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State of Ambiguity

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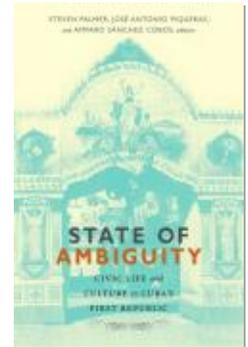
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CHAPTER 10



New Knowledge for New Times

The Sociedad del Folklore Cubano during
the “Critical Decade” (1923–1930)

Ricardo Quiza Moreno

Historians have dubbed Cuba in the 1920s the “critical decade” or the era of a “burgeoning national consciousness.” From profound economic crises to the rise of the Machado dictatorship, developments in this period set the tone and shape for the country’s subsequent growth. These developments took place within an atmosphere characterized by a dynamic civil society and the emergence of new social actors, including artists and intellectuals with an unprecedented level of awareness of their civic role in subverting the republic of “generals and doctors” and engendering alternative discourses in historiography, music, literature, and the fine arts.¹ The political and economic upheavals of the 1920s pervaded cultural production. This revolution within the aesthetic and academic sphere was enacted through the initiative of artists and intellectuals and supported by the emergence of institutions that facilitated the process of reinvigoration and mediated the implementation of novel political cultures. The Sociedad de Estudios del Folklore Cubano (Society for the Study of Cuban Folklore) was among those institutions that dedicated themselves to researching and promoting nontraditional culture and to developing new scientific standards. This organization aimed at recovering cultural material far removed from the elitist objects of analysis promoted by official academia.

The Sociedad del Folklore emerged within a national and global context that favored the rise of novel focuses and methods in artistic and academic spheres. The end of the First World War brought on a plethora of popular movements—some related to the disruptions

provoked by the war itself and others related to the drive of laissez-faire capitalism. Oswald Spengler hastened to proclaim the “decline of the West” due to the incompatibility of a dogma dedicated to individual liberties, the spontaneity of the market, and a mechanical model of progress defined by urban and demographic growth and the expansion of capitalist relations to marginalized sectors. The complex social dynamics following the Belle Époque escaped the normative frameworks of interpretation dictated by Newtonian principles and Darwinism. At their height, psychoanalysis, sociology, and anthropology evinced a “will to know” that grounded its object of study in the Other. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that these innovative disciplines were frequently used to legitimize regimes cut from a totalitarian cloth; with the growing importance of the masses within the political sphere, such regimes incorporated the popular sectors rather than simply ruling over them coercively. We need only remember the use of Lombrosian anthropology in Mussolini’s fascism.

As a dependent country with rigid political stratification, Cuba quickly became acquainted with the paradoxes of the post-World War I era. In fact, the second decade of the republic would witness economic and governmental crises that would discredit the republic endorsed in 1902. In the same period that the Sociedad del Folklore Cubano emerged, a number of groups of intellectuals, women, students, war veterans, workers, and a portion of the petit bourgeoisie manifested their nonconformity to the political project that had been spearheaded by the protagonists of the anticolonial movement at the turn of the century. Notably, the committee that created the Sociedad del Folklore was formed in 1923, the same year that other bellwether organizations appeared: the Federation of University Students, the Communist Committee of Havana, the National Movement of Veterans and Patriots, and the “José Martí” Popular University.² During this period, the country celebrated the first congresses for women and students, and two years later the first communist party and first trade union confederation appeared. This decade also saw the manifesto known as the “Protesta de los Trece” (the “Protest of the Thirteen”), a response by intellectuals furious with the reigning state of corruption.³

In the academic terrain, especially among historians, confrontation manifested itself as a clash between different modes of reconstructing the nation’s past: crisis called for a critical revision of official history. Subjects and theories until then virtually unknown began to compete with more traditional scholarship, and the use of unconventional sources justified these novel interpretations. At the same time, new ideas about the origins and future of the

patria, or nation, began to flourish and be widely distributed. The historian Ramiro Guerra's well-known text *Azúcar y población en las Antillas* (Sugar and population in the Antilles), for example, a text that questioned the country's sugar production and *latifundista* model was published in the influential, though controversial, newspaper *Diario de la Marina*.

Nevertheless, the public statements of intellectuals and the ideas about Cuba's condition expressed in their works do not tell the full story of the cultural radicalism of this decade. The intellectual rivalries staged in the island's republic of letters displayed particular characteristics derived from specificities in the process of cultural production. An understanding of the dialectic between academic attitudes and their external determinants must recognize not only the quality of a culture to reflect a particular era but also its autonomous character in structuring it. As Pierre Bourdieu puts it, the "specificity of the system of production . . . leads to the specificity of the relations which are established within it: the relations between each of the agents of the system and the agents or institutions which are entirely or partly external to the system are always mediated by the relations established within the system itself, that is inside the intellectual field."⁴

It is in this sense that I propose to show how the cultural practices and policies that developed within the Society of Cuban Folklore, an intriguing if short-lived manifestation of the new cultural production of the 1920s, established strategies that contributed to the subversion of the cultural order of the republic while simultaneously creating alternative sensibilities. Beyond an investigation of the decade's cultural products—as the result of a certain mode of expression and aesthetic standard as well as exponents of social conflict—I am interested in specifying the connection between the structure of society and the modes of operation and organization of the institutions that made the creation of symbolic goods possible. I emphasize the practices, rituals, and institutional norms that led to the foundations of a new social imaginary.

Tradition within Rupture: The Sociedad del Folklore Cubano and Its Cultural Debts

The creation of alternative spaces for the social sciences was a distinctive sign of a new phase in Cuba: the debut and subsequent development of the Sociedad del Folklore was a confirmation of this turn of events. Nevertheless, the cultural group was constrained by certain debts—bound as it was to traces of a cultural tradition that mediated its reformist nature. This new cultural project relied on the support of several members of the Academia de la His-

toria de Cuba (Cuban Academy of History), an organization renowned for its relations with the government and its explicit desire to legitimize an epic discourse saturated with heroes.⁵ The inauguration of the Sociedad del Folklore was attended by academic historians and others who endorsed this new organization.⁶ Three of six members of the Sociedad's board of directors also served in the Academia de la Historia.⁷ In fact, many members of the Academia or similar organizations, such as the Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras (National Academy of Arts and Letters) and the Sociedad Económica Amigos del País (the Economic Society of Friends of the Country, in whose head office the folkloric group was founded), served as committee members of the Sociedad or collaborators of its journal, *Archivos del Folklore Cubano*.⁸

Moreover, the four honorary presidents elected during the organization's first session were prominent individuals in the Academia de la Historia.⁹ Although the organization failed to receive the governmental support it required,¹⁰ the Secretaría de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes (secretary of public education and fine arts) nonetheless entrusted this new organization with the task of creating and distributing propaganda and documenting popular culture in various cities across the country, cities that would become home to this organization's first folkloric groups.¹¹

The Sociedad del Folklore's ties to powerful academic figures and institutions can be explained: beyond the political and conceptual differences visible in the principal cultural projects of the era, there were also affinities that were inherent to the intellectual milieu of Cuba at this time. This convergence stemmed from specific characteristics within the practice of the social sciences, especially historiography, in addition to the historical context. A preoccupation with "the past" permeated the social sciences and remained a strong focus for cultural organizations that emerged in the first years of the republic. There was a certain need to explain the origins of the political regime in Cuba, a necessity that only escalated with the approaching celebrations of a quarter century of independence at the very time that Cuba was experiencing the breakdown of governance and civil consensus. By 1922, the economic model maintained by sugar production was in crisis, which led to General Gerardo Machado's rise to power and the consolidation of the republic's first dictatorship.

The recovery and study of the past pervaded academic production to such an extent that the Sociedad del Folklore understood folklore as "the popular" in historical terms. An editorial in the organization's journal proclaimed: "in Cuba, the moment one cuts through the mental surface of the Pueblo [the People], one discovers the rich veins of ancestral tradition since, in the sub-

soil of Cuban popular culture, there lies unknown deposits of very different civilizations.”¹² This kind of “human geology” proposed by the Sociedad was accompanied by a strong dose of nationalism—a characteristic that made it akin to other intellectual strains in Cuba during the 1920s. Hence the journal *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* was conceived as a “refuge for the Cuban soul under whose shelter we could protect ourselves from the hurricanes raging outside.”¹³

The study and recovery of the past and an inclination to focus on national history as well as a similarity in research procedures—examining sources, writing practices, and the defense of the principle of scientific objectivity—made possible a degree of communion between cultural agencies and agents. The model questionnaire for compiling popular Cuban literature, designed by the Society of Folklore and published in its journal, proposed as its premise that “the documenter should not alter what is heard from the narrator: respect his grammar, his logic, and his spirit.” In like manner, the institution offered a variety of instructions for researchers: in the event of oral evidence, the researcher was urged to investigate the interviewee and refer to his or her nationality, origin, name, and age as well as the form, moment, and place in which the data was transmitted. In the case of written evidence, the researcher was to record information about the document.¹⁴

The Sociedad del Folklore established an interesting dialectic between tradition, change, nationalism, and science as a result of its advocacy for “national reconstruction.”¹⁵ On the other hand, orthodox institutions were continually affirmed for their significant work and research in culture, demonstrated by the conferring of intellectual distinctions and honors as well as the publication and promotion of individual works. Referring to his election as corresponding member of the Spanish Academy of History (Academia de la Historia de España), Fernando Ortiz accepted that “these Spanish academies retain prestige.”¹⁶ Nevertheless, despite its imperfections, the republic’s political system possessed a margin of tolerance that allowed for the functioning of civil society and admitted dissident features within its structure even if these were periodically repressed by the emergence of authoritarian governments.

From Heterogeneous to Heterodox:

The Composition of the Sociedad del Folklore Cubano

The variety of individuals directly and indirectly associated with the Sociedad del Folklore was a testament to its innovative and pluralistic character—a quality that affected not only the themes selected for research but the

methods of investigation as well. The institution's foundational gathering—a meeting of both female and male intellectuals, some of them affiliated with the artistic and political vanguard of the period—was a sign of what would follow in the seven years of the organization's existence. In contrast to the masculine profile of other cultural centers, the Sociedad del Folklore admitted many women who came to occupy decisive positions in the organization and wrote with regularity in its journal. Carolina Poncet y de Cárdenas, in particular, was a pioneer of folkloric studies; her thesis on ballads in Cuba won the Premio Nacional de Artes y Letras in 1913.¹⁷ Perhaps the most notable contribution made by female members—who were mostly teachers and specialists in pedagogy—was the introduction of childhood as a privileged subject of study. Both “The Folklore of Cuban Children,” by Sofía Córdova, and “Superstitions and Cuban Children,” by Consuelo Miranda, were doctoral projects from the Escuela de Pedagogía (School of Education) of the Universidad de La Habana that were published in installments in the institution's journal. To these was added “Superstitions and Cuban Schoolchildren,” by Manuela Fonseca García.¹⁸

The folkloric society brought together three generations of scholars: those who had participated in the political and cultural processes during Independence; those who were born in the late nineteenth century; and those born during the republic who, like the preceding generation, achieved recognition in the first three decades of the twentieth century. The latter two generations, recognized as the island's “thirteenth and fourteenth literary generation,” forced an air of reform into the organization. They arrived on a scene of cultural production that had long been defined by dogma, a fact that drove them to find other modes of cultural and academic expression and an alternative to institutional legitimization.¹⁹ The majority of those who had not participated in the anticolonial project set forth political ideals that oscillated between a new kind of nationalism and the resolute militancy of the Left. To a certain extent a parallel can be drawn between the organization's academic agenda and the political and generational plurality of its members. In this way, it is significant that the majority of the organization's contributors were scholars who belonged to this aforementioned “thirteenth generation.” Among the most prominent were Fernando Ortiz, Carolina Poncet, Juan Marinello, and José María Chacón y Calvo.

Fernando Ortiz was affiliated with the Movimiento Minorista and was a critic of the Machado dictatorship.²⁰ Ortiz presided over the Sociedad del Folklore, acting as the proprietor of its journal in a moment of crisis and de-

veloping the organization's international connections. His works appeared in nearly every issue of *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* and were characterized by their interdisciplinary nature, sheer quantity of data, and extensive use of a comparative approach.²¹ Together, Carolina Poncet and Chacón y Calvo applied a philological-historical approach to the study of folklore largely rooted in Spanish traditions, a framework they had acquired through contact with the respected linguist Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Without straying from a descriptive method as prescribed by the Positivists, Poncet and Chacón studied in great depth the etymology of ancestral grammar, mostly originating from Spain, to arrive at the foundations of a national culture. Finally, both approaches can be found in the work of Juan Marinello, an intellectual who would eventually come to embrace Marxism.²²

In spite of his extended residency in Spain for diplomatic reasons, José M. Chacón never ceased to collaborate with the Sociedad—assisting in its journal as much as in the development of folkloric groups throughout Cuba. It is certainly not by chance that the organization's two most important members, Chacón and Fernando Ortiz, tried to change the logic of tradition and exclusion in the Academia de la Historia. It is perhaps for this reason that both men decided to create a far more open and democratic association with respect to its composition and object of study.

While presiding over the Academia de la Historia, Ortiz advocated for the admittance of new generations of historians while simultaneously denouncing the monopolistic character of the Academia. In 1929 a conflict arose surrounding Chacón's book *Cedulario Cubano*. Chacón had been commissioned by the Academia to procure from Spain a colossal folder of documents on Cuba, which essentially acted as the supporting material to his own volume. Many academics questioned whether Chacón had acted correctly in publishing his text based on the materials he had been entrusted to submit to the Academia or whether he had violated his contract with the Academia. This discussion ultimately highlighted the aristocratic nature of the Academia, a fact that would lead to the resignation of both Ortiz and Chacón years later.²³

Nevertheless, attitudes toward the generational issue as well as the Sociedad del Folklore's political creed and breadth of academic production were far from univocal. As a result, figures like Emeterio Santovenia and Ramiro Guerra, contemporaries of Ortiz and members of the same folkloric group, held differing positions. Santovenia conducted extensive research that, from a descriptive angle, contributed greatly to local and national history, yet later maintained close political ties to the series of governments that culminated

in the authoritarian rule of Fulgencio Batista.²⁴ Guerra, on the other hand, author of one of the most iconoclastic historical texts of the period, nonetheless embraced the nationalist project of Machado to such an extent that he became his private secretary. The fall of Machado, the “donkey with claws,” led to Guerra’s self-imposed exile in the United States; when he returned to Cuba, he entirely removed himself from politics with the exception of occasionally participating as an expert in some international events.²⁵

In order to carry out its objective of “documenting, classifying, and comparing traditional elements of our popular life,” the Sociedad del Folklore relied on specialists from a variety of disciplines.²⁶ The coexistence of multiple disciplines within the same cultural space signified a breakdown in the predominance held by the disciplines of history, pedagogy, and law within the country. This plurality brought the folkloric organization nearer to the standards for greater disciplinary variety embraced by the Sociedad Económica Amigos del País, although the latter did not count among its collaborators a sufficient number of the new disciplines in Cuba such as sociology, anthropology, archaeology, and ethnography.²⁷

Rupture within Tradition: The Structures, Themes, and Objects of Study of the Sociedad de Folklore

In contrast to other cultural institutions, which were quite rigid, the Sociedad del Folklore established a flexible system of organization. One of its most notable features was a spirit of equality among its members, privileging both individual contributions and collective works. Although the organization’s membership categories resembled those of other institutions, its requirements for admittance varied substantially. For instance, there was no limit to the number of collaborators allowed and there were no special conditions for admittance; members of this category could be residents of Havana or any other city with folkloric groups. Corresponding members, on the other hand, could be residents of areas abroad or areas with no folklore groups present whatsoever.²⁸

The Sociedad’s organizational system functioned according to a radial structure unlike the pyramidal structure of the Academia de la Historia and the Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras. The institution had a central organization in Havana with delegations in various parts of the country. Beginning in 1923, branches began to appear in Santiago de Cuba, Pinar del Río, Güines, Camagüey, Cienfuegos, Bayamo, Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus, and Matanzas.²⁹ The original platform granted its branches “absolute autonomy” in internal management, programs of study, and social activities; further-

more, the right of delegates to participate in the organization's central governing committee was defended.³⁰

If traditional organizations grounded their authority in a system of internal hierarchies, other groups like the Academia Cubana de la Lengua (the Cuban Academy of Languages) and the Sociedad del Folklore aspired to make an impact on the academic sphere by using a different intellectual style that held the power to convene. Of course, capturing a following that would enlist itself as equal members in a new cultural project was a recurring and characteristic strategy of this cultural era in Cuba. In this way, there is something revealing about the work developed by Chacón and Ortiz in the Academia Cubana de la Lengua in 1926, motivated by the intention of achieving independence from official and traditional cultural standards. With respect to this, scholars Patricia Motola and Marialys Perdomo, argue:

One of the most polemical questions concerned the designation of the first members. In his letters to Chacón y Calvo, Fernando Ortiz insisted that this Spanish organization should not immediately appoint long-standing academics. His intention was that the Academia should accurately reflect the intellectual profile of the period. For this reason, among the founders of the Academia there appeared personalities from a range of generations and political postures, all recognized for the merit of their work in the cultural sphere. In every case the designation was motivated by the fulfillment of requirements such as having demonstrated a devotion and competency in philological studies; this was demonstrated not only through prolificacy but also by indicating, in one's publications, an excellent grasp of Castellano. In other words, only Cubans of "high moral standing and good manners" who resided in Havana and were over the age of thirty could aspire to this lifelong post.³¹

In a 1927 statute, the Sociedad changed its parameters of operation and limited the number of full members to thirty. From this point on, in order to be a full member, the individual had to reside in the capital or its surrounding municipalities, be of legal age, and be a published or emerging scholar or author of a completed work relevant to the study of folklore. The same requirements except those related to residency applied to corresponding members.³² These changes were intended to address logistical issues rather than implement a politics of discrimination, since the most valuable financial and intellectual contributors to the organization were located in Havana. Moreover, the study of folklore was a new discipline, and many of those advocates isolated from the culture of the metropolis were insufficiently prepared to

undertake folkloric studies with the professionalism required. These individuals were typically amateurs whose work was limited to collecting information about popular traditions.

However, the editorial politics of the Sociedad del Folklore were particularly democratic, as they accepted contributions to *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* from all over the country; these contributions were granted more or less prominence according to the quality of the work. Even submissions of lesser significance were accepted and published in a collection designated for “various data . . . that due to its brevity or character does not warrant being published separately or in another section.” Regular contributors like Fernando Ortiz provided some of the information in this section, but ordinary readers were responsible for the rest. Occasionally, *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* accepted brief notes, commentaries, and observations from readers residing in Pinar del Río, Havana (Marianao and el Cotorro), and Las Villas (Trinidad). At one point the journal even published the notes of a young Cuban boy, Andrés Fernández Estévez.³³

This academic ingenuity reflects the tensions within an institution that, while avoiding obstructing contributors with valuable information, aspired to innovate within a terrain that was insufficiently explored by the sciences. In fact, nearly 50 percent of the 149 articles initially published in *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* were highly descriptive in tone. The degree of unfamiliarity with folkloric material and sources led Francisco de Paula Coronado, in the organization’s second session, to volunteer his services by writing a letter to the major public libraries around the world in order to find groups and publications in other nations that specialized in folkloric studies.³⁴

The operational metamorphosis endured by the Sociedad del Folklore was a sign of the existing cultural disparity between the capital—a solid cultural infrastructure maintained by institutions, widely distributed journals, printing presses, publishing houses, schools, and libraries—and the rest of the country. Nonetheless, the modifications did not affect the secular spirit of the organization. On the contrary, the solemnities and exclusivities of other institutions were not implemented in the folkloric organization. The primary sources consulted on the Sociedad reveal neither the existence of any special liturgies upon admittance to the institution nor the conferring of any insignias on its members. There were neither medals nor shields, nor armchairs, nor portraits—at most perhaps a black cat, a symbol of the popular beliefs and traditions that dominated the pages of the organization’s journal as a vulgar allegory announcing the displacement of more traditional objects of study (see figure 10.1).³⁵



Figure 10.1
Logotype of the
Cuban Society
of Folklore.
Source: *Archivos
del Folklore
Cubano*.

Ethnographic questions especially concerning the treatment of black Cubans is a crucial theme when addressing matters that most concerned the Sociedad del Folklore Cubano, given that the country had only abolished slavery thirty-six years earlier, and in 1912 the state had ferociously repressed Afro-Cubans in putting down a rebellion by the Partido Independiente de Color.³⁶ The Sociedad del Folklore Cubano did not content itself with celebrating pre-Columbian and Spanish traditions. It also recovered a cultural patrimony of African origin. The organization entered the public debate in favor of the importance of Afro-Cubans to the Cuban melting pot and established the contributions of its descendants as a formative part of the nation and Cuban nationality.³⁷

Perhaps the most exemplary illustration of their efforts is the constant appearance of articles dedicated to this theme in *Archivos del Folklore Cubano*. Among these articles, appearing under the generic titles of “The Afro-Cuban Feast Day of the Kings” and “Los negros curros” (roughly translatable as “the Black Dandies”) were the works of Ortiz who in this period emphasized connections between Africa and certain Cuban attitudes and celebrations.³⁸ Ortiz’s academic and institutional efforts in the 1920s served as the basis for a cultural movement—expressed primarily through poetry but also through

literature, journalism, music, and the visual arts—that acknowledged those of African descent as an essential component to the essence of what is Cuban. Above all, the movement embraced African roots in Cuban music, religion, and language.³⁹ In contrast to other discourses on race, the Afro-Cuban movement, contemporaneous with the Sociedad del Folklore, emphasized the necessity to integrate *blancos* and *negros* within the same national composite. At the same time, working-class Afro-Cubans championed a similar discourse that spread throughout popular culture.⁴⁰

The catalog of cultural manifestations that were of interest to the Sociedad del Folklore was as vast as the organization's makeup. Work conducted by the institution included documentation of stories, fables, and legends; analyses of ballads, *décimas*, songs, boleros, popular music, and poetry; as well as studies of locutions, idioms, tongue twisters, *cubanismos*, and other popular philological forms. The institution also devoted itself to the recovery of proverbs, refrains, riddles, and diverse modes of expression as well as the compiling of popular knowledge about folk medicine, botany, geography, or agriculture. Finally, the Sociedad del Folklore also dedicated itself to descriptions of superstitions and supernatural beliefs as well as local customs, fiestas, dances, ceremonies, and children's games.

A Change of Scenery: Research Strategies and Institutional Tactics

In order to collect the wealth of folkloric material within the country, the Sociedad turned to techniques that were used infrequently during this period. They used surveys and interviews that led to working relationships with informants and demonstrated the importance accorded oral sources. On January 22, 1923, the Sociedad del Folklore appointed Carolina Poncet and Manuel Pérez Beato to write a questionnaire on Cuban folklore. On February 9 of the same year the Sociedad approved another questionnaire, developed by Chacón y Calvo, relating to popular literature and accepted a proposal by Gaspar Agüero to develop a survey on music. Two months later, both scholars submitted their projects to the Sociedad for further discussion.⁴¹ The questionnaire developed by Chacón y Calvo, who was assisted in the end by Poncet and Pérez Beato, established a series of instructions and regulations for the study of folklore. The authors advised researchers to pay special attention to oral traditions without distorting the information heard.⁴² The goals and the nature of the information collected by the Sociedad del Folklore justify the originality of the scientific proposal. Its scientific objective and the use of empirical data and procedures granted this organization—aimed as it was at rebuilding and legitimizing a plebeian history—

a distinctive mark that distinguished it from the heroic and grandiloquent narratives of traditional historiography.

In addition to implementing novel research procedures, the Sociedad del Folklore Cubano engaged in editorial and organizational maneuvers in order to strengthen its cultural project and survive within an adverse environment. The editors of *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* acknowledged antecedents of folkloric research in Cuba to lend to this discipline a certain pedigree. However, this kind of cultural patina that consecrated and certified certain processes of “invention of tradition” was in keeping with academic trends of the period. Reproducing work of this kind served to give scientific value to the institution and supplement its journal, which depended on valuable contributions that were not always readily available.

In order to strengthen the institution’s academic excellence, the journal included works written by notable intellectuals of the nineteenth century such as José Martí, the naturalist Felipe Poey, rare book specialist Antonio Bachiller y Morales, and various writers like Gertudis Gómez de Avellaneda, Luis Victoriano Betancourt, and the Puerto Rican *costumbrista* Manuel A. Alonso.⁴³ Editors also published contributions from distinguished specialists like the North American historian Irene A. Wright’s foundational works on early colonialism in Cuba and the works of philologist and lexicographer Antenor Nascentes, an authority on the Portuguese language in Brazil.⁴⁴ To these scholars were added Aurelio Espinosa, a renowned Stanford University scholar, Ramón A. Laval, the most prominent Chilean folklorist of his time, and the American anthropologist and sociologist Elsie Clews Parsons. All were united by the influence of Franz Boas, whose works largely shaped the discipline of anthropology in the first half of the twentieth century.⁴⁵

Boas’s theory of cultural relativism emphasized the necessity to research without prejudice or discrimination the heritage of so-called peripheral peoples, an approach that fit well in the Cuban setting. Contrary to Spencerian evolution, which dominated universities and research centers in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Boas maintained that there were no superior or inferior forms of culture. He rejected Western ethnocentrism and its assumption of supremacy in relation to other cultures. This concept opened up the potential for close and equitable collaborations between experts of the “First World” and their colleagues in other parts of the world.

Furthermore, sections like “Noticias y comentarios” and “De la Sociedad del Folklore” in *Archivos del Foklore Cubano* served as publicity for the folkloric association and its foreign counterparts. In these sections one could gain a sense of the broad impact of the Sociedad on specialized publications

like the British *Journal of African Society*, the German *Volkstam und Kultur der Romanen*, and the *Journal of American Folklore*, as well as local papers like *El Mundo* and *Diario de la Marina*.⁴⁶ The latter was traditionally a reactionary paper in wide circulation that, thanks to Ramiro Guerra, a member of the Sociedad and one of the paper's principal editors, popularized the institution's work in a permanent section entitled "Cuban Folklore Notes."⁴⁷ The voice of the cultural and political vanguard—in addition to members from marginalized sectors like Guerra, Emilio Roig, Nicolás Guillén, and Gustavo Urrutia along with a generation of youth that integrated the Movimiento Minorista—balanced the tone of the *Diario de la Marina*.⁴⁸ No less important in communicating the importance of folkloric research was the bibliography section in *Archivos del Folklore Cubano*, which reviewed works about folklore by both Cuban and foreign authors. It became an important tool for transmitting the organization's cultural project in the sense that it suggested to the reader, in a compelling manner, the importance of acquiring new forms of knowledge.

Nevertheless, despite efforts to occupy a relevant place within the academic field, the existence of the Sociedad del Folklore was relatively short-lived, and the organization was plagued by financial worries and the absence of official support. Even at the moment of drafting the first regulations, many members already had a sense of the difficulties the institution would encounter in its trajectory. Article 9 of the bylaws stated that in the event the organization should dissolve, its archives and library would pass to the public library of the Sociedad Económica Amigos del País. This was indeed a brilliant and democratic anticipatory solution of last resorts that ensured that materials conserved by the organization would remain accessible to all.⁴⁹ Concerns about the survival of the organization must certainly have peaked when, in its fourth session, the Secretaría de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes denied the possibility of financial assistance.⁵⁰

On the other hand, following the logic of enlightenment, the organization's determination to overcome obstacles made it a kind of missionary institution on the verge of new cultural horizons. In fact, the Sociedad del Folklore recognized the advantages of the new scholarship it was producing and insisted on its role as eradicator of "the darkness of our intellectual environment."⁵¹ Yet, unlike other established organizations, it lacked a desire for acclaim.

The organization's financial balance from 1924 to July 15, 1927, showed a deficit of 492 pesos, a sum ultimately defrayed by Fernando Ortiz, who nonetheless conveyed the impossibility of repeating such a "heroic deed."⁵²

Monetary problems also placed the institution on unfavorable ground with respect to the publishing houses charged with producing its journal. The terms imposed by the latter, in order to continue publishing *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* without cost, were that Ortiz had to become its owner.⁵³

The institution's inability to control the production of its cultural material is indicated by the poor publication quality of its journal—with irregular periodicity and numerous misprints. This was the price to pay for an institution that had attempted to incorporate itself, with new and alternative projects, in the cultural field of the period.⁵⁴ A low number of subscribers—at barely thirty-two—and the absence of a large consumer base demonstrate how difficult it was to coin a new cultural project in the midst of a cultural orthodoxy supported by a political model that although decaying still held spiritual force.⁵⁵ The difficulty in finding an audience had much to do with the disjoint between tradition and change within the economic, social, and cultural orders.

Archivos del Folklore Cubano attempted to supplement the weak reception of Ortiz's and Chacón's projects with commercial advertisements that ultimately undermined the academic puritanism cultivated by institutions like the Academia de la Historia de Cuba and gave the Sociedad del Folklore the appearance of a pragmatic culture industry.⁵⁶ It is noteworthy that advertisements displayed in the folkloric journal came from small and medium-sized businesses with relative preponderance in the Cuban economy. The reason for this is perhaps that this publication was of no interest to large local or foreign sugar-producing industries or perhaps its publishers had either no interest in or simply no access to advertisers with higher purchasing power. What is clear, however, is the confluence between this new cultural project and the aspirations of a sector of the bourgeoisie directed toward an internal market.

At the beginning or end of every issue, nearly always appearing as an entire page, were advertisements from the insurance company El Iris, which had Ortiz as one of its principal shareholders. This was also the place where other businesses would advertise, such as the bookstores Minerva, La Moderna Poesía, and Cervantes, the latter two associated with the publisher Cultural S.A. Other advertisers included Fábrica Nacional de Toallas, the well-known store El Encanto, and the beer La Tropical, which was advertised as the “drink of Liborio . . . folkloric personification of the Cuban people” (see figure 10.2).⁵⁷ All these “minor” industries, as they were known in this period, contributed to the precarious sustainability of *Archivos del Folklore Cubano*.⁵⁸



Figure 10.2 Ad for La Tropical beer featuring the Liborio character. From author's collection.

Structured or Structuring? The Legacy of an Academic Institution

The Sociedad del Folklore Cubano was founded on January 6, 1923, a date that coincided with the Afro-Cuban Feast Day of the Kings. On the same date, the *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* published an editorial supporting the institution's mission. The inaugural pages of the publication conveyed premonitions of the uncertain future of the organization, though it nonetheless drew attention to the impoverished state of studies of popular culture and the need to strengthen these kinds of analyses within the nation. The text largely summarized the purpose and character of the folkloric organization detailing the interrelations between its academic and public objectives: "An entire treasure lies hidden beneath layers of modern culture, waiting for Cuban scholars to discover, interpret, classify, and establish it for national civilization."⁵⁹

In this sense, and in accordance with Bourdieu's theory of the conformation of a cultural field with its specificities, it can be affirmed that the actions of the Sociedad del Folklore, even in its routine practices, reveal the

characteristics of an entire political and sociocultural sphere undergoing important transformations. The Sociedad del Folklore Cubano constituted an alternative academic forum that, out of the originality of its scientific proposal attempted to carve a space in the nation's cultural sphere. Its dissidence with regard to traditional cultural projects is demonstrated not only by its unorthodox structure and organizational composition but also by its institutional strategies and practices and the novel content of its discourse. Structured and structuring, the Sociedad del Folklore resulted from the demands of an age and, at the same time, conceived of itself as forging national representations far from the dominant ideological standards. Although its domain of activity and capacity to spread its new canon was limited, the Sociedad del Folklore nonetheless constituted a link in the gradual paradigm shift that occurred in Cuba beginning in the 1920s.

The Sociedad del Folklore expressed and enabled transformations in national sensibilities behind other, better known milestones in the offing. In 1937, the Havana-based Teatro Campoamor performed an unusual piece on the sacred music of the Yoruba Africans. For the first time in Cuba, esoteric song, sounds, and dances became a secular spectacle. Fernando Ortiz and the Institución Hispanocubana de Cultura, which succeeded the Sociedad del Folklore, were largely responsible for this project.⁶⁰ This artistic representation demonstrated a shift that had occurred in the country's social imaginary—black Cubans had agreed to present their social and sacred values to a public that, although small, opened itself to receive the rich popular culture. Years later, the so-called Constitution of 1940 established, in article 20, that “the republic does not recognize exemptions or privileges and declares all discrimination by motivation of sex, race, color, or class and any other harm to human dignity as illegal and punishable.”⁶¹

Notes

1. The name given to the first republic (1902–33) from the 1920 novel of the same name by Carlos Loveira. The novel describes the atmosphere of corruption and patronage that reigned in an era in which a teacher, three generals, and a lawyer won the presidency.

2. The original Spanish names are the Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios, the Agrupación Comunista de la Habana, the Movimiento Nacional de Veteranos y Patriotas, and the Universidad Popular José Martí.

3. On this event see Pichardo, *Documentos para la Historia de Cuba (Tomo 111)*, 119–20.

4. Bourdieu, “Intellectual Field and Creative Project,” 92.

5. For a detailed study of the role and place of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba in the country's academic and political landscape, see Quiza Moreno, *El cuento al revés*, 55–69.

6. Among the academic historians who were part of the foundation of the Sociedad del Folklore were Enrique J. Varona, Francisco de Paula Coronado, Joaquín Llaverías, and José A. Cosculluela. Of the academics in solidarity with the new project were Manuel Sanguily, Juan M. Dihigo, Evelio Rodríguez Lendián, and Alfredo M. Aguayo.

7. These were Fernando Ortiz, Alfredo M. Aguayo, and Juan Miguel Dihigo, as well as Manuel Pérez Beato, who was in the Academia until resigning in 1921. "Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* (AFC) 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 82.

8. Certain figures stand out in this regard: Fernando Ortiz, who directed three important institutions during this era: the Sociedad Económica Amigos del País (1923–32), the Academia de la Historia (1925–29), and the Sociedad del Folklore Cubano (1924–29); Juan Miguel Dihigo, member of the Academia de la Historia who was on the board of the Sociedad del Folklore as librarian and archivist; and Néstor Carbonell and Ramón Catalá, members at large of the folklore board and members also of the Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras. Catalá was also a member of the Academia Cubana de la Lengua after its foundation in 1927. "Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 82; "Fundación de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 92.

9. The honorary members of the Academia de la Historia were Enrique J. Varona, Manuel Sanguily, and Raimundo Cabrera. "Fundación de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 93.

10. The minister of public education and fine arts, Francisco Zayas y Alfonso, who was recognized as an honorary member of Cuba's first association of folklorists, denied official support to the entity, and this is registered in its minutes. "Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 86.

11. "Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 77.

12. "Esta revista cubana," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 5–6.

13. "Esta revista cubana," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 8.

14. "Cuestionario de literatura popular cubana," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 9–10.

15. "Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 77.

16. Gutiérrez Vega, *José María Chacón y Calvo*, 36.

17. Poncet became the chair in Gramática y Composición in Havana's Escuela Normal de Maestros in 1915 and traveled to Spain in 1920, where she took a course with Menéndez Pidal. Ortiz García, "Cultura popular y construcción nacional," 704.

18. Córdova, "El folklore del niño cubano," AFC 1, nos. 3–4 (May 1925) and "El folklore del niño cubano," AFC 2, no. 1 (January 1926); Miranda, "Las supersticiones de los niños cubanos," AFC 4, no. 1 (January–March 1929); Fonseca, "Las supersticiones del escolar cubano," AFC 5, no. 3 (July–September 1930): 199–221.

19. Portuondo, "Anexo"; Cairo, *La revolución del 30 en la narrativa y el testimonio cubanos*. The thirteenth generation had a concentration of those born between 1880

and 1890, among them Ramiro Guerra, Fernando Ortiz, Emilio Roig, Carolina Poncet, Carlos Loveira, Mariano Brull, Agustín Acosta, José Manuel Poveda, Félix Lizaso, Manuel Navarro Luna, Luis Felipe Rodríguez, José Antonio Ramos, and José María Chacón y Calvo. This group is credited with a series of stylistic, thematic, and conceptual innovations that would be taken up again later and with more radicalism by the subsequent generation. I refer, for example, to the postmodernist movement in poetry and to the social novel and plays. From the social sciences point of view, the work of Ramiro Guerra stands out, sharpened in order to call into question the plantation model of prior history, as well as the work of Emilio Roig, with its frankly anti-imperialist content. Fernando Ortíz's work in the area of ethnology and anthropology would be equally important.

Those born between 1898 and 1910 (Juan Marinello, Rubén Martínez Villena, Pablo de la Torriente Brau, Enrique Serpa, Enrique Labrador Ruiz, Regino Boti, Amelia Peláez, Víctor Manuel, Nicolás Guillén, José Z. Tallet, Dulce María Loynaz, Alejo Carpentier, Elías Entralgo, Jorge Mañach, Raúl Roa, Lino Novás Calvo), along with the preceding generation, led the profound cultural and political renewal of the 1920s, breaking with the academicist canon of traditional plastic arts and choosing Afro-Cuba as the primordial subject of poetry, the novel, and the short story. From the political point of view many of those who belonged to this generation led the historic "Protesta de los Trece" and were part of the Minorista movement, while some swelled the ranks of the Communist Party or fought against Machado.

20. The Minorista movement was made up of a nucleus of the aesthetic avant-garde, most of them against the republican status quo. According to one of their programmatic texts, the Minoristas came together to transform "false values" and struggle for "national culture," for "the economic independence of Cuba and against Yankee imperialism"; they also sought to introduce and propagate the latest artistic and scientific doctrines to the country, while demanding real citizen participation in government, promoting Latin American union and the improvement of the subaltern classes. See Pichardo, "Qué era el Grupo Minorista," 393–95; Roig de Leuchsenring, "El Grupo Minorista de intelectuales y artistas habaneros," 10–12.

21. For the number of texts published by Ortiz in *Archivos del Folklore Cubano*, see García Carranza, *Bio-bibliografía de Don Fernando Ortiz*, 80–91.

22. Marinello's philological work, for example, "Un Guacalito de cubanismos," stands out in his contributions to *Archivos del Folklore Cubano*; see AFC 2, no. 2 (May 1926): 108–19; 2, no. 3 (October 1926): 228–35; 2, no. 4 (June 1927): 363–68; 3, no. 1 (January–March 1928): 21–26.

23. See Quiza Moreno, *El cuento al revés*, 55–69, and *Anales de la Academia de la Historia de Cuba*, 9: 61.

24. Emeterio Santovenia Echaide (Pinar del Río, Cuba, 1889–Miami, United States, 1968) was a historian, journalist, and politician who was affiliated with the anti-Machado organization ABC, and served as secretary to the presidency in the 1934 government of Mendieta, which was strongly backed by the military under Batista and the U.S. ambassador. He was elected senator for Pinar del Río in 1940, and three years later he was in

the cabinet of Batista's constitutional government. In the 1950s he directed the Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank under the Batista dictatorship. Santovenia presided over the Academia de la Historia de Cuba, was a permanent member of the board of the Archivos de la República de Cuba and the Comité Interamericano de Archivos, and a member of the Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras, the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, and the Academia Cubana de la Lengua. He was also a member of various Latin American academies and received a Doctor *Honoris Causa* from the University of Florida. Arencibia, "Emeterio Santovenia," 7–8.

25. Curiously, while nearing the end of his career in 1948, Guerra and Santovenia joined the Sociedad Amigos de la República. This organization endeavored to oversee the institutionalization of democracy and moderate between sectors of civil society and the military dictatorship during the state of emergency initiated by Batista in the 1950s. On the participation of Guerra, Santovenia, and other intellectuals of the Sociedad Amigos de la República, see Ibarra Guitart, *Sociedad de Amigos de la República* and *El fracaso de los moderados en Cuba*.

26. "Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 77.

27. The emergence and development of these disciplines occurred over the final third of the nineteenth century under the auspices of the Sociedad Económica Amigos del País, the Real Academia de Ciencias Médicas, Físicas y Naturales de La Habana, and the Sociedad Antropológica de Cuba. With respect to sociology, despite the existence of the works of José Antonio Saco, it was not recognized as a discipline until the inauguration of the Chair in Sociology at the University of Havana, occupied by Enrique José Varona, for many years the only professor to teach the subject. See Mestre, "La antropología en Cuba," 9–15; Núñez Jover, "Aproximación a la sociología cubana," 187–203; Dacal and Rivero de la Calle, *Arqueología aborigen en Cuba*; Pruna, *Ciencia y científicos en Cuba colonial*; Hernández Godoy, "Arqueología e historiografía aborigen de Cuba en el siglo XIX," 177–96 and "La primera década del siglo XX y el desarrollo de la Arqueología en la Isla," 2–8.

28. "Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 77.

29. "Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 83–89.

30. "Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 78–79.

31. Motola and Perdomo, "La Academia Cubana de la Lengua," 6–7.

32. "Reorganización de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 3, no. 1 (January–March 1928): 91–93.

33. "Compadres y comadres de papelitos," AFC 4, no. 3 (July–September 1929): 278–83.

34. "Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano," AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 82.

35. AFC 1, no. 2 (April 1924): 167.

36. Work on the theme of blacks, or Afro-Cubans, is present in all the volumes of the *Archivos* and in almost all the individual editions. On top of the work of Ortiz, other valuable contributions worthy of mention are "Constitución de un cabildo carabalí en 1814," AFC 1, no. 3 (1925): 281–83; Israel Castellanos, "Instrumentos musicales de los afrocubanos," AFC 2, no. 3 (October 1926): 193–208; Israel Castellanos, "Instrumentos musicales de los afrocubanos (continuación)," AFC 2, no. 4 (June 1927): 337–55; Her-

minio Portel Vilá, “Mundamba y Mi Foco,” AFC 3, no. 3 (July–September 1928): 242–46; Manuel Martínez Moles, “Cafú o Cafunga,” AFC 3, no. 3 (July–September 1928): 281–82; Israel Castellanos, “El diablito ñaño,” AFC 3, no. 4 (October–December 1928): 27–37; V. Pérez Castillo, “¿Mutila sus dientes el afro cubano por estética tradición, o acepta como profilaxis de las caries, los cortes dados sobre las caras mesiales y distales?,” AFC 4, no. 1 (January–March 1929): 29–31; Marcelino Weiss, “Comentarios al artículo ‘Los afrocubanos dientimellados,’” AFC 4, no. 1 (January–March 1929): 31–33; Herminio Portel Vilá, “Los negritos curros de Cárdenas,” AFC 4, no. 2 (April–June 1929): 130–32; Antenor Nacentes, “Glosario de Afronegrismos,” AFC 4, no. 2 (April–June 1929): 157–60; “Cinco vocablos Afrocubanos,” AFC 4, no. 2 (April–June 1929): 186–87. At the same time, in the section called “Collectanea,” there appeared notes and references of interest on Africans and their descendants on the island: “Negros Uancipellos y ‘Chim-bungas,’” AFC 1, no. 4 (June 24, 1925): 380; Gustavo A. González, “La negra catequista,” AFC 4, no. 1 (January–March 1929): 93–94; E. Valdés Rodríguez, “Superstición Afro-católica,” AFC 4, no. 1 (January–March 1929): 95–96; J. Miguel Irisarri, “El Anaquillé,” AFC 4, no. 2 (April–June 1929): 186. On the repression of the PIC in 1912, see Helf, *Our Rightful Share*.

37. *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* published a dossier on the contributions “del negro” to Cuban society with opinions from celebrated intellectuals like Ortiz, Ramón Vasconcelos, and the black journalist Gustavo Urrutia, who pronounced on the publication of eight poems by Nicolás Guillén in the “Ideales de una raza” section, edited by Urrutia, of the *Diario de la Marina*. The poems had a big impact in the social and aesthetic domain and were included in a book, *Motivos de son*, a text that has subsequently been recognized as the first great work by Cuba’s “national” poet. See AFC 5, no. 3 (1930). On this topic, see the important work of Robin Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness: Afro-Cubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920–1940*.

38. Fernando Ortiz, “La fiesta afrocubana del Día de Reyes,” AFC 1, no. 2 (April 1924): 146–65; 1, no. 3 (May 1925): 228–43; no. 4 (June 1925): 340–55; and “Los negros curros,” AFC 2, no. 3 (October 1926): 209–22; 3, no. 1 (January–March 1928): 27–50; 3, no. 2 (April–June 1928): 160–75; 3, no. 3 (July–September 1928): 250–56; 3, no. 4 (October–December 1928): 51–53. To these we could add Fernando Ortiz, “Personajes del Folklore afrocubano,” AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 62–75; “Personajes del Folklore afrocubano,” AFC 1, no. 2 (April 1924): 116–19; “La repatriación postmortem de los afrocubanos” (Collectanea), AFC 2, no. 3 (October 1926): 271–73; “Folklore religioso del cubano: Los Matiabos,” AFC 2, no. 4 (June 1927): 387–89; “El baile negro” (Collectanea), AFC 3, no. 1 (January–March 1928): 86–89; “Los afrocubanos dientimellados,” AFC 4, no. 1 (January–March 1929): 16–29; “Cuentos Afrocubanos,” AFC 4, no. 2 (April–June 1929): 97–112; “El cocoricamo y otros conceptos teoplasmicos del folklore afrocubano,” AFC 4, no. 4 (October–December 1929): 289–312; “Motivos de son por Nicolás Guillén,” AFC 5, no. 3 (July–September 1930): 222–38.

39. The most solid expressions of this movement originated in poetry through intellectuals like Ramón Guirao, José Zacarías Tallet, and most important, Guillén. Nevertheless there were others who cultivated the theme, like Alejo Carpentier in his novel

Ecue Yamba-O and Lydia Cabrera with her cycle of folkloric short stories of African origin. Another important contribution was that of the musician Alejandro García Cauturla, who incorporated certain rhythms and instruments from Afro-Cuban music into classical compositions. See Ortiz, “La poesía mulata,” 209–10.

40. See the paradigmatic text of Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, esp. the introduction and chapters 1, 5, and 7. Given what I have outlined here, however, I evidently do not agree with the author’s perception (126) of a supposed absence of black culture in the early years of the Sociedad del Folklore Cubano and in the pages of their review. Of course, the Sociedad del Folklore dedicated a good share of its efforts to reflect the contributions of Spanish popular culture in Cuba, but rather than a preference for white culture as Moore suggests, this was because the topic had been little addressed up to that point, precisely a time in which many poor Spaniards were arriving in Cuba and facing a harsh future of exploitation in commerce and agriculture; on that process, see González, *La Fiesta de los Tiburones*, and Naranjo, *Del campo a la bodega*.

41. “Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano,” AFC 1, no. 1 (1924): 82–83, 85.

42. José María Chacón y Calvo, “Cuestionario de literatura popular cubana,” AFC 1, no. 1 (1924): 9.

43. José Martí, “Los chinos en Nueva York,” AFC 5, no. 2 (April–June 1930): 97–104; Felipe Poey, “La avispa de Jia,” AFC 3, no. 2 (April–June 1928): 115–20; and “El jején,” AFC 3, no. 3 (July–September 1928): 200–206; Antonio Bachiller y Morales, “Los ojos de Cucubá,” AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 43–46; and “Jigües, tradición cubana,” AFC 2, no. 2 (May 1926): 169–72; “El babujal,” AFC 2, no. 3 (October 1926): 244–46; “Las sigupas,” AFC 2, no. 4 (June 1927): 356–58; Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, “El aura blanca,” AFC 4, no. 4 (October–December 1929): 313–18; Luis Victoriano Betancourt, “La luz de Yara,” AFC 1, no. 3 (1925): 222–24; and “Una rumba,” AFC 5, no. 1 (January–March 1930): 44–48; “El baile,” AFC 5, no. 3 (July–September 1930): 246–55; Manuel A. Alonso, “Carreras de San Juan y San Pedro,” AFC 5, no. 1 (October–December 1928): 371–76; and “La gallera,” AFC 3, no. 4 (October–December 1928): 71–76; “Aguinaldos,” AFC 5, no. 2 (April–June 1930): 164–69.

44. Irene A. Wright, “Nuestra Señora de la Caridad del Cobre,” AFC 3, no. 1 (January–March 1928): 5–15; Antenor Nascentes, “Glosario de afronegrismos,” AFC 4, no. 2 (April–June 1929): 157–60.

45. Aurelio M. Espinosa, “La ciencia del folklore,” AFC 3, no. 4 (October–December 1928): 1–15; and “La transmisión de los cuentos populares,” AFC 4, no. 1 (January–March 1929): 39–52; “Una versión española del romance de Teresa,” AFC 4, no. 2 (April–June 1929): 153–56; “El tema de Roncesvalle y Bernaldo del Carpio en la poesía popular de Cuba,” AFC 5, no. 3 (July–September 1930): 193–95; Ramón A. Laval, “Nuevas variantes de romances populares,” AFC 3, no. 4 (October–December 1928): 16–26; Elsie Parsons, “El culto de los espíritus en Haití,” AFC 4, no. 3 (July–September 1929): 193–205; and “El culto de los espíritus en Haití,” AFC 4, no. 4 (October–December 1929): 334–55.

46. “Noticias y comentarios,” AFC 2, no. 2 (May 1926): 100–101; “Noticias y comentarios,” AFC 2, no. 3 (October 1926): 274–75; “Notas del Folklore Cubano,” AFC 3, no. 1 (January–March 1928): 95; “Los Archivos en el extranjero,” AFC 3, no. 2 (April–June

1928): 192; “Noticias y Comentarios: Los Archivos en el extranjero,” AFC 3, no. 3 (July–September 1928): 283–286.

47. “Notes on Cuban Folklore.” “With this title we inaugurate a new Sunday section in Havana’s *Diario de la Marina*, by the initiative of one of its directors, our collaborator, Dr. Ramiro Guerra.” The paper declared itself “honored” to reproduce articles and notes from *Collectanea* and happy to acknowledge their origin (unlike other publications) and thanked Guerra for his “ardent work of recording the folkloric treasure of the Cuban people, which has languished forgotten and unknown.” “Notas del Folklore Cubano,” AFC 3, no. 1 (January–March 1928): 95.

48. Another figure who contributed to the presence of innovative work in the *Diario de la Marina* was José Antonio Fernández de Castro, a left-wing writer and journalist, member of the artistic vanguard of the time, and director of the paper’s literary section between 1927 and 1929.

49. “Bases de la Sociedad del Folklore,” AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 81.

50. “Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano,” AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 85–86.

51. “De la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano,” AFC 1, no. 2 (April 1924): 187.

52. “Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano,” AFC 3, no. 1 (January–March 1928): 93–94.

53. “Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano,” AFC 3, no. 1 (January–March 1928): 85.

54. Of the many examples, one could cite the notice of the editors of *Archivos*, appearing on the cover of vol. 3, no. 4 (October–December 1928), concerning the pagination error on the first eighty pages of the volume.

55. AFC 3, no. 1 (January–March 1928): 94, registers the fact that there were only forty subscribers in 1924, and a year later the number had dropped to thirty-two.

56. Only fifteen years after its founding did the academy accept the marketing of its publications, but not before exempting from payment those agencies or people that the secretary of publications has authorized. The refusal to commercialize the journal is evident in the response that the institution gave to the “Martí” circulating library, saying that they will not exempt the library from paying for its publications because “it is an establishment that lends its books in exchange for a fee from the reader.” *Anales de la Academia de la Historia de Cuba* 8 (La Habana, January–December 1926): 39; *Anales de la Academia de la Historia de Cuba* 9 (January–December 1927): 60; *Anales de la Academia de la Historia de Cuba* 11 (January–December 1930): 85.

57. In Cuba’s political cartoon culture, Liborio was a character representing the people, whose garb was that of a campesino.

58. According to announcements published in vol. 1 of *Archivos*, at the price of 47.50 pesos per issue, the Sociedad del Folklore Cubano received 190 pesos; but at a price of 77.50 pesos for each edition of 2, the institution received 310 pesos; “Reorganización del la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano,” AFC 3, no. 1 (January–March 1928): 94.

59. “Actas de la Sociedad del Folklore Cubano,” AFC 1, no. 1 (January 1924): 7.

60. Véase: Ortiz, “La música sagrada de los negros yoruba en Cuba,” *Ultra* 3, no. 13 (July 1937): 77–86.

61. “Constitución de la república de Cuba 1940,” 197.