groups could advantageously supplant mutual aid societies, information agencies or those for placing workers, and even the meeting places, availing themselves of locales where they might pleasantly read, discuss, and even entertain themselves.”<sup>40</sup>

During the years when the paper was in print, anarchists organized more than eighty groups dispersed across the island of Cuba, though with greater

density in Havana and in Oriente, areas where workers was most numerous.<sup>41</sup> All of their memberships included at least Spanish anarchists together with Cuban-born workers, and in some there were also workers of other nationalities. The so-called Direct Action group, for example, organized in 1912 in Manzanillo, Oriente, was made up of French, Portuguese, and Italian anarchists—notable in that European immigration to Cuba at this time was not numerous except for those from Spain. The growth in the number of groups, according to information published in *¡Tierra!*, was especially visible after 1907, coinciding with the end of the first propaganda excursion carried out in almost the entire island (discussed below). So, while between 1902 and 1907 a total of thirteen groups formed around the island, between 1908 and 1914 a further fifty-five were organized—a growth that was also no doubt the result of the expansion of the paper's presence outside Havana.

The 1908 change in the *¡Tierra!* editorial team led, on the one hand, to an intensification in the back-and-forth relations with Spain (because the new team was made up in its majority by peninsulars), and on the other hand to a clearer intent on exercising the role of mediator of Cuba's anarchist community. The paper itself announced the change: "In its new epoch, *¡Tierra!* will be the organ of Cuba's anarchist groups (*grupos libertarios*) and will be in constant communication with them on issues relating to our ideal, as well as on initiatives that come of either the '24th of November' editorial team or any other group; they will not be implemented without consulting the other groups. . . . This will be a principle of the anarchist federation in Cuba according to the basic points approved in the 1907 Amsterdam Congress."<sup>42</sup>

From this point on, *¡Tierra!* would maintain a more direct relationship with the international anarchist community, one that entailed among other things following the doctrinal mandates established in international congresses and meetings. Indeed, starting in 1912 the proposition on organizing promoted in its pages veered toward anarcho-syndicalism, the model prevalent in the Atlantic world and also in Spain. During the first years of the twentieth century, syndicalism—an outgrowth of the French Labor Exchange (*Bourse de Travail*) created at the end of the nineteenth century—became influential among European and American anarchists due to the influence exercised by the French General Workers Confederation (*Confédération Général du Travail—CGT*). This integration of anarchists into the labor movement, which connected with the Proudhonist roots of anarchism, became visible in Europe and the United States following the adoption of these principles in the 1906 Charter of Amiens (*Carta de Amiens*) (1906) and the Amsterdam congress (1907). The U.S.-based Industrial Workers of the

World, organized in Chicago in 1905, and the Argentine Regional Workers Federation (Federación Obrera Regional Argentina), born in 1915, are examples of this influence in the Americas. Anarcho-syndicalism also became dominant among Spanish anarchists following the creation of the National Workers Confederation (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) in 1910 that adopted the organizing principles of the French CGT and of Workers Solidarity (Solidaridad Obrera), founded in Barcelona four years earlier.

These principles were widely spread in Cuba through the pages of *¡Tierra!* due above all to the articles by the Spaniard Pedro Irazoqui, who from 1912 on figured as one of its principal campaigners. For the first time in Cuba words like *revolutionary syndicalism* and *sabotage* became widespread through the efforts of the *¡Tierra!* anarchists. Also starting in 1912, other groups were organized to promote anarcho-syndicalism: La Alarma was founded in Havana in 1913 with the main objective “to propagate syndicalism through all means at our disposal.”<sup>43</sup> In the same way, the use of peaceful methods of struggle became widespread—the boycott, the general strike, among others—which held sway at the time among workers throughout the Atlantic world, while the organization of industrial unions was being recommended. This reorientation in organizational typology was also related to the growth in the Cuban community of workers which was especially visible during the second decade of the republic. Many unions were born during this period, and between 1917 and 1920 above all. The final stage in this movement was the organization in 1921 of the Havana Workers Federation (Federación Obrera de La Habana) and, four years later, the National Workers Central of Cuba (Central Nacional Obrera de Cuba). *¡Tierra!* then laid the bases for the organization of the island’s workers in the years following the paper’s disappearance.

One of the most important practices in the formation of new groups, or cells, was the “propaganda excursion.” The first one, organized at the end of 1906 by the members of *¡Tierra!*’s writing team, was carried out between April and August of the following year. It took in almost the entire island, with the exception of Pinar del Río, and had as its main goal extending anarchist ideology and organizing groups of *ácratas* throughout the country.<sup>44</sup> To direct the initiative and the excursion, three leaders were chosen, two of them Cubans—Manuel Martínez Abello and Juan Aller—who were also members of the *¡Tierra!* editorial team. The third organizer chosen, Abelardo Saavedra, came after an appeal to Spain for collaboration. Saavedra was from Cádiz, in the south of Spain, who since 1904 was part of Madrid’s “4 de mayo” group, at the time in charge of publishing the anarchist paper *Tierra y Libertad*. Saavedra was a very well known anarchist in the Spanish community, in part

due to his participation in this type of excursion activity in the peninsula. He was also a friend with other important peninsular leaders, among them Fermín Salvochea, Pedro Vallina, Francisco González Sola, and José Sánchez Rosa, all Andalusians like Saavedra and recognized anarchist speakers and propagandists with experience in all types of locations. Saavedra arrived in Havana in April 1907, only days before the beginning of the excursion.

On top of the participation of Saavedra, the link between Spain and the excursion is also demonstrated by the type of activity proposed. The so-called sociological excursions or propaganda excursions were long-distance sojourns with an itinerary fixed beforehand. Anarchists in the Spanish peninsula had organized such excursions ever since the ideology began to be known there in the 1870s. They were precisely designed as one of the most important methods of ideological expansion. From that point on, the “Apostles of the Ideal” were a common sight, traversing the peninsula with books, pamphlets, and papers as their only baggage. These apostles were most famous in Andalucía. Indeed an excursion of this type was organized in Spain in 1904 as an initiative of *Tierra y Libertad*, and it toured the entire country.<sup>45</sup>

In the Cuban case, the fact that in the final years of the nineteenth century anarchism was only present in and around Havana explains the absence of this type of practice prior to independence. The first that has left any evidence is the one that brought Saavedra to Cuba, but from that point on these outings became common as an indispensable complement to the rest of the proselytizing and propaganda activities and counted on the economic and propagandistic support of *¡Tierra!* Their impact should be measured in relation to the number of new anarchist groups and with expansion in the distribution of the paper itself around the entire island.<sup>46</sup> Again, Carlos Loveira, recalling the 1911 railway workers strike in Sagua la Grande where he had been a leader, provides insight on these activities and concretely on the role played by the *¡Tierra!* collaborators: “The train that came from Cienfuegos to Sagua la Grande every afternoon, and that joined up in Santo Domingo with the one coming from Havana, brought us a group of high-level worker tribunes, among whom the anarchists stood out for their well-deserved fame. They were manual workers who were expert in the art of perfect public speaking and the envy of many political big shots and not a few grand pooh-bahs [*parlaembaldes*] from the lodges and casinos: Abelardo Saavedra and Francisco Sola.”

From that point on, Saavedra became one of the best known anarchists among Cuban workers, precisely due to his involvement in practical experi-

ences and strike actions—activities that would eventually lead to his expulsion from the island. His fame was already manifest in Loveira’s 1917 work: “The meeting heard the most experienced public speakers. The high note was the speech of Saavedra, about whom I can say, in addition to the praise already penned, that he is the prototype of the worker-orator in terms of his use of a workers’ language with simple phrases and concepts and just the right note of sincerity to move and convince the people. An Andalusian of the kind who doesn’t need to belabor a joke, Saavedra’s oratorical productions contain jokes [*retruécanos*], and anecdotes full of fun and originality come out spontaneously.”<sup>47</sup>

Saavedra, then, was the prototypical incarnation of the activist anarchist involved in all types of practical experiments implemented to spread “the Ideal” in Cuba. One of the most important of these experiments took place in the realm of education. The third step in the strategy promoted by those who made up the Havana newspaper circle had to do with activities related to the education of workers and their families, something that anarchists around the Atlantic world considered essential. Spreading the ideology and educating the masses for the future social revolution were two complementary necessities.<sup>48</sup> In principle, in the middle of the organizational vortex initiated after independence, anarchists used the pages of *¡Tierra!* to spread a discourse that was specifically directed in two ways: first against the education provided by the government, since it did not translate, in their eyes, into an increase in the schooling of working-class children, and second toward awakening the consciousness of those workers who did not take care to educate their families or themselves. The other face of this discourse centered on promoting an educational model that was their own and appropriate to the anarchist sensibility. The pedagogical renovation that took place among anarchists also had its inspiration in the so-called rationalist schools or modern schools organized by anarchists in Spain. In Barcelona, the Catalan pedagogue Francisco Ferrer i Guardia had organized the first modern school in 1901, and it spread in short order beyond the borders of Catalonia to other Spanish provinces. In 1908 the International League for the Rational Education of Children (Liga Internacional para la Educación Racional de la Infancia, or LIERI) was founded in Paris by Ferrer i Guardia and would become a fundamental player in the expansion of these centers beyond the borders of Spain. With a clear internationalist orientation, the school model intended to “introduce into the teaching of children in all countries a practical idea of science, freedom, and solidarity.”<sup>49</sup>

Again *¡Tierra!* played a decisive role in the spread of this model in Cuba,

as did the larger context of Spanish immigration to the island. Starting in 1906, the anarchist paper became one of the principal backers of rationalist ideas, as well as a center for the promotion and financing of “modern schools.” In the same year other Spanish anarchists arrived in Cuba and took charge of the effort to give life to the rationalist movement. One of the first was Francisco González Sola, the Granadan comrade of Saavedra who had achieved fame in Spain for his antimilitarist speeches for which he had to go underground and leave the country. A fund-raising drive started the year before by workers in the Cuban community of Regla, just outside Havana, and publicized in *¡Tierra!* helped to pay the costs of his travel.<sup>50</sup> Saavedra himself played an essential role in the rationalist propaganda effort in Cuba, carrying on a job he had already begun in Spain, having participated in the founding of secular schools in Andalucía and, in 1905–6, collaborating with Ferrer in Barcelona.

In this first stage of spreading propaganda and rationalism in Cuba, the Center for Social Studies (Centro de Estudios Sociales), organized in Regla, was key. Saavedra belonged to it, as did the Canary Islander Roberto Carballo, helping the center play a decisive role in the development of these modern schools. The Cuban Section of LIERI was founded in Regla in 1908, and the Valencian Miguel Martínez was elected to represent Cuba in the international body. From that point on, the Committee of Directors of the Cuban section of the LIERI was made up of Cuban and Spanish anarchists.<sup>51</sup> Martínez had just arrived in the island in 1908, charged by Ferrer i Guardia himself with setting up the first rationalist school in Cuba, which was built precisely in the Regla Center at the end of that year. The Valencian had also been a close collaborator of the Catalan pedagogue in Spain and a teacher in a Barcelona modern school, as well as in others that were organized in Valencia.<sup>52</sup>

According to information published in *¡Tierra!* the years between 1909 and 1913 were those of greatest expansion of rationalism in Cuba, especially once Ferrer’s trial and execution in late 1909 became known.<sup>53</sup> Anarchists organized some propaganda excursions, led mainly by Saavedra and González Sola and promoted by *¡Tierra!* At the same time some groups were created that had this as their specific objective: the Educación del Porvenir (Educating the Future) group, for example, founded in Regla in 1908, Cienfuego’s 13 de Octubre, founded in 1909, Sagua la Grande’s Sociedad Racionalista (1910), and Havana’s Agrupación racionalista Ferrer (beginning of 1912). New modern schools were set up throughout the island. Beyond Havana, where there were numerous such schools, others could be found in Manzanillo, Cruces,

Matanzas, Sagua la Grande, Pinar del Río, and Cienfuegos. Cuban and Spanish anarchists were among the teachers, and in the one founded in the Havana barrio of Jesús María, the Colombian couple Juan Francisco and Blanca Moncaleano were especially well known.<sup>54</sup> *¡Tierra!* kept fund-raising efforts open to guarantee the maintenance of these centers and insisted that everyone participate to keep them going. The paper also supported the travel costs of Moncaleano when he embarked in 1912 to revolutionary Mexico on a mission to found modern schools there. Despite the efforts to sustain these schools, not one of them survived past 1913. Financial difficulties explain the majority of closures, although they are also partly explained by the expulsion from the island of their main backers, among them Saavedra and Sola,<sup>55</sup> and the departure of Moncaleano. One final external factor, just as significant, was the renewed effort by the Cuban government to bring to life a public and secular schools system, whose relative success must have drained followers of the anarchist project among the popular sectors.<sup>56</sup>

The sales figures of *¡Tierra!* are surprising, as is the duration of its publication, given that one of the very characteristics of the worker press—and the anarchist press in particular—was its difficulty in sustaining itself. Indeed, the rest of Cuba's anarchist periodicals created in the same era had an ephemeral life. The closest in longevity was *La Voz del Dependiente* and its successor, *El Dependiente*, which lasted from 1907 to 1917. Though these papers, too, had an anarcho-syndicalist orientation, it was closer to the model of the worker press based on a particular trade and focused on narrowly worker issues (both were mouthpieces of the Society of Cooks, Clerks, and Workers of the Cafes, Eateries, Restaurants, and Hotels of the Island—the Sociedad de Cocineros, Dependientes de Cafés, Fondas, Restaurantes, Hoteles y Obreros de la isla) and included announcements and advertisements as its principal form of financing.

By contrast, *¡Tierra!* devoted itself to giving voice and representation to that larger Cuban working-class community, one that came to be made up of immigrants. It takes us to questions of identity and political community of wider horizons—that is, of the Cuban workers movement in general during the first years of the republic and of the relations of the workers of the island beyond their immediate environment to an expansive and plastic transnational network. We might see that dynamic network, itself in large measure brought to life as part of a strong Spanish anarchist presence around the Atlantic world, as overlapping with another one predominantly linking

many areas around the island of Cuba to Spain. The dynamism is no doubt related also to the mobility characteristic of the anarchist of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—a type of political immigration that connected the two sides of the Atlantic world. It is also one with a particularly Spanish caste, and it forces us to consider how, far from any lineal “Cubanization” of the workers movement following independence, or discrete emergence of a U.S.-Caribbean anarchist network that reflected the rise of a primordial sphere of U.S. imperial hegemony, Cuban working-class politics experienced an important period of pronounced “Spanification” following independence from Spain, one that intensified after 1908.

*¡Tierra!* not only transcended Cuba’s borders in a way made especially visible in the paper’s transnational relations. It also transcended the borders of anarchism. On more than a few occasions and despite deep ideological divisions, the paper fomented collaboration with other leftist tendencies, especially socialist ones, in favor of the working-class community and beyond to the popular sectors of the island. By spreading an integrationist and open spirit, the paper tried to attract the popular sectors independently of their social or political condition, offering them a project that transcended the frontiers of labor questions and broached all manifestations of everyday life. It is also worth stressing the fact that, in this case, anarchists emphasized the forging of groups of affinity and of educational centers over other types of organizing traditions and focused on families, including women and children, in contrast to the typical organizations based on occupation or guild traditions that were still known in Cuba and that were oriented more narrowly toward the defense of a guild membership who were generally male.

## Notes

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1. Loveira, *De los 26 a los 35*, 78.

2. On this historiographical vision, and on studies of anarchism in Cuba in general, see Sánchez Cobos, *Sembrando ideales*, 36–44.

3. So, for example, Cabrera, *Los que viven por sus manos*, 59–80, is one of the first authors who uses the anarchist newspaper to outline changes in the Cuban workers movement, at the same time offering a first take on the history of *¡Tierra!* Shaffer uses the anarchist weekly along with other publications in *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba*. *¡Tierra!* has also been a fundamental object of

study for my *Sembrando ideales*, 189–213. Especially critical of the paper’s ideological thrust is José Rivero Muñiz, *El movimiento obrero durante la primera intervención*, 119, which refers to *¡Tierra!* as an “insignificant rag” (*periodicucho*).

4. Fernández, *El anarquismo en Cuba*; Shaffer, *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba*; and Sánchez Cobos, *Sembrando ideales*.

5. Shaffer, “Havana Hub.” In this sense the work on Italian anarchists in the United States stands out. See Turcato, “Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement, 1885–1915” and “European Anarchism in the 1890s”; and Top, “The Transnationalism of the Italian-American Left.”

6. While the term *libertarian* is now (in the United States especially) generally equated with right-wing distrust of government, in the early twentieth century it was often used to describe those on the left as well, especially anarchists who were against any alienation of significant public power to states or governments.

7. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* and *Under Three Flags*. E. P. Thompson also underlines the role played by socialist and anarchist newspapers in the creation of an imagined community among workers in *The Making of the English Working Class*.

8. The composition of the writing team can be found in “Insinuaciones estúpidas!” in *¡Tierra!*, September 27, 1902.

9. Sánchez Cobos, *Sembrando ideales*, 148–67.

10. “A los compañeros,” *¡Tierra!*, suplemento al no. 277, August 20, 1908.

11. “Informe confidencial de la Policía Secreta de La Habana sobre las personas que componen la redacción del semanario anarquista *¡Tierra!*,” Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid, Fondo Política Interior, Serie Orden Público, leg. H 2753, 1911–19.

12. On this stage see the excellent work of Casanovas, *¡O pan o plomo!*

13. Rivero Muñiz, “Los orígenes de la prensa obrera en Cuba,” 76.

14. Casanovas, “La prensa obrera y la evolución ideológico-táctica del obrerismo cubano del siglo XIX.”

15. Also some socialist leaders such as Vicente Tejera and Carlos Baliño tried to organize a Cuban socialist party during the first U.S. intervention and again in the early years of the republic, though neither found sufficient acceptance among workers to drive their parliamentary program, in part because they competed with the new nationalist project that demanded the participation of all Cubans in support of the new nation instead of promoting a union of workers against capital.

16. On the way policies of whitening converged with national ideals, see Naranjo, “En busca de lo nacional.” An excellent study that explains the connections between the need for more labor for the sugar economy and racist concepts is Balboa, *Los brazos necesarios*.

17. The figures are from Maluquer de Motes, “La inmigración española en Cuba.” The remaining immigrants were Haitians (15 percent), Jamaicans (9 percent), and Europeans (15 percent).

18. “A nuestros simpatizantes,” *¡Tierra!*, May 28, 1904.

19. “A los trabajadores de la isla de Cuba,” *¡Tierra!*, July 5, 1902.

20. The article, Martínez Abello, “Trabajadores a la huelga general,” is from *¡Tierra!*, November 22, 1902. The details of his imprisonment are “Martínez Abello,” *¡Tierra!*, February 28, 1903. On this conflict, see Rivero Muñiz, “La Primera Huelga General Obrera en Cuba Republicana.” On the development of strikes in the first years of the republic, see Sánchez Cobos, *Sembrando ideales*, 243–52.

21. For reasons of space, the role of women in anarchist organizations cannot be developed here. A nice study of the subject is Shaffer, “The Radical Muse.”

22. A good example of the relation between news and money, for the concrete case of the Caribbean, is Shaffer, *Havana Hub*.

23. Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas*, 179.

24. “Notas y comentarios,” *¡Tierra!*, December 13, 1902.

25. Shaffer, “Havana Hub.”

26. More information on the life and work of this Spanish anarchist is “Vicente García ha muerto,” *La Revista Blanca*, Barcelona, November 15, 1930, 285–86.

27. So, for example, already in 1904 *¡Tierra!* was available in all Cuban provinces: in the towns of Alquízar, San Antonio de los Baños, Güira de Melena, Batabanó, Vereda Nueva, Regla, Guanabacoa, and Artemisa, in Havana province; in the towns of Pinar del Río, Paso Real de Guane, Candelaria, and Babineyes in Pinar del Río; in the towns of Cruces, Colón, Matanzas, Cárdenas, Santa Isabel de las Lajas, and Rodas in Matanzas; in Camajuani, Cienfuegos, Placetas, Esperanza, Santa Clara, Amarillas, Sancti Spíritus, Manacas, Santo Domingo, and La Quinta, in the province of Las Villas; in Puerto Príncipe and Veracruz, in Camagüey province; and in Holguín, Santiago de Cuba, and Villa del Cobre, in Oriente.

28. On this point, see Sánchez, “La última frontera.”

29. Shaffer, “Havana Hub.”

30. See Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Books*, 131–61.

31. An example is the list of subscribers in Texas published in 1913:

Fernando Martínez, for the Grupo Suárez y Lerdo, of Gatesville

María L. Quesada, for the Grupo Bandera Roja, of Wasahachie

Teodoro Velázquez, for Tierra y Libertad, of Guda

Luisa G. Gato, for the Grupo Juvenil de Señoras y Señoritas Suárez y Lerdo, of Lorma

Anastasio Galindo for the grupo de Familia Hacheros del trabajo, of Clipton

Antonio N. Partida, for Tierra y Libertad, of Kyle

32. The subscribers of this zone were Grupo Germinal, of Río Grande; Los Sin Nombre, of Gorgona; Los Nada, of Pedro Miguel; Los Libertarios, of Miraflores; Los Egoístas and El Centro Obrero, of Gatún; Solidaridad, of Toro Point; and Germinal, of Culebra.

33. The aforementioned were the papers with which *¡Tierra!* maintained a constant relationship during its more than twelve-year existence. Nevertheless, it maintained less regular exchanges with other anarchist publications in the Atlantic world, for example, the following made in 1902 with *Amigo do Povo* of São Paulo, Brazil; *Heraldo de Paris*; *La Rivoluzione Sociale* of London; *El Rebelde* and *L'Avenir* of Buenos Aires; *El Corsario* of Valencia; *El Proletario* of Cádiz; *El Federal* of Tampa; *Unión y Trabajo* of Puerto Rico;

*El Libre Concurso* of Mahón; *El Obrero* of Cárdenas; and *Memorandum Tipográfico* and *El Alerta* of Havana. In a short time this network extended to include *El Proletario* of Córdoba, Argentina; *La Unión Obrera* of Mayagüez, Puerto Rico; *El Internacional* of Tampa; *El Despertar*, *Germinal*, and *La Question Sociale*, of Paterson, New Jersey; *Les Temps Nouveaux* and *Le Libéraire* of Paris; and *Rebelión*, *El Porvenir del Obrero*, and *El Proletario*, among other publications from Spain.

34. "Aviso," *¡Tierra!*, July 25, 1913.

35. Tavera, "Revolucionarios, publicistas y bohemios," 377.

36. Suriano, *Anarquistas*.

37. Litvak, "La prensa anarquista."

38. The term *grupos de afinidad* was retrieved in the 1960s. In the broadest sense of the term, it denotes a small group of activists, not exceeding thirty, who are devoted to the defense of a common ideology and who work together in direct action. These became popular in the U.S. antinuclear movement and appeared in the pacifist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Currently it has become generalized among diverse types of activism: animal rights, environmentalists, anti-war or anti-militarist, and in the anti-globalization movement, to give a few examples. On the organization of the first anarchist groups in Spain, see Lida, *Anarquismo y revolución en la España del XIX*. On the concept and significance of *grupos de afinidad*, see Tavera y Ucelay, "Grupos de afinidad, disciplina bélica y periodismo libertario, 1936–1938."

39. "Centro de estudios sociales," *¡Tierra!*, August 15, 1903.

40. "Los grupos anarquistas," *¡Tierra!*, July 11, 1903.

41. For detailed information on the anarchist groups in Cuba in the first decade of the republic, see Sánchez Cobos, *Sembrando ideales*, 170–82.

42. "A los grupos," *¡Tierra!*, October 24, 1908.

43. "Nuevo grupo," *¡Tierra!*, January 11, 1913.

44. The term *ácrata* (as *democrat* is one for people's government, so *acrat* is one for no government, though the word does not exist in English) was commonly used in Spanish America as a synonym for anarchist.

45. "Una excursión de propaganda," *La Revista Blanca*, suplemento al no. 69, Barcelona, May 15, 1930.

46. For more information on propaganda excursions, see Sánchez Cobos, *Sembrando ideales*, 213–22.

47. Loveira, *De los 26 a los 35*, 44–46. Saavedra's fame was noted later by Felipe Zapata, "Esquema y notas para una historia de la organización obrera en Cuba."

48. For more on this question, see Sánchez Cobos, "Una educación alternativa."

49. On the development of modern schools in Spain, see Solá, *Las escuelas racionalistas en Cataluña (1909–1939)*, and Lázaro, *Las escuelas racionalistas en el País Valenciano (1906–1931)*. For the organization of the league and its statutes, see "Liga Internacional para la Educación Racional de la Infancia," *Boletín de la Escuela Moderna*, Época II, Año I, no. 1, May 1, 1908. On the pedagogical method developed by Ferrer i Guardia, see Delgado, *La escuela moderna de Ferrer i Guardia*, 89–109.

50. "Relación de anarquistas conocidos en Cuba," Archivo del Ministerio de Asun-

tos Exteriores, Madrid, Fondo Política Interior Cuba, Serie Orden Público, leg. H 2753, 1911–19; “Suscripción para sufragar los gastos de un compañero antimilitarista de España,” *¡Tierra!*, February 4, 1905.

51. Executive: M. Martínez; Tesorero: J. Vertua; Members: F. González, A. Silva, B. Castro, R. Barberá, F. Mena, J. Núñez, J. Alarcón, B. González, G. Hernández, B. Berenguer, and M. Hermida; Secretary: J. Lucena. “Liga Internacional para la Educación Racional de la Infancia,” *¡Tierra!*, March 13, 1909.

52. For more information on Miguel Martínez, see Lázaro, *Prensa racionalista y educación en España (1901–1932)*, 91, 108. For information on the creation of the first Cuban rationalist school, see “Escuela racionalista,” *¡Tierra!*, November 28, 1908, and “Notas varias,” *¡Tierra!*, March 21, 1913.

53. In 1909 Ferrer was accused by the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities of being behind the disturbances in Barcelona known as the “Semana Trágica,” despite the fact that he was not in the city at the time. He was condemned to death following his trial and executed on October 13, 1909. See Cambra, *Anarquismo y positivismo*.

54. For more information on the role of Spanish anarchists in the creation of Cuban rationalist schools, see Sánchez Cobos, “Los anarquistas españoles y la formación de la clase trabajadora cubana.”

55. On the expulsions, see Sánchez Cobos, “Extranjeros perniciosos.”

56. According to the 1907 census, 36 percent of children in Cuba between the ages of six and eighteen were enrolled in public school—twice the proportion registered in the census of 1899 and greater than enrollment proportions in many other countries, including Spain and the United States. The official backing for education can also be seen in the schooling of the black and mulatto population which in that year equaled in proportion that of the white population. See Piqueras, *Sociedad civil y poder en Cuba*, 341–42.