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Cultural Imperialism or Cultural Encounters: Foreign Influence through Protestant Missions in Cuba, 1898-1959. A Quaker Case Study.

by

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ABSTRACT

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CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS OR CULTURAL IMPERIALISM: FOREIGN INFLUENCE THROUGH PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN CUBA 1898-1959. A QUAKER CASE STUDY

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This thesis contributes to the 'cultural encounters' debate put forward by Gilbert Joseph and other scholars. It explores the extent to which the encounter between US Quaker missionaries and Cuban communities could be described as a cultural exchange or cultural imperialism. The study expands on Amy Kaplan's analysis of US cultures of imperialism and the promotion of these cultures as benevolent. I examine the extent to which ideas of cultural superiority and a sense of national imperial pride pervaded the attitudes and actions of the US Quaker missionaries.

The research was carried out using an extensive literature review, archival research, interviews and participant observational research in the US and Cuba. The discussion explores the motives and objectives behind the Quaker mission and it is proposed that motives were characterised by the historical development of Quaker evangelism in the US, at a time of 'Manifest Destiny', the belief that the US had created a superior society that should be spread to underdeveloped areas. There is also an analysis of the power shifts within the Quaker mission once established, demonstrating that US Quakers believed Cubans to be inferior and unable to govern the mission, which in turn reflected the US authorities' discourse of superiority throughout the time of the Cuban Republic. I provide an examination of the education provided by the Quaker mission in which class and racial divisions were accentuated in the larger of the Quaker schools. The close relationship between the Quakers, the United Fruit Company, and local and national elites in Cuba is researched, finding this relationship to perpetuate political corruption amongst the elite. The encounter was structured by attitudes of religious, racial or cultural superiority, combined with political and economic expansionism. Describing it as a cultural exchange diverts attention from the nature of this historical and political phenomenon.

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Introduction.

In 1900 five Quaker missionaries disembarked at the town of Gibara, in Oriente, Cuba. They arrived during the US occupation of the island and, like other US Protestant missionaries and business interests, they vied for a space in the creation of a 'New Cuba'. Cuba's independence wars, starting in 1868 concluded with the US war with Spain in 1898 and subsequent US occupation of the island. The period of the Republic in Cuba was dominated by US economic, military, political and cultural involvement on the island. Cubans and US citizens were brought closer together in these encounters. As Louis Pérez puts it they 'populated each other's worlds' and 'they thus began to imitate each other, to borrow from each other, to become somewhat like each other.'[1] However, Cubans and US citizens also grew apart as Cuban nationalists became increasingly disenchanted with US domination on the island. This thesis examines the complexities of the historical, economic, political and cultural context surrounding the encounter between the US Quaker missionaries and the local Cuban communities in which they established their missions from 1898-1959.

This study was born out of a prominent and contemporary debate espoused by leading scholars in Latin American studies. The 'cultural encounters' hypothesis, put forward by Gilbert Joseph, Catherine Le Grand, Steve Stern and Steven Palmer, amongst others, moves away from understanding US cultural influence in Latin America as 'cultural imperialism' *per se*, but prefers to focus on the complexity of the 'encounters' or 'contact zones'.[2] Gilbert Joseph questions the structural paradigms of cultural imperialism, preferring to use the term cultural encounters, and focuses on the 'exchange' of cultures within each encounter, proposing that even when there is an unequal power relation cultural influences flow in both directions. Other scholars who adhere to the cultural encounters approach such as Steve Stern and Donald Pease warn that through focusing too intensely on the deconstruction of

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[1] Louis A. Perez, *On becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality and Culture* (Capital Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p.6.

[2] *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of US-Latin American Relations,* ed. by Gilbert Joseph, Catherine Le Grand and Ricardo Salvatore (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998). The term 'contact zones' is borrowed from Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eye: Travel writing and Transculturation,* (London/New York: Routledge, 1992).

the encounter, the wider context and implications can be lost. Amy Kaplan underlines the importance of the historical perspective by analysing US cultures of 'Empire', and how imperialism has become an integral part of US internal and external cultures.[3]

This thesis analyses the 'encounter' between US Quaker missionaries in Cuba and the Cuban communities in which they established their missions. I examine the extent to which such encounters could be described as a cultural exchange or cultural imperialism analysing whether US cultures of empire had become integral to the US Quaker missions. The study moves from the general historical perspective to the specificities of the encounter. I have carried out an extensive literature review of books, journals, articles and theses to establish a comprehensive historical analysis of the 1898-1959 period and the predominant concepts and attitudes that prevailed in the US and Cuba during this time. Work by scholars such as Louis Pérez Jr., Jason Yaremko, Juana Berges, Rafael Cepeda, Marcos Antonio Ramos and Margaret Crahan on Protestantism in Cuba have proved invaluable and work by scholars on Protestantism in Latin America, US and Cuban relations, Cuban religiosity and Cuban national identity have also contributed background to this thesis. Secondary sources include not only contemporary publications but also material published during the historical period in question.

I have used a mixed methods approach, using triangulation to combine results from archival research, interviews and participant observational research.[4] Archival research was the principal source of information for this thesis, focusing on the historical period 1898-1959. I studied documents in the US and Cuba including diaries, letters, articles and reports written by the US Quaker missionaries, Cuban Quaker Monthly and Yearly Meeting minutes, and reports by Cuban Quakers. The US missionaries regularly reported to the American Friends Board of Missions (AFBM), based in Richmond, Indiana, which often included informal observations about the Cuban mission and the Cubans that reflected the prevailing attitudes of the

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[3] *Cultures of US imperialism,* ed. by Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).

[4] *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. by Clive Seale (London: SAGE, 1998) p.231 and Norman K. Denzin 'Symbolic Interactionism and Ethnomethodology: A Proposed Synthesis', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 34, No. 6. (Dec., 1969), p.926.

time. Reports by Cubans, particularly regarding the 'Cubanisation' of the Quaker mission, reveal much about how Cuban Quakers conceived the US missionaries and Cuban dependency on US funds. I also investigated United Fruit Company letters and reports related to their links with the Quaker mission.

Where archival research can give insight into valuable written histories and attitudes, interviews can offer a voice from sectors of society not represented or marginalised in documented materials.[5] I carried out over forty interviews with Cuban Quakers in Cuba and Miami. I used a qualitative analytical method for my interviews, which were unstructured. The aim of the interviews was to establish the image and legacy that the US Quaker missionaries left in Cuba and ascertain some of the Cuban Quakers' opinions regarding this legacy. Interviews also dealt with questions of US and Cuban culture and the 'Cubanisation' of Quakerism. Elderly Quakers who remembered the period before 1959 were key to this research. The interviews were complemented with participant observational research, which included attendance at Cuban Quaker services and Yearly Meeting between 1999-2002.

Interviews were held in relaxed atmospheres and participants were able to talk about what was important to them within the topic areas given. The interviewer and interviewee relationship is always complex and the gender, ethnicity, religion, class and nationality of all involved play a role in the outcome of interviews. Anne-Marie Fortier found that having a catholic background helped the Italian workers who she interviewed identify with her.[6] My Quaker background helped the Cuban Quakers identify with me. However, my identity as a white English woman coming from a 'Western' perspective (with all the obvious advantages of ability to travel, gain access to libraries and archives in various countries) will have influenced responses in my interviews. Furthermore, I found that my upbringing as a Quaker from the 'silent' tradition (predominant in Britain and parts of the US) as opposed to the 'programmed' Quaker tradition (predominant in parts of the US, Latin America and Africa) drew interviewees attentions to divisions in Quaker history that occurred in the nineteenth century and have altered Quaker perceptions of what it means to be a Quaker, greatly

[5] Ana Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) pp.230-252.
[6] Anne-Marie Fortier, 'Gender, Ethnicity and Fieldwork: A Case Study', in *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. by Clive Seale (London: SAGE, 1998) pp.52-57.

affecting responses to my questions due to the importance that this difference in background had to the interviewees. My preconceptions about the interviewees and their identities must also be noted; interviews are mutual encounters and can never be objective. As many feminist researchers have observed, the pretence of having neutral views is just another way of bringing the respondent into an exploitative relationship.[7] My access to resources and the ease with which I can develop such a project made me feel somewhat like I was taking the Cuban Quakers' history away from them and into a world in which their voices would be diluted amongst the many academic scholars whose concepts help bind this thesis. I endeavour to return my analysis of their history back to them with the aim that further work in this field can be developed by Cuban Quakers who, as I have experienced, have shown an interest in debating all aspects of their history.

The first three chapters of this thesis are based predominantly on secondary sources. The first chapter sets out the theoretical basis for the thesis engaging in the 'cultural encounters' debate with an analysis of the arguments presented by Joseph, Le Grand, Palmer, Stern, Pease and Kaplan amongst others. To understand the terms on which cultures from different nations encounter, Chapter One examines what is considered as 'national culture' and debates the concept of the Cuban national identity to aid an understanding of Cuban nationalism at the time of the encounter. Chapter Two places Protestantism in Latin America within the cultural encounters debate, with an analysis of the concept of 'culture' within a context of religion in Latin America. I further examine US cultural influences, particularly religious and racial expansionary aspirations, and concepts of Manifest Destiny, which have had a decisive impact on Latin America in terms of both the acceptance and the reaction to US imperialism. I also analyse the Quakers as evangelical missionaries and their common aims and objectives with other Protestant missionaries of the period. Chapter Three gives the reader important insight into Cuban religiosity, particularly Protestantism in Cuba from 1898-1959, within the context of the cultural encounters argument. Debates relating to US attitudes of religious and racial superiority, and the effect that they had on Cuban

[7] Ann Oakley 'Women's Studies in British Sociology: To End at Our Beginning?', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 40, No. 3, Special Issue: Sociology in Britain. (Sep., 1989), p. 460.

nationality, are of particular importance when examining US protestant encounters with Cuban communities.

Chapters Four to Seven are based predominantly on primary sources. Chapter Four analyses the motives and objectives for the establishment of the Quaker mission to Cuba and the historical context in which the Quakers developed their missionary zeal. This chapter introduces the reader to the complexities of the Quaker mission's relationship with the United Fruit Company (UFC) in Cuba. This relationship played an important role in Quaker missionaries' establishment of the mission in Cuba. Their choice of locale, the Gibara, Holguín, Banes region in eastern Cuba, was partly due to UFC dominance in this area and the company's offer of funds and land for the mission.

Chapter Five analyses the nature of 'Cuban Quakerism' drawing from concepts of the Cuban national identity. I investigate the power shifts between US and Cuban Quakers that have been described as the 'nationalisation' of the Quaker mission. The chapter is divided into chronological sections with an aim to determine the extent to which Quakerism became 'Cubanised'. Attitudes of US superiority and intentions regarding a 'civilising' mission are examined to establish whether the US Quaker missionaries only intended to hand over the mission once their cultural values and methods had been replicated by the Cubans.

Chapter Six continues the themes of Chapter Five treating the Quakers' 'civilising' mission and the importance that education played as a means through which they hoped to nurture church leaders and, more ambitiously, national leaders. The class and racial differences between the kind of Cuban that Quakers attracted to their schools and Cubans they attracted to their churches make a study of the class, gender and race relations adopted by the Quaker mission essential.

The study of the Quaker mission's funding is treated, particularly with regard to the triangle of reciprocity between the Banes Cuban Quakers, President Fulgencio Batista and the United Fruit Company. Much of the funding for the construction of the Quaker school in Banes came from national lottery funds administered by Batista. This caused tension within the Quaker society in Cuba and the US due to Quaker opposition to gambling. I examine these tensions and debates amongst Quakers and the development

of the relationship between the Banes Quakers and the local and national Cuban and US elite.

Throughout the thesis the concept is debated as to whether the encounter between US Quaker missionaries and the local Cuban communities can best be described as a cultural encounter or cultural imperialism. The historical, political and economic moment in which the missionaries and Cubans lived is always contextualised with regard to prevailing attitudes of the period in question and with an analysis of the 'cultures of Empire' thesis put forward by Amy Kaplan.

Chapter 1

The Cultural Encounters Debate

This chapter sets out the theoretical framework of the case study research throughout this thesis. Rather than analyse the various concepts and debates surrounding the general term 'imperialism', I focus specifically on debate regarding the role of US cultural imperialism in Latin America, particularly Cuba, between 1823 and 1959. The 'global-local' debate, recent work deconstructing so-called 'cultural encounters' and criticism of previously understood concepts regarding cultural imperialism, will be of particular relevance to the theoretical discussions throughout my thesis.

As this study analyses the 'cultural encounter' between US Quaker missionaries and Cuban communities, the development of a 'Cuban Quakerism' must be defined. I examine the 'national' of what is meant by 'Cuban', to understand what a 'Cubanisation' of Quakerism could entail, and the concept of 'culture' and 'national culture' that ultimately defines the essence of this encounter.

To contextualise the 'cultural encounters' thesis, I first examine the wider debates on imperialism. For this purpose this chapter begins with an introduction to some key concepts and definitions of imperialism that influence debate in this area. I then focus on US imperialism in Cuba, and questions regarding the development of a Cuban national identity. Then the 'cultural encounters' hypothesis is analysed followed by an explanation of how this hypothesis will be tested in my research.

Debates on Cultural Imperialism in Latin America

Imperialism is not reducible to a single component, so that a discussion of so-called 'economic imperialism' is nonsense. Imperialism is a multidimensional phenomenon whose components are in dynamic interplay. The political, economic, military, social, and cultural institutions, policies, and policy-makers act complementarily to reinforce each other's contribution to the maintenance of the metropolitan power. [8]

Imperialism can be understood in economic, political, historical and/or cultural terms. The colonial era in Latin America was a period of direct political rule by the metropolis for political and economic gain. After the independence of Latin American nations, there followed an imperialism based on informal economic control. There has been a great deal of scholarly work on economic and political imperialism while cultural imperialism has often been neglected. Petras defines cultural imperialism as 'the systematic penetration and domination of the cultural life of the popular classes by the ruling class of the West in order to reorder the values, behaviour, institutions and identity of the oppressed peoples to conform with the interests of the imperial classes.'[9] Although Petras is discussing cultural imperialism in relation to the late twentieth century, much of his analysis is relevant for the 1898-1959 period, as the historic blueprint for many of the techniques for propaganda and other forms of cultural imperialism were developed long before the second half of the twentieth century.

A discussion of cultural imperialism would not be complete without reference to the meaning of 'culture'. It is problematic to talk of any one nation's culture due to the heterogeneous and changing nature of the many cultural aspects that make up any one nation. Culture is not a fixed concept with boundaries, but rather a social construction (like the terms 'race' and 'nation') that exists precisely because of the diverse interpretations that it is given within society.

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[8] James Petras, *Politics and Social Structure in Latin America*, (New York/London: Monthly Review Press, 1970), p.300.

[9] James Petras, 'Cultural imperialism in the late 20th century', January 21st 2003, www.rebelion.org, p.2.

Raymond Williams developed three main categories for defining culture: Firstly 'a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development'; secondly 'a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general'; and finally 'the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity.'[10] This broad definition of 'culture' pinpoints the importance of the many different aspects that contribute to an understanding of it, but it is also important to distinguish between culture generated and promoted by the ruling elite and intellectual elite as opposed to the popular culture developed by distinct social groups amongst marginalized or subaltern sectors of society. I would suggest that intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic manifestations are developed and controlled, to a certain extent, by leading intellectuals, religious leaders, and other principal politicians and philosophers who develop notions that bind local, national and transnational interpretations of culture. The particular way of life or daily cultural practices can be understood as developing amongst a variety of social groups that take from the cultures developed by the dominant elites, but reinterpret and develop new concepts of culture through daily experience and selection, which can include cultural practices such as religious rituals, celebrations, and everyday habits. That is not to say that culture is 'chosen' in the sense used by 'voluntarists', who claim that culture is a product of each individual's cognitive processes that choose the cultural values that guide daily actions.[11] The emphasis on choice and agency must be studied within an understanding that social structures can be dominated by ideas and constraints emanating from politicians, philosophers, church leaders, the media and others, but it is the popular interpretations, manifestations and amalgamations of these leading ideologues that make up what can be described as popular culture, or a common cultural life expressed by different social groups at differing periods in history.

Gilbert Joseph stresses the importance of 'symbols and meanings embedded in the daily practices of the elite and subaltern (or [alternatively] foreign and local)' and he emphasises the importance of examining the links between culture and power. He adds that cultures develop within a context of exchange between unequal power

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[10] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, (London: Fontana Press, 1983) p.90.

[11] Sharon Hays, 'Structure and Agency and the Sticky Problem of Culture', *Sociological Theory*, Vol.12, No.1 (March 1994) p.60.

relations in a process that involves 'reciprocal borrowings, expropriations, and transformations.'[12] Joseph's use of the term 'exchange' again denotes a stress on 'choice' and individual agency, reducing the emphasis on power structures within society and the manner in which these structures can control or manipulate dominant cultures accepted within societies. As Sharon Hays put it: 'People are agents in that alternative courses of action are possible, and in that they make (conscious or unconscious) choices [but these are always] among an available set of structurally provided alternatives.'[13]

The encompassing use of the term 'cultural' used interchangeably with terms such as intellectual, spiritual, aesthetic and artistic, often blurs or hides important political, economical and ideological issues worthy of debate. On the other hand some scholars, such as Petras and Hays, prefer to emphasise the importance of ideology as a crucial element of culture, suggesting that the term 'culture' is often used due to its broad nature, for what is really 'ideology'. Joseph's use of the term 'culture' lacks any reference to ideology, which I would suggest distorts his analysis of encounters between the foreign and the local. Petras concedes that there are multiple perspectives concerning the study of culture. With regard to culture as ideology, he claims that culture encompasses the formation and expression of subjectivity. He sums up many of the ideas thus far discussed by arguing that 'ideological beliefs and political action are a result of multiple determinations, including socio-economic conditions [...] and by political organisations, leadership, the mass media, religious institutions and by social organizations embedded in traditions, family and community practices.' [14] Donald Pease claims that the concept of culture includes 'ways of life, symbolic actions and representations, contradictory forms of common sense, social practices, and networks of social institutions.'[15] It is this emphasis on social practices and structures, and the role that ideology plays as an integral element of cultural forms, that is missing from Joseph's use of the term 'culture'. Throughout this thesis many of the elements that make up what is understood to be 'culture',

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[12] Gilbert Joseph, 'Towards a New Cultural History of US-Latin American Relations,' in *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of US-Latin American Relations,* ed. by Gilbert Joseph, Catherine Le Grand, Ricardo Salvatore (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998) p.8.
[13] Hays, 'Structure and Agency and the Sticky Problem of Culture', p.62.
[14] Petras, 'Cultural imperialism in the late 20th century' p.1.
[15] Donald E Pease, 'New Perspectives on U.S. Culture and Imperialism,' in *Cultures of US imperialism* ed. by Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993) p.27.

including the social and ideological confines within which cultures are manifested, are analysed within the context of the encounter between US Protestant missionaries and the Cuban communities in which they established missions. One important aspect that is considered is the development of the missionaries' religious convictions within the context of national and international historical changes.

In addition, I analyse the different interpretations of this 'cultural encounter' between the US missionaries and the Cuban communities depending on prevailing attitudes in the US and Cuba regarding US imperialism and Cuban nationalism. For an understanding of prevailing attitudes in the US the thesis developed by Amy Kaplan is imperative. She proposes that the study of US culture is the study of US imperialism and that the two are inseparable entities.[16]

The quotation opening this section clearly demonstrates Petras's belief that culture contributes to imperial domination, and that it can contribute to the absence of revolutionary behaviour. When discussing the cultural aspects of imperialism, Petras suggests that students and intellectual associations 'are used by the US government to transmit values among the educated classes of the third world to facilitate the acceptance of US economic penetration.'[17] To suggest that the US government can 'use' (which implies infiltration) and control such organisations is a powerful accusation. It might be more appropriate to suggest that the government could rely on such organisations to promote the US economic, political and cultural agenda, due to the effective use of propaganda and the national sentiment of the imperialist historical moment. The important link between US missionaries and US business interests in Cuba is analysed (particularly in Chapter Seven) to explore the extent to which US Protestant missions may have aided US economic imperialism and vice versa. I will also examine the extent to which any alliance between US missionary and business interests was a conscious and determined act of US imperialism or a product of the imperialist historical moment. In order to demonstrate the historical basis of this theoretical position, the following section will concentrate on the history of US imperialism in Cuba between 1823-1959.

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[16] Amy Kaplan, 'New Perspectives on US Culture and Imperialism,' in *Cultures of US imperialism* ed. by Kaplan and Pease, pp.11-12.
[17] Petras, *Politics and Social Structure in Latin America*, p.300.

Historical Analysis of US Imperialism in Cuba 1823-1959

It was as a result of [Latin American] independence, [...] that Latin America consolidated its dependence. [...] Most Latin American countries have never controlled their own internal markets nor the destination of the economic surplus generated by their productive forces.[18]

Galeano regards the post-colonial period in Latin America as the start of the 'neo-colonial' era. There were changes to the pattern of political and economic relations between the newly formed independent Latin American nations and Europe and the United States. However, Latin American national economies and society continued to be manipulated by external powers, and their independence did not lead to a comprehensive economic or political sovereignty. The post-independence governments were predominantly formed and structured by the wealthier classes and landowners who had much to lose if relations with the ruling classes of the wealthy nations were severed. Cuba was late in gaining independence in comparison to other Latin American countries, and the most intensive period of US intervention and economic dominance came after 1898. However, due to Cuba's geographic proximity and growing political and economic significance to the US throughout the nineteenth century, the island was considered by some as an extension to the coast of Florida.[19]

Any analysis of the neo-colonial form of imperialism must refer to the history of US political and economic expansionism. US territorial expansionism and imperial desire to increase political and economic power is a historical phenomenon that dates back to the 1780s leading up to the purchase of Louisiana in 1803. James Dunkerley, using categories developed by Peter Smith, describes the US 'Imperial Era' by splitting it into distinct periods. 'Acquisition and consolidation' characterised the 1780 to 1820 period as the US proved committed to westward expansion. The 'Monroe Doctrine' dominated the US of the 1820s to 1860s. Territorial expansionism continued with the acquisition of Mexican territories during the

[18] Eduardo Galeano, 'Latin America and the Theory of Imperialism', in *Readings in US Imperialism*, K.T. Fann and Donald Hodges, (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971) p.208.
[19] Lars Schoultz, *Beneath the United States: A history of U.S. Policy Towards Latin America* (Cambridge MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1998) p.48.

1846-8 Mexican War, which coincided with the first use of the concept of Manifest Destiny.[20]

Dunkerley defines the 1860-1880 period as a 'vacuum of power' due to the growth of European involvement in the continent and the preoccupation in the US with internal issues and civil war. After the 1880s, US confidence in the expansion of its hemispheric influence grew once again, culminating in intervention in Cuba's independence war against Spain.[21] The 1898-1930 period has been described as the US interventionist period.[22] Dunkerley describes it as a period in which 'hemispheric ambitions [were] aggressively pursued'.[23]

From as early as Thomas Jefferson's presidency and continued by the Monroe Doctrine, the emphasis was on safeguarding the continent as 'American' and independent from European powers. Although the main purpose of the Monroe Doctrine was to denounce any intervention by European powers anywhere in the Americas, it was not initially intended to advocate US intervention in Latin America. James Monroe originally indicated that non-intervention and containment were the best policies for the US towards the region.[24] However, the Monroe Doctrine clearly influenced future policies, effectively promoting US ambitions as the sole hemispheric power.

It was commonly believed among the ruling US elite that Cuba would eventually be annexed to the US. As John Quincy Adams put it in 1823, 'without entering now into the enquiry of the expediency of our annexing Texas or Cuba to our Union, we should at least keep ourselves free to act as emergencies may arise.'[25] He further stated that 'the annexation of Cuba to our federal republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself.'[26] However, action was not taken at

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[20] James Dunkerley, 'The United States and Latin America In the Long Run (1800-1945)' in *The United States and Latin America: The New Agenda,* ed. by Victor Bulmer-Thomas and James Dunkerley (Cambridge MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1999) pp.5-7.
[21] Ibid., p.5.
[22] Edward Kaplan. *US Imperialism in Latin America: Bryan's Challenges and Contributions, 1900-1920* (Westport, Connecticut/London: Greenwood Press, 1998), p.2.
[23] Dunkerley, 'The United States and Latin America In the Long Run (1800-1945)' p.5.
[24] Ibid., p.9.
[25] Schoultz, *Beneath the United States,* p.18.
[26] Ibid., p.48.

this juncture, as it was believed that Cuba would fall into US hands like a ripened apple which 'cannot choose but to fall to the ground.'[27] In 1848 there was further debate, regarding the acquisition of the Yucatán and Cuba, by US Southerners who hoped to annex slaveholding societies. An offer of 100 million dollars was made to Madrid for the purchase of Cuba.[28] This offer, like future ones, was turned down by Spanish authorities, eager not to lose the most important of their remaining colonial territories.

Latin American nations would often criticise the apparent hypocrisy of the Monroe Doctrine. To many it would seem logical that if the US claimed the right to prevent foreign intervention, then it should not intervene itself.[29] There developed in the US not only an agenda to prevent European intervention, but also a belief in the promotion of US economic, political, cultural and religious forms as superior to those of the rest of the region. This belief constituted part of the US Manifest Destiny, a belief that the US had created an improved society in which God had chosen them for a quest that involved the dissemination of this society's norms and political and economic structures to backward and underdeveloped areas.[30] This attitude mirrors previous imperialist approaches by European powers and has led to continued political, economic, military and cultural US intervention into Latin American affairs. As President Polk put it in his address to congress in 1847, 'No country has been so much favoured, or should acknowledge with deeper reverence the manifestations of Divine protection. An all wise Creator directed and guarded us in an infant struggle for freedom, and has constantly watched over our surprising progress, until we have become one of the great nations of the earth.'[31] Added to their divine protection, the governing body in the US also expressed a belief in their racial superiority over the Mexican people by suggesting that Mexico should be 'inhabited by a different race of people'.[32]

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[27] Richard W Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960) p.148.
[28] Schoultz, *Beneath the United States* p.49.
[29] Cole Blasier, *The Giant's Rival: The USSR and Latin America,* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983).
[30] Don Coerver and Linda Hall, *Tangled Destinies: Latin America and the United States* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1999), p.18.
[31] Dunkerley, 'The United States and Latin America In the Long Run (1800-1945)' p.12.
[32] Ibid., p.11.

Perhaps an extreme, if not illustrative example of the religious, racist and expansionist nature of the Manifest Destiny is given by the Reverend Josiah Strong in his book 'Our Country', written in 1885.

> It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future. [...] Then will the world enter upon a new stage of its history - the final competition of races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled. [...] Then this race of unequalled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it- the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization- [...] will spread itself over the earth. If I read not amiss, this powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa and beyond.[33]

Strong was the secretary for the Congregational Home Missionary Society and sold 175 thousand copies of his book 'Our Country' before 1916, which demonstrates the power and popularity of his message amongst the dominant Protestant community in the US.[34] There can be little doubt that there was an evangelical and racist subtext to US expansionary aspirations from the outset. It is this belief in national, racial and religious superiority that demonstrates the important role that cultural and ideological imperialism played, not only to convince the US citizens of the righteous nature of their imperial adventures, but also to convince the nations affected by this imperial trend.

Throughout the nineteenth century there was a clear agenda in the US not only to obtain Cuba, but also to 'Americanise' the island. James Buchanan, Secretary of State under Polk (1845-1849), stated that 'under our government [Cuba] would speedily be Americanised as Louisiana has been. [...] Cuba, justly appreciating the advantages of annexation, is now ready to rush into our arms.'[35] The belief that Cuba would inevitably become a possession of the US continued to be popular right up to

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[33] Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis,* ed. by Jurgen Herbst (Cambridge, Mass: University of Harvard Press, 1963, 1st edn, 1886) pp.213-214.
[34] Ibid., pp.ix-xvi.
[35] Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire*, p.151.

the US intervention in the country's independence war with Spain in 1898. Although this intervention sidelined the Cuban independence fighters, along with some of their principal aims, Theodore Roosevelt described the US's contribution to that war as 'the most absolutely righteous war'. It was clear, however, that for many policy makers the aim was not to 'give' Cuba her independence, but for the island to become a US protectorate or possession.[36]

Woodrow Wilson expressed opinions in 1898 and in his 1902 book that mirror the fusion of the racist and religious drive expressed by Josiah Strong. Wilson suggested that the US 'was born to exemplify that devotion to the elements of righteousness which are derived from the revelations of Holy Scripture.'[37] He then also stated that it was the 'efficient races of Europe' that promoted the principle of authority and that it was the duty of the US to teach colonial peoples 'order and self-control [and to] impart to them [...] the drill and habit of law and obedience which we long ago got out of [...] English history'.[38] This constituted not only a belief in US superiority, but also in their supposed benevolent and civilising nature. This demonstrates the important role that cultural imperialism had in the promotion of the 'benevolent' nature of the imperial classes.

One of the fundamental reasons for such expansionary aspiration is clearly stated by Wilson in 1907 when he insisted that all nations who close their doors to the US market would have those doors 'battered down'. He added that 'Concessions obtained by financiers must be safeguarded by ministers of the state, even if the sovereignty of unwilling nations be outraged in the process. Colonies must be obtained or planted, in order that no useful corner of the world may be overlooked or left unused.'[39]

The US occupation of Cuba of 1899-1902 and laws introduced during this period, particularly Civil Order No.62, aided the acquisition by US corporations of land on the war devastated island. In addition the reciprocity treaty of 1903, in which the US lowered tariffs on some Cuban exports in exchange for lowered duties on certain US

[36] Dunkerley, 'The United States and Latin America In the Long Run (1800-1945)' p.8.
[37] Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire*, p.202.
[38] Ibid., p.197.
[39] Ibid., p.201.

goods, tied Cuba to the US economy, reducing industrial diversification and enhancing dependency on sugar exports.[40] The Platt Amendment, passed by the US Congress and written into the Cuban constitution, solidified Cuban political dependence on the US, giving the US the right to intervene for the 'preservation of Cuban Independence' and the protection of individual liberties and property, further securing land for a US naval base.[41] The Platt Amendment was invoked on several occasions during the first three decades of the Cuban Republic, with the US military occupying Cuba between 1906-1909 and US marines deployed in 1917, staying until mid-1919, although some were not withdrawn until 1922.[42] US business in Cuba called upon US military involvement to protect their property targeted by Cuban insurgents.[43]

The need to facilitate external markets for US business was an aim at the heart of imperialism. Dunkerley argues that the 1933 to 1940 period saw a change of policy in the US from military intervention to a financial stronghold accompanied by diplomacy. Political and economic objectives, however, stayed the same. This period was characterised by Franklin Roosevelt's 'Good Neighbour Policy' in which he stated that 'armed intervention by the US in any other American republic was a thing of the past.'[44] When a nationalist administration gained power in Cuba in 1933, introducing progressive reforms regarding workers rights and enfranchising women, the US ambassador, Sumner Welles, proposed intervention due to his flawed concerns that the Cuban government was 'communistic'. Although Roosevelt refused military intervention, diplomatic recognition of the Ramón Grau San Martín government was not acknowledged and US authorities successfully sought his removal through negotiations with the chief of the army, Fulgencio Batista.[45] Roosevelt, like Wilson, drew up a bold new world order only to allude to the same

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[40] Schoultz, *Beneath the United States,* pp.198-199. See also: Oscar Zanetti and Alejandro Garcia. *United Fruit Company: Un Caso del Dominio Imperialista en Cuba,* (Havana, Cuba: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1976) pp.53-56.

[41] *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. by Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr and Pamela Maria Smokaloff, (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2003) pp.147-149.

[42] Schoultz, *Beneath the United States,* p.233.

[43] In 1906 the manager of the UFC pleaded for US military protection for his 35 American and 25 British employees and the company's vast assets. Managers Letters, September 28th 1906, p.785, *Archivo del Museo Histórico*, Banes.

[44] Dunkerley, 'The United States and Latin America In the Long Run (1800-1945)' p.26.

[45] Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution,* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) pp.273-275 and p.300.

aspirations of eradicating evil and propagating democracy.[46] There continued to be the presumption of moral US superiority that required a mission to convert the rest of the world.

Amy Kaplan stresses that culture has been absent from the study of US imperialism as empire has been absent from the study of 'American' culture. According to Kaplan there has been a common denial, by many historians, that a US empire has ever existed. This denial is rooted in the assumption that because there was a struggle for independence from Britain, the US would naturally be anti-imperialist. Some historians have contained US imperialism to short periods such as from 1898-1912, when in reality these only reflect different stages in which military intervention may have been more aggressive.[47] Political, economic and cultural US imperialism has a far more extensive time frame, which has been elaborated on in this chapter.

The assertion that US imperialism either never existed or was short lived alludes to the illusion of its uniqueness. This belief in the unique nature of US (non) imperialism is coupled with the 'civilising', 'democratising' or 'modernising' nature that US cultural imperialism is often masked as. This gives the impression that US power is benevolent, having morals and values not only superior to those of other nations but also to those of previous imperial powers. Kaplan not only emphasises the importance of studying US cultural imperialism's effects on the subjugated other, but also analyses how it shapes the dominant culture in the US itself. As empire effectively becomes 'a way of life' in the US, the denial of this empire, or its projection as unique and benevolent, also shapes the US national culture at home.[48]

National Cultures and the Forming of the Cuban National Identity

To understand the terms on which cultures from different nations meet, it is crucial that we identify what is considered as 'national culture'. The nature of cultural imperialism, discussed above, and Kaplan's thesis on the cultures of 'Empire,' and

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[46] Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire*, pp.204-205.
[47] Kaplan, 'New Perspectives on US Culture and Imperialism,' p.11-12.
[48] Ibid., pp.11-12.

the question of whether imperialism was an integral part of what is understood as US national culture, merit considerable analysis with regards to the US Quaker missionaries' attitudes and notions of 'Cuban Quakerism', which is analysed in Chapter Five.

The development of a 'Cuban Quakerism' cannot be understood without an analysis of what it means to be 'Cuban', the nature of Cuba's national identity and the nationalist movements of the time. Before discussing what is regarded as Cuba's national culture, it is first necessary to assess this emergence of a Cuban national identity. It is not within the realm of this thesis to analyse the emergence in detail through primary sources. Instead, I shall use rigorous, in-depth analyses of scholars such as Louis Pérez Jr., Alejandro de la Fuente, Aline Helg, Antoni Kapcia and Ada Ferrer. The concept of a Cuban national identity will, in Chapter Five, be woven into an analysis of the emergence of a 'Cuban Quakerism' that was not divorced from the national developments of the Cuban nation.

If race, religion and language alone do not define nations, and nor do material and economic interests or geography, then what is it that can be understood as a national identity? Benedict Anderson suggests that people need a 'deep horizontal comradeship' or solidarity that has led to or could lead to a great sacrifice. He has famously described the nation as an 'imagined community'. [49] It is 'imagined' in the sense that the members of this community do not know all the other members and may never meet them, yet still have an affinity with them. Although relationships within this community may be unequal or exploitative, the affinity continues to exist on a horizontal level.[50]

Cuba existed long before Cuban independence, but what did the break with Spain mean for the Cuban identity? Nationalist sentiment grew amongst Cubans of African and Spanish descent, which exemplifies how a nation does not necessarily need a common history or ethnicity to have a common 'national identity'.[51] The

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[49] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London/New York: Verso, 1991) p.7.
[50] Ibid,. p.6.
[51] Walterio Carbonell, 'Birth of a National Culture', in *AfroCuba*, ed. by Pedro Perez Sarduy and Jean Stubbs (New York: Latin American Bureau, 1993) p.195.

independence wars during the last third of the nineteenth century forged the notion of 'Cubanidad', a collective and common purpose giving the Cubans their 'imagined community' in their unity against Spain.[52] As Ernest Gellner suggests, it is nationalism that creates nations and not the other way around. He states that 'nationalism [...] sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures'.[53] Antoni Kapcia argues, however, that much of the literature on the concept of 'nation', such as Gellner's, is relevant to European history and cannot reflect accurately the Cuban case.[54] The concept of 'Cubanidad' existed, according to Kapcia, from the early 1700s, but the development of the idea of 'cubanía', the search for a Cuban national identity, did not emerge until the 1800s and developed in many different and often conflicting forms.[55]

Cuban nationalism existed long before the creation of a Cuban Republic. However, the fragile unity of diverse cultures and classes that was created in overthrowing Spain fragmented once independence was realised, as the defeat of the colonial power was central to what had united them. Concepts of what constituted a Cuban nation differed, especially with reference to racial equality. It was unity in the face of the 'enemy', in this case Spain, that created an understanding of 'Cuban' as a racially diverse entity. As José Martí put it, 'Cuban is more than white, more than mulatto, more than Negro'.[56] Ada Ferrer points to the importance that this anti-racist ideology had at a time of racist attitudes, eugenics and racial tensions in the US. A revolutionary movement against the Spanish colonial power developed this notion of a raceless Cuban nation.[57]

It was not only unity against Spain, but also the ensuing internal and external power struggles that defined what was to become the official image of a 'Cuban' national

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[52] James Dunkerley has similarly made this connection with regard to the formation of Central American national identities. James Dunkerley, *Power in the Isthmus: A Political History of Modern Central America* (London/New York: Verso, 1988) p.6.
[53] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983) p.49.
[54] Antoni Kapcia, *Cuba: Island of Dreams*, (Oxford/New York: Berg, 2000) p.20.
[55] For a discussion on the various ideologies represented within the concept of Cubanía see Kapcia, *Cuba*, p.24-97.
[56] Alejandro de la Fuente, 'Race, National Discourse, and Politics in Cuba: An Overview,' *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 100, Vol. 25, No. 3, May 1998, p.44.
[57] Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill/London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999) pp.1-4.

identity. Cuba's ruling elite, throughout the nineteenth century, believed that Cuban nationhood was impossible, based on their racist ideas of Cubans' inability to self-rule, and their fears of what they considered as the dangers of a Haitian style revolution in Cuba. Similar views were also held by those members of Cuba's elite who advocated annexation to the US. Ferrer highlights the consequences that the 1898-1902 US occupation of Cuba had for the Afro-Cuban community. After thirty years of intermittent fighting for Cuban independence, the antiracist social revolution was thwarted by US intervention.[58]

It is essential to make clear from the outset the sense in which the term 'race' is used here. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries racial 'science' was widespread, especially in the US and Europe, where Social Darwinism and ideas of biologically superior races were linked to ideas of progress and development. Although 'race' in biological terms has been shown not to exist, it is a social construct that has a history involving ideas of superiority, colonisation and science. Race, as a social construct exists in contemporary society and politics and manifests itself in different forms depending on its historical and political context.[59] It is important not to ignore issues of race but to study the effect that this social construct has had throughout history and its implications for present society. The understanding of race as a social construct rather than a biological hierarchy has only been prevalent since the Second World War.[60]

During the 1880-1940 period the promotion of eugenics in Europe and the US influenced the world. The US government drew up laws banning inter-racial marriage, introduced sterilisation programmes and racial quotas in immigration. Latin American governments, although influenced by these trends, tended not to adopt such extreme ideas and practices, predominantly due to the racial diversity of their societies and the Catholic Church's rejection of sterilisation.[61] The elites in Latin America were, however, influenced by eugenics and adapted this 'science' to fit in with their specific needs. Predominant racial policy in Latin America included

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[58] Ibid., pp.1-12.
[59] Peter Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*, (London: Pluto Press 1997), p.13.
[60] Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba,* pp.2-3.
[61] Nancy L. Stepan, *'The Hour of Eugenics': Race, Gender and Nation in Latin America*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp.171-196.

the idea of the need to 'whiten' the population primarily through the encouragement of European immigration and the promotion of miscegenation, in the hope that as the general population whitened Indians and Blacks would 'disappear'.

Ultimately the concept of a raceless nation led to a degree of silencing of discussion on issues of race. Instead, leading Independence fighters imagined a nation in which there were 'no whites nor blacks, but only Cubans,' as the mulatto general Antonio Maceo put it.[62] The notion that race was irrelevant became a powerful tool not only in the defence of racial equality, but also in the repression of political defenders of Afro-Cuban communities using the language of race to defend their cause. Once a limited Cuban state had been established, within the parameters of US indirect rule, the image of a united national identity was exploited by the ruling elite and their political and economic interests, at the expense of demands made by marginalized sectors of society.[63] Under the guise of US eugenicists, racist 'science' became more popular among Cuban elites than in other Latin American countries.[64]

US influence was restrained by the Cuban national identity that had initially united Cubans under a banner of racial equality, which forced the US government of occupation to reconsider their proposal to restrict suffrage along racial lines. Military Governor Leonard Wood was opposed by veterans of the Liberation Army when he tried to create an all white artillery corps. On the other hand, many of the members of the Liberation Army also believed that 'whitening' the nation would encourage progress and modernity and they therefore promoted 'white' immigration.[65]

The myth of racial equality, initially promoted for purposes of unity against Spain, was upheld to aid Cuban national unity and therefore silence race related grievances, which the ruling elite labelled as unpatriotic. The call for 'one' Cuba underlay the José Miguel Gomez administration's prohibition of political parties formed along racial lines, and the ensuing 1912 massacre of thousands of frustrated and

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[62] Ada Ferrer, 'Rethinking Race and Nation in Cuba' in *Cuba, the Elusive Nation: Interpretations of a National Identity*, ed. by Damián J. Fernández and Madeline Cámara Betancourt, (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2000), pp.60-66.
[63] Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912*, (The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill and London, 1995), pp.5-7.
[64] Stepan *'The Hour of Eugenics'*, pp.171-196.
[65] de la Fuente, 'Race, National Discourse, and Politics in Cuba,' p.47.

marginalized Afro-Cubans, protesting against the prohibition of the Partido Independiente de Color (The Independent Party of Colour).

Political and economic interests often direct the constant reconstruction of national identities. National identity, with its imagined 'borders' and constant need to defend against the 'Other', is crucial to the political elite to gain support for its political ventures. The need to legitimise this imagined community and what its leaders do, in the 'national interest', leads to urgency in enforcing an apparently single, pure or homogenous culture and history to create this imagined 'national identity'. The need to create meaning for the nation's identity is imperative to the promotion of unity within this imagined community. Understanding national identities as social and political constructs, constantly being reconstructed and directed primarily by the political and economic elite, is fundamental to the history of all 'national identities', not just Cuba's.

It is important, therefore, to identify the image of a Cuban identity presented by the ruling elite at any one historic moment, against the political and economic interests of that elite and the foreign powers involved in that elite's survival. Cuban national identity has been forged as much by Cuba's relations with foreign powers as it has by Cuba's religious, cultural, racial, or linguistic make-up at any one time. Both unity against Spain in the independence wars and later unity against US imperialism in the 1959 Revolution contained nationalist sentiment that contributed considerably to the Cuban 'imagined community'. The post-independence period was characterised by US domination of the island, initiated by the US occupation from 1898-1902. Not only had Cuba incurred a 'debt of gratitude' to the US for 'liberating' her, but also the Cuban 'blacks' were 'indebted' to the 'whites' for having 'liberated' them. As a prominent Cuban newspaper put it 'For blacks to be free [...] many whites struggled and died [...] Blacks by themselves would never have become free.'[66] As Louis Pérez has stressed, debts of gratitude have to be repaid and if the recipient of that debt does not appear grateful, they are considered unworthy of self-government. The acceptance of including the Platt Amendment in the Cuban constitution demonstrated one element of the Cuban authority's attempt to

[66] Ibid., p.46.

demonstrate gratitude to the US. However, the US administration continued to expect a grateful and subservient Cuban administration. Cuban nationhood no longer represented something achieved through the struggle of Cuban patriots, as US narratives had transformed it into a nationhood bestowed by a benevolent US. The development of Cuban identity that had previously symbolised a multi-racial struggle against the Spanish oppressors had been transformed into a paternal 'gift'. This 'gift' of 'liberation' secured both the accommodation and dominance of the US and subsequently the continuation in power in Cuba of a white male Cuban elite with whom the US could do business.[67]

As de la Fuente emphasises, there were many different visions of what a Cuban national identity meant to Cubans and the image that identity should portray. From its birth the Cuban government opposed the immigration of black workers, but due to the powerful influence of the sugar companies, 300 thousand black workers from Haiti, Jamaica and other Caribbean islands entered Cuba. In some circles this was considered as a black 'invasion' and again there were calls for further 'white' immigration. 'White' Cubans proclaimed that the 'racial and cultural future' of Cuba was at stake.[68] While Afro-Cuban, Caribbean, Spanish, Creole, Mulatto, Chinese and many other national and cultural communities contributed to the continual reinterpretation of a Cuban national identity, a dominant political and economic US presence also made a considerable cultural footprint on Cuba's national identity.

Pérez has highlighted the important role that US culture played in the formation, or reformation of the Cuban national identity. During the nineteenth century many influential leaders of the independence movement, the ideologues behind the creation of a Cuban nation, such as José Martí, lived as émigrés in the US. The US represented to many Cubans an example to be followed in terms of the creation of a Republican State, economic prosperity based on the application of technology and entry into markets linked to the US. In many cases Cuban Independence fighters adopted US values and religion as representative of progress and the promise of

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[67] Louis A. Pérez, 'Incurring a Debt of Gratitude: 1898 and the Moral Sources of United States Hegemony in Cuba,' *American Historical Review*, (April 1999) pp.356-398. The idea of Cuba's 'debt of gratitude' to the US was also analysed by Leland Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony: A Study in Sugar*, (New York: Vanguard Press, 1928), pp.58-84.

[68] de la Fuente, 'Race, National Discourse, and Politics in Cuba,' pp.50-52.

improved living conditions. After 1898 US business, religious and political institutions entered Cuba with much the same message, and their entrance was made easier by many of the Cuban émigré population of the nineteenth century. Pérez claims that Cubans had developed an affinity for 'ways and things North American', which to many represented 'civilization'.[69]

Pérez understands national identity 'not as a fixed and immutable construct but rather as cultural artefact, as contested- and contesting-representations often filled with contradictions and incoherence, almost always in flux. [...] It is, as it were, a work in progress, in a state of continual development.'[70] It is clear that the idea of a Cuban nation has always been 'a work in progress', like that of any other nation. The understanding of what the Cuban nation represents to state authorities internally, externally and to the diverse Cuban social groups within and without the country is diverse. The Cuban national identity is an amalgamation of many cultural influences, and came into being with a more certain idea of what it did not want to be, a Spanish colony, than what it would then become. National identities are often defined as much by what they are not, with regard to the 'Other', or the enemy that they oppose, than with regard to what they are at any one moment.

Although discussions regarding the institutional and political structure of the modern capitalist state are fundamental to a more complete understanding of the concept of 'nation', this study is focussed on the roles of culture and religion. Cultures have played a crucial role in defining the make-up of national identities, but a clear understanding of 'culture' is as complex as demarcating the concept of the 'nation'. Pérez suggests that 'culture exists as a system of representation, signifying the practices and institutions from which nationality is derived and acted out.'[71] He examines the influence that culture has on the development of national identity, highlighting the concepts of gender, class, religion and age that he suggests add to the formation of national identity. All of these factors combine to create an imagined community which is then bound by the structures and institutions of a nation-state.

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[69] Louis A.. Pérez, *On becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality and Culture* (Capital Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp.6-7.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., p.9.

Pérez makes it clear that with regard to US cultural influence, 'ideas, values, and norms took hold [in Cuba] not through compulsion or coercion but by way of assent and acquiescence.'[72] To illustrate his point he gives the examples of baseball and Protestantism as having been first introduced by Cubans in the nineteenth century, and that Cubans 'eagerly' participated in consumer culture and were 'devoted' to Hollywood movies. He suggests that by the 1950s 'to challenge "North American," [...] was to challenge what it meant to be Cuban.'[73] The Cubans, he claims, were not subjugated by an oppressive culture. He also gives examples of the many ways that elements of Cuban culture, particularly music and dance, were adopted and reinterpreted in the US.[74] I would suggest that Pérez fails to acknowledge propaganda and notions of superiority that fall between 'coercion' on the one hand and 'assent' on the other. The cultures that define our daily practices are not necessarily consciously adopted and those accompanying a dominating force can be aided by propaganda, education and other powers of persuasion that encourage 'assent' where other 'choices' may not be available due to a lack of information or opportunities.

Although Pérez makes it clear that coercion was not used to impose US cultural norms in Cuba, he claims that because US cultural influences were introduced and sustained in a context of acquiescence, US hegemony on the island was achieved with more ease.[75] It is fair to say that many Cuban leaders adopted US 'ideas, norms and values' as their own, and examples of Cuban cultures influencing US cultures are clearly apparent, but one important point not developed by Pérez is the way in which US culture was communicated to the Cubans, and whether an integral part of US culture, in its exported and internal form, was moulded by the concept of 'Empire'.

It is, as discussed above, problematic to understand one national culture, such as US or Cuban culture, in the singular. These nations are made up of diverse and changing cultures. However, a construction is developed by leading intellectual, religious leaders and powerful politicians that symbolises and is propagated as the Cuban or

[72] Perez, *On becoming Cuban,* p.9.
[73] Ibid., p.12.
[74] Ibid., p.10.
[75] Ibid., p.11.

'American' culture. Throughout most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a discourse of empire, expansionism and religious righteousness embodied the official and common construction of the 'American way'. Kaplan made this important connection with her analysis of the cultures of imperialism.[76] The cultures of 'Empire,' integral to the US concept of 'American', are often exported and adopted by the nations that fall within the US sphere of influence, which can help us understand the Cuban acquiescence of US culture as described by Pérez. However, this US presence on the island has also led to the counter-narrative that Pérez also acknowledges when he claims that the growth of US hegemony on the island led to Cuban nationalism becoming analogous with the overthrow of US imperialism.[77]

As Pérez has shown, there was a popular assimilation of many different cultural aspects of US dominance in Cuba that were often represented as a means to 'modernity' and 'progress'. This is one of the major criticisms made of Protestant missionaries, who, like many of their era, believed that their culture and their civilisation were superior.

Cultural Imperialism or Cultural Encounter: The Debate

Gilbert Joseph claims, like Kaplan, that too great an emphasis is given to economic and political dominance, giving cultural imperialism only secondary or incidental importance. This, he suggests, has led to the understanding of imperialism as a singular and imposing flow of influence rather than a multiplicity of exchanges. He accuses scholars such as James Petras and Walter LeFaber of 'portraying US businessmen, diplomats and military personnel [as] an alliance between capital and the state to conquer markets, tap cheap sources of raw materials, and consolidate an asymmetrical relationship of power.'[78] He rejects theorists who he suggests, focus solely on US domination of Latin America, and claims that dependency and imperialism theorists depict the US 'at the controls of a great "neo-colonial" enterprise, managing a stream of flows unified by the logic of profit, power, and a single hegemonic culture.' He adds that such an interpretation 'ignores culturally

[76] Kaplan, 'New Perspectives on US Culture and Imperialism,' pp.11-12.
[77] Perez, *On becoming Cuban,* pp.233-234
[78] Joseph, 'Towards a New Cultural History of US-Latin American Relations,' p.11.

embedded human subjects' and that the encounters thesis aims to 'decenter' the analysis and 'restore agency to historical narrative.' [79]

Joseph deconstructs the encounter between US and Latin American cultures, emphasising that they are never one-way or homogenous. He does concede, however, that such encounters take place in situations where there is an unequal relationship, with one side of the encounter being particularly dominant or powerful. The disparity of power on which the encounter is based is diminished, according to Joseph, by the complex variety of situations in which these different forms of power meet. [80] Joseph explains that:

> In addition to the formidable flows of financial capital, direct investment, commodity trade, technology transfer and military power and assistance, other currents and individuals--acting (and being acted on) as cultural mediators rather than crude instruments--shaped a dynamic, multistranded encounter between Latin Americans and North Americans [...] communication typically flowed both ways and often had unintended, paradoxical consequences.[81]

While Joseph admits that encounters are unequal exchanges, he prefers to lessen the importance of this inequality and instead emphasises each individual experience, underlining the influence that flows from the dominated to the dominant rather than the reverse. By not focussing on the unequal power relations he claims to be 'humanising' the encounter by not treating the less powerful as 'crude instruments'. However, the study of power relations cannot be reduced in this way. 'Communication' and 'exchange' will happen within the context of any one encounter, but it is the wider structures of power relations that continue to fundamentally determine cultural interpretations on which these encounters are based. Joseph fails to address the historical dynamic of both foreign and class domination that structure and fundamentally determine such encounters. His shift in emphasis away from the basic unequal context in which these encounters occur

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[79] Ibid., pp.12-14.
[80] Ibid., p.5.
[81] Ibid., p.18.

could lead to the assumption that there is some justification for this relationship as unequal and therefore also reduce the impetus to amend such unbalanced power relations. It must also be kept in mind that by accepting the unequal nature of the encounter this also bypasses any adherence to the history of propaganda, and cultural and religious manipulation by the imperial and local ruling classes.

Steve Stern agrees with Joseph that it is important to be aware that there is never a single agenda or political attitude influencing these exchanges, and that the seemingly all-powerful nation or company cannot fully control the multiple contacts, developments and cultures that come into play. However, he stresses the need to not diminish the importance of the overpowering influence the US has had compared to other influences in contemporary Latin America. As Stern points out, 'the reverse colonisation by which the Indians invaded the colonial state's legal labyrinth did not undo the Spanish colonial state's hegemonic presence.'[82]

Steven Palmer suggests that once a mission (in this case regarding health) has taken root and the running and development of it are taken over by the local community, it then ceases to be solely imperialist in nature and can be better described as an encounter or exchange. However, these complex power relations are in a constant state of flux, depending on a variety of factors such as the continuing control that funding bodies exert over local orientations and decision-making. The encounter analysed by Palmer resulted in considerable benefits for the Latin American nation and it is because of this that he justifies these encounters. He concludes that although the overall intentions were imperialist, some of the local outcomes and developments were positive and relations had transformed from being imperialist in nature to a multi-faceted and beneficial exchange.[83]

I would argue that to judge what is beneficial or not for local communities cannot be considered in the isolation of a case study without analysing the wider relationship between the more powerful and poorer nations. While one institution promotes the 'philanthropic' properties of the imperial nation, others will be exploiting such an

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[82] Steve Stern, 'Paradoxes of Foreign-Local Encounter,' in *Close Encounters of Empire,* ed. by Joseph, Le Grand and Salvatore, p.63.

[83] Steven Palmer, 'Central American Encounters with Rockefeller Public Health, 1914-1921', in *Close Encounters of Empire* ed. by Joseph, Le Grand, Salvatore, pp.327-328.

image to promote the perpetuation of that nation's dominance. It is not helpful to concentrate on the deconstruction of imperialism without understanding the interconnected nature of economic, political and cultural agendas that combine to promote the dominant ideology of the ruling classes. Palmer further suggests that in his case study, power was shifted from the US institution to local actors and although funds and expertise were received from the US, these were transformed into national and local led initiatives.[84] Where the power lies in any one encounter is the key issue.

Catherine LeGrand suggests that studying Latin American 'enclaves', small zones where the economy, housing, politics etc. were dependent on one US company, is the perfect way to study the meeting between local life and the global economy. She argues against the idea that these companies could fully manipulate the lives of the local communities whether through exploitation or modernisation, and that their power was more limited than previously thought. LeGrand stresses the many differences between one enclave and another as the same foreign company developed in various different ways depending on local circumstances.

In LeGrand's case study of the Magdelena banana enclave in Colombia she found that contact with the US based United Fruit Company (UFC) and other foreign influences produced a rich multi-influenced, cosmopolitan culture, while many historical traditions remained intact. She adds that many people 'actively embraced' participation in the world market and that what emerged from these contacts was the product of an encounter between local, national and international actors. However, this 'participation in the world market' is not simply that. LeGrand appears to neglect the complexities of this participation, emphasising its positive aspects, while issues of exploitation are only touched upon. She suggests that the UFC gave credit to large and small landholders and that landholding continued much as before. She proposes that local elites, middling groups and smallholders actively embraced this economic model and she downplays negative economic or social consequences as a result of the company's arrival. She emphasises that understanding the encounter

[84] Ibid.

purely in terms of the company's dominance excludes the region's 'sociocultural world' which pre-dated the encounter. [85]

According to LeGrand, it is predominantly in the study of cultural developments and traditions where the foreign company has less impact. Company managers may have had an idea of the kind of economic or political system they wanted for their companies in these zones but they did not, in her opinion, have a hidden cultural agenda.[86] However, LeGrand does not clearly define her use of the word 'culture', and as culture can overlap with ideology, it is unlikely that the UFC represented ideological neutrality, but rather the cultural influences that the company had will have been taken for granted and naturalised within its sphere of influence.[87] On the other hand, LeGrand does mention, almost in passing, how learning English was considered a career advantage for the middle and upper classes. She does not elaborate on the kind of private or public education that offered these services and the other implications foreign influences had through education initiatives. It has been argued, in contrast, that a political and cultural hidden agenda was often promoted, which emphasised an English language and business orientated education with a Protestant and 'Anglo-Saxon' value system.[88] Nor are issues of class clearly delineated by LeGrand: an encounter between local and foreign elites is necessarily different to that between local workers and foreign elites.

What Joseph, Stern, Palmer and LeGrand all promote is the deconstruction of the idea that one nation or company can be all-powerful, suggesting that the study of encounters can reveal the more complex power struggles involved. In some cases local actors have turned foreign influence and funds into locally led initiatives. LeGrand further overemphasises the positive elements of foreign influence, including the diversification of local cultures. However, this deconstruction can divert attention away from the analysis of general trends and the social consequences of unequal power relations.

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[85] Catherine LeGrand, 'Living in Macondo,' in *Close Encounters of Empire* ed. by Joseph, Le Grand, Salvatore, pp.333-356.
[86] Ibid., pp.333-356.
[87] Discussions with Jane Freeland on culture and ideology. 30th August 2004.
[88] Jason Yaremko. *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba: From Independence to Castro* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2000) pp.71-80.

The cultural encounters thesis has been strongly influenced by Mary Louise Pratt's studies of what she calls 'contact zones'. She describes these contact zones as 'social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination.' She analyses travel and exploration writing, examining the 'Eurocentred form of global or [as she likes to call it] "planetary" consciousness.' Spanish American writers in the early nineteenth century modified European discourses with a view to creating 'autonomous decolonised cultures while retaining European values and white supremacy.' Pratt describes the self-representations that borrow values from the conqueror as 'autoethnography'. She also emphasises class issues and the role 'bourgeois authorities' play in 'delegitimating peasant and subsistence lifeways'. This is important as it is usually the local elites who dominate the 'choice' of what aspects of dominant foreign cultures are accepted as 'progressive' and what are rejected as contrary to their specific needs, particularly in terms of dominant images of the 'national' culture.[89]

Pratt argues that through the process of transculturation, subordinated or marginal peoples do not control the cultural influences that emanate from the dominant culture. They do, however, have the tendency to select and adapt what is absorbed into their cultures. She goes on to discuss transculturation from the 'colonies to the metropolis' and how constructions in the metropolis of the 'subordinated others is shaped by those others.' She focuses on how Europe's empire has shaped European perceptions, and uses the term 'contact zones' to emphasise the 'interactive' and 'improvisational' nature of colonial encounters. Despite the deconstruction of the 'contact zones' Pratt continually refers the reader to the importance of the unequal power relations of these encounters.[90]

Using Pratt's term, Joseph reiterates that 'contact zones are not geographical places with stable significations; they may represent attempts at hegemony, but are simultaneously sites of multivocality; of negotiation, borrowing, and of redeployment and reversal.' Joseph also acknowledges the 'discourse of domination

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[89] Pratt, *Imperial Eye,* pp.1-7.
[90] Ibid., pp.1-7

and possession' that characterises US history and argues that there is a lack of analysis with regard to culture when interpreting US expansion and hegemony.[91]

Pease describes the Joseph *et al* 'Global-Local' approach as positive in the sense that it highlights the all-encompassing process of 'global interconnection'. However, he criticises the way in which the approach avoids the consequences of economic and cultural exploitation that is an integral part of this process. He advocates an approach that looks at the positive elements to be derived from the multiplicity of global encounters and exchanges but without losing sight of the exploitative world trend.[92]

Kaplan, like Stern, acknowledges that it would be a mistake to concentrate on the imperial state as unchanging, but rather as 'an ongoing political, social, and cultural process in struggle with oppositions it gives rise to and responds to at home and abroad, and [also] as a monopoly whose contours change over time in relation to those struggles.'[93] Although Kaplan's study analyses the interconnectedness of the internal and external effects that US imperialism has on culture, she does not refer to US encounters abroad as 'exchanges' but instead emphasises the influence that US dominance abroad has on US culture and vice versa.[94] It is not just 'cultural imperialism' *per se* that is examined by Kaplan, but the cultures of US imperialism. Like Pratt's study of the European 'planetary consciousness' with regard to European conceptions of empire, Kaplan examines how the concept of 'Empire' became a way of life for both the US populace and the world influenced by that empire. Imperialism becomes part of the internal and external culture of the US Empire.[95]

The hypothesis of the 'encounter' by Joseph and others is a useful tool with which to consider whether the encounter between US Quaker missionaries and the local Cuban community can better be described as cultural imperialism or a cultural exchange. I shall examine, on the one hand, whether the overall nature of the encounter was based on ideas of cultural superiority and a sense of national imperial

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[91] Joseph, 'Towards a New Cultural History of US-Latin American Relations', p.6.
[92] Pease, 'New Perspectives on U.S. Culture and Imperialism,' pp.22-36.
[93] Kaplan, 'New Perspectives on US Culture and Imperialism,' p.16.
[94] Ibid., p.18.
[95] Ibid., pp.11-18.

pride, structured by the historical moment in which the missionaries lived. On the other hand, I shall examine whether the encounter could be considered as an exchange in which influences flowed both ways. My study refers to the historic period of importance for this thesis, from 1898 to 1959, and I will move from the local to the global, analysing the various contacts and influences that this encounter encompassed.

There are a number of studies on US cultural influence through Protestant missions to Cuba.[96] Although these studies discuss the impact of US influence, they do not enter into the theoretical debate concerning whether these encounters were part of a US imperialist venture or whether they can better be described as exchanges. By treating Protestant missions in terms of the theoretical debate on encounters, this research focuses on an eminently cultural type of enterprise and new challenges arise concerning the extent to which economic and political US influences in Cuba had a cultural link through the US Protestant missions.

This research contributes to the encounters debate and also develops on Kaplan's understanding of US culture as fundamentally intertwined with the concept of imperialism. If empire had become a way of life and was already imprinted into the culture of the US missionaries who went to Cuba, then it is possible that the encounter with the local Cuban community might take place within a context of imperialism. For this purpose it is important to examine the extent to which US missionaries held beliefs in the superiority of their religious and cultural forms within the dominant ideology of imperial superiority. The US missionaries did not act in isolation and will have been influenced by the prevailing economic, political, racial and cultural attitudes of the time both in the US and Cuba. This thesis analyses the extent to which attitudes of superiority and empire affected the encounter between the US missionaries and the Cuban communities in which they established missions. In addition I examine the extent to which the Cuban community influenced or interconnected with the missionaries and whether these interconnections could be

[96] Including: Perez, *On becoming Cuban,* Yaremko. *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba.* Brian Groves. 'Americanizing Cuba by Cubanizing Protestantism: The Cuba Mission of American Friends, 1900-1948', MA. diss. University of Texas, Austin, May 1999.

considered cultural exchanges that ultimately altered the unequal power relations involved to any extent. Furthermore, I analyse the class and race of Cubans attracted and influenced by the US missionaries. This analysis ultimately determines and alters the meaning of such encounters depending on the power relations between US cultural, economic and political interests and local elites or with other sectors of the local community. The encounter between the US missionaries and the local elite will undoubtedly have been distinct to that between the missionaries and poorer sectors of the society. I examine the meaning of this distinction with regards to the cultural encounters debate.

Chapter 2

Protestantism in Latin America: An Imperialist Venture or a Cultural Encounter?

Encounters between US Protestant missionaries and Latin American communities with diverse religious traditions occurred within differing historical and political circumstances. Relatively little research has been carried out by scholars on the origins of Protestantism in Latin American nations and even less with regard to debates on Protestant evangelism as part of US cultural imperialism or cultural exchange. To engage in the cultural encounters debate the first section of this chapter expands on the analysis of the term 'culture' and the extent to which culture encompasses religious beliefs and institutions, and vice versa. As the focus of this thesis is on US Protestant missionaries and their encounter with Cuban communities between 1898-1959, the historical importance of US cultural and religious practices and attitudes when embarking on and establishing missions in Latin America is crucial. For this purpose I first examine the 1820-1898 period for a broader understanding of the origins of Protestantism in Latin America. Then I analyse the period from 1898-1960, in which foreign missionaries started to establish missions in Latin America. Most scholarly research has focussed on the post-1960 period due to the boom of Protestantism in Latin America after 1960. However, I focus predominantly on the 1898-1960 period, as this was the consolidating period of Protestantism in Latin America and particularly Cuba.

Religion and Culture

It is important to analyse the manifestation of religion (or non-religion) as a defining element of 'culture' before determining whether religious missions can be construed as cultural imperialism. Raymond Williams states, when defining 'culture', that it is a process of 'intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development'.[97] 'Spirituality', and religious institutions based on spiritual beliefs are complex, and it is problematic to

[97] Williams, *Keywords,* p.90.

talk of one national or regional religion or culture, as discussed in Chapter One, despite dominant discourse that may suggest otherwise. Religions are a mixture of cultures past and present, they are always changing and are never homogenous entities (even those that promote 'orthodoxy' can ironically cause fundamental changes to religious practices).

Protestantism may have partly been born out of a rupture with the Catholic Church due to differing interpretations of the Bible and a struggle for religious freedoms, but it was also a creation of the social and political circumstances dominating Europe at the time. The European Protestants who travelled to the US took with them not just a set of interpretations of the Bible but also cultural and political ideals and values born out of their historical circumstances, political influences and religious interpretations. Protestantism in the US also developed new identities, recreated by different historical and political influences. Therefore, when Protestant missionaries arrived in Latin America they did not take with them a 'pure' or 'detached' religion but a bag of religious tendencies riddled with cultural and political influences. These influences intertwined to create a US political and cultural religious seed ready to be recreated once more with new Latin American religious, political and cultural influences.

Max Weber suggested that religious value systems underpinned political and economic structures. For Weber the 'Protestant Ethic' had encouraged what he called the 'spirit of capitalism.'[98] Many writers on Protestantism in Latin America have claimed that the growth of Protestantism in the region is a fundamental stage in the 'modernisation' process.[99] Based on Weber's linking of Protestantism to progress and modernisation, David Martin has argued that Latin America's path out of underdevelopment was to embrace Protestantism. This belief is linked to the conviction that the reason for Latin American underdevelopment was due to its 'Iberian culture' i.e. Catholicism on the religious level and 'Latin' as opposed to

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[98] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958).

[99] Such writers include: David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The explosion of Protestantism in Latin America,* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), and *Coming of Age: Protestantism in Contemporary Latin America*, ed. by Daniel Miller, and Samuel Escobar, (Maryland/London: University Press of America, 1994).

'Anglo' on the racial one.[100] Ideas of religious and racial superiority, and its link to economic superiority and modernisation were prominent amongst many Protestant missionaries and often gave them the impulse to embark on their missions in the first place. David Stoll suggests that one of the attractions of Protestantism for Latin Americans was that evangelists often proclaimed that US prosperity was due to its Protestant heritage.[101]

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries much of the Protestant community, and many amongst the US ruling elite, professed US racial and religious superiority and the need for religious expansionism, along with political, economic and even racial expansionary aspirations. Reverend Josiah Strong, who wrote of US racial and religious superiority in 1885 and was influential particularly amongst the Protestant community, not only claimed the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, but also argued that the US had developed the highest form of Anglo-Saxon civilisation, superior to the English and all other supposed Anglo-Saxon nations. He quotes Darwin to support his point.[102]

Strong claimed that US prosperity was God's will, that the 'Americans' were a 'chosen' people, and that the future of the world was in US hands. He used a discourse of 'Empire,' and condemned what he described as an 'invasion' of 'foreigners,' particularly European peasants, into the US, while in the same breath proposing that US evangelicals go forth to conquer the world. This message was not new, as the American Home Missionary Society had printed articles for some forty years with a similar tone and message. During the early nineteenth century the evangelical Christian community focussed predominantly on the conversion of the western heartland of the US as a first step before 'foreign' missions. The Catholic Church was under attack for its 'ignorance' and 'superstition' as the US expanded into Mexican territories. The education and training of Christian teachers was an

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[100] Phillip Berryman, *Religion in the Megacity: Catholic and Protestant Portraits from Latin America*, (New York: Orbis Books, 1996), p.3.
[101] David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?* (California/Oxford: California University Press, 1990), p.11.
[102] Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*, ed. by Jurgen Herbst, (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of University of Harvard Press, 1963, First Published in 1886), pp.208-210.

objective of great importance for Protestant Churches from the early nineteenth century with the aim of educating the 'barbarians'. [103]

Strong uses the term Anglo-Saxon in his statistics to mean 'all English-speaking peoples', linking the linguistic acquisition of the English language to his concept of 'race', highlighting his belief that 'Anglo-Saxon' racial qualities could be assimilated by other 'races', clearly amalgamating 'race' with the concept of 'culture'. His belief that there had been a 'remarkable [...] expansion of [the Anglo-Saxon] race' further highlights this common belief that races could be adapted, manipulated and improved. He uses race, culture and civilisation interchangeably, calling US culture a 'physiologically advanced culture' and believed that 'inferior races' would assimilate or become extinct. To exemplify his belief that 'races' could become extinct without the use of violent extermination, a belief akin to some of the Latin American concepts concerning the 'whitening' of 'national race', he quoted Darwin emphasising the triumph of 'civilised' nations over 'barbarous' ones. He included 'money-making power' and wealth as an attribute of the Anglo-Saxon 'race', which explains the close link between US Protestant missionaries and business, as riches tended to be understood as God's reward for hard work, while poverty was often understood to be a result of the sin of idleness. Strong claimed that the US mixture of 'Aryan races' made the US Anglo-Saxon superior. He added, however, that 'the Anglo-Saxon race would speedily decay but for the salt of Christianity'. Although he clearly believed in Anglo-Saxon 'racial' superiority, at a time when eugenics was a credited 'science', his belief in Protestant superiority outweighed his racialist analysis. It is, therefore, Protestantism that made the 'Anglo-Saxon' superior according to Strong. The backbone of Strong's racist convictions was a belief in the cultural, political, and economic superiority of the US, giving 'religion' as an explanation for this superiority.[104] Strong's attitudes were not isolated, and reflected general attitudes of the time influenced by eugenics. He was particularly influential amongst Protestant missionaries at the turn of the twentieth century.

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[103] Ibid., pp.ix-xiv.
[104] Ibid., pp.202-215.

Of particular importance to this study is Strong's call for US Protestants to go forth into 'Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa and beyond.' He believed that the future of the American continent would inevitably become one and the same as that of the US: 'The civilisation of the United States is to be the civilisation of America, [...] the future of the continent is ours.'[105] He clearly felt that US religion and culture would dominate Latin America, and that through the domination of the English language throughout the world, 'Christian civilisation' would flourish.[106]

Stoll's argument is particularly valuable, as it is the perception of being 'superior', which cannot only drive missionaries to carry out their missions, but it is also an attractive element that draws followers to them. Despite the popularity and influence of Strong's book and the prevalence of attitudes of racial and religious superiority, it cannot be assumed that missionaries all had superiority complexes and strove to impose their values on a foreign people. Other important issues need to be addressed. It is important to examine whether missions were also promoted or established by Latin Americans. Furthermore, it is essential to identify the motives behind the establishment of Protestant missions in Latin America and whether there were political or imperialist incentives.

Protestantism in Latin America 1820-1898

Catholicism dominated Latin American religiosity, or at least official cultural representations of the region, from the arrival of the Spanish colonisers in 1492. Diverse religious practices, particularly of Indian and African origin, were both incorporated into the Catholicism adopted by Latin Americans or concealed from the ruling colonial elite. After the independence of most Latin American nations religious freedoms were granted to varying degrees and Catholic powers began to erode as external economic and political power within the region shifted from Spain to the US. Many scholars have suggested that as this economic and political power shift was dominated by a Protestant nation, it started the Protestant evangelisation of

[105] Ibid., p.207.
[106] Ibid., pp.213-217.

Latin America.[107] On the other hand, Catholicism in Latin America has been transformed by varying local religious, political and historical interventions and continues to be a powerful element of Latin American culture.[108] Religions develop and do not keep their original or external form, and by analysing the historical trends that various internal and external influences have had on the transformation of religious practices, it is possible to develop a picture that can help us understand these transformations.

It was not until the last two decades of the nineteenth century that Protestantism started to penetrate Latin America at a particularly significant rate, although, as Jean-Pierre Bastian suggests, Protestantism posed a challenge throughout the period of colonisation as it represented ideas of 'modernity'.[109] By the mid-nineteenth century a new generation of Latin American liberals were less tolerant of conservativism and Catholicism. It has been proposed that the growth of Protestantism in Latin America was not primarily the result of US missionary expansionism, but that its roots lay in the liberals' rejection of Catholicism and embrace of Protestantism as an alternative.[110] Freemasons and other free-thought societies also emerged before the growth of Protestant societies, demonstrating Latin American liberals' interest in alternative value systems. The interest and establishment of Protestant churches in Latin America by liberals seeking alternatives to a Catholicism symbolic of a colonial past, contributes substance to the argument that Protestantism was initiated in many instances by Latin Americans rather than imposed by US missionaries.[111]

The Liberal government of Rufino Barrios in Guatemala not only implemented laws to promote religious freedom in 1873, but also pleaded with Protestant mission boards in the US to set up missions in Guatemala. According to Virginia Garrard Burnett, the Liberals of Guatemala linked Protestantism to capitalism, hoping that

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[107] See: Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?*

[108] See: Daniel Levine ed., *Constructing Culture and Power in Latin America,* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993).

[109] Bastian's concept of modernity denotes western ideas of democracy, freedom of conscience and, with less emphasis, the promotion of the capitalist economy.

[110] The term 'liberal' is not clearly defined by Bastian. He most probably uses the term to denote 'liberation fighters' and ideas of democracy, freedom of religious practices etc. at the time of the formation of Latin American national independence.

[111] Jean-Pierre Bastian, 'Protestantism in Latin America', in: Enrique Dussel, *The Church in Latin America 1492-1992* (Kent: Burns & Oates, 1992) pp.323-324.

US culture and religion would help to 'transform the lower sectors of the population into God-fearing capitalists and proletarians' and that US culture would transform what they considered to be backward sectors of their own society.[112] Although it is unlikely that Liberals used the terminology described by Garrard Burnett, the linking of Protestantism to US economic structures and prosperity did prevail. This interest in Protestantism by Latin America's liberals, particularly amongst the ruling elite, had encouraged the establishment of Protestant churches, prior to the following influx of US missionaries.

The nature of encounters between cultures varied depending on national and local circumstances. In some cases the evangelicals will have been welcomed and encouraged by local actors. However, in Guatemala Protestant missions were often attacked in indigenous villages where the communities felt that Protestantism threatened their traditions.[113] In addition, it is important to examine the motives of the US missionaries when embarking on their missions, taking into account general attitudes in the US. The belief that interference in Latin American affairs could only be positive, whether welcomed or not, was a prominent notion. The Manifest Destiny, which embodied ideas of religious superiority, was prominent amongst US missionaries and the local communities under their influence.

Henrich Schafer argues that towards the end of the nineteenth century in Central America, Protestantism was the choice of the liberal and modernising bourgeoisie based in urban areas. However, work by Protestant missionaries, he stresses, was directed at the lower classes in rural areas.[114] Protestant missions were often successful due to the Catholic Church's structural failures, such as its reliance on a hierarchical system and its strong links with tradition and the Spanish authorities. Bastian claims that Protestantism in Latin America was popular amongst mine-workers, textile workers and railwaymen, and there were pockets of Protestant societies in rural areas, mainly linked to the agro-export economy. He stresses the popularity of Protestantism among agricultural workers on large plantations in Latin

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[112] Virginia Garrard Burnett, 'Protestantism in Rural Guatemala, 1872-1954', *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2. (1989), p.132.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Henrich Schafer, *Protestantismo y crisis social en America Latina*, (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Departamento Ecuménico de Investigaciones (DEI), 1992), p.14.

America.[115] Although he does not discuss the reasons for this, it may be, as Schafer suggests, that missionaries purposefully targeted such groups. It is also possible that some of the funds and impetus for the Evangelical missions were given by newly emerging and expanding US companies in the region. In return missionaries may have supplied a business and English orientated education, helping Latin Americans to integrate and get jobs in their new working relations. This is certainly the case with the Quakers in Cuba, as I shall demonstrate in Chapters Six and Seven.

Protestantism's influence in Latin America extended beyond the church, and was particularly influential in the education system. Schools were set up with the aim of educating people in Protestant values, often actively promoting 'liberal' politics and even naming their schools after liberation heroes.[116] Although they included US teachers, with an imported religion and culture as their base, they predominantly projected a nationalist image using pro-modern, liberal and nationalist rhetoric while countering the Catholic traditionalist and pro-Spain image. However, although many Latin Americans benefited substantially from this schooling, it is important to determine whether the national identity being promoted was truly a Latin American creation or based on and supporting US cultural, racial, political and economic forms. I analyse this question regarding Cuban national identity and the development of a 'Cuban Quakerism' in Chapter Five. I further examine whether this identity was 'national' as opposed to the perpetuation of US cultural forms within the context of a US economically dominated locale.

Protestantism in Latin America 1898-1959

The 1898-1959 period was a time of consolidation for the Protestant missions in Latin America that grew at a slow but constant pace. Although Latin American Protestantism developed in the context of nationalist liberation and was supported by many liberation heroes, it became almost wholly dependent on funds from the US. Deborah Baldwin describes how the US government directly manipulated Protestantism in Mexico. Policy proposals were drawn up by US officials, concerning an educational mission with an ideological and economic agenda. These

[115] Bastian, 'Protestantism in Latin America', pp.327-328.
[116] Ibid., p.329.

officials claimed that the most 'effective way of controlling Latin America was by changing the social value structure. [This] became increasingly important [when] seeking to avoid military solutions.'[117] This demonstrates that US political advisers hoped to promote US cultural influence in Latin American society through Protestant education missions. The links between the US government and Protestant evangelical activity became more apparent post-1960. David Stoll highlights US government involvement through the United States Agency for International Development, and the exposure of the Central Intelligence Agency's recruitment of US missionaries in Latin America.[118]

At the congress of Latin American Protestant Churches in 1929, Protestants discussed the accusations that their societies were not only dependent on US funds, but that they were agents of US imperialism.[119] They apparently resolved to change this image and some Protestants noted their direct involvement in political activity against various authoritarian regimes in Latin America. Protestants had participated in the struggles to overthrow Porfirio Díaz in Mexico, they were involved in movements to depose General Machado Morales (1925-1933) in Cuba and this participation in struggles across Latin America continued including their involvement in the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance in Peru and in the Cuban Revolution of 1959.[120] In Guatemala the Protestant Churches allied themselves with the Arévalo government of 1944, despite its often anti-imperialist rhetoric. This union grew out of the common goals of education, reduced economic dependency and democracy that challenged the conservative Catholic Church.[121] This highlights the historical and political circumstances that need to be acknowledged as important agents in transforming what can seemingly be an imperialist encounter into the opposite. Local political circumstances radically changed the Protestant focus in Mexico where, according to Baldwin, the

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[117] Deborah Baldwin, 'Protestants and the Course of Mexican Cultural History', p.11 of a Paper given at the Commonwealth Fund Conference *Cultural Encounters and Resistance: The United States and Latin America, c.1890-c.1950,* 29-30 June 2001, University College London.
Baldwin quotes Robert Freeman Smith, *The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico,* (Chicago: University of Chicargo Press, 1972) p.134 and p.140.
[118] David Stoll, *Fishers of Men or Founders of Empire?: The Wycliffe Bible Translators in Latin America,* (London: Zed Press 1982) p.7.
[119] Bastian, 'Protestantism in Latin America', pp.332-335.
[120] Ibid., pp.331-332.
[121] Garrard Burnett, 'Protestantism in Rural Guatemala, 1872-1954', p.134.

missionaries who entered Mexico pre-1905 came from a theological tradition of individualism, while the missionaries who arrived after 1905, who were less involved in the Díaz government's power structures, were more concerned with the well-being of the congregation and community.[122] However, even when Protestantism in Latin America developed a seemingly neutral or even anti-imperialist stance there was always the probability that US led and financed Protestant missions would be more likely to adhere to attitudes and agendas promoted by the US governing elite and media. This is examined in Chapters Four and Five with regard to the US Quaker missionaries' attitudes towards Cuba and Cuban nationalism and whether they were influenced by prevailing attitudes in the US during the 1898-1959 period.

From the 1920s to the 1950s, Protestantism did not grow at a tremendous rate in Latin America and it has been suggested that this was due to the clash of cultures. This incompatibility, it is claimed, was between the promotion of 'democracy' and 'modernity' on the part of the Protestants as opposed to the corporatist Hispanic Catholic culture. Despite the interest in Protestantism provoked by a rejection of Spain and Catholicism during the struggles for independence, Protestantism was often seen as a religious accompaniment to political, ideological and economic systems that challenged not just the established religious order, but the political structure of Latin American nations, whose ruling elite and institutions had not transformed radically since the pre-independence period.[123]

In sum, US missionaries took with them US political, economic and cultural influences that were usually maintained through funding, influence from the mother institutions and the US missionaries themselves. However, the Protestant role in Latin America was complex and varied with the historical and local circumstances, and on occasion aided the anti-imperialist movement, particularly in the post-1920s period. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were characterised by the ideas of Manifest Destiny and the notion that progress was linked to US race and religion, with the US ruling elite encouraging an image of Anglo-Saxon and

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[122] Deborah Baldwin, *Protestants and the Mexican Revolution: Missionaries, Ministers, and Social Change*, (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990) pp.3-10.
[123] Bastian, 'Protestantism in Latin America' pp.335-346.

Protestant superiority often promoted by US missionaries to Latin America. If these attitudes of US superiority changed with the progression of the twentieth century, it is quite possible that this will have occurred due to nationalist feeling and local agency within the missions.

The role of Protestantism in Latin America and the question of whether it was part of an imperialist effort to enhance US influence in religious, cultural and economic areas is analysed throughout this thesis. Stoll argues that there are multiple political interests in any one church and that they cannot all be reduced to a paradigm of imperialism. He claims that many established evangelical missions have accused the US of having 'mission multinationals' that pursued a US political agenda, and to counter this missions have consequently channelled efforts away from such influences. What Stoll makes clear is that he agrees with Joseph, to a certain extent, in that the encounters between Protestantism and Latin American communities cannot be generalised as imperialist.[124] Protestantism has many faces and often reflects its cultural origins, influences from its mother institutions and the cultural and political circumstances of its new locality. However, it is the international and national place and period in question that defines any one encounter between cultures.

Quakers as Evangelical Missionaries to Latin America

> *If one kept one's inner eye single to the Lord and laboured diligently in one's calling, one could expect that God would show His favour by adding His blessing in the form of material prosperity. And conversely business success could be regarded as a visible sign that one was indeed living 'in the light'.*[125]

Quakerism has historical roots in the Puritanical traditions of seventeenth century Britain. Quaker links to the capitalist elite, particularly in London in the late seventeenth century and in Philadelphia in the eighteenth century, are well

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[124] Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?* p. xvii.
[125] Frederick B Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948) p.56.

documented by Frederick Tolles. His analysis is influenced by Weber as he claims that the Quakers accommodated capitalism due to their conviction of 'this-worldly asceticism', believing that 'good works' carried out and success in the material world were due to Divine approval. In addition, Tolles argued that Quakers' condemnation of laziness, luxurious living, and their encouragement of diligence, frugality, simplicity, truthfulness and organisation were all qualities for perceptive business acumen supporting the concept that the Protestant ethic is at ease with the accumulation of capital.[126]

The popular belief amongst Quakers that prosperity was a reward from God for hard work was linked to the perception that Catholicism, and particularly the monastic life, was characterised by 'a lazy, rusty, unprofitable Self-denial, burdensome to others to feed their Idleness.'[127] Quaker accommodation of rising of modern capitalism coupled with the conviction that Catholicism was backward and promoted laziness, will have aided in the growth of the evangelical fervour amongst US Quakers in the nineteenth century that inspired Quaker missions to Mexico, Guatemala, Jamaica, and Cuba in 1900.

The US Quaker society of the nineteenth century was split. The strand of Quakerism of historical importance for this study is the orthodox Quaker movement, and particularly the evangelical movement that was developed by Joseph John Gurney. He encouraged Quakers to concentrate on mission work and emphasised the Christian principles that brought Quakers closer to other Protestant denominations. The Pastoral system took root in the 1880s, leading to further similarities with other Protestant denominations such as Quaker 'meetings' being referred to as 'churches' and carrying out readings from scripture, hymns and music.[128]

Missionary work by Quakers developed in various parts of the world from the 1840s and was governed by London Yearly Meeting as well as various US Yearly

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[126] Ibid. pp.51-52
[127] Tolles quotes William Penn a leading Quaker. Ibid., p.53.
[128] John Punshon, *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers,* (Quaker Home Service, London 1984) pp.196-202.

Meetings.[129] Quaker missionaries were part of the evangelical fervour of the period, and one Quaker missionary stated that they were influenced by words of expansionary zeal published by evangelicals such as Josiah Strong.[130] John Punshon argues that 'the modern Protestant missions reached Africa and Asia on the coat-tails of imperialism.'[131] Certainly the US cultural and religious expansionist projects of the time cannot be analysed in isolation. They were interlinked and influenced by political, military and economic expansionist adventures of the time. In Chapters Four through to Six I examine the extent to which the US Quaker missionaries were influenced by prevailing attitudes in the US with regard to religious and racial superiority. It is evident from this study of Protestantism in Latin America that nationalism and other local and national influences affected the nature of Protestantism and sometimes took on anti-imperialist forms. For this reason I focus considerably on nationalist movements in Cuba and what impact this had on the Quaker mission on the island.

[129] Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism*, (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1942), pp.435-443. Also in Hiram Hilty *Friends in Cuba,* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1977) p.v.
[130] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, pp.35-36.
[131] Punshon, *Portrait in Grey*, p.215.

Chapter 3

Protestantism in Cuba: An Imperialist Venture or a Cultural Encounter?

The encounter between US Protestant missionaries and Cuban communities, and whether it can be understood as a cultural exchange, depends on the extent to which it was motivated by the prevailing attitudes of religious and racial superiority of the historical period in question. To address these issues this chapter examines the manner in which US Protestants engaged with differing sectors of Cuban society, analysing Cuba's religiosity in the context of Protestantism in Cuban society from 1898-1959. Due to the importance of African religions in Cuba, I examine attitudes towards 'race' within Protestant beliefs of religious and racial superiority in Cuba, and what effect this had on Protestants' engagement with Cuba's black community.

Cuban Religiosity

The history of religion in Cuba is marked by similarities and differences to that of other Latin American countries. Indigenous peoples' religious inheritance in Cuba is insignificant due to their almost total annihilation on the island during the early stages of the colonial period. Cuba's history, marked by the Catholicism of the Spanish colonial rulers, African religions imported by the numerous slaves, Spiritism and Protestantism through influences from the US, all combined to form Cuba's religious make-up. The Catholicism of the colonial power in Cuba did not reach into every sector of Cuban society.[132] Throughout the colonial period some rural communities did not have Catholic churches and even less were provided with schools. Syncretic Cuban religions, such as Santería, Palo Monte and Abakuá formed amongst slave communities during the colonial era, drawing from elements

[132] Pedro Perez Sarduy and Jean Stubbs, *AfroCuba: An Anthology of Cuban Writing on Race, Politics and Culture*, (New York/London: Latin American Bureau, 1993) pp.9-10.

of west African religions.[133] The Catholic Church, although the official religion of colonial Cuba, represented the religion of the ruling elite, while interpretations of the Catholic religion and its icons and ceremonies veiled the continuation and amalgamation of African religions with elements of Catholicism to create a uniquely 'Cuban' popular religiosity that survives in contemporary Cuba.

Teresita Pedraza and Jorge Ramírez Calzadilla claim that an anti-clerical attitude developed early in Cuban society due to the inability of Catholicism to engage fully with the population and the failure to nurture a Cuban-born clergy.[134] The Catholic Church was further weakened by its role during the independence wars as the defender of the Spanish colonial system. According to Calzadilla, the Catholic Church never fully addressed problematic issues within the Church until the 1950s. In a survey carried out in 1953 by the Agrupación Católica Universitaria (University Catholic Society) problems revealed included the relatively low numbers of proclaimed Catholics amongst the Cuban population (72 per cent, compared to approximately 90 per cent in the Philippines)[135] but more revealing was the lack of attendance in Catholic churches (17 per cent). In addition, many Cubans interviewed consulted *curanderos*, Spiritists, palm readers, fortune tellers and the like, indicating that beliefs in Cuba were considerably varied and non-institutionalised.[136] Catholicism failed to captivate poorer Cubans, allowing African and Spiritist religions space to attract Cubans from the most marginalised sectors of society.

Due to the non-institutional and spontaneous elements of Cuban religiosity it is difficult to quantify Cuba's religious make-up. Solely identifying membership of the various religious institutions excludes many believers in elements of diverse religions. Religiosity evolves from a spiritual need, but is also a manifestation of

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[133] *La Religión en la Historia de Cuba: Conformación y evolución del campo religioso cubano*, ed. by Juana Berges, Jorge Ramírez Calzadilla and Eva Hernández Urbano (Havana: Centro de Estudios del Consejo de Iglesias de Cuba, 2001) pp.iv-v.

[134] Jorge Ramírez Calzadilla, *Religión y Relaciones Sociales: Un estudio sobre la significación sociopolítica de la religion en la sociedad cubana,* (Editorial Academia: La Habana, 2000) pp.71-72.

[135] The estimated number of proclaimed Catholics in the Philippines in 1900 was 90 per cent. Judith Raftery, 'Textbook Wars: Governor-General James Francis Smith and the Protestant-Catholic Conflict in Public Education in the Philippines, 1904-1907,' *History of Education Quarterly* Vol. 38, No. 2. (Summer, 1998) p.147. An estimated number of proclaimed Catholics in the Philippines in the 1970s was still 85 per cent Robert L. Youngblood, 'Church Opposition to Martial Law in the Philippines' *Asian Survey*, Vol. 18, No. 5. (May, 1978), p.506.

[136] Calzadilla, *Religión y Relaciones Sociales,* pp.71-73, statistics were taken from a questionnaire taken by Agrupación Católica Universitaria (ACU) in 1953.

many cultural, social, historical and political moments. When discussing religions or popular religiosity it is important to reiterate the encompassing use of these terms, not only to include the institutional religious forms, but also non-conventional religious activity.[137]

Protestantism in Cuba 1898-1959

The Protestant presence in Cuba prior to 1898 was fairly insignificant. Cubans' first contact with Protestants was through British filibusters, privateers and pirates, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is believed that the first Protestant sermons took place around 1740 when some Protestant bishops entered Guantánamo during a British invasion of Cuba. Again, with the British capture of Havana in 1762 Protestant services took place, but very few Cubans converted. Any Protestant attempt to establish churches or any significant long-term presence on the island was thwarted, as after just eleven months Havana was returned to Spanish rule.[138] Minimal Protestant influence continued through trade ties with the US and Britain, and during the nineteenth century US Protestant influence grew gradually. As dissent grew against Spanish control of the island, Catholicism was viewed as part of the Spanish oppressive apparatus. Protestant congregations were established in most cases by exiled Cuban liberals, returning from the US, to whom liberation from Spain included liberation from the Catholic Church. The first known Cuban Protestant minister established a Spanish speaking congregation in New York in 1866, and other Cuban churches in the US followed, particularly in Philadelphia and Key West, Florida. In 1876 religious freedoms were constitutionally guaranteed on the island by the Spanish authorities and in the 1880s the first Protestant Churches were established in Cuba by Cubans. The Cuban, Alberto J. Díaz, founded the Baptist mission in Cuba only to leave the Baptists in 1903 after being sidelined by US missionaries during the US occupation. Cuban Protestants both in the country and in exile worked together, often immersed in the fight for Independence.[139]

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[137] Ibid., pp.xx-83.

[138] Marcos Antonio Ramos, *Panorama del Protestantismo en Cuba: La presencia de los protestantes o evangélicos en la historia de Cuba desde la colonización española hasta la revolución*, (San José: Editorial Caribe, 1986) pp.35-42.

[139] Ibid., pp.91-132. See also: Luis Martínez-Fernández, *Protestantism and Political Conflict in the Nineteenth-Century Hispanic Caribbean,* (New Brunswick/New Jersey/London: Rutgers University Press, 2002), pp.84-85.

José Martí, like other liberation fighters, was vehemently against the Catholic Church's authoritarian powers in Cuban society. Protestantism represented an additional way in which to express anti-Spanish feeling, and in forming a separate national Cuban identity some Cubans chose Protestantism, believing it to be the religion of 'progress' and 'modernisation'.[140] José Martí was not only tolerant of Protestantism but also made it clear that he admired elements of the religion: 'La iglesia Protestante guarda, a pesar de sus limitaciones, la semilla de la libertad humana.'[141] The Protestant Churches also attracted Cubans because they offered possible leading roles for Cubans within the management of the churches, whereas the impenetrable Spanish clergy held tightly to the reins of the Catholic Church in Cuba. Pérez claims that Protestantism was not only a threat to the established religious orders, but also to the colonial system as a whole as it brought with it ideas of a liberal secular state.[142]

The geographical proximity of the US and the exile and emigration of many Cubans to their powerful neighbour increased the importance of Protestantism for many Cuban national liberationists. On the other hand, some Cuban nationalists, such as José Antonio Saco, spoke of the dangers of annexation to the US and the inevitable loss of 'Cuban culture' that he thought would be caused in particular by the impact of Protestantism as the dominant religion of the US.[143]

Prior to Cuban independence, Protestant missions were almost non-existent and run by Cubans. With the US intervention in Cuba in 1898 there was an influx of US missionaries, and churches and schools were established in Cuba. The growth of US Protestant missions in Cuba came hand in hand with the growth of US business interests, particularly in Eastern Cuba. Over twenty-four different Protestant missions arrived during the three years after 1898, and to many Cuba represented the new frontier. Marcos Antonio Ramos, however, has a different view of events:

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[140] Louis Pérez, *Essays on Cuban History: Historiography and Research*, (Florida: University Press Florida, 1995), p.58. See also: Martínez-Fernández, *Protestantism and Political Conflict in the Nineteenth-Century Hispanic Caribbean,* p.84.
[141] Ramos, *Panorama del Protestantismo en Cuba,* p.53. Translation in Appendix.
[142] Pérez *On becoming Cuban,* pp.58-60.
[143] Ramos, *Panorama del Protestantismo en Cuba,* p.50.

> Si bien es cierto que en 1898 el presidente y el vicepresidente de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, la casi totalidad del gabinete y alrededor del noventa por ciento de los legisladores federales eran protestantes, Cuba no fue invadida por los evangélicos sino por la nación norteamericana y el poder politíco y económico de ese país no fue utilizado para favorecer a la pequeña comunidad protestante de Cuba como algunos se han apresurado a sugerir.[144]

The reason that the US occupation government did not want to appear to be favouring Protestants in Cuba was due predominantly to President McKinley's fear of upsetting the US Catholic vote. However, Ramos does concede that most US Protestants were vociferously in favour of US intervention in Cuba, with the exception of Quakers due to their beliefs in pacifism. Objectives for US Protestant missions to Cuba included the hope of building a 'new Cuba' based on the missionaries' culture and the vision of liberation espoused by the US authorities and press. Although missionary discourse often denoted an attempt to distance themselves initially from US businesses and the military during the establishment of their missions, they were ultimately close to US business and political interests in Cuba. This was demonstrated not only through corporate donations to missionary activity from US corporations such as the United Fruit Company and Coca Cola, but was also due to a common ideology and belief that Cubans were ultimately unable to manage their political, economic, educational or even cultural affairs without US supervision.[145]

The predominant Protestant missionaries that entered Cuba during the US occupation were Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalian and Quakers. Although some targeted the growing US immigrant communities in Cuba, most entered Cuba with a conviction that the Cubans needed to be 'saved', and that the missionary role was in harmony with the US authorities' aims to improve Cuban society.[146] Many US missionaries felt that Cuba should be 'rapidly Americanised'. They openly criticised some US policies in Cuba, but tended

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[144] Ibid., p.159. Translation in Appendix
[145] Yaremko, *US Protestant Missions in Cuba,* pp.x-xi.
[146] For information on the missionaries who targeted the US immigrant society see: Martínez-Fernández, *Protestantism and Political Conflict in the Nineteenth-Century Hispanic Caribbean,* pp.116-129.

to distinguish between good 'Americanisation' and bad 'Americanisation', suggesting that Protestant missions comprised the former.[147]

Protestantism has constituted an insignificant religious presence in Cuba in quantitative terms. This is due in part to Cuban religiosity, which lacks an institutional religious nature that manifests a popular preference for magical or animist forms and behaviour contrary to the beliefs promoted by evangelical Protestants.[148] Most Protestant missions not only failed to adapt or merge with the local culture or religious expressions, but overtly demonised the Catholic Church and African and Spiritist religions therefore making any amalgamation of cultural and religious influences difficult. This could be due to the influence of prevailing attitudes and convictions of US Protestant superiority over other religions and its promotion as the religion of progress. [149]

Protestant inflexibility with regard to other religions may have been the reason for their small numbers, but many evangelical Protestants argued that in this way they kept their identity and 'purity' while other religions lost some of their roots and traditions. There is, however, no such 'purity' as religions are a complexity of historic and cultural elements that make up an identity that is always changing and never homogenous or 'pure', but are perceived as such and originate from cultures that are believed to be superior or more civilised.

Although the Protestant movement was not large, and by the 1950s only represented three per cent of the Cuban population, it was influential especially in education.[150] The Protestant missions did not arrive in Cuba solely to evangelise, but also to 'civilise' the Cubans. They believed that with a Protestant education the Cubans would progress as a nation, leaving behind the 'ignorance' of Romanism and adopting the Protestant work ethic of a compliant proletariat within the confines of a US led and dominated economy. The Protestant role in education brought Cubans

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[147] Yaremko quotes Baptist missionaries, Yaremko, *US Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.25.
[148] Juana Berges, 'El protestantismo cubano en los caminos del crecimiento', *Caminos*, No.6 1997. p.4.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Survey taken in 1957 by a Catholic Group, Margaret Crahan, 'Cuba', in *Religious Freedom and Evangelization in Latin America*, ed. by Paul Sigmond, (Georgia/New York: Orbis Books, 1999), p.89.

closer to a US dominated economy and culture, often offering specialised courses in English and business studies. In order to ascertain the role US missionaries played in Cuban society with regard to a US dominated economy it is important to identify the motives of the Protestant missionaries who set up religious missions and schools in Cuba and their links to US business. According to both Bastian and Pérez, Protestantism's introduction into Cuban society was part of a growing affinity with North American ways rather than a coercive action on the part of the US.[151]

After Cuban independence in 1898 the Catholic Church still held a considerable amount of power, which Protestants hoped to undermine by promoting religious freedom. Many felt that the Catholic Church had neglected Cuban society especially in the areas of education, modernity and democracy. The missionaries promoted Bible reading, which often meant the need to increase literacy rates which were low due to the deficient funds put into education during Spanish rule and the devastation as a result of the independence wars. US missionaries promoted an education influenced by US political structures, which they believed were allied with their religious beliefs and practices and the promotion of religious freedom.[152] Many missionaries felt the need to help reform Cuba by introducing 'modernity' and felt they could do this by teaching English and business studies to Cuban children.[153] Some missionaries reasoned that imperialism was necessary due to its 'benevolent' nature.[154] One Methodist bishop stated that the US should 'take control' of Cuba as it had of Puerto Rico.[155] Given the proximity of the US and the cultural influences brought by US missionaries, Joyce Hill claims that Methodists, like the other Protestant missionaries, could not avoid promoting an 'American life-style'.[156]

Victor Mercado argues that there were both 'pure' and 'impure' motives for the Baptist missions in Cuba. Among the 'pure' motives he lists some abstract qualities such as love, compassion, hope and obedience. His list of 'impure' motives includes

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[151] Pérez, *On Becoming Cuban,* pp.8-9. See also: Bastian 'Protestantism in Latin America'.
[152] Joyce Hill, 'La misión Metodista en Cuba' in *La Herencia Misionera en Cuba,* ed. by Rafael Cepeda (San José, Costa Rica: Departamento Ecuménico de investigaciones, 1986) p.20.
[153] Ibid., p.22.
[154] Margaret Crahan, 'Religious penetration and Nationalism in Cuba: US Methodist Activities, 1898-1958', *Revista/Review interamericana,* (Summer) 1978, pp.205-206.
[155] Yaremko quotes Baptist missionaries, Yaremko, *US Protestant Missions in Cuba* p.25.
[156] Hill, 'La misión Metodista en Cuba' in *La Herencia Misionera en Cuba*, ed. by Cepeda, p.22.

the missionaries' involvement in the imperialist and commercial domination in Cuba and suggests that Protestantism was often used as a vehicle to disseminate 'western' culture. He further accuses the Protestant missionaries of imposing the mother churches' religious culture on national churches, leaving the Cuban communities little room for developing a Cubanised Protestant Church.[157] The Baptist mission at the time also voiced these concerns. Landrum, the president of the Baptist Home mission board stated that 'God does not ask us to Americanise Cuba [...] American civilisation will not cure the world's ills or heal the world's sorrows or banish its sins'. He also had concerns that some US citizens in Cuba were not setting a good example to Cubans, and one Baptist missionary, during the first US occupation, described the US soldiers as 'irreligious, immoral, lewd [and] drunken [...] who assume the air of conquerors.'[158]

However, views were seemingly diverse on the subject of the US role in Cuba, and some missionaries clearly demonstrated their expansionist aspirations. One Methodist Board employee said after visiting Cuba in the 1920s that North American Christians had a duty to free the Cubans of their detrimental morals as a contribution to the general improvements made in Cuba by North Americans. These improvements included Cuba's liberation by US soldiers, the eradication of yellow fever and smallpox by US scientists, and the revolutionising of their economic life by US businessmen.[159] Cubans involved in these improvements, of which there were many, were not often acknowledged in the self-congratulatory US rhetoric.[160] It is clear that motives were mixed; some missionaries, assuming an air of superiority, promoted US values and culture, while other Protestant leaders clearly denounced such airs and were in fact ashamed of these pretensions.

Although there were clearly voices amongst the Protestants that questioned US dominance and its benefits to Cuba, this dominance gave missionaries the kind of conditions in which they could flourish. US domination on the island increased at a rapid rate and by 1925 the US controlled electricity generation and the railways, and

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[157] Victor Mercado, 'La Tarea de la Iglesia Bautista Americana' in *La Herencia Misionera en Cuba*, ed. by Cepeda, p.31.
[158] Greer 'Baptists in Western Cuba,' *Cuban Studies*, Vol.19, (1989), pp.64-65.
[159] Cepeda, *La Herencia Misionera en Cuba*, p.44.
[160] Kapcia, *Cuba*, p.59.

US companies produced over half of the annual sugar crop. Other crops and small farmers were reduced substantially in number leading to a reliance on US imports. Cuba was transformed and was, according to Halperin Donghi, almost unrecognisable compared to its pre-1900 existence.[161] The Protestant churches acted as a safety net giving humanitarian aid and doing social work in the community.

Many of the Protestant funding boards were so involved in the expansionist climate of the time that Cuban missions came under the jurisdiction of their National Missions (or Home Missions) as opposed to their Foreign Missions. One Presbyterian publication in 1901 suggested that the reason for Cuba's mission being a national one rather than a foreign one was due to the similarity in its mission activity in Cuba to that of mission work in Alaska.[162] These views were akin to the expansionist attitudes prevailing in the US at the time and were another expression of its Manifest Destiny in which, as Pérez expresses, territorial expansion opened the way to religious penetration.[163]

Although Pérez proposes on the one hand that Protestant missions were a part of a general growth in Cubans' affinity with US ways, whether economic, political or cultural, he also suggests that evangelical missions to Cuba were a significant force within US imperialism promoting capitalist values and bringing with them ideas of racial segregation, which they enforced in some of their schools.[164] Imperialism is not in this case solely understood in economic and political terms, but involves the penetration of US values due to the belief in an overall cultural or racial superiority.

Prevailing Attitudes of Religious and Racial Superiority in the US and Cuba 1898-1959

It is important to examine prevailing attitudes of the time both in the US and Cuba on issues of race, national identity and culture, in order to define whether the missionaries were contributing to ideas of racial or cultural superiority. Furthermore,

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[161] Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Historia Contemoránea de América Latina*, (Buenos Aires/Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1992), p.317.
[162] Cepeda, *La Herencia Misionera en Cuba,* p.44.
[163] Pérez., *Essays on Cuban History,* p.62.
[164] Ibid., pp.53-72.

it is important to define whether ideas of racial superiority were reinforcing ideas of US superiority and Manifest Destiny.

Many missionaries to Cuba came from southern US states, where racism was particularly prominent, and introduced schools that boasted their white only nature to appeal to the white Cuban elite. The Presbyterian missionary, Robert Whartan, wrote in 1904 that they had felt the need to exclude black children from their schools for 'the same reasons we do this in the southern states.'[165] Segregationist policies were not usual in Latin American countries, and it is clear that these extremist measures were, in this case, due to the US missionaries' adherence to the prevailing racist views of the time.

It was not only segregationist policies in their schools that revealed attitudes of racial superiority, but also Protestant intolerance towards African religions. One article written in the prominent Cuban Protestant magazine, *Heraldo Cristiano* in 1919, entitled 'Linchamiento y Brujería', claimed that:

> [Es importante] mostrar cuál es la verdadera causa de que tales males subsistan entre nosotros, manchando los anales de nuestra vida progresiva y culta. 'Brujería' es una vulgarización de ciertas prácticas de determinada religión de nativos de Africa; pero, de aquella parte de Africa donde aún no ha llegado nada de la civilización por eso [...] y porque en Cuba quedan muy contados nativos de aquel continente, no tiene razón de existir actualmente en este país [...] Nótase que no son sólo los negros ignorantes los que practican tales aberraciones, entre ellos hay varios blancos naturales de Cuba, Méjico y España. Si los blancos, que en cierto sentido no podemos llamar de cretinos, no llegan a comer ciertas partes del cuerpo humano, sin duda se debe solamente a sus gustos más delicados y mejores hábitos.[166]

This article went on to blame the Catholic Church and its closeness to African religions for these practices. This demonstrates a lack of understanding of Cuban

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[165] Cepeda *La Herencia Misionera en Cuba*, p.43.
[166] *Heraldo Cristiano*, Tomo 1. August 1919, No.3, p.67, Biblioteca José Martí. Translation in Appendix.

religiosity and an intolerance towards the African and Catholic religions dominant in Cuba at the time. It is unlikely that an atmosphere in which cultures could 'exchange' would develop when such attitudes of racial and Protestant superiority existed.

The US missionaries were profoundly influenced by the discourse of 'Empire', which, as Kaplan argues, had become integral to US culture. As I have discussed in Chapter Two, this national pride and expansionist aspirations developed within a context of attitudes of cultural, particularly racial and religious superiority, which were often used as the reason for US economic prosperity. These attitudes of superiority were espoused by many leading members of the Protestant community, and were profoundly important to US political discourse, especially since the nineteenth century and the development of the concept of US Manifest Destiny.

The Encounter Between Cuban Communities and US Protestant Missions

Pérez stresses that the Cubans bore some of the responsibility for their domination by the US and that the 'American life-style' was often welcomed by Cubans who felt that foreign capital and influence could revive their industries and schools.[167] While Protestant Churches tended to target the poorer sector of Cuban society, particularly in rural areas where the Catholic Church had made less inroads, their schools attracted Cubans from the wealthier backgrounds due to the fees charged. Although the Protestant faith accompanied, and in many cases was sponsored by the influx of US business interests post-1898, it was unable to truly penetrate Cuban society for many of the reasons already expressed: the non-institutional nature of Cuba's popular religiosity and Protestant intolerance to other Cuban religions. Furthermore, during the US occupation of Cuba of 1899-1902, at the time when Protestant missionaries were establishing their missions, anti-US feeling grew. Protestantism no longer represented a national stance against the Spanish run Catholic Church; it instead came under attack for being the intruder with a goal to 'Americanise'.[168]

[167] Pérez, *On Becoming Cuban,* p.10.
[168] Greer 'Baptists in Western Cuba' p.65.

One aspect of Protestantism that attracted Cubans was the US Protestants' eagerness to ordain Cubans as ministers and give them, both men and women, a chance to participate in higher positions as opposed to the impenetrable nature of the Catholic Church hierarchy. Although many Cubans did become ministers and held governing roles within the churches, particularly the Presbyterian and Quaker churches, many Cuban Protestants became frustrated at the limited power transferred to them, and felt that key decision-making continued to be carried out by the US mission boards and missionaries.[169] As Cubans took control of their Protestant Churches and power relations shifted away from US control, the churches were more able to 'Cubanise'. However, discussion of the class and race of Cubans who gained power within the Protestant missions is lacking from most scholarly research. Yaremko argues that the missionaries came from a white middle-class background, and had ideological and cultural affinity with US business and Cuban elites. He claims that this became problematic for their objectives of targeting working class communities.[170]

There was constant tension between the 'Americanising' of Cuban Protestant communities on the one hand, and the 'Cubanisation' of Protestantism on the other. 'Civilising' missions were an important element of 'Americanising' the Cubans, as they promoted an education based on the values of their culture. However, as the Churches and schools became increasingly managed by Cubans, albeit Cubans who had been educated by US missionaries and had an affinity with 'American ways', Cuban nationalism played a part in this encounter between cultures.

There continued to be a watchful eye and powers over funding issues from the mother churches and funding bodies in the US. Palmer suggests that a mission, once established, ceases to be under the total power and influence of the institutional ideology, and becomes reinvented in a local context. This would suggest that the more power given to local actors, the more likely the encounter is to develop the characteristics of a cultural exchange rather than being solely envisaged as cultural imperialism.[171]

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[169] Hill, 'La Misión Metodista en Cuba', pp.20-22.
[170] Yaremko, *US Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.x.
[171] Palmer, 'Central American Encounters with Rockefeller Public Health, 1914-1921', pp.337-328.

This local power and decision making could in some cases cause conflictual relationships between some of the US influenced values and ideals promoted in the churches and those developed within local Cuban communities. During the Batista dictatorship there was considerable disapproval both towards state violence and US support of the regime. Pérez suggests that Protestant education and its stress on the moral economy, civil liberties, freedom of conscience and equal opportunities led to Cuban disenchantment as Cubans realised that US dominance in Cuba was not 'moral' or 'fair' as they had been led to believe, but discriminated against and exploited Cubans in their own country. This may explain the presence of many Protestants among the triumphant revolutionaries in 1959.[172]

Yaremko argues that US Protestant missionaries aided US hegemony in Cuba, but he rejects any conspiracy or collusion, but rather emphasises the close ideological and cultural connections between the US missionaries and their business and political counterparts, a connection due also, I would argue, to the vision of 'Empire' integral to US culture at a time of US expansionism and interventionism.[173] It is evident from the above arguments that some missionaries and mission funding bodies clearly had expansionist aspirations and racist concepts of superiority, which can be regarded as cultural imperialism. However, these views were not held by all the missionaries involved, and as power was negotiated between the foreign elements of the missions and the local Cuban communities, overpowering foreign values may have diluted. This can only be tested by studying the various encounters on a local level, and their many diverse results as personalities, motives and agendas varied. The study of these local encounters complicates the general picture, and the study of these focussed encounters combined with an analysis of the more general structures of power and domination give a more comprehensive understanding of the overall nature of cultural encounters. The following chapters investigate the Quaker mission in Cuba and its level of engagement with the various sectors of society within the Cuban communities where missions were established.

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[172] Pérez *On Becoming Cuban,* pp.6-13 and p.250.
[173] Yaremko, *US Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.xiii.

Chapter 4

The Establishment of the Quaker Mission in Cuba: The Motives

This chapter analyses the motives behind the establishment of the Quaker mission in Cuba. It considers whether these motives constituted part of a general imperialist imposition of US values and culture, interlinked with political and economic dominance in Cuba, or whether the mission's objectives were in the pursuit of cultural exchange. The Quaker mission in Cuba was established in 1900. It is important to examine events from 1898 due to the significant increase in US interest in Cuba from this symbolic year. By 1904 the Quakers had fully established their four main mission stations in Cuba. Therefore the main focus of this chapter will be on the 1898-1904 period. In order to fully establish the significance of the attitudes and objectives behind the mission, I shall analyse the relevant historical trends in US Quakerism in the second half of the nineteenth century. I will also examine US attitudes towards Cuba during the period in question and the influence these had on the missionaries and their supporting board of missions.

LeGrand has analysed encounters between a banana enclave community and the United Fruit Company (UFC) suggesting that the company had not been as all-powerful as had previously been presented and that the cultural developments within the community could not be controlled by the company.[174] The initial relationship between the UFC and the Quakers in Cuba is also of significance. I analyse here the role that the UFC took in the establishment of the mission and how this relationship corresponds with the more general connections between Protestant missionaries and business in Cuba during 1898-1904. Furthermore, I will assess the motives for such a relationship: what both parties had to gain and whether the UFC hoped to control cultural developments within the community by supporting such ventures.

[174] LeGrand, 'Living in Macondo,' pp.333-356.

The focus of the study will constantly shift between an analysis of the specific encounter and the wider picture of US political and cultural domination in Cuba during this period. In this way the study will determine whether the specific encounter corresponds with more general trends and developments of the time.

The Establishment of the Quaker Mission in Cuba

The first recorded sign of Quaker ideas amongst Cubans was in Havana under the guidance of a Cuban man, Francisco Cala. He was influenced by the Mexican Quaker mission who sent him literature and who officially recognised his group.[175] This demonstrates that the first Quaker initiative in Cuba came from a Cuban. In 1898 there was a surge of interest in Cuba, and although the interest in Quaker work in Cuba came from both Cubans and Mexicans, it was the North Americans who started to show an interest in a mission to Cuba that could be financed.

One Quaker who was involved in the instigation of the mission, Zenas Martin, had worked previously as a Quaker missionary in Jamaica from 1895. On his return from Jamaica to the US, in 1897, Martin had what has been described by Quakers as 'a historic conversation' with his old friend Captain Lorenzo Baker of the Boston Fruit Company, which later merged to become the UFC. Captain Baker explained his intentions of opening a plantation in Cuba and expressed his wishes that Quakers open a mission there also, similar to the one they had already established on a company plantation in Jamaica. The Captain offered two thousand dollars to open missions in Banes and Tanamo, later to be concentrated into one offer for the opening of a mission in Banes.[176] This started a relationship between the UFC and the Quakers in Cuba, which lasted until 1959. Interest in Cuba grew amongst US Quakers, and reports by Quakers who visited Cuba fuelled support for the future mission proposal.[177]

The various US Quaker Yearly Meetings interested in the idea of a mission to Cuba offered their cooperation for the project through the newly formed American Friends

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[175] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba* p.3.
[176] Alfred Dumois, *A Name, A Family and a Town*, (Fortworth, Texas, 1999) p.67.
[177] Hilty. *Friends in Cuba,* pp.2-3.

Board of Foreign Missions (AFBFM). This new organization had up to this point been predominantly an information gathering body, but in March 1900 an official decision was made to establish a mission in Cuba. Zenas Martin was appointed as the superintendent of the mission due to his experience in similar missionary work. In April 1900 Martin went to Havana in this capacity and met with Francisco Cala, the Cuban Quaker assisted by the Mexican Quakers.[178] After visiting Havana Martin travelled to Banes where the newly formed headquarters of the UFC was stationed. He travelled by ship landing at the then important port of Gibara, before heading to Banes. He chose Gibara for the site of the mission headquarters.

Due to the high levels of interest in Cuba among US Quakers, there were many volunteers to join the mission to Cuba but the AFBFM initially supported only five missionaries apart from the superintendent Zenas Martin and his wife. The agreement with the AFBFM signed by Mr and Mrs Jones, the leaders of the first Quaker mission, stated that Mr Jones would establish a mission in Gibara, founding a missionary home and engaging in 'Bible, Church, Evangelistic and Educational work instructing also both publicly and privately in morals and right living.' He was also to learn Spanish and preach Christianity. Both education and instruction in 'morals and right living' were key motivations behind the establishment of the Quaker mission. The education and morals they promoted were influenced by US values and cultures of the time. Mrs Jones's role was to manage the missionary home, making it 'a model for the people, of a Christian Home'.[179] The exchangeable nature of 'Christian' with 'US' values becomes clear from some of the citations and analysis developed in this chapter. It is important to consider the ideas upon which they based the 'Christian' model.

Five Quaker missionaries arrived in Gibara on November 14th 1900. They started work holding public meetings in their home, visiting local homes, and in 1901 they opened a day school. The prompt opening of the school highlights the importance they gave not only to evangelisation, but also to more general instruction and influence within the community. They did not limit themselves to Gibara, reaching

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[178] Kirenia Criado Pérez, 'Los Amigos en Cuba,' dip. diss. *Seminario Evangélico de Teología*, Matanzas 2002. p.7.
[179] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, pp.13-14.

into the surrounding rural villages to hold meetings and visit homes. In 1902 efforts were put into building a church in Gibara and then in Holguín. Holguín was almost only accessible from the port of Gibara until 1902 when the Central Railroad was built connecting Holguín to the rest of the island. This marked the increasing shift of importance from the port of Gibara to the more central town of Holguín. Land for the construction of a church in Holguín was acquired in 1904. Two years previously the site offered by Captain Baker on UFC land in Banes had also been secured.[180]

In 1902 the mission superintendent, Zenas Martin, recommended the town of Puerto Padre to Wilmington (Ohio) Yearly Meeting as a good place for a mission supported by them rather than by the AFBFM. It was close to the large American Sugar Company mills. In 1903 a mission was opened in Puerto Padre. Gibara, Holguín, Banes and Puerto Padre became the central stations for Quakers' early work and during the first five years the leaders of this mission grew to fourteen US missionaries.[181]

Quaker Missionary Inspirations

Since the motivation to establish a mission in Cuba is inseparable from historical developments in US Quakerism at the time, it is useful to consider some of these developments at this point. The AFBFM grew out of a divergent Quaker society that required central bodies that could re-unite it. The branch of Quakerism of particular importance for this study is the movement that followed the Gurneyite tradition. Joseph John Gurney was an English orthodox Quaker who toured the US preaching his beliefs in evangelical Quakerism. He argued that Quakers needed to concentrate more on mission work and emphasised the kinship between Christian principles and those of other Protestant denominations.[182] It was from among Quakers of this tradition that the Pastoral system took root in the 1880s, leading to further similarities between Quaker practice and other Protestant denominations.[183]

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[180] Ibid., pp.16-20
[181] Ibid., pp.23-27.
[182] Punshon, *Portrait in Grey*, p.196.
[183] Ibid., p.202.

Such developments encouraged further divergence within Quakerism and led the Indiana Yearly Meeting to call a conference at Richmond in 1887 bringing the Orthodox body together with an aim to unite. They issued a Declaration of Faith, which was a scriptural-based document from the Gurneyite/evangelical tradition. Although its aim was to unite the (Orthodox) Quaker world, it failed in this respect, as the document was rejected by London, Philadelphia, Ohio and other Quaker Yearly Meetings.[184] However, the document did succeed in bringing some Quaker Yearly Meetings together in a joint effort concerning their foreign missionary work. This was later realised in the form of the AFBFM in 1894.[185]

In 1897 it was decided to create a central body to unite the Quakers from the Gurneyite tradition. This was finally established in 1902 as the Five Years' Meeting, (now Friends United Meeting) with headquarters in Richmond, Indiana, and the AFBFM was incorporated as its official board of missions being renamed the American Friends Board of Missions (AFBM).[186] Missionary work by Quakers had been previously developed in various parts of the world from the 1840s. This included missions to Madagascar, India, Japan, Alaska, Syria, China, Africa and Palestine.[187] Of particular influence for the history of the Cuba mission were the Indiana Yearly Meeting mission work in Mexico, which commenced in 1871, and the Iowa Yearly Meeting work in Jamaica that had developed Zenas Martin's career as mission superintendent. However, the AFBFM represented a more co-ordinated effort and acted as an umbrella organisation for many Yearly Meetings. Its role was seen as vital for the search for suitable personnel and funds for the missions from the various Yearly Meetings involved.[188]

The AFBFM, then, was born out of the Gurneyite evangelical Quaker movement that was flourishing in parts of the US. The Iowa Yearly Meeting had also been influenced by this movement, which had led to their establishing a mission in Jamaica. It was in Iowa that Sylvester Jones and May Mather, two of the leading missionaries to Cuba, were studying. They were very much influenced by the

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[184] Ibid. p.203.
[185] Elfrida Vipont, *The Story of Quakerism: Through Three Centuries*, (London: The Bannisdale Press, 1954, edition 1960) p.231.
[186] Russell, *The History of Quakerism,* pp.442-443.
[187] Ibid. p.v.
[188] Punshon, *Portrait in Grey,* pp.218-219.

movement based on ideas of evangelism, the pastoral system and the emphasis on Bible reading and Christian principles, bringing Quaker aims and objectives closer to those of other Protestant denominations.

This period of Quaker history parallels the wider context of Protestant evangelical fervour during this period, particularly between 1890 and 1914. This was also a time when US business and political interests were expanding to the same parts of the world as the missionaries. As I outlined in Chapter Two, the Protestant missions followed these US interests into Africa and Asia 'on the coat-tails of imperialism.'[189] Hence, the US cultural and religious expansionist projects of the time cannot be dealt with in isolation. They were interlinked and influenced by contemporaneous political, military and economic expansionist adventures.

The choice of Cuba as the first mission headed by the AFBFM originates from the history of US interests in Cuba at the time, their military involvement in Cuban independence and the ensuing business and political stronghold over the island. The next section will assess the motives for the Quaker mission to Cuba in relation to more general aspects of Cuban history during that period.

A Historical Perspective of the Quaker Mission to Cuba, 1898-1904

The Cubans were fighting for their independence from Spain intermittently from 1868. US interest in Cuba, prior to the so-called 'US-Spanish' war of 1898, was predominantly characterised by business concerns concentrated in the western part of the island. It was, however, the entrance of the US in 1898 into the Cuban Independence War, and the coverage in the US press, that promoted an increase in interest in the island. There was popular support in the US for the war against Spain in the name of liberating the oppressed Cuban people. In the US there was popular feeling that with their help these 'poor' Cubans could be rescued and emancipated. The image projected by the press and politicians was of a benevolent US sacrificing its soldiers for the good of all Cubans.[190]

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[189] Ibid., p.215.
[190] Louis Pérez 'Incurring a Debt of Gratitude: 1898 and the Moral Sources of United States Hegemony in Cuba,' *American Historical Review*, April 1999, pp.356-357.

Once the war had been won, the US media and political class were jubilant at having 'given' Cuba her liberty through their intervention. The Cubans were deprived of any recognition for their role in the victory over Spain and were excluded from surrender negotiations. The US had appropriated the Cubans' cause and taken full credit for the victory over Spain. This led to an expectation of gratitude from the Cubans. It was in terms of this 'debt of gratitude' that the Cubans found themselves in a weak position with relation to US dominance. The Cubans, on the other hand, felt that they had earned their independence as their own right rather than as a gift from the US. However, US hemispheric aspirations were of particular significance at a time of heightened commercial and strategic interest in the region. US intervention in the 1898 war can be better understood in terms of their wish to control the direction Cuban independence took once realised.[191]

The issue of race was also important in the US government's reluctance to relinquish power to the independence fighters who consisted, to a large degree, of black or mulatto Cubans.[192] This led to a press campaign in the US against the ingratitude of the Cubans and a push for greater controls over political life in Cuba. Media and political interests in the US promoted a paternalistic responsibility for this nation that they had freed and felt it their duty to preside over Cuban well-being. This meant that the US had a moral obligation to ensure the Cubans chose an acceptable government on US terms. This was the focus of the Platt Amendment, which compromised Cuban independence, to protect US interests in Cuba. Protest against the Platt Amendment thus was seen as ingratitude. Senator Platt foresaw Cuba 'bound to us by location, helplessness and [...] by the sentiment of gratitude,' believing that annexation was inevitable.[193] US governor of Cuba, Leonard Wood, believed in the eventual annexation of Cuba and stated that: 'There is, of course, little or no independence left [in] Cuba under the Platt Amendment. The more

[191] Ibid., pp.359-364. See also: Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony,* pp.58-84.
[192] Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill and London, 1995) pp.5-7.
[193] Pérez, 'Incurring a Debt of Gratitude,' pp.372-383.

sensible Cubans realize this and feel the only consistent thing to do now is to seek annexation.'[194]

Although Cuba's first president, Tomás Estrada Palma, was ashamed of the imposition of the Platt Amendment he felt that as an expression of gratitude for the US's role in the independence wars its interests should be accommodated. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that Estrada Palma himself expected Cuba to be annexed to the US in the long run.[195] His affinity with the US was also due to the many years he had spent there, living with a Quaker family and running a private Quaker school.[196] In the US there was a high degree of self-congratulation believing that they had helped Cuba become self-governing. In Cuba, however, many saw US interference as opportunistic. It must, however, be remembered that some Cubans welcomed US involvement believing it to be the only way in which Cuba could 'modernise'.[197] Pérez concludes that US discourse and representation of Cuban independence had deprived the Cubans of their claims to sovereignty and self-determination and their independence had been reduced to the accommodation of US interests. This, he suggests, led to anti-American sentiment, which grew through the following decades.[198]

The Quakers and other US missionaries played an important part in this crucial moment in Cuban history as they were, in their majority, born out of this liberating fervour drummed up in the US. They were influenced by the media and political coverage of the 'Spanish-American war', which painted the US as the paternal liberator of the 'poor' Cubans. As we saw in Chapter Three, Protestant denominations in the US were vociferously in favour of the US war against Spain to 'liberate' Cuba with the exception of the Quakers due to their pacifist beliefs.[199] There was also a sense of political and moral responsibility for Cuba after having lost US soldiers in the fight for Cuban independence. Missionaries often felt that

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[194] Carmen Diana Deere, 'Here Come the Yankees!: The Rise and Decline of United States Colonies in Cuba, 1898-1930,' *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 78, No. 4, (November 1998), p.734.
[195] Hugh Thomas, *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom*, (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971) p.460.
[196] Ibid., p.314 and p.460.
[197] Crahan, 'Religious Penetration and Nationalism in Cuba', p.206.
[198] Pérez 'Incurring a Debt of Gratitude,' p.385.
[199] Ramos, *Panorama del Protestantismo en Cuba,* p.159.

they held a special role in advancing the moral development of the Cuban people.[200] It was their role to continue the US military's good work and help prepare the Cubans in their national development by educating and 'civilising' them.[201]

Yaremko claims that the missionaries' aims were inherently political and cultural in nature playing 'a central role in the US oriented reconstruction of the Cuban republic'.[202] He suggests that both missionaries and US business took advantage of a US occupied, war-torn and impoverished Cuba. They bought land at deflated prices and used the new circumstances in Cuba to promote the 'New Cuba' envisaged in the US. He proposes that although some Cubans welcomed such actions, others protested that it was opportunistic on the part of the US and undermined the independence they had dreamed and fought for. The protests, he claims, came predominantly from the Afro-Cuban community who saw the Protestants as representatives of US intervention. Yaremko's claims are predominantly based on the missionaries' link to US business interests and promotion of US values in their schools. However, he stresses that the US Protestant missionaries were not 'puppets' for US hegemony but rather that they were 'inherently political as well as cultural in consequence if not in nature.'[203] They could not escape their cultural or historical moment.

Sylvester Jones, the leader of the first Quaker missionaries to land in Cuba in 1900, writes that he was deeply affected by the reports of Cubans suffering in their struggle for independence and the reverberant slogans of 'Remember the Maine'. However, although he sympathised with the cause, he did not volunteer to fight to 'free' Cuba, as he could not do so and 'keep faith with [his] conscience'. He states that 'I wanted to help free Cuba; I wanted to do something about it; yet anything I could do seemed futile.'[204] These events, that moved Jones so profoundly, contributed to his decision two years later to lead the Quaker mission to Cuba. The fervour of freeing Cuba

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[200]Rafael Cepeda, 'Los misioneros norteamericanos en Cuba: Visión de los cubanos y las iglesias (1899-1925)' in *Culturas encontradas: Cuba y los Estados Unidos*, ed. by Rafael Hernández and John H Coatsworth , (Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana Juan Marinello, and Centre for Latin American Studies David Rockefeller, University of Harvard, 2001), p.145.
[201] Crahan, 'Religious Penetration and Nationalism in Cuba,' p.207.
[202] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.13.
[203] Ibid., pp.13-14.
[204] Sylvester Jones, *Not By Might: A little that is never too late,* (Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1942), pp.19-20.

militarily was replaced by ambitions to 'liberate' and 'civilise' Cubans religiously and morally.

The Quakers' motivation to evangelise was not only born out of the Gurneyite Quaker tendency but was also due to their reaction to press coverage in the US of an impoverished and war-torn Cuba. There is also evidence to suggest that they wanted to do something 'heroic' that would 'turn the world up-side-down.'[205] Their aims were ambitious, wanting to create in Cuba 'a true liberty; a government devoted to the welfare of the people governed; a strong impulse given to education; improvements [...] in customs of living; men of talent, entirely Christian and rivals of the ablest writers of the Spanish language.'[206] This shows that their aspirations were not only to evangelise but also to 'civilise' the Cubans, introducing them to 'improvements' based on their own US culture and education.

The leading Quaker missionaries felt that Cuba was 'a hundred years behind the times' and that the arrival of the Americans and the introduction of American ideas had produced 'a ridiculous blending of the ancient and the modern'.[207] They believed that there were positive and 'modernising' elements to the US presence on the island and felt that the US government deserved gratitude for this: 'The Cuban politician, seeking his own interests in place of the best welfare of his native land, is seemingly unappreciative of the improvements introduced by the American government.'[208] This belief in a debt of gratitude owed to the US corresponds with the paternalistic and self-congratulatory attitude that prevailed in the US at the time. They did not, however, consider all US influence in Cuba as positive. They were distressed when a US circus came to town and they were appalled at the behaviour of US soldiers who were stationed in Gibara for some time and who apparently got drunk, 'entered houses and insulted women'.[209]

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[205] Sylvester Jones, Letter to classmates, Gibara 11th February 1900s, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I. p.380, *Friends Collection*, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.
[206] May Jones, article 'Why Cuba Needs Help', 1905, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.322, *Friends Collection.*
[207] May Jones, letter to AFBFM, Gibara 22nd February 1901, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I. p.49, *Friends Collection.*
[208] Ibid.
[209] Sylvester Jones, letter to AFBFM, Gibara 1st February 1901, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.37, *Friends Collection.*

In a 1904 article, the Quaker missionary May Jones discusses the importance of religious literature in Spanish other than the Bible and quotes a leading missionary who describes non-Christian lands as 'barbarous', 'uncivilised' and 'unenlightened'.[210] The establishment of the Quaker mission was based on assumptions of superiority and the need to supervise these 'uncivilised' Cubans. Jones, for example, suggested that new Spanish Christian literature should be written by Cubans but under the supervision of the missionaries.[211] Although the missionaries constantly promoted the idea of a 'native church' they believed that this could only come about under their supervision and education. This corresponds with the US paternalist supervisory role over the Cuban nation after Independence. This idea that these 'uncivilised Cubans' required supervision to become leaders in the Quaker church and writers of Spanish Quaker literature is particularly interesting due to the fact that in Havana a Quaker Church and magazine, run by a Cuban, had already been established prior to the US missionaries' arrival.[212]

Yaremko suggests that in many cases the Cuban Protestant missionaries who had established their churches, prior to the arrival of the US missionaries after 1898, were sidelined or stripped of responsibility by the incoming, US funded missionaries. This has been referred to as the Americanisation of Cuban Protestantism.[213] An important issue is whether the US Quaker ministers similarly sidelined the Cuban Quaker minister, Francisco Cala, who ran a meeting and day school in Havana prior to the arrival of the Quaker US missionaries.

For this purpose it is important to establish the reasons for the decision to locate the US Quaker mission in the Eastern part of the Island instead of in Havana. Zenas Martin, the superintendent of the mission, had met with Cala in Havana and was apparently unimpressed.[214] Martin felt the Havana group lacked experience as teachers and that their 'school efforts were not amounting to much'. He felt that the Cubans could only benefit from being taught by 'American' teachers.[215]

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[210] May Jones, untitled article in *Friends' Missionary Advocate*, Holguín 12th-17th April 1904, Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol I, p.296, *Friends Collection.*
[211] Ibid., p.297.
[212] Juana Berges, meeting on 15th January 2001, CIPS, Havana.
[213] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.4.
[214] Criado Pérez, 'Los Amigos en Cuba', p.7.
[215] Graves, 'Americanizing Cuba by Cubanizing Protestantism,' p.54.

According to Hiram Hilty, Gibara was chosen because it was a thriving port at the time, with fairly easy access to Holguín and Puerto Padre, two substantial and growing towns and also close to the UFC estates, which had expanding populations. Furthermore, there had been as yet no other Protestant denomination established there, which meant that this area was still 'virgin' in evangelical terms. However, he also hints at the economic potential of the war torn area, which he suggests would have been noted by Zenas Martin, who later bought land and became a sugar cane landowner himself.[216]

Zenas Martin had been a successful businessman in Iowa and was a close associate of Captain Baker, the then UFC president, but Martin expressed, in 1900, that he did not want to become a branch of a 'great soulless corporation'.[217] He added that:

> [As the United Fruit Company] increases in wealth and power [it] may increase in oppression of the people and methods of business that will be in opposition to our teachings [...] I look upon the large, soulless corporations of the US, that are being organised in Cuba, as one of the great difficulties in the way of progress of the people, both in temporal and spiritual things. I fear Cuba is not yet free.[218]

It is on this basis that Hilty concludes that Martin's decision to establish the mission in Gibara instead of Banes was to distance the mission from the UFC.

This assumption does not stand once examined further, as by April 1902 the mission had extended to Banes, which from then on continued to be an important station for the Quakers in Cuba.[219] It appears that there was a contradiction between the reservations that Martin expressed about the UFC and his actions that continued to support this tie between the Quakers and the company. Gibara was chosen for a combination of reasons. Not only was it a thriving port close enough to Holguín,

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[216] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, pp.9-10.
[217] Ibid., p.10.
[218] Graves, 'Americanizing Cuba by Cubanizing Protestantism,' p.83. Taken from letters from Martin to the AFBM.
[219] Sylvester Jones, letter to AFBFM, 4th April 1902, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. 1. p.127, *Friends Collection.*

Puerto Padre and Banes and not yet designated to any other Protestant mission. There is also no doubt that the offer of UFC land also played its part in the attraction of Gibara for the first Quaker station.

Once the choice had been made to start the mission on the eastern part of the island there seems to have been little support or encouragement for the Cuban Quaker group in Havana led by Francisco Cala. Sylvester Jones, the leader of the Quaker mission, had seemed eager to meet the Havana group early on. His first article to the local Gibara press boasted that there was a 'great Quaker organisation' already established in Havana run 'entirely by Cubans'.[220] Jones clearly expressed a wish to go to Havana and observe some sermons in Spanish there. He felt he could learn something from the Cuban Quakers and at that stage was struggling with preaching in Spanish. However, this wish does not appear to have been encouraged by the AFBFM, as funds were not readily available for such a trip. This does not seem to have been a priority for them.[221]

Sylvester Jones did eventually go to Havana and a member of the Havana Quaker group under Francisco Cala, Juan Francisco Gálvez, then moved down to Gibara to work with the missionaries and became very important to them. Jones obviously understood the importance of learning from the Cubans who were already ministering in Cuba, but it seems that the AFBFM and the superintendent of the mission did not prioritise such exchanges, and it was they who held the purse strings. In October 1903 Gálvez, the new addition to the Quakers in Gibara, was recognised as a minister by the AFBFM.[222] However, his pay never equalled that of the foreign missionaries as the AFBFM claimed that they wanted to promote a Cuban run church funded by the Cubans. However, as one of the leading missionaries pointed out, this was not possible at such an early stage.[223] Gálvez, therefore, had to do work

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[220]Sylvester Jones, 'El Voz del Artizano' local Gibara newspaper, Gibara 26th December 1900, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.22, *Friends Collection.*
[221] Sylvester Jones, letter AFBFM, 42nd September 1901, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.55, *Friends Collection.*
[222] Jonathan Dickinson, Chairman of the Cuban Committee of AFBFM, untitled article, 9th October 1903, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.278, *Friends Collection.*
[223] May Jones, letter to AFBFM, Gibara 3rd January 1901, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.99, *Friends Collection.*

equal to that of the foreign missionaries but on a comparatively minimal wage. This is likely to have made him feel inferior and undervalued.

The legacy of the first Quaker missionaries amongst contemporary Quakers is one of selfless heroism. One Quaker interviewed by the author explains how she believes that the US missionaries integrated into Cuban society:

> Los primeros misioneros norteamericanos que vinieron a Cuba tenían una cosa especial [...] ¿por qué? porque ellos no vinieron aquí como norteamericanos a compartir a lo cubano sino vinieron a compartir como cubanos a sentirse cubano y en este aspecto te puedo enseñar algo por ejemplo: la hija hembra de estos misioneros murió aquí [en Gibara], está enterrada aquí, está su tumba allí en el cementerio. Ellos se adaptaron a Cuba, [...] no vinieron a imponer una cultura sino a tratar de asimilar como eramos nosotros. Es la diferencia que hay entre los misioneros cuáqueros y el resto de los misioneros.[224]

The leaders of the Quaker mission had conflicting objectives. They were consciously trying not to 'Americanise' the local community they were in contact with while trying to 'Christianise' them. 'We are not trying to convert [the Cubans] to Americanism only so far as the essentials of Christianity coincide with American customs. We want them to feel that this is a church for the Cubans, not based on a temporary fad for things "americano".'[225] However, their belief that to Christianise the Cubans could be easily separated from 'Americanising' them is questionable. Their form of Christianity, or Protestantism, was born out of cultural and historical influences, firstly from England but then predominantly from developments in the US. Their definition of Christianity was based on their US cultural and historical background, which denied the Cubans' Catholic Church any claims within this concept of Christianity.

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[224] Enelia Escalona, leading member of Gibara Friends Church, interviewed by author, 6th August 2002, Gibara, Cuba. Translation in Appendix.
[225] May Jones, letter to AFBFM, Gibara 3rd October 1902, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.169, *Friends Collection.*

The Mexican influence should also be noted, as two of the first five Quaker missionaries were Mexican (or of Mexican parentage) and there were also influences from Mexican translations and literature in Spanish. However, such influence was relatively minor, considering that one of the Mexican missionaries was a pupil of one of the US missionaries and was not usually given 'missionary' status, and the other was from Texas although her parents were Mexican. Furthermore, Mexican literary influence was also rejected at times. Sylvester Jones did not find the Mexican Quaker 'discipline' (Quaker constitution) appropriate for Cuba as he preferred the Richmond, Indiana one or the creation of a new one.[226]

US cultural influence was prevalent in terms of home customs that were maintained because of the missionaries' difficulty in adapting to the new cultural climate and the food. Missing home-cooking and cultural life, they reconstructed their home culture around symbolic celebrations such as Thanksgiving.[227] As the missionaries clung to their home culture, they also introduced it to the Cubans in the churches and schools.

The Quaker missionaries' main influence was not so much through the introduction of specific US customs but rather the condemnation of the Cubans' Catholic, Spiritist or African rituals. Being of the Gurneyite tradition there can be little doubt that one of the key objectives of the Quakers in Cuba was to evangelise. They centred their work on Bible reading, preaching, selling Bibles and giving out tracts of the Bible. However, the act of evangelisation assumes a certainty that their Christianity was 'true' or 'pure'.[228] There was, therefore, no common ground to be found between their 'pure' religion and the ones they encountered already established in Cuba. From the outset they wanted to rid Cuba of its 'superstitions and ignorance', which were two 'Cuban' attributes that they blamed on the Catholic Church. As Sylvester Jones, a leading Quaker missionary, put it: 'here in priest-ridden Cuba we do not for a moment hesitate to teach that ritualism is not only an

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[226] Sylvester Jones, Letter to AFBM, Gibara 28th August 1903, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, pp.235-237, *Friends Collection.*
[227] May Jones, letter to AFBFM, Gibara 4th December 1901, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.87, *Friends Collection.*
[228] Sylvester Jones, untitled article, 1908, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.417, *Friends Collection.*

unnecessary burden, but that it is wrong, that it dishonours God.'[229] He further attacked monastic life in an article for a local magazine:

> Cuando hablo de la vida religiosa no me refiero al modo de vivir de aquellos hombres y mujeres que han huído del mundo y se han metido en conventos, vistiéndose de los hábitos de clérigos y monjes, pensando que por medio de la cogulla y sotana podrían agradar á Dios. A tales personas les tenemos lástima. La jactancia ni agrada á Dios ni ayuda á los hombres.[230]

When the US missionaries arrived in Cuba they were confronted with a war-torn community that had also suffered from neglect on the part of the Spanish authorities and a Catholic Church that had allied with the colonial state. Little money had been expended on schooling, especially in rural areas. The missionaries would appear to be correct, to a certain degree, in attributing much of the illiteracy and even the poverty to the Catholic Church who had supported Spanish rule to the end. Jones suggested that the Catholic Church had failed the Cubans having done little to educate the Cubans who were illiterate.[231] This coincides with a general tendency amongst Protestants to blame all Cuba's problems on the Catholic Church and exaggerate the 'Black Legend'.

When the US Quakers arrived in Gibara the Catholic Church felt threatened by their presence, and held a procession, which had not been held for 15 years.[232] Additionally, the priest, who charged considerable amounts for performing marriages and who was previously the only legal marriage officer, was troubled when Sylvester Jones, the Quaker minister, started to marry couples free of charge. At one point the priest threatened not to allow the burial of the child of one such couple in the public cemetery unless they signed a paper denouncing the Protestant

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[229] Sylvester Jones, letter to AFBM, Gibara January 1904, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.265, *Friends Collection.*
[230] Sylvester Jones, untitled article, 1908, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.417, *Friends Collection.* Translation in appendix.
[231] Sylvester Jones, 'Religious Conditions in Cuba', 1907, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.340, *Friends Collection.*
[232] May Jones, letter to AFBFM, Gibara 1st April 1902, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.123, *Friends Collection.*

religion.[233] Jones also criticised the priest for corruption and for treating the upper classes in society with favour to the detriment of the poorer Cubans.[234]

It was not only the Catholic religion that the Quaker missionaries had trouble accepting. They suggest that spiritualism had a stronghold in Cuba and that 'atheism and infidelity' were rife.[235] They blamed this on the growth of literature on such matters and on the Catholic Church for charging so extortionately for marriages. They believed that this led to the neglect of the children who were 'versed in all sorts of vice.'[236]

From the outset, education was of great importance to the Quaker missionaries. Christian teachings, which predominantly took place in Sunday school or by visiting people in their homes, was not their sole aim. They opened a day school in 1901, soon after they were established in Gibara. They charged for this education as it not only had a different purpose from that of their church work but it was also aimed at a different sector of society, at Cubans from the higher classes. Sylvester Jones stressed that 'private schools and mission colleges' were the sole solution for an 'adequate education system. [...] The American teacher may find more congenial surroundings in the school rooms of the United States, but he will certainly not find greater opportunities for influencing those who must become the history makers of their nation.'[237] This education, then, had the explicit purpose of creating leaders for their church and for the nation. They believed that they could only encourage a 'native' run church through such an education, aimed at the 'better' elements of society.[238]

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[233] Sylvester Jones, letter to AFBFM, Gibara 4th December 1902, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.180, *Friends Collection.*
[234] Sylvester Jones, 'Observations in Cuba', 1907, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.385, *Friends Collection.*
[235] May Jones, untitled article in *Friends' Missionary Advocate*, Holguín 12th-17th April 1904, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.296, *Friends Collection.*
[236] May and Sylvester Jones, untitled article in the *American Friend*, 25th July 1901, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.72, *Friends Collection.*
[237] Sylvester Jones, 'The Outlook for College Men and Women in Spanish-Speaking Countries.' *The Earlhamite*, Vol XXXIII, 6th April 1907, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.366, *Friends Collection.*
[238] Sylvester Jones, letter to ABFM, Gibara 8th April 1903, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.202, *Friends Collection.*

The missionaries put a great emphasis on the teaching of English and it seems that there was a feeling of need for this service from certain members in the community. English was growing in importance, as US companies became key employers in the area. In one case the Quaker missionaries tell of how two boys came to them who were illiterate in Spanish but were eager to learn English. [239] While the US missionaries imparted their culture through language, with particular emphasis on its use for employment with US business, they also learned Spanish bringing them closer in a linguistic sense to the Cubans and their culture.

In the Quaker missionary school they charged what they phrase as a 'fair tuition' and stress that they attracted the 'best families of the city'.[240] It is interesting that from the outset they clearly distinguished between the class of Cuban that they wanted to attract to the schools, with that which they pursued for their church. Although they were also delighted when Cubans from the richer classes attended their church, their attendance was of greater importance for the school as the 'good name of the school' helped to remove 'the reproach and mild sort of ridicule attached to [them] as Protestants.'[241] This encapsulates the great importance that the schools had for the missionaries, which is developed further in Chapter Six.

The schools were not only a means through which the Quakers could influence the richer and more powerful elements of society, but they were also a way for the Quakers to gain respect in a predominantly Catholic community that ridiculed these newcomers. A particular honour for the Quakers was the occasion of the arrival in Cuba, in 1902, of the President elect, Tomás Estrada Palma, after many years of exile. He disembarked at Gibara and Sylvester Jones was 'honoured' to be on the committee to receive him, helping organise the lavish banquet in his honour. Jones himself questioned whether his 'Quaker modesty' could permit him to be involved in

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[239] Sylvester Jones, letter to AFBFM, Gibara 31st December 1901, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.97, *Friends Collection.*
[240] May Jones, 'Christmas in Cuba', Gibara, January 1901, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.112, *Friends Collection.*
[241] Ibid.

such extravagances.[242] He did participate and their school 'bravely' marched in the procession in the president's honour.[243]

The Quaker missionaries were honoured when the richer classes, or what they describe as the 'better' elements of society, graced them with their presence in the Church as well as enrolling their children in the Quaker schools. As May Jones put it:

> The custom-house inspector and the leading city editor recently put their children into our school, and both have favoured us by attending the services once or twice lately. The former, [...] is the idol of the city, and a prominent speaker on all public occasions. [...] He became a member of the Episcopal Church while in the U.S. Although we count it all joy to serve the poorest and humblest, we hope that all these things may widen our influence.[244]

The Quakers were also eager to attract the poorer elements of society, and to this end spent time visiting the poor areas on the outskirts of Gibara, the hospital and the poor 'Negroes' on the hill behind the city.[245] They were eager to encourage all Cubans to their church, not discriminating on grounds of class or race. However, it was in their schools where the fees they charged limited possibilities for the poor in general and black Cubans in particular, due to their tendency to be among the poorer elements of society. This said, however, there is evidence to suggest that Zenas Martin held some prejudice towards black members of society as he listed being 'white' as a positive Cuban attribute when he wrote about Cuba on April 14th 1900: 'this county is delightful. [...] The people were charming, graceful, intelligent and [...] mostly white'[246] Such comments would not have been greatly out of place in the US of 1900, at a time when eugenics was considered a viable science and it was common to suggest 'white' as being a superior attribute.

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[242] Sylvester Jones, letter to AFBFM, Gibara 4th April 1902, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.130, *Friends Collection.*
[243] May Jones, untitled article, Gibara April/May 1902, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.161, *Friends Collection.*
[244] May Jones, untitled article, Gibara 21st January 1903, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.197, *Friends Collection.*
[245] May Jones, letter to AFBFM, Gibara 22nd February 1901, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.49, *Friends Collection.*
[246] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, p.7.

The Intertwined History of the UFC and the Quakers in Cuba

The Quaker mission's history in eastern Cuba is intertwined with that of the UFC in the Caribbean. The Quaker mission in Jamaica was on UFC land and Zenas Martin was a good friend of Captain Baker, the then president of UFC. This led not only to the funds that helped establish a Quaker mission in Banes but a relationship of constant support from the UFC for the Quaker Church and school in Banes. Furthermore, there is a strong argument to suggest that the choice of establishing the mission in the Gibara-Banes area was due to the UFC's presence there.

The banana business in the Caribbean was growing at a rapid rate and during the period between 1897 and 1904 there were mergers of 5,300 different establishments. As small holders sold their land, key US capital investment enabled US business to gain a monopoly of the region. In 1899 the three main players in the Caribbean fruit business merged to form the United Fruit Company, valued at twenty million dollars. This merger was between Minor C. Keith, Lorenzo D Baker (Captain Baker) and Andrew Preston. [247]

In the early part of the nineteenth century Banes, in eastern Cuba, was an undeveloped town, which was scantily populated. It was in the 1880s that investors decided that the area had potential. In 1887 Hipólito Dumois appropriated land in the Banes area to establish a banana business that grew substantially until he became the largest private landholder in Cuba at that time.[248] However, in 1896 under the orders of Máximo Gómez, the liberation army occupied and burned the town of Banes and the plantations. Hipólito Dumois fled to the US until the end of the Independence War.

Links had long been made between the Dumois family and the Boston Fruit Company, whose president at the time was Captain Baker, but it was in 1897 that the Boston Fruit Company bought land and stocks from Dumois' ruined company in Cuba. As Banes had almost totally been destroyed, Captain Baker saw an

[247] Zanetti and Garcia. *United Fruit Company,* pp.45-46.
[248] Alfred Dumois, *A Name, A Family and a Town*, (Fortworth, Texas, 1999) p.48.

opportunity to build a new town and plantation in the area. It was at this time that Baker offered the Quakers two thousand dollars to open a mission on the company's land.[249] There were a variety of reasons for making such an offer. Baker was a Methodist, and as the Quaker Gurneyite tradition had brought Quakerism's aims closer to those of other Protestant churches, he no doubt could relate to their missionary purpose. He already had experience of Quaker work on plantations in Jamaica, and Zenas Martin, who played a key role in the Quaker mission in Jamaica, was also a good friend. The Company also needed schooling for the workers' children, especially the US workers' children on company plantations. Missionary schools were ideal for such purposes because they taught English and promoted 'American' values akin to those endorsed by the company directive.

In 1899 the newly formed monopoly, the UFC, appropriated control of the Dumois company, with the Dumois brothers working for the company rather than owning it.[250] US occupation of Cuba meant that US business could develop more freely within the country, and some of the military laws introduced, concerning land ownership, were favourable to the larger companies.[251] The UFC expanded rapidly in this business-friendly atmosphere and shifted focus from bananas to sugar.

The UFC developed the land east of the Banes river as a neighbourhood for the management and all the employees of the business, with the area divided hierarchically into sub-districts for the various classes of employee within the company. This part of Banes became known as the 'barrio americano', although it also included Cuban workers and Jamaican and Haitian immigrant workers. However, the grander houses all belonged to Americans.[252] The Cuban neighbourhood was situated to the west of the river.

It was in the 'barrio americano' neighbourhood that the Quaker Church and school were assigned land by the UFC to develop their project. It was this district, owned by the UFC, that became the hub of development; it had a sewage system (Banes being the third city in Cuba to obtain one), electricity, lighting, a telephone system, paved

[249] Ibid., p.67.
[250] Zanetti and Garcia, *United Fruit Company,* pp.46-52.
[251] Ibid., pp.53-55.
[252] Abel Tarragó, local Banes historian interviewed by the author, Banes 18th August 2002.

streets, a hospital, an English Language school for American children of employees of the UFC, a clubhouse, polo field etc., while the other side of the river lacked basic infrastructure. [253]

Banes was under the jurisdiction of the city of Gibara until 1909 when it gained its own municipal status.[254] The importance of Gibara to the region probably contributed to the superintendent of the Quaker mission, Zenas Martin's, choice of location for the establishment of the Quaker mission. As has already been made clear, Gibara was an important port and was also close enough to Banes, Holguín and UFC owned land to make it a viable option. The UFC's vision was probably for the Quaker mission to establish an English school as early as possible on UFC land either for the children of the American workers or at least a school with English classes for the Cuban workers of that company.

Although Captain Baker was no longer the president of the UFC, the manager, Mr Jones, had been informed of Baker's arrangement with Zenas Martin. He wrote to Captain Baker, in January 1901, that 'should your missionary Mr Martin come this way I will certainly look after him well. It ought to be good office here for his work as there are a good many families here with many children who, aside from one or two very poor schools, are running wild and need attention.'[255] The benefit for the UFC in having the Quaker mission on their land, as the manager saw it, was that the Quakers would run a school and discipline the children. The Company controlled all the community necessities for all of its workers and would have planned the Quaker role as another service for its employees.[256] The land leased to the AFBFM was for a term of 99 years and for the establishment of their Church.[257] The reason they did not give land but preferred to lease it was so that if at any time the land were to be used for something other than a Church, school or halls of residence, it could be repossessed by the UFC.[258]

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[253] Dumois, *A Name, A Family and a Town* (Fortworth, Texas, 1999) p.203 and p.217.
[254] Ibid., p.204.
[255] Managers Letters, January 27th 1901, *Archivo del Museo Histórico*, Banes.
[256] Elizabeth Cazden, 'The Church in the Company Town: United Fruit Company and the Quaker Mission in Banes' paper written in 2002, p.2.
[257] Managers Letters, April 20th 1908- 3rd November 1909, 691, *Archivo del Museo Histórico*, Banes.
[258] Letters received by Managers, Vol. 1, 10th May 1957, *Archivo del Museo Histórico*, Banes.

It seems that the agenda of the UFC and that of the Quakers did not always coincide. The UFC appeared more interested in a school for the children of their American employees, but contact with the Cuban community was of great importance to the Quakers. The AFBFM considered that mastering the Spanish language was important for the missionaries and those who did not know Spanish had to take lessons and pass an exam before they were considered as official members of the mission.[259] The Quakers, according to one Quaker historian, may have even gone against wishes of the UFC and established a Spanish school, teaching English, rather than an English school for American children.[260] Their intention was to influence the Cubans and knowing Spanish was crucial. One missionary was instructed to study Spanish for a year in the US before going to Cuba. However this was an exception as they usually studied Spanish once they were already there.[261]

Such large amounts of land were appropriated in Cuba (often illegally) by the UFC that it became the company's largest holding in Latin America.[262] It appears that the UFC acquisition of Banes caused distress to some Cubans in the community. In 1906 the manager of the UFC pleaded for US military protection for his 35 American and 25 British employees and the company's vast assets from 'a large party of men who have been for some time ready to rise in arms at short notice from their chiefs and in a position to commit any kind of depredation.'[263] It seems clear that the UFC wanted loyal Banes citizens who believed in American perceptions of progress for their country. Perhaps by supporting a US missionary run Church and school in Banes the UFC hoped to convince the local citizens of the benefits of US business in the country.

It is clear from this assessment that the Quaker mission's establishment was influenced by UFC funds. Sylvester Jones, a leading Quaker missionary, later acknowledged the problems that this relationship with business could have for Cuban liberty stating that 'We thought, as a nation, that we had freed Cuba, only to

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[259] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, p.29.
[260] Discussions with Elizabeth Cazden, September 2002, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.
[261] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, p.29.
[262] Zanetti and Garcia, *United Fruit Company,* p.79.
[263] Managers Letters, September 28th 1906, p.785, *Archivo del Museo Histórico*, Banes.

find that we had loosened her hands but bound her feet. Cuba mortgaged her fertile soil to an absentee landlord.'[264]

An Assessment of Quaker Missionary Motives and Attitudes During the Establishment of the Mission in Cuba.

The motivation behind the establishment of the Quaker mission in Cuba came from two separate but intertwined histories. Firstly the direction which US Quaker history was taking during the second half of the nineteenth century and secondly the political and cultural history unfolding in the US and Cuba at the time. These two histories have one theme that unites them that is of particular relevance to this study in that they both developed expansionary aspirations.

The evangelical form of Quakerism developed at a time when the belief in US Manifest Destiny was common. This doctrine was to become a contributory influence in the decision to intervene in the American-Cuban-Spanish war. This belief in the 'American way' as the key to modernisation gave the US people a faith in their economics, politics, religion, race and culture that motivated interventionist policies. This fundamental belief in US cultural and religious superiority fuelled the US Protestant missionary fervour in Cuba after 1898. The missionaries' need to make their contribution to the 'saving' of Cuba, on the coat tails of the US military, was fundamental to the rationale behind the missions. The missionaries believed their actions to be heroic and expected gratitude from the Cubans in return.

The Quaker mission was no different in this respect. The missionaries believed in their religious and cultural superiority, that their religion was 'pure' as opposed to the 'ignorance and superstition' offered by the Catholic Church and other religious practices in Cuba. The missionaries' contemporaries were 'modernising' Cuba but the Cuban politicians were not showing the 'gratitude' they believed appropriate. The links between the missionaries to US business interests further demonstrates a commonality with US economic expansionism. This is especially true as initial funding and incentives for establishing the Quaker mission came from the UFC,

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[264] Jones, *Not By Might,* p.21.

encouraging an allied response to future developments between business and Church interests in the community. Alliances with powerful business interests in Cuba gave missionaries in general greater influence in the community that their small numbers could otherwise have generated.

However, some missionaries state clearly that their aims were not to 'Americanise' the Cubans except when the essentials of Christianity coincide with American customs. This is key to the debate underlying this thesis, as it is clear that all religions are a mixture of cultures past and present: they cannot escape their historic and political moment. The Quaker's concept of 'Christian' was inseparable from their own cultural and historical roots. Although some of the Quaker missionaries tried to present to the Cubans a 'pure' religion that would not promote US culture and interests, this was impossible as they could clearly not remove their cultural influences.

Zenas Martin, the Quaker mission's superintendent, had great insight into the role UFC dominance could have in the region. He had reservations about the mission's over dependence on the Company. However, his actions did not reflect such reservations. It is clear that some of the missionaries did not intend to impose their culture on the Cubans involved in the encounter. However, they did hold general assumptions of superiority, believing that the Cubans could not run the mission without US supervision. They sidelined the Cuban group in Havana, formed before their arrival, and promoted their mission as a 'civilising' and educating mission that could only be run under the supervision of the US missionaries. They could not avoid the historical, political and cultural moment in which they lived and much of their attitudes and actions reflected a general trend in US expansionist ideology. This trend induced a general sense of moral and cultural superiority. When a nation's people hold such views and embark on expansionist activity this is more likely to lead to cultural imperialism.

Chapter 5

The 'Cubanisation' of the Quaker Mission

This chapter analyses the 'Cubanisation' of the Quaker mission, considering both the concept of 'Cubanisation,' and drawing from analysis on what is meant by 'Cuban' and the Cuban national identity examined in Chapter One. I analyse Steven Palmer's thesis regarding the 'nationalisation' of foreign missions that he claims leads to a situation of cultural exchange rather than cultural imperialism. My case study examines the extent to which the American Friends Board of Missions (AFBM[265]) and US missionaries aimed to transfer not only financial but also decision-making power to the Cuban Quaker communities. Furthermore, I investigate the extent to which power was only ceded to local Cuban actors once the US visions of 'civilisation' or 'education' had been reached. Hence, the extent to which the Cuban Quaker churches duplicated US cultures and values, as opposed to what could be described as 'organic': a Quaker body created and directed by Cubans. The 'cultural encounters' debate is analysed with regard to the degree to which the Cubans negotiated their own cultural interpretations and control over the Quaker mission, compared to a more directed, supervised or dominant lead taken by the US missionaries and mission board. In Chapter One I examined the various discourses concerning Cuban and US national identities, both dominant and subjugated, during the period in which the Quaker missionaries encountered the Cubans they hoped to convert. The encounter did not only involve the meeting of different cultures, but also different interpretations of the Cuban national identity and what that identity should signify. What will become clear in the following analysis is the extent to which US Quaker missionaries promoted their own culture as a preferred blueprint for the development and consolidation of Cuba's national identity.

To gain a more complete understanding of any movement to 'nationalise' Quakerism in Cuba, I examine the nature of the transfer of power from US Quakers to the Cuban community within the wider context of Cuban history and Cuban nationalism.

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[265] The American Friends Board of Foreign Missions later became the American Friends Board of Missions as it was incorporated into the Five Years Meeting in 1902.

Given that the Quaker mission's history should not be studied in isolation, Cuban nationalism is discussed throughout the chapter, and analysed with relation to a Cuban Quaker identity.

It is crucial to the cultural encounters debate to analyse the encounter between differing national cultures. To study the proclamation that the Cuban Quaker mission was 'Cubanised' during this period, as many Quakers proudly proclaim, it is necessary to draw from analysis in Chapter One regarding a conception of what it means to be 'Cuban'. This chapter, therefore, focuses on how the Quaker mission integrated, encompassed or rejected Cuban nationalism both within the church and in Cuban wider society. Using primary sources I analyse the US missionaries' attitudes and assumptions with regard to the 'Cubanisation' of the mission, and whether these attitudes hindered or helped the Cubans to develop their own form of Quakerism.

The following sections examine the historical period in Cuba encountered by the US Quaker missionaries, and the way in which Cuban events or attitudes were portrayed or silenced by the missionaries. I first analyse the 1900-1925 period, which represented a growth in Cuban nationalism as a reaction to US intervention and the Platt Amendment. For the Quakers 1925 was a time of great financial difficulty and the need to create a 'self-sufficient' mission became imperative. I then discuss the 1925-1934 period which represented an intensification of Cuban nationalism and for the Cuban Quakers a time in which the Cubans gradually took control of elements of the management of the mission. This period is of importance, as it includes the creation of the Cuba Yearly Meeting (CYM), which was seen by many Quakers in Cuba as the 'Cubanisation' of the mission. I then analyse the 1934-1959 period, focussing on whether US Quaker attitudes changed with regard to Cuban governance of the mission and Cuban nationalism, following the abrogation of the Platt Amendment. Finally I examine the extent to which Cuban Quakerism adopted what can be considered as US cultures of empire.

The Move towards Cubans' Self-governance of the Quaker Mission 1900-1925

Steven Palmer proposed that where a US mission has an 'encounter' with a Latin American community, with motives that can be considered imperialist, it can 'nationalise' once the local community gains leadership of the enterprise. In these cases the encounter can no longer be described as imperialist.[266] However, if the US Quakers promoted their culture and values as the preferred blueprint for a Cuban national Quakerism, then it would be difficult to describe such an encounter as an exchange. On the other hand, if the handing over of the management of the mission was not based on a supervised replication of US culture and values, but a negotiation or promotion of an 'organic' Cuban Quaker body then Palmer's thesis would be valid in this case.

In Chapter Four I demonstrated the important influence that the US authorities, press and general prevailing attitudes had on the motives for the establishment of the Quaker mission. This Chapter continues with an analysis of whether the US Quaker missionaries continued to be influenced by attitudes towards Cuba emanating from the US, or whether their close contact, and 'encounter' with the Cubans changed this. This section also focuses on whether the governance of the mission was handed over to Cubans, who could then 'nationalise' it, in a manner described by Palmer, taking the mission out of the realms of cultural imperialism.

Although the US occupation in Cuba ended in 1902, the Platt Amendment gave the US government a powerful political hold over Cuba. Furthermore, the US government's support for key elements of previous colonial structures in Cuba, left much of the traditional elite in power. As Pérez suggests, the US occupation revived much of the previous colonial order, continued inequalities, and Cuba gained 'self-governance without self-determination and independence without sovereignty.'[267]

The Quaker missionaries held annual conferences from 1904, and in 1913 a Cuban was named the president of the conference. Cubans also took the vice president,

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[266] Palmer. 'Central American Encounters with Rockefeller Public Health, 1914-1921'.
[267] Pérez, *Cuba,* p.192

secretary and treasurer posts.[268] The Quakers were the first of the traditional Protestant denomination to give directing roles to Cubans. This was not followed until 1940 by the Presbyterians.[269]

During the first annual conference, in 1904, there were discussions by the Quaker missionaries on how much they should appear 'American' and on how best they could aid the development of a self-supporting church.[270] These discussions were frequent at the annual conferences. However, it appears that these leading roles for Cubans were to be for local decision making and administration. The broad policy continued to be made by the AFBM and by the US missionaries. The superintendents continued to be US missionaries and the finances for new building projects and other financial aid was negotiated between the superintendent and the AFBM. At these conferences the Cubans did not have a say in developing policy until 1918.[271]

Sylvester Jones, a leader of the US Quaker mission in eastern Cuba, turned down better paid mission work in Mexico because he felt that in Cuba 'the people are just awaking a national consciousness and nowhere could there be a better opportunity for training those who will be the history makers of their nation.'[272] This comment demonstrates the missionaries' ambitious intentions of wanting to 'train' a nation's people. They clearly felt that their role in Cuba was one of supervision.

Whilst the US Quaker missionaries took on the task of being 'civilisers', supervising and educating the Cubans, they were also keen to encourage a Cuban-run project. Indeed, the US Quaker missionary board encouraged the Quaker mission to become a 'native' run project in as short a time as possible. However, their concern was more for the financial self-support of the mission than with its self-governance. The

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[268] Minutes of the tenth Quaker annual conference, June 1913, in 'Primeras Actas de Constitución de la Iglesia Cuáquera en Cuba', p.100, Holguín Quaker Archive.
[269] Juana Berges, 'La Sociedad de los Amigos', unpublished article, p.10.
[270] Minutes of the first Quaker annual conference, April 5th 1904, in 'Primeras Actas de Constitución de la Iglesia Cuáquera en Cuba', p.4, in Holguín Quaker Archive.
[271] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba,* p.103.
[272] Sylvester Jones, letter to the AFBFM, Gibara April 27th 1908, p.1. Sylvester and May Jones 1908-1913 file, *Friends Collection.*

AFBM promoted the transfer of the mission into Cuban hands, but the motive was less to aid a power shift than it was to reduce the financial burden.

The Quaker mission had considerably less financial backing than other Protestant denominations, mainly due to the small amount of interest amongst Quakers in the US for evangelical missions. The missions were mainly funded by Quaker Yearly Meetings of the evangelical (Gurneyite) Quaker tendency. Although the Quaker mission wanted to promote 'native' workers on the mission they were not willing to pay them the necessary wages needed to devote their livelihood to such an enterprise. This is illustrated by the defection of one of the first and most active Cuban Quakers, Juan Francisco Gálvez, to the Methodist Church in 1907. From as early as 1903 he had become a leading member of the Gibara Quaker church, but he was so poor that Zenas Martin, the superintendent of the mission, had written to the AFBM requesting that they donate money to clothe him. Martin made it clear that he considered Gálvez's defection as directly due to a lack of funds. Many other Cubans also defected for the same reason.[273]

Finding funds for the mission in Cuba was a continual dilemma for the AFBM, especially after they had spread their mission field to Africa in 1902. In 1920 the Cuban mission received only two thirds of the funds they requested. In 1921 the amount spent by the AFBM was further reduced due to the economic depression, and missionaries on furlough were told to remain in the US. Some missionaries were told they could no longer be funded. The headmaster of the Holguín school, a US citizen, had to leave the school and get a job in Havana.[274] This was also a time when Cuba's economy was contracting, making the Quaker mission's hopes of raising local funds even more problematic.

The mission in Africa was clearly prioritised. In 1912 the Cuban mission received more than the African missions, but during the 1924-1929 period, Cuba received a little over half the amount allocated to the Africa missions.[275] It was argued that the Cuba mission was older than the African one, and therefore more in a situation for

[273] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba* pp.84-85.
[274] Ibid., p.91.
[275] Ibid., p.92.

'native' governance and funding, but this argument is weakened by the willingness of the AFBM to hand over the mission to another Protestant denomination in 1925. It is more likely, therefore, that the reason for the reduction in funds for the Cuba mission was due to a reduction in interest in Cuba and increased attention to the 'civilising' missions of Africa.

In 1925 the mission board withdrew funding for the mission in Cuba, cutting funds by 85 per cent. The church was handed over to the Cubans in what Yaremko describes as the Quakers' forced Cubanisation process.[276] When the AFBM proposed that the mission be handed over to another denomination the Cuban Quakers protested and stated that they would prefer to continue as Quakers with little support than be handed over to another denomination. This moment in the history of the Cuban Quaker mission is probably one of the most important for three reasons. Firstly it shows that the AFBM had a common cause with that of other denominations. There was an ideological common ground amongst the Protestant denominations, not just to 'Christianise' the Cubans, (they did not consider Catholicism to be Christian) but also to 'Americanise' them. This commonality explains their willingness to hand the mission over to another denomination. Furthermore, it shows a lack of faith in the ability of Cuban Quakers to govern their own churches and schools without the presence of US missionaries and funds. However, it is clear that the Cuban Quakers' determination to continue, regardless of a radical reduction in US funds and personnel, marks the moment when the Cuban Quakers took a leading role in the running of the mission, effectively causing quite an important power shift.

Hiram Hilty, a Quaker historian and US 'representative' in Cuba in the 1940s, blamed the Cuba mission's dependence on US funds on the Cubans' 'colonial attitude [...] towards the US and Americans [rather than] due to [a] lack of effort on the part of the missionaries.'[277] This attitude represents a continued US perception of the Cubans as backward and dependent, converting Cuban dependence into a purely Cuban problem, and promoting the idea that the US government's role was passive

[276] Yaremko *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.106.
[277] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba,* p.95. Once the Cuban Quaker Yearly meeting had been established the term 'missionary' was no longer used and the US citizens sent to Cuba were 'representatives' but fulfilled much the same role as the missionaries.

and benevolent. It also reinforces the 'Black Legend', the demonisation of the Spanish administration and Catholic Church as responsible for all of Cuba's ills. Yaremko underlines the persistent attacks made by Protestant missionaries on the Catholic Church as the enemy of the Cuban people and predominantly to blame for what they believed to be Cuba's backwardness.[278]

The general attitude expressed by the US governing elite was one of contempt towards the Cuban people, continually stating that the Cubans were unable to self-govern and in need of US supervision. Illustrative of this stance was Senator Henry Cabot Lodge's statement in 1906 that 'disgust with the Cubans is very general. Nobody wants to annex them, but the general feeling is that they ought to be taken by the neck and shaken until they behave themselves [...] I should think that this Cuban performance would make the anti-imperialists think that some peoples were less capable of self-government than others.' Lodge added, alluding to Cuba's debt of gratitude to the US, that 'after all we did for them and the way in which we started them without debt and the island all in perfect order, to find them fighting and brawling at the end of four years furnishes a miserable picture of folly and incompetence.'[279]

It is clear that many of the ruling US elite stated their role in Cuba as benevolent and Cuba's problems as a result of wholly Cuban failings. However, as a consequence of the economic devastation caused by Cuba's wars of independence, and the control by the US occupation government of policy formulation and enforcement, the collection of revenues and the disbursement of public funds, US companies were able to acquire large tracts of land predominantly for sugar production.[280] Not only land and sugar production fell into the hands of foreign investors. The tobacco industry, railroads and banking were also controlled by foreign companies and citizens. The reciprocity treaty of 1903, in which the US lowered tariffs on some Cuban exports in exchange for lowered duties on certain US goods, stifled Cuban

[278] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* pp.36-42.
[279] Schoultz, *Beneath the United States,* pp.199-201.
[280] Ibid., pp.194-195.

hopes for industrial growth in areas other than sugar. This led to Cuba's dependency on sugar exports and saturated Cuban markets with US goods.[281]

There were many benefits gained by the US administration and business elite during the US occupation of Cuba. However, Cuban independence was a great disappointment to many, particularly Afro-Cuban independence fighters who had held a patriotic vision of *Cuba Libre,* but found themselves disempowered. Land and property had been lost to foreign companies and citizens, and Cubans looked to public office as the only way to guarantee economic security. Job creation and the encouragement of Cuban entrepreneurs became of great importance to the Cuban government after 1902, and government contracts were a powerful means to this end. Corruption, so symbolic of the Cuban Republic, became entrenched in Cuban political life due to the powerful and lucrative business that public office had become.[282] Competition for office, and therefore access to economic well-being and public funds, was fought out between the Liberal and Conservative Parties. Both parties were corrupt when in power, and their fervour for gaining that power resulted in a rejection of any re-election of an incumbent power. Fraudulent elections led on two occasions to rebellion and US intervention.[283] In 1906 a Liberal armed uprising against Tomás Estrada Palma's corrupt re-election led to a US occupation lasting three years.

The uprisings, whilst generally a reaction to widespread corruption in government, were also a manifestation of anger at growing US dominance on the island. In the US a different perception of events was being expressed. President Theodore Roosevelt conveyed in a letter in 1906 that:

> I am so angry with the infernal little Cuban Republic that I would like to wipe its people off the face of the earth. All we have wanted from them was that they would behave themselves and be prosperous and happy so that we would not have to interfere. And now, lo and behold, they have started an utterly unjustifiable and pointless revolution and may get things into such a

[281] Ibid., pp.198-199.
[282] Ibid., pp.213-217.
[283] Pérez, *Cuba,* p.223.

> snarl that we have no alternative save to intervene, which will at once convince the suspicious idiots in South America that we do wish to interfere after all, and perhaps have some land-hunger.[284]

Charles Magoon was placed in charge of the second US occupation of Cuba. His view was that the Cubans were reliant on the US to attend to their politics and government. He further regarded the Cubans in racial terms 'like all other people of Spanish origin [...] hot blooded, high strung, nervous, excitable and pessimistic,' adding that 'we cannot change these racial characteristics by administering their government for two years or twenty years, nor would they be changed by military occupation.'[285]

US perceptions of the period of the Republic in Cuba are very different from those of most Cubans who understood US involvement in Cuba as compromising Cuban sovereignty and independence. The same can be said of many US Protestant missionaries who, according to Yaremko, not only showed their compliance with US business interests but also embezzled mission funds for personal gain. This led to anger and revolt amongst Cuban members of these congregations and the US missionary reaction was to suggest that the Cubans were showing themselves unfit for self-governance. Yaremko compares the struggle between Cuban Protestants and their US missionary leaders with the Cuban situation at the time suggesting that the second US intervention and the 1912 revolt 'reinforced the perceived need for extended mission paternalism as well as for general US tutelage.'[286]

These diverse perceptions of the same moment in history show the contradictory nature of both the US government's policies and the projected image of these policies towards Cuba. The US government's general attitude, like that of the missionaries, was that the Cubans needed supervision, as they were incapable of self-governance. The US government, therefore, promoted widespread support for US led economic, political and cultural institutions in Cuba. In addition, Cuban poverty and

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[284] Schoultz, *Beneath the United States,* pp.198-199.
[285] Ibid., pp.202-203.
[286] Ibid., p.58.

dependence would be blamed on the Cubans' 'colonial nature', rather than on US imperialism.

The uprisings and growing Cuban nationalism were subjects avoided and silenced by the Quaker missionaries and did not appear on the agenda for discussion at their conferences. However, when mission activity was disrupted by rebellions the response was support for the Cuban authorities, rather than any attempt to question or understand marginalized Cubans' legitimate grievances.

The fraudulent re-election of the Conservative Mario Menocal provoked another uprising, again leading to US armed intervention in 1917. The administration of Woodrow Wilson deployed US marines in Cuba that stayed until mid-1919, although some were not withdrawn until 1922.[287] US intervention on the side of the Conservatives in 1917 was partly due to the US need for Cuba to declare war on Germany, thus binding her sugar trade to the US and starving Germany of the sugar market. The Conservatives, the US government reasoned, would be more likely to oblige in this regard due to President Menocal's previous experience as the manager of the Chaparra sugar Mill and his track record of accommodating the US government.[288] Quaker missionaries had a different interpretation of events. One prominent missionary suggested, with reference to the 1917 uprising, that 'everyone, poor and rich alike, was "dead against" the rebellion.'[289] Zenas Martin, a leading Quaker missionary, wrote in 1917 that the bands of 'revolutionists' and 'outlaws' had disrupted mission activity, and that 'this should be a good place for [Theodore] Roosevelt.'[290] Yaremko suggests that 'Protestant missionaries [...] continued to identify with US interests and with a conservative, deprecating nationalism that effectively advocated only a greater share in Cuba's dependency on the US market.'[291]

Some US Quaker missionaries who had been in Cuba for many years expressed the wish that more control and direction be given to the Cubans. However, in almost

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[287] Schoultz, *Beneath the United States,* p.233.
[288] Thomas, *Cuba*, p.530.
[289] Jones, *Not by Might*, p.54.
[290] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.95.
[291] Ibid., p.96.

every case contradictions arise in their discourse regarding their belief that the Cuban Quakers should be given more control over the direction of the mission on the one hand, and their continued wish to supervise this direction on the other. Emma Phillips Martínez, one of the first five US missionaries to establish the mission in eastern Cuba, wrote to the AFBM in 1919 that she believed that 'Americans' should study more closely the Cubans' nature and abilities and let them teach as Cubans and not as 'Americans'.[292] Martínez held a belief in the Cubans' ability to direct the Quaker church and schools but clung as always to a belief in their need for supervision.

> I am glad of the privilege of being here [in Velasco] among the natives in their work. It is all so purely native that it leads one to see what they can do. I am more convinced than ever that Americans need to study more the nature and activities of the Cubans and lead them to do work for the master as Cubans and not as Americans. We have tried too much to Americanize them.[293]

Ten years later, it appears that Martínez had less faith in the Cuban Quakers' abilities than her previous remarks suggest. In 1930 she states that the mission could not hand over control of the schools to the Cubans, as it would be like abandoning 'a child that lies at their door and needs a mother's care.'[294] She added that 'Friends' mission will die without Americans.'[295]

Likewise, Sylvester Jones seemed keen on the handing over of the mission work to the Cubans, but continued to advocate a supervisory role for the US missionaries. He stressed in 1915 that:

> While it is important for the foreign workers to preach and teach as before, it is every day becoming more important for the missionary to open the way for the natives to preach and teach. [...] The native church has paid about 16 per

[292] Emma Martínez, letter to the AFBM, December 27, 1919, notes of letter taken by Ramón Longoria, kept in the Puerto Padre Quaker Archive.
[293] Graves, 'Americanising Cuba by Cubanizing Protestantism,' p.71.
[294] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.88.
[295] Graves, 'Americanising Cuba by Cubanizing Protestantism', p.69.

> cent of the support of the native workers who have ministered to it, in addition to paying all other current expenses of their churches. In some cases this had required heroic effort, but I am sure no missionary feels that time spent in teaching self-support is time lost.[296]

Again Jones expresses the idea that self-support and self-governance needed to be taught, just as the US government at the time proclaimed that self-governance in Cuba needed to be taught or supervised. It is clear that US interventions in Cuba fuelled a belief in the Cubans' inability to self-govern and the proclaimed superiority of US economic, political and cultural institutions. The motives for the Quaker mission, as has been discussed previously, were influenced by prevalent attitudes in the US at the time. The continued belief in the need for US supervision reflected attitudes promoted in the US during the first thirty years of the Cuban Republic. This supports Yaremko's claim that the US missionaries in Cuba believed that Cubans were incapable of self-governance both ecclesiastically and politically.[297]

However, the following comment by Sylvester Jones, counters this perception of US economic structures as superior and supports Palmer's suggestion that over time a mission can transform to become an exchange. Jones expressed, with the benefit of hindsight in 1926, that:

> El evangelio fue y es una fuerza revolucionaria, y nuestro primer error, por temor fue reprimir los brotes revolucionarios de hace 25 años confinando al pueblo a los moldes que habíamos traído del extranjero, pero que en Cuba eran exóticos. [...] El más grande enemigo del protestantismo en Cuba, fuera del pecado mismo, es el dominio extranjero: jamás Cuba será evangelizada así. [...] Cristo vino para libertar, no para apoyar a la injusticia, la tiranía.[298]

Jones realised, after witnessing 26 years of US involvement in Cuba, that US domination had moulded and even 'tyrannised' Cuban lives and that Cuba would do

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[296] Sylvester Jones, 'Report of Sylvester Jones, The Field Secretary of The Cuba Mission of Friends,' June 30th 1915, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. II, p.177, *Friends Collection.*

[297] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.58.

[298] Graves, 'Americanizing Cuba by Cubanizing Protestantism', p.v. He quotes Sylvester Jones at the Asociación de Ministros Evangélicos, Havana, 8th November 1926.

better freed of such domination. However, it is perhaps only with hindsight that these evaluations were made, as when the missionaries were living within a particular historical and political moment it was perhaps more difficult to judge their own actions. During their initial years in Cuba they continually praised US involvement in Cuba and promoted it as the 'civilised' alternative.

There are many contradictions evident in the promotion of a Cuban Quakerism. In terms of financial independence the Holguín Quaker School managed to become almost fully self-sufficient by the 1920s. This was clearly due to their charging fees, which led to the exclusion of poorer children from this privileged education. The aim to achieve a self-supporting Cuban mission was constantly pitted against class issues, as the need for funds became a priority over the promotion of a Quaker education for poorer Cubans. Furthermore, the promotion of a financially self-supporting mission became more important to the Quaker missionaries than the promotion of a power shift that would give the Cubans more control over the mission.

The Move towards Cubans' Self-governance of the Quaker Mission 1925-1934

The creation of the Cuba Yearly Meeting (CYM), in 1927, was for many of the leading Quaker Cubans the 'nationalisation' of the Quaker Church. However, it is acknowledged by Cuban Quakers that this 'nationalisation' was limited and could be better described as 'autonomy'.[299] A committee for creating the CYM was set up in 1926 and Zenas Martin, a leading US missionary, took the chair. It is interesting to note that Martin was the Quaker missionary most opposed to Cuban self-governance of the mission, who suggested that it was 'a very dangerous thing and very unwise policy.'[300] Martin supervised the drawing up of the Yearly Meeting guidelines based on the Richmond Declaration while omitting what he felt was not suitable for the Cuban situation. Although the guidelines were then studied and agreed upon by a committee that was predominantly Cuban, it is still another clear demonstration of

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[299] Juan Guzmán, transcript of a speech, 'Origen y significado de la Junta Annual' p.1, Puerto Padre Quaker Archive.
[300] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.111.

US supervision and lack of faith in the Cubans' ability to write up their own Quaker constitution.

The discourse, laced with contempt towards Cuban ability for self-determination, is explicit in one comment made by a Quaker missionary who suggests that the Cubans in 1927 were not ready to run their own Yearly Meeting stating that they had not created a 'mature organisation to be taken seriously.'[301] Another missionary bluntly suggested that Cubans were mentally inferior to 'Americans' and that the CYM was doomed to failure.[302] Furthermore, Hiram Hilty, a US Quaker representative in Cuba, described the creation of a Yearly Meeting as 'a break from parental tutelage.'[303] These comments demonstrate the missionaries' perceptions of the Cubans as children that needed paternal US supervision and guidance. Hilty blames this state of affairs on Cuban inability to break from a colonial psyche and their tendency to blame 'foreigners for [the Cubans'] own failures.'[304]

Hilty's logic promotes the US perception of events, documented by Pérez, that US involvement in Cuba was benevolent and purely designed to aid Cuban development and progress. The continued benefits to US business, political and religious institutions throughout this period are forgotten. The links that US business had with US political and cultural institutions in Cuba further demonstrate that there was always an economic and political agenda behind a projected image of a benevolent and paternal US.

While some of the US Quaker missionaries may have considered the problem of Cuban dependence as either a question of immaturity or inability on the part of the Cubans, the Cubans themselves seem to have perceived the main obstacle to their independence as a lack of finances and personnel:

> No pudimos liberarnos de la ingerencia de los misioneros por motivos en primer lugar económicos, por el mantenimiento de las propiedades y la carencia de los obreros o pastores suficientes para atender a las iglesias

[301] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba* p.104.
[302] Graves, 'Americanising Cuba by Cubanizing Protestantism,' p.76.
[303] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba,* p.104.
[304] Ibid., p.105.

> organizadas y los colegios. El gobierno [revolucionario] de nuestro país aceptó definitivamente [...] a la iglesia como una institución nacional, aunque muchos seguían pensando que era una iglesia americana, de americanos, no era así, era una iglesia de cubanos pero con una libertad limitada. [...] Sufríamos algunos de los obreros nativos en Holguín, en Puerto Padre etc. porque no podíamos [...] liberar[nos] de la ingerencia de los misioneros a causa de que el sostenimiento de las escuelas era muy precario.[305]

Cuban Quakers clearly felt that the lack of finances made them dependent on the AFBM and US missionaries, and that this limited their freedom. One Cuban pastor, revered amongst the Quakers, who was made the president of the annual conference as early as 1904, left the US led Quakers in 1929 to establish an independent Quaker church, seemingly frustrated by the Cuban's 'limited freedom.'[306] Contrary to the Cuban pastors' belief that they lacked funds, one US missionary, Emma Martínez, felt that the Cuban pastors should have been paid less and that because they were paid substantial funds they did not feel 'the need of great activity and have therefore neglected the work.'[307]

In addition to the problem of a lack of funds, the Cuban Quakers clearly expressed their belief in their own ability to govern the mission. One respected Cuban Quaker minister, Arsenio Catalá, suggested that the relationship between the Cuban Quaker church and the US church should be similar to pre-1898 conditions. He felt that there was a need for US funds but that the Cubans should be free to govern the direction of their own Cuban Protestantism.[308] At one point he refused payment for work as a pastor in Gibara, preferring to receive the small payment that his congregation could afford.[309] However, US missionaries continued to have a lack of confidence in the Cuban Quakers' ability to run the mission. Zenas Martin concluded that 'No Cuban

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[305] Juan Guzmán, transcript of a speech, 'Origen y significado de la Junta Annual', p.1, Puerto Padre Quaker Archive.
[306] Minutes of the tenth Quaker annual conference, June 1913, in 'Primeras Actas de Constitución de la Iglesia Cuáquera en Cuba', p.100, in Holguín Quaker Archive, and information concerning Reyes's defection found in Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.91.
[307] Graves, 'Americanising Cuba by Cubanizing Protestantism,' p.73.
[308] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.112.
[309] Enelia Escalona, leading member of Gibara Friends Church, interviewed by author, 6th August 2002, Gibara, Cuba.

can take the Colegio Los Amigos [Quaker school] and keep it up to its present efficiency.'[310]

In the 1920s opposition groups grew in Cuba representing national business, the financial sectors, professions such as teachers, students and numerous organisations representing feminists, Afro-Cubans and workers. This opposition not only wanted an end to the endemic corruption in government but also the growing US domination on the island.[311] The Platt Amendment was no longer acceptable to a great many Cubans and there was a rise in nationalist sentiment.

General Gerardo Machado of the Liberal Party won the 1924 elections promising to end corruption, revive the nation and abrogate the Platt Amendment. Machado stood for elections again in 1928 despite the fact that a second term broke Cuban constitutional law. Furthermore, as he feared failure in the 1928 elections, he arranged a cross party pact to put himself forward as the only candidate for election, thereby securing himself in office for another six years. The 1929 economic shock depressed the Cuban economy still further, sugar and tobacco prices fell, wages were reduced and unemployment soared. This led to a growth in political opposition to Machado characterised by labour unrest and student demonstrations. Machado responded with repression, lifting constitutional guarantees throughout the island in 1930. In 1931 Machado suspended the publication of about fifty periodicals and newspapers and arrested the editors, replacing them with military censors. Arrests, torture and execution became commonplace in an effort to eliminate opposition.[312]

The Machado government had been particularly popular within the US administration, encouraging his determination to stand for a second term. However, as the situation in Cuba worsened from 1931, Franklin D Roosevelt's government had become reluctant to support Machado. Military intervention in Cuba was not an option as Roosevelt had stated the prohibition of 'the dispatch of the armed forces of

[310] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.111.
[311] Pérez, *Cuba*, p.236.
[312] Ibid., pp.251-256.

the United States to any foreign soil whatsoever.' This policy of non-intervention was the basis of his 'Good Neighbour Policy' towards Latin America.[313]

After the fall of Machado, the Cuban army first placed the US ambassador's favourite, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, as interim chief executive. However, de Céspedes's weakness and lack of any clear political mandate led to his replacement. A civil and military revolt in 1933 placed Ramón Grau San Martín at the head of the provisional revolutionary government, much to the displeasure of the US administration. The US ambassador recommended US intervention to secure Grau's removal from government as, in his opinion, Grau's government represented the 'most extreme radicals in Cuba,' incorrectly labelling it as 'frankly communistic.' Although the US president refrained from military intervention diplomatic recognition was not extended to the Grau government.[314]

Grau's administration was the first without US support and on the day of Grau's inauguration he announced the abrogation of the Platt Amendment. For the duration of his one hundred day government he enacted a plethora of progressive reforms ending the traditional political party system, enfranchising women, securing autonomy for the university of Havana, introducing a minimum wage and an eight hour work day. The reforms were regarded as disastrous by the representatives of foreign capital in Cuba but were considered as too moderate by labour organisations. Thirty-six sugar mills were seized by workers, representing thirty per cent of national sugar production. The US landowners were concerned about agrarian reform and labour legislation, and although the US administration was averse to military intervention, it followed a policy designed to undermine the Grau government from within. The US ambassador negotiated with Sergeant Fulgencio Batista to form a new government and in January 1934 Batista transferred army support from Grau to Carlos Mendieta whose government was recognised by the US within five days.[315]

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[313] Ibid., p.299.
[314] Ibid., p.300.
[315] Pérez, *Cuba*, pp.267-275.

Throughout the first three decades of the Republic in Cuba there was a constant growth in Cuban nationalism, due to revolutionary and nationalist goals not being realised with the formation of the Cuban Republic. The 1906, 1912 and 1917 uprisings and other protests were all in part generated by the lack of genuine independence in Cuba and the growing US dominance on the island. In the 1920s and 1930s the key demand amongst Cuban nationalists was the abrogation of the Platt Amendment and an end to US interventionism. The US government's response to these nationalist revolts was continued intervention and derogatory statements that proclaimed the Cubans unfit to govern and in need of continued US guidance.[316] US Protestant missions in Cuba found themselves confronted with this growing Cuban nationalism and the desire for local control of the missions. They tended to hinder such movements within their churches using the same patronising and paternalistic stance that the US government used towards Cuban authorities.

Although after the 1927 creation of the Cuba Yearly Meeting (CYM) the US Quakers involved in the Cuban Quaker churches and schools were no longer considered to be missionaries but 'representatives', they did still play a supervisory role. Henry Cox, for example, who stayed in Holguín until 1942, was not only the pastor of the largest Quaker church but also taught courses and visited the other stations, counselled the Cuban pastors and maintained the property of the AFBM. He was, therefore, carrying out a role identical to previous US missionaries. Cox, like his predecessors, pronounced little faith in the Cubans' ability to govern the mission stating that: 'I am afraid that the Cuban will never make a good Quaker, his background is such that someone just must order and some just obey.' He further belittled the 'Cuban' character suggesting that the average Cuban could not be relied upon.[317] Echoing this statement Emma Martínez stated that she had changed her mind as a result of the Grau San Martín government, a political high point for Cuban nationalists, saying that she now believed that an 'American' presence in the Quaker mission was imperative.[318]

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[316] Ibid.
[317] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* pp.111-123.
[318] Ibid., pp.111-112

Throughout the first three decades of the Republic in Cuba the AFBM and the US missionaries concentrated their efforts on the mission's financial self-support rather than Cuban governance. Missionaries' attitudes continued to reflect the general US government's stance towards the Cubans by stressing their inability to govern themselves and disapproval of Cuban nationalist movements.

The Move towards Cubans Self-governance of the Quaker Mission 1934-1959

Despite the abrogation of the Platt amendment in 1934, US missionaries continued to insist on the necessity for US leadership.[319] However, there was clearly a change in attitude in the 1940s and 50s due, in no small part, to the reduction in US expansionist missionary zeal amongst US Quakers. Hilty examined the puritanical influence on the Cuban Quakers in the context of the historical moment in which the first US Quaker missionaries settled in Eastern Cuba. He claims that the attitude of subsequent US Quaker representatives, such as himself, had a changed outlook and approach. He suggests that the representatives were more concerned with 'acceptance of one's fellows and dedication to positive humanitarian and religious ideals.'[320] Hilty, and other US Quakers who went to Cuba from the 1940's, would have arrived in Cuba with different political and cultural perspectives, influenced by US policy changes such as the Good Neighbour Policy, and the reduction of imperialist discourse in the US.

By the 1940s US Quaker missionaries and representatives declined in number to such an extent that for the most part only one couple, Hiram and Janet Hilty, and Emma Phillips Martínez, one of the original missionaries, remained in Cuba. It was not until 1948 when the Hiltys had returned to the US that the AFBM proclaimed the CYM 'mature' and 'self-sufficient' and not in need of US workers. It had taken 48 years for the parent institution to consider the Cubans 'mature'.[321]

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[319] Ibid., p.111.
[320] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba,* p.117.
[321] Ibid., p.119.

Questions arose as to the nature of US Quaker presence in Cuba and what it meant to the Cubans. Hilty claimed that the Cuban Quakers defended this US Quaker presence by equating it to any other visitation between Yearly Meetings:

> Friends in Cuba are not too keen about 'independence' from America. On the contrary they are likely to ask, if one broach the subject, why they should any more seek 'independence' than any other Yearly Meeting seeks independence from the rest. They like Americans and are happy to have intervisitation.[322]

However, US Quakers in Cuba were not just visiting. The US missionaries, and later the US Quaker 'representatives' liaised with the AFBM over the most important financial decisions, and other issues such as the employment of pastors and missionaries and where they should be posted, particularly during the first three decades of the mission's existence.

Hilty asked the Board in 1947:

> Just what is the relation of the Board's representative to the Yearly Meeting? Is he primarily an observer, a 'line of communication' between Cuban and American Friends, or does he partake of the character of Yearly Meeting superintendent? It would be helpful to define more clearly the Board's responsibility for property in the use of the Yearly Meeting.[323]

It appears that some important decisions continued to be taken at the AFBM level as late as the 1950s. Disappointment was expressed by leading members of the Banes church at one such decision: 'We have not gotten over our great disgust for losing Juan Guzmán as our religious teacher and are not sure that the Board will ever be

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[322] Hiram Hilty report for AFBM, March 1944, p.5. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*

[323] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, 1946,' Report to the AFBM, received February 1947. p.6. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*

forgiven for taking him away without making provisions for the person to take his place in our school and elsewhere.'[324]

Despite the AFBM's statement in 1948 regarding the maturity and self-sufficiency of the Cuban Quaker mission, it appears that the last US representative in Cuba stated otherwise. In 1947, Hilty proclaimed, with regard to Cuban Quaker autonomy, that 'I fear that true maturity has not yet been achieved.'[325] Hilty's concern for the Cuban Quakers' need for US presence was again expressed in terms of US paternalism: 'American Friends will do well to keep up intimate contact with Cuba Yearly Meeting for another 21 years so as to be on hand, as a loving parent, should these or other forms of aid be required of them.'[326] It is clear that despite the AFBM's declaration of Cuban Quaker maturity, the US Quakers continued to consider the Cubans as children in need of US supervision.

'Self-sufficiency' of the Quaker mission was deemed important to Cuban Quakers because if they continually had to rely on funds from the AFBM for any future projects, the upkeep of their churches and schools and the salaries of some of the pastors and the superintendent, then they would be unable to control decisions regarding such matters. It is interesting to note that the 1959 Revolution set in motion an optimistic ambition amongst Quakers to develop their self-sufficiency. Juan Sierra, the superintendent of the Quaker mission in Cuba, reported in 1959:

> Can it be that I have become infected with the forms and procedures of Fidel Castro and his companions of the political revolution? May it please God that except for the justification of the war and the pain of death we might be infected with that passion and abnegation for the cause of truth, justice, and the Kingdom of God.[327]

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[324] Miguel Tamayo, 'Report on Colegio Los Amigos, Banes Oriente' 1951. p.3. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[325] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, 1947,' Report to the AFBM received February 1948. p.1. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[326] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, 1947,' Report to the AFBM received February 1948. p.3. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[327] Juan Sierra, 'Cuba Yearly Meeting of Friends Report for 1958,' February 1959. p.2. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*

He goes on to explain that there was a debate within the church regarding whether they should continue to be funded by the AFBM. Some wanted to be completely independent, but Juan Sierra argued that the Board should double its funds to Cuba, but with a five or ten year limit at which point funds would be cut and the Cuba mission would be completely self-sufficient.[328] The Cuban Quakers gained their self-sufficiency at a much more rapid rate after the Cuban Revolution than they previous contemplated due to the nationalisation of their schools and the deterioration in economic ties with the US.

Throughout the 1934-1959 period the Cuban Quakers claimed the need and the ability of Cubans to govern the Quaker mission while, on the other hand, continually being short of personnel and funds to manage the mission schools and churches without the aid of the AFBM. Every year the superintendent's report from the CYM to the AFBM emphasised the lack of personnel to run the churches and schools, and pleaded for more US missionaries to be sent, which was almost never agreed to by the AFBM. Working for the Quakers, it seems, was not appealing to Cubans, partly because of the low wages and constant lack of funds for the Quaker mission. By 1950 the teachers at the Holguín school were not being paid as much as the teachers at the government schools yet were working longer hours.[329] Many of the Holguín school graduates were leaving to work for the government schools and two schools in Holguín were being headed by alumni of the Holguín Quaker school.[330]

What needs to be established in the following section is the nature of Quaker influence, and the kind of norms, values and ideas the US Quakers promoted. Furthermore, it is also crucial to identify the US cultural norms incorporated by the Cuban Quakers into their every day life, and hence their culture. It is the development of a Cuban Quakerism and whether this replicated the US missionaries' vision of a US moulded Cuban Quakerism that will help determine the extent to which the encounter between the US missionaries and the Cuban communities could be considered as an exchange of cultures.

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[328] Juan Sierra, 'Cuba Yearly Meeting of Friends Report for 1958,' February 1959. p.2. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*

[329] Ramón Morell, 'Holguín Report' 1950. p.2. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*

[330] Hiram Hilty report for AFBM, March 1944, p.6. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*

Cuban Quakerism and the Adoption of US Cultures

The Cuban Quakerism of the 1898-1959 period cannot be described as organic: a Quaker body created and directed by Cubans. Not only did the US missionaries continue to supervise the mission, but Cuban Quakerism continued to resemble the US Quaker evangelism of 1900. Furthermore, Hilty remarks that Quakers in Cuba were too 'preoccupied with matters of theological orthodoxy and moral asceticism to observe or be vitally concerned about the broad pattern of the society in which they live.'[331] The inability to 'Cubanise' the Quaker mission was partly due to the continuation of cultural assumptions and attitudes that reinforced a US imported structure to the Cuban Quaker church.

The Quakers were, from the outset, preaching the benefits of temperance.[332] This was of such importance to them that they created a commission on temperance in the annual conference in 1924.[333] This and the fight against other addictions such as smoking and gambling became of prime importance to the Cuban Quakers.[334] When asked if there were any notable foreign influences that Quakers remembered about the US mission schools the most often mentioned is that of temperance. One leading member of the Gibara Quaker Church stated that if you were caught drinking alcohol you could loose your membership in the Church and she added that the strict attitude towards drinking was a US cultural influence out of place in Cuban society.[335]

The son of one of the first Cubans to become a Quaker in Gibara, and nephew of the Cuban pastor, Arsenio Catalá, remembers the dominant message that abstention from alcohol and smoking had amongst Quakers as he grew up. Claiming that he has lived sixty years without drinking or smoking because of this influence, in an interview he sang one of the songs that he remembers from Sunday school:

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[331] Hiram Hilty report for AFBM, March 1944, p.1. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*
[332] Minutes of the second Quaker annual conference, June 20th 1905, in 'Primeras Actas de Constitución de la Iglesia Cuáquera en Cuba', p.22, in Holguín Quaker Archive.
[333] Minutes of the twentieth Quaker annual conference in Cuba, June 1924, in 'Primeras Actas de Constitución de la Iglesia Cuáquera en Cuba', p.190, in Holguín Quaker Archive.
[334] Minutes of the fourth Quaker annual conference, June 11th-12th 1907, in 'Primeras Actas de Constitución de la Iglesia Cuáquera en Cuba', p.36, in Holguín Quaker Archive.
[335] Enelia Escalona, leading member of Gibara Friends Church, interviewed by auther, 6th August 2002, Gibara, Cuba.

Pajarito tricolor cantó así
Vino no, agua sí
Y cantando tan alegre tricolor
Repitió vino no[336]

Temperance was not a recent phenomenon in the US. Maine was the first state to make alcohol illegal in 1851, and several states passed similar laws during the following sixty years. By 1902, every state and territory except Arizona had a law requiring temperance instruction in schools. It was in 1913, however, that a national ban was sought and this ban was implemented in the Eighteenth Amendment, ratified in 1919, prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors. The temperance movement has historically been a middle-class and Protestant movement. Both the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) were Protestant based movements, relying on funding from the Church that played a fundamental part in the prohibition movement.[337]

The Quaker missionaries were very much influenced by the prohibition movement in the US as it became probably the most discussed social issue in the conferences and meetings. While uprisings, strikes and the growth of Cuban nationalism and anti-US domination characterised the Cuba of the 1920s and 1930s, the Cuban Quaker conferences concerned themselves with imported issues such as temperance.

Although it was understandable that the missionaries would continue to practice customs that they missed from their home culture, such as Thanksgiving, Christmas and the Fourth of July, Cuban school children often found these celebrations anomalous to their every day cultural existence.[338] Furthermore, Ramón Longoria, Quaker minister of the Puerto Padre church, claims that:

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[336] José Garrido Catalá. Religious studies teacher at the Religious Seminary in Matanzas and Methodist minister (brought up as a Quaker member in Gibara) interviewed by author, 29th January 2001, Matanzas, Cuba. Translation in Appendix.
[337] Truman R. Clark, 'Prohibition in Puerto Rico, 1917-1933' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1. (Feb., 1995), pp.77-97.
[338] Enelia Escalona, leading member of Gibara Friends Church, interviewed by author, 6th August 2002, Gibara, Cuba.

> Nunca se utilizó [el misionero] los propios elementos de nuestra cultura, los instrumentos musicales de nuestra cultura como decir el tambor, maracas, o la guitarra, un poco más la guitarra sí, pero no se usaba en la iglesia. Ahora se utiliza [...] hay un movimiento en general en las iglesias protestantes y evangélicas de renovación en el sentido de utilizar elementos autóctonos [...] lo que cantaban es americano o inglés, muy pocas cosas de autores cubanos, o latinos.[339]

Sometimes the introduction of new cultural elements received ridicule. One Quaker I interviewed told me how her grandmother always used to laugh at the sound of the trumpet.[340]

Although it is important to look at the different culture that the missionaries were introducing, it is also necessary to examine their rejection of the cultural and religious context which defined Cuba at the time. The missionaries were vociferous in their condemnation of Catholic festivities suggesting that they were Godless occasions in which the morals and sanctity of the community were corrupted.[341]

US missionaries in Cuba emphasised 'theological orthodoxy and moral asceticism,' in other words Protestant evangelisation, and the teaching of what they considered as the morals of every day living. However, there were other social and worldly considerations that also played a role in the US Quakers' influence on Cuban Quakerism. As Juan Guzmán, a Cuban Quaker pastor, described in 1939:

> Nunca olvidaremos las conferencias sobre la paz de la Señora Jones. Precisamente la labor pro-paz, tiene un lugar prominente en nuestra obra. En noviembre pasado celebramos una reunión de confraternidad internacional, cursamos invitaciones a individuos de casi todas las razas y naciones, que

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[339] Ramón Longoria Escalona, Quaker minister of Puerto Padre Friends Church, interviewed by author, 14th February 2001, Puerto Padre, Cuba. Translation in Appendix.
[340] Elisa Catalá, Cuban-American leading member and treasurer of the Miami Friends Church, interviewed by author 7th and 12th July 2002, Miami, US.
[341] Minutes of the second Quaker annual conference, June 20th 1905, in 'Primeras Actas de Constitución de la Iglesia Cuáquera en Cuba', p.21, in Holguín Quaker Archive.

> conviven en esta comunidad. Muchos asistieron y la reunión resultó en un gran acto pro-fraternidad y Paz universal.[342]

This demonstrates not only an interest in peace, but also an attempt to gain more of an understanding of the diverse nature of Cuban community and something approaching an 'exchange' of cultures. However, this objective is not one that the US missionaries mention to any substantial degree in their reports or diaries.

It is not claimed here that the US Quakers' intention was to impose their interpretations of a US culture on the Cubans. The US Quakers acknowledged Cuban national figures and revered them. They celebrated José Martí's birthday each year and one US missionary described how 'Martí is to the Cuban what Washington or Lincoln is to the American people.'[343] Furthermore, in 1950 the Cuban Quakers took part in celebrations for the one hundredth anniversary of the Cuban flag. Sixteen thousand evangelicals met in an 'Evangelical Concentration,' the largest concentration of evangelicals to have gathered in Cuba to that date.[344]

Hilty proposes in a report concerning his resignation as Quaker 'representative' in Cuba in 1948 that:

> It would be preferable [...] that [future representatives] be southerners. It is sufficient adjustment to learn another language. The prevalence of poverty in much of the South, the practice of middle-class families having servants and many other things would make the shock of transplanting much less severe than in the case of northerners. It is assumed, of course, that they would harbor no race prejudice- which can be safely assumed among Quaker leaders.[345]

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[342] Juan Guzmán, report for AFBM, March 1939, p.2. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*
[343] Alma Cox, report for AFBM, December 1941, p.1. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*
[344] Ramón Morell, 'Holguín Report' 1950. p.2. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[345] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, 1946,' Report to the AFBM received February 1947. p.6. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*

It is interesting that Hilty expressly demands that US representatives not be racist, which was probably due to the more extreme segregationist mentality regarding race in the South, but also due to the interest the Quakers had in attracting all sections of Cuba's society into their churches.

Hilty also comments on the language barrier and the difficulty of learning Spanish. The linguistic barrier was a key problem with regard to the propagation of US cultural norms and religious values. The Quakers did not have much material translated into Spanish and tended to rely on any Protestant books and articles in Spanish that became available to them.

> Popular religious books of the type written by Dr. Fosdick, Rufus Jones or Elton Trueblood really have no counterpart in the Spanish world. [...] The publication of 'Selecciones del Reader's Digest', a Spanish edition of the American Reader's Digest has been a great event in the Spanish speaking world. The magazine is immensely popular and is opening up a new world of concepts to those who do not customarily read English. North American readers are largely unconscious of the extent to which the contemporary literature condensed in such a publication is saturated with essentially Christian ideas. There is even a smattering of frankly religious articles. [...] These means serve to mitigate the spiritual isolation of Cuban Protestants from the world in which Protestantism has come to fruition, although by the same token this linguistic isolation is one of the reasons why it is so difficult for Protestant work in Latin America to become truly autonomous.[346]

This comment by Hilty is demonstrative of the fundamental objective for US missionaries, not only to promote their religion but also to introduce Cubans to other aspects of US culture to help them understand the 'Protestant world'. This identification of Protestantism with US values in general demonstrates that the evangelisation of Cubans was linked inadvertently to the promotion of what the missionaries understood to be the 'American way'.

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[346] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, 1947,' Report to the AFBM received February 1948. p.3. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*

Hilty makes a perceptive point after visiting the Cuban Quakers in the 1960s. He suggests that the Cuban church of the 1960s resembled the US church of 1900, arguing that the Cubans were carrying out rituals that were out of date in the US. He adds that 'far from "going native," Cuba Yearly Meeting equated being Protestant with perpetuating the forms and attitudes received from the pioneers.'[347] He further suggests that the 'pioneers' took with them a Puritanism that was prevalent among US Protestants of the time. This Puritanism included the rejection of drinking and smoking, which were taught in the schools and churches. They were heavily influenced by the prohibition movement in the US and at one point denounced the Bacardí Rum Company for advertising in schoolbooks. Dancing, which had been a taboo amongst Midwestern Quakers in the US at the turn of the twentieth century, also became an obstacle to membership amongst most Quaker churches in Cuba.[348]

Hilty's observations are key to understanding the importance of the historical moment in which the Quaker missionaries initiated their project in Cuba. The values the missionaries upheld in 1900 during the establishment of the mission continue to prevail amongst Cuban Quakers to this day. Part of the reason for this is the portrayal of the US missionaries as heroic. 'The long years of devoted and self-sacrificing service that Mrs. Martínez has given can never be erased. They are sown in the lives of scores of useful citizens all over the island and the world, and particularly in those of some of the leading citizens of Puerto Padre.'[349] Ramón Longoria, the Quaker minister of the Puerto Padre church, claims that before the Revolution 'realmente el cubano, en general, veía el "American way of life" como el ideal'. He stresses the great sacrifices that the missionaries undertook, which included the high risk of illness, the reduced financial security and the adjustment of their lives without certain commodities or traditions they were accustomed to.[350] The heroism that embodied the reputation of the missionaries continues amongst the

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[347] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba,* p.106.
[348] Ibid., pp.106-108.
[349] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, February 20, 1946', Report to the AFBM, p.7. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[350] Ramón Longoria Escalona, Quaker minister of Puerto Padre Friends Church, interviewed by author, 14th February 2001, Puerto Padre, Cuba. Translation in Appendix.

Cuban Quakers of the twenty first century and some children continue their namesake.[351]

It is interesting not only how cultures can mutate and transform, but also how elements of cultures introduced into a community can persist. What was important to the US Quaker missionaries in 1900 became symbolic to the Cuban Quakers of Quakerism *per se*. While Cuban Quakerism will have transformed throughout the twentieth century depending on political, economic and cultural changes in Cuba, an element of that Quakerism continues to be based on and be symbolised by the Quaker pioneers of 1900, and to a certain extent the US Quakers that followed during the 1900-1959 period. Most revealing, with regard to the persistence of US cultural forms in Cuban Quakerism during the period of the Republic, is the statement by a prominent US Quaker representative suggesting that the US missionaries promoted their culture to such an extent that sixty years later this culture persisted amongst the Cuban Quakers.

As this Chapter shows, while US missionaries supported and encouraged some forms of Cuban nationalism, such as patriotic celebrations and anniversaries, they did not support nationalist uprisings throughout the period of the Republic. The missionaries moralised that corruption, gambling, and prostitution, among other problems, were Cuban failings that could be resolved by adopting US middle class values. Furthermore, there was no mention of the repression of student demonstrations or workers strikes; in the mission reports it was, as Yaremko notes, business as usual. Support was even voiced in favour of the heavy-handed tactics used by Machado against 'extreme nationalistic feeling' among striking workers and students.[352]

The Quaker missionaries generally blamed the Cubans' poverty and economic crises on what they considered as an inferior culture. Cubans were described as having a lack of 'moral fiber' or of a 'developed mind'. The Quakers emphasised the differences between the US and Cuban cultures as the reason for Cuban

[351] In most of the interviews carried out by the author with Cuban Quakers in Cuba and Miami great respect was felt for the US missionaries and they were often referred to as heroes.
[352] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* pp.99-100.

'backwardness'. Although Sylvester Jones, revealed his regret at much of the unfortunate consequences of US dominance in Cuba, he continued to consider that Christian evangelisation was a viable force for improvement. He did not equate these religious missions with the more general cultural, economic and political US influence on the island. It is evident that some missionaries did state US policy as partly responsible, however, Cuban nationalism and revolutionary activity were seen as demonstrative of Cuban inferiority and immaturity. Missionaries were proud of students who did not take part in the revolutionary activity of the 1930s. One Quaker missionary went as far as to support US plans to destabilise the nationalist Grau government.[353]

The Quaker missionaries continued, throughout the period of the Republic, to treat the Cuban Quakers as inferior, using the same paternalistic discourse. After fifty decades of Quakerism in Cuba the US Quakers still insisted that the Cubans needed supervision. Although the Cuban Quakers were given governing roles within the mission from the 1920s, with their own Yearly Meeting created in 1927, this was due to a financial crisis at the AFBM's level, rather than a belief in the ability of the Cubans to self-govern. Furthermore, most of the important financial and other decisions continued to be made by the AFBM, and US 'representatives' that played much the same role that the missionaries had played before them.

It was the general attitude of US superiority and lack of faith in the Cubans' ability to govern the Quaker mission that hindered the emergence of what could be regarded in any way as an organic Cuban Quakerism. The perceived need for continual US Quaker supervision of the Cubans has mirrored the general attitudes apparent in the US and by the US administration towards Cuba. The Quakers were not divorced from the historical moment in which they lived which marked a high period of US dominance in Cuba that was threatened by Cuban nationalism. They made a concerted effort, predominantly through education, to promote US values and culture as a blueprint for a 'civilised' and 'moral' Cuban identity. As Margaret Crahan has stated, 'the [Protestant] Churches were convinced that salvation lay not simply in

[353]Ibid., pp.123-125.

accepting religious beliefs dominant in North America, but also in adopting US political and economic institutions and practices.'[354]

Throughout the period discussed there were at least two very distinct discourses or perceptions concerning the Quaker mission in Cuba that correlate with the distinct discourses voiced on a national and international level. The US missionaries and the AFBM took pride in their project as a 'civilising' mission that would enable the Cubans to 'progress' in tune with economic and political 'progress' they were 'receiving' from the US. One US missionary praised the success of the treaty of reciprocity with the US, put in place by Theodore Roosevelt, which aided Cuba's dependency on sugar exports and the US market.[355] The Cuban Quakers, on the other hand, suggested that their lack of 'nationalisation' was due to economic dependency.

Crahan and Yaremko argue that Protestant Churches in Cuba remained North American, Anglo-Saxon, middle class, and structurally dependent on US society and culture. The US Quaker representative and historian Hiram Hilty's observations demonstrate that the Quaker churches of the 1940s reflected US churches and culture of 1900 and that rather than Cubanise, they displayed continued US cultural influence.

From the outset the US Quaker mission board and missionaries voiced a will to 'Cubanise' the mission, but the US Quakers failed to hand the governing of the mission, in its entirety, to the Cuban Quakers. Even US missionaries who encouraged the idea of a 'Cubanised' church expressed contradictory comments that showed a lack of faith in, and sometimes even contempt towards the Cuban 'character'. Hence, while the missionaries hoped to develop a Cuban Quaker church, they failed to meet the Cubans as equals, as people capable of creating their own Quakerism. The preconceptions of US economic, political and cultural superiority hindered any possibility of a cultural exchange as the missionaries lived within the confines of a culture of US domination. Integral to their mission was the conviction of the superiority of US Protestant values and norms, and that these should be exported to other inferior cultures. This contributes to Kaplan's thesis on the cultures

[354] Crahan, 'Religious Penetration and Nationalism in Cuba,' p.204.
[355] Jones, *Not By Might*, p.32.

of empire, as the US Quaker missionaries had internalised the concept of empire as part of the culture that they then exported.

It is clear that, considering the political, historical and economic context in which the Quaker mission encountered its Cuban community, the encounter could not be considered an exchange. This highlights an evident contradiction in Joseph Gilbert's interpretation of cultural encounters. When studying cultural encounters between US institutions and Cuban communities a detailed analysis of the historical, political and cultural context in which these encounters occur needs to be made. It is clear from this study on the US Quakers' encounter with Cuban communities that attitudes of superiority clearly impeded any ability to allow a cultural exchange or the handing over of the governing of the mission to the local community.

Chapter 6

The Quaker's Educating Mission

The general premise for the Quaker mission in Cuba was that the Cubans needed US supervision and could not govern the church without it. The missionaries claimed that the only way to produce a Cuban leadership worthy of their mission was through education. The key, therefore, to this 'civilising' mission was education, as this would produce, they reasoned, leaders not only for the Quaker churches but also for the nation. This chapter examines the extent to which US missionary interpretations of Cuban Quakerism were based on a replication of US cultures and values, and whether the missionaries integrated a culture of 'Empire' within the concept of civilisation they promoted.

Gramsci emphasised the role that religion plays in society and believed that one of the most important tensions between Church and State is predominantly based on a 'struggle for the hegemony in popular education'.[356] The struggle between the Catholic Church and the US administration for control over education played a significant role in Cuba after 1898. With the US administration's involvement in drawing up public school curricula and textbooks for Cuban and Philippine schools, the Catholic Church and its previous hegemony in education initiated what Judith Raftery calls a 'textbook battle'.[357]

In the Philippines President Theodore Roosevelt appointed a prominent Catholic as governor-general overseeing education from 1904-1909 in an attempt to reduce the tension building between the Catholics in the US (representing 16 per cent of the US population) and the US administration over secular education efforts in Cuba and the Philippines. The US controlled civil government in the Philippines was made up predominantly of Protestants, and since many Protestant missionaries were teaching in the schools using US methodology, the Catholic Church in the US organised a

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[356] Antonio Gramsci, *Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Derek Boothman, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1995) Q7§104, p.19.
[357] Raftery, 'Textbook Wars,' p.143.

campaign that convinced the US authorities to employ more Catholic teachers. In addition, textbooks were manufactured in the US that purposefully omitted Catholic themes and rituals integral to Philippine daily life and culture to encourage the separation of Church and State. Again the Catholic Church in the US mounted a campaign and made some significant gains due to the importance of the Catholic vote.[358]

The following section analyses the role that Protestantism played within Cuba's education system, with particular emphasis on the historical changes in the Cuban education system during the US occupation of 1899-1902. I then examine the nature of the educating mission carried out by the US Quaker missionaries and the impact that this had on class, race and gender relations between the Quaker missionaries and the Cuban community. This helps us establish who the Quakers aimed their 'civilising' mission at and for what purpose.

The Educating Mission

Prior to Cuban independence there was little effort on the part of the Spanish authorities to provide comprehensive education for the Cubans. Private schools functioned predominantly to propagate support for Spanish rule, the Catholic Church, and the ruling elite. It was, therefore, unsurprising that a fundamental aspect of the independence fighters' objectives was to expand the secular and comprehensive education system. José Martí contended that fundamental to national economic and political sovereignty and freedom was a good, compulsory and free public education system.[359] The persistence of private education throughout the republican period in Cuba was, therefore, considered by many as a national failure.[360]

Unlike under colonial Spanish rule, the US governing body in Cuba during the occupation of 1899-1902 promised to educate the Cubans. An important part of the

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[358] Ibid., pp.143-164.
[359] Laurie Johnston, 'Education and Empire: The United States in Cuba. 1899-1902,' paper given at: *Cultural Encounters and Resistance: The United States and Latin America, c.1890-c.1950, Commonwealth Fund Conference*, University College London, 29th-30th June 2001, pp.1-5.
[360] Laurie Johnston 'Nationalism and Responses to Private Education in Cuba', in *Ideologues and Ideologies in Latin America,* ed. by Will Fowler (Connecticut/London: Greenwood Press, 1997) p.25.

US government's justification for occupying Cuba, was based on their claims to want to educate the Cubans. Cubans were often depicted in the US press as mischievous children who needed to be brought into line by 'Uncle Sam'. During the US occupation the primary school system was greatly expanded and secondary and higher education reorganised. Approximately 25 per cent of the administration's budget was allocated to education. The number of teachers, classrooms and enrolment increased dramatically in 1900. However, six years later the project was considered a failure as attendance had fallen since 1900 and by 1908 only 33 per cent of the school age population attended school. In the US this failure was blamed on the Cubans.[361]

Laurie Johnston argues that the education system put in place was doomed to failure because 'Americanisation' was the purpose of the exercise rather than education. Johnston maintains that teacher recruitment, curriculum changes, educational materials and educational opportunities in the US were all geared towards familiarising the Cubans with US culture in order to promote the US image. This, she suggests was in order to either encourage Cubans to favour annexation or at least to improve conditions and acceptance in Cuba of US business interests. Literacy was important for stable government, it was argued, and stable government was important for US investment.[362]

Additionally, the US occupation government suggested that only literate propertied Cubans should have a vote, effectively eliminating the majority of black Cubans, among whom illiteracy reached 72 per cent in 1900. This action further disenfranchised a large proportion of the independence fighters who General Leonard Wood, the head of the military occupation, considered as too 'radical' and unfit for self-governance. The promotion of a universal education system further backed the US position of limited suffrage as they suggested that if education was now available to all, then the population able to vote would ultimately grow.[363]

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[361] Johnston, 'Education and Empire' pp.6-9.
[362] Ibid., pp.9-10.
[363] Ibid., pp.11-12.

The administration closed the Cuban training schools, sending the Cuban teachers on a trip to Harvard for training. This exercise was openly regarded more as a way of improving relations and Cuban sentiment towards the US than a straightforward training course. Textbooks provided by the US were criticised by Cuban teachers, especially the books provided by US business that were usually US textbooks simply translated into Spanish. Furthermore, the English language was promoted as the language of trade and progress and it was suggested that it should be taught in all Cuban schools and that Cuban teachers should, as a requirement, be able to teach English.[364]

The US administration did not close the private schools in operation under the Spanish administration because it was unwilling to confront the increasing US Protestant missionary presence in Cuba and their establishment of private schools, and it did not want to upset the wealthy Spaniards who attended the private Catholic schools. These Spaniards were praised by government officials and were considered superior to the Cubans. Spanish immigration was encouraged both to 'whiten' the population and to counteract Cuban nationalism. Private religious schools multiplied, which fuelled discontent amongst Cuban nationalists and proved to be a bone of contention throughout the years of the Cuban Republic.[365] Cuban nationalists attempted without success to legislate state regulations on private schools demanding that Cuban history be taught, that more Cuban teachers be employed and that discrimination along racial, economic or gender lines be abolished. These initiatives did not succeed mainly because most Cuban politicians had attended private schools, and sent their children to private schools, their interest in improving the poor conditions of the public schools and regulating the private schools was minimal.[366]

Johnston concludes that the education system put in place during the US occupation in Cuba acted to ideologically justify the promotion of an economic imperialist agenda. She stresses that the education system demonstrated the contradictions between the US discourse of promoting education and Cuban self-governance, whilst simultaneously imposing US norms to facilitate US economic interests in Cuba.

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[364] Ibid., p.14.
[365] Johnston 'Nationalism and Responses to Private Education in Cuba', p.29.
[366] Ibid., p.37.

Johnston describes the two very different objectives and perceptions of the education system put in place after independence. The Cubans hoped that this education system would encourage political and economic independence, while the US administration saw it as a means to ensure Cuban economic and political dependence on the US.[367]

The US government's representative on education in Cuba suggested that it was only through education that the Cubans would learn not to rebel and become 'mature' enough to govern. Missionaries echoed the idea that the 'right' kind of education would lead to political and economic stability.[368]

This attempt by the US authorities to encourage Cuban support of US institutions through the education system reflects Gramsci's concept of hegemony: 'Every relationship of "hegemony" is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces that comprise it, but in the entire international and world field, between complexes of national and continental civilisations.'[369]

The Quakers' Educating Mission

The Quaker mission in Cuba considered schooling a top priority, opening their first school in 1901. Zenas Martin reported to the AFBFM in 1900, after spending some time with the Quakers in Havana, that:

> Since the US government has planned to give the people free schools it is a question [as to] what had better be done with the church's efforts along these lines. I think at least for some time to come we will have a duty in this direction as the teachers and schools are very poor. But situated as these workers are in Havana and not being teachers of experience, their day school efforts are not amounting to much, I think. If they are made successful, it seems to me it must be by American teachers.[370]

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[367] Johnston, 'Education and Empire' p.21.
[368] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.63.
[369] Gramsci, *Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Boothman, Q10II§44, p.157.
[370] Graves, 'Americanising Cuba by Cubanizing Protestantism,' p.54.

The Quaker missionaries' decision to establish schools in Cuba was initially temporary, until the US government provided the island with adequate schooling, reflecting the optimism concerning education in Cuba at the time. The decision was also based on a belief that schooling, initially, could only be carried out effectively by US citizens.

Protestant missions across Cuba had established schools that grew substantially during the first two decades of their existence. Popularity of the schools was never a problem; they had to turn students away after reaching capacity. Yaremko notes that the schools became the missionaries' central means for the evangelisation of Cuban children. It was not only evangelisation but also 'civilisation' that the Protestant education strove for. The inculcation of US cultural belief systems, such as the Protestant work ethic, proved influential not only to converted Protestants but also to the Cuban students who were not Protestants, but later became members of the economic and political elite. The Protestant schools had constant support from the Cuban government both locally and nationally, from the days of Tomás Estrada Palma to Fulgencio Batista.[371] This despite nationalist demands that legislation be introduced to stop public money being spent on private schools until the public schools could be considered satisfactory.[372]

There was frequent debate within the Quaker mission as to whether efforts should be put into evangelising, placing more emphasis on church work, or whether education and the 'civilising' of the Cubans was more essential. Emma Phillips Martínez, one of the leading US missionaries, advocated the 'civilisation first' approach. She suggested that 'the Church left alone had no conception of the way to form a body of true worshippers. Anybody was considered worthy.' Martínez felt that through the education of Cubans they could produce worthy church leaders.[373]

Other missionaries felt that it was more important to train pastors, hand over responsibility to them, and that the schools should be there purely to support the evangelical work of the churches. The continuation of secular school work, they

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[371] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.73.
[372] Johnston 'Nationalism and Responses to Private Education in Cuba', p.37.
[373] Graves, 'Americanising Cuba by Cubanizing Protestantism,' p.72.

contended, was a misuse of funds.[374] In 1929, the head of the Holguín Quaker School suggested that the private denominational schools would have no future if the government schools continued to improve.[375] Although the temporary nature of their schools was alluded to by some of the missionaries, education continued to be central to the Quaker missionary project. Furthermore, attendance at the chapel was often compulsory despite the Holguín and Banes schools being considered as secular. Religious education was of particular importance at the schools:

> '[In the school] very definite religious instruction is given. This instruction is thorough, goes to the fundamental truths of the Gospels and leaves, we believe, a permanent mark in the experience and emotional lives of our pupils. The classes must be attended by all pupils without exception.' [376]

Affluent Catholics sent their children to the Quaker school in Banes, and although they sometimes asked for their children to be excused from religious education and attendance at the chapel, this was not permitted.[377]

The debate between Quaker missionaries on whether to place an emphasis on 'civilising' or 'evangelising' the Cubans highlights the fundamental motive behind the missionaries' actions. The Quakers aimed to mould the Cubans they encountered to their own religious and cultural perceptions and attitudes based on a perceived superior US culture. The civilisation versus evangelisation debate further failed to address the class issue that was inherent in the question of which Cubans should be 'evangelised' and which should be 'civilised'. While the Quaker churches strove to attract the poorer sectors of society, the schools, particularly in Holguín and Banes, charged fees and, as we have seen, were proud that the richer and 'better' elements of society attended their schools.[378] Some graduates continued their study in Quaker

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[374] Ibid., p.74.
[375] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba,* p.112.
[376] Miguel Tamayo, 'Report on Colegio Los Amigos, Banes Oriente' 1951. p.2. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[377] Miguel Tamayo, 'Report on Colegio Los Amigos, Banes Oriente' 1951. p.2. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[378] May Jones, 'Christmas in Cuba', unspecified paper, Gibara, January 1901, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.112, *Friends Collection.*

schools in the US.[379] It was through the education and 'civilising' of the middle classes that the Quakers hoped to have an impact on more influential members of the Cuban communities.

The Educating Mission and Questions of Class, Race and Gender

The Quaker mission churches attracted Cubans from all classes, but the middle class dominated. This point is made in a Quaker report in 1949, 'muy pocos Amigos en Cuba son pudientes; la mayoría son maestros, empleados, y obreros y algunos son tan pobres que necesitan del auxilio de la iglesia. (Los menos son estos pobres pues en término general la mayoría pertenece a la clase media)'[380] The Quakers were, in this sense, like other Protestant denominations. As Pérez has expressed, working-class and lower-middle-class Cubans were amongst those most attracted to Protestantism.[381]

US and Cuban Quakers tended to make a concerted effort to attract the wealthier elements of Cuban society. Cuban Quakers were also very much involved in other US institutions on the island such as the Masons and the Rotary Clubs, and the Quaker pastor Arsenio Catalá presided over the Gibara Rotary Club.[382] This enabled Catalá to gain influence amongst the Gibara elite. As Hilty put it:

> The main body of the members [in Gibara] are poor, humble folk who have long been faithful followers. [...] Arsenio Catalá's more recent connections in the higher circles of the community is yielding some results by way of interesting another class in the program of the church. Even if they do not become members this new contact will greatly increase the moral influence of the church on the community.[383]

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[379] Brief summary report for AFBM, March 1938, p.4-5. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*
[380] Quaker Report for 1949 'Condiciones económicas del país que influyen en el trabajo de los Amigos en Cuba', p.1. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.* Translation in Appendix.
[381] Perez *On becoming Cuban,* p.58.
[382] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report', February 2, 1945, Report to the AFBM, p.3. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[383] Hiram Hilty 'Cuba Field Report', February 2, 1945, Report to the AFBM, p.7. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*

However, the Protestant churches could not compete with the Catholic Church with regard to attracting the wealthier Cubans. The Catholic Church was not passive when confronted by the Protestant encroachment on Cuban religious culture, and campaigned against them. Hilty suggests that: 'No doubt the vigorous campaign of the Catholic Church, not only in its own behalf but against the Evangelical Churches, has had its effect. It continues to be "all right" to send one's children to our school, but such things as weddings and baptisms are "of course" the field of the Catholic Church. It adds to one's business and professional prestige to be known as a "good Catholic".'[384]

It was in the schools where the class distinction was particularly dramatic. Gibara was the only Quaker school, of the main Quaker centres, that charged nominal fees that were often waved, and was a school within the reach of all.[385] However, it only taught primary school level and was very much an extension of the church Sunday school. In 1917 the Quaker mission completed work on a secondary school in Holguín, which became a popular private establishment and attracted some of the wealthier families who could afford the fees that had to be paid. As one Quaker report suggested, in 1918, the 'most remarkable thing is that there are 125 of the best families of Holguín represented in the school this year.'[386] It has been suggested that the school's popularity was due in part to upheavals and strikes prevalent at the government high school. Merle Davis, the headmaster of the Holguín school, suggested in 1923 that there were no strikes at the school either because the school created a 'better character' and 'better education' or because it attracted 'better' students. The children, he noted, came from the homes of lawyers, doctors, a mayor and a former mayor, a state representative and the secretary of the Board of Education.[387]

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[384] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, February 2, 1945', Report to the AFBM, p.7. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[385] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, February 20, 1946', Report to the AFBM, p.8. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[386] Holguín Church report, September 30th 1918, Report to the AFBM, p.1. 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. II, *Friends Collection.*
[387] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba,* pp.54-56.

Not only did the school attract rich landowners' children from the surrounding area; it boasted the success of various graduates of the school who later obtained high positions in government.[388] The Holguín school gained a reputation as one of the most prestigious education institutions nationally and the Cuba Yearly meeting reported to the AFBM that:

> It is not necessary to cite history to prove that this school [in Holguin] has been and is a leading factor in the New Cuba of today. Many of the administrators, the educators, the physicians, dentists, and merchants in Cuba have spent a few years in the Friends' school at Holguín [...] it has been a school of unusual influence in national affairs.[389]

Contrary to this comment, Hilty suggests that 'Friends have not brought their witness to bear upon the national life of Cuba in any way. Outside Oriente, [...] Cubans have never heard of "Los Amigos"'.[390]

Doctor Clarita Ajo, a religious studies teacher and Episcopal minister at the Religious Seminary in Matanzas, has disputed this history of class distinctions in the Quaker schools. She was previously a Quaker member in Holguín and is the daughter of a Quaker minister. When remembering her time in the Quaker school she claimed that:

> Los colegios de los Amigos [...] eran colegios privados pero eran colegios donde no había esa diferencia de clase, no como los colegios católicos [...] donde estudiaba la clase alta. [En los colegios de los Amigos] había que pagar pero [...] no eran esas cantidades exorbitantes [...] no eran colegios donde la diferencia de clase era marcado porque eran colegios de clase media y clase baja, no eran colegios de clase alta. [...] Incluso tengo entendido, y conocí a [...] estudiantes que estaban becados en el colegio porque no podían pagar, eran estudiantes de clase baja inclusive. Uno de los casos de esos

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[388] Ibid., p.57.
[389] Brief summary report for AFBM, March 1944, p.1. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*
[390] Hiram Hilty report for AFBM, March 1944, p.1. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*

> estudiantes de clase baja es el mismo caso del presidente, Batista que fue al colegio de los Amigos y que también no era, en aquella época, una persona de clase alta, era un humilde del pueblo.[391]

On many occasions Quakers have mentioned proudly the grants given to poor Cubans unable to pay school fees or, in some cases, a job at the school, such as cleaning, was given in exchange for an education at the school.[392] Both Maulio Ajo, who was later to become a Quaker minister, and Ramón Morell, who became the director of the Holguín school, came from poor backgrounds and were given jobs at the Holguín school to help pay for their education. Efforts were clearly made to help finance poor students as the Banes director explained in 1951:

> Our spirit is disturbed at the large number of boys and girls above the eighth grade level that every year would like to enter our school to continue their preparation, but who are financially unable to meet any of the expenses involved. The eighth grade is the highest level of our free public school system in Banes. Each year we help a number of these boys and girls, to the limit of our capacity, giving them our janitor or some other work and by substantial reduction in their tuitions, but naturally we cannot help them all. The total amount of free schooling thus given this year is $5,000 and we cannot give more or else we would not have enough income to meet our obligations with the teachers.[393]

Furthermore, the Banes school had plans for a toy shop and sweet shop for poor children to work in to pay for their fees.[394] However, these opportunities were generally available only to Quakers in Banes or Holguín, whereas in the poorer town of Gibara such prospects were scarce. As one leading member of the Gibara church stated, 'ningún estudiante de Gibara, que yo recuerdo, fue becado' and, as there were

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[391] Clarita Ajo, religious studies teacher at the Religious Seminary in Matanzas and Episcopal minister (grew up as a Quaker in Holguín. Her father was the pastor there) interviewed by the autor, 30th January 2001, Matanzas, Cuba. Translation in Appendix.
[392] Maulio Ajo. Minister at the Holguín Friends Church, interviewed by the author 2nd February 2001, Holguín, Cuba.
[393] Miguel Tamayo, 'Report on Colegio Los Amigos, Banes Oriente' 1951. p.3. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[394] Miguel Tamayo, 'Report on Colegio Los Amigos, Banes Oriente' 1951. p.3. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*

no facilities for studying the *bachillerato*, the poor students of Gibara had to travel to Holguín and study at the public school there, as the Holguín Quaker school would have been too expensive.[395]

Although some efforts were made to enable some poorer students to attend the Quaker high schools, the original and continual intention was not to give a comprehensive education to the Cuban community, but to educate the future leaders of the Quaker church and, more ambitiously, the nation. The moulding of Cuban leaders would, the missionaries believed, lead to the handing over of the mission to Cubans capable of running it in the style and tradition introduced by the US missionaries. Education was fundamental, not to the 'Cubanisation', but to the 'Americanisation' of the Quaker mission. It was only through the 'civilising' of the local Cuban middle classes that an acceptable leadership for a Cuban led Quaker mission could be achieved.

It was not only class distinctions that marked the Quaker's civilising mission. Racialist attitudes were also at the centre of US claims of Cuban inferiority. Afro-Cubans had gained the least from the Cuban Republic that emerged following US occupation. They had been denied public office and many Afro-Cubans came to realise that within the existing structures there lay no hope for the equal power that many had fought for. In 1909 the Partido Independiente de Color requested an end to private education because of the evident racial discrimination displayed in such institutions and called for a free and obligatory, comprehensive, public education system.[396] During the first three decades of Cuba's Republic, attitudes concerning Cuban racial inferiority in the US influenced the Protestant missionaries. As Hiram Hilty suggests, Josiah Strong was someone who inspired the US Quaker missionaries and who embodied the enthusiasm of the time.[397] Strong was one of the leading voices fuelling the ideology of US Manifest Destiny, Anglo-Saxon superiority and expansionism. These attitudes were also reflected amongst the US administration. General Wood, the head of the first US occupation in Cuba, stated that 'many of the

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[395] Enelia Escalona, leading member of Gibara Friends Church, interviewed by the author, 6th August 2002, Gibara, Cuba.
[396] Johnston, 'Nationalism and Responses to Private Education in Cuba', p.30.
[397] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba,* p.106.

present Cubans are the result of intermarriage between blacks and the old Cuban stock, and such marriages produce an inferior race.'[398]

José Garrido Catalá, brought up as a Quaker in Gibara, remembers his father telling him that Mr. Jones, the missionary pastor at Gibara, had a liberal mentality. He added that it was not easy for a US citizen from the South to relate to blacks, yet Mr. Jones communicated well with them.[399] From the outset the Joneses hoped to evangelise the poor 'negroes' on the outskirts of Gibara.[400] However, it was not in the churches, but predominantly in the schools where racism became evident, especially given that Quaker hopes were to attract what they called the 'better' elements of society.

Some of the comments that missionaries made suggest that they held a conviction of their racial superiority over the Afro-Cubans. One comment by Susan Martin, written to her daughter about her husband, demonstrates these racialist attitudes: 'Papa is working like a nigger these days to get the house ready to open school.'[401] The attitude towards the 1912 Afro-Cuban rebellion was characterised predominantly by silence. Zenas Martin described it as a 'mix up' and there was certainly a lack of indignation on the part of the Quaker mission concerning the 1912 atrocities towards Afro-Cubans. Baptist missionaries stated their appreciation for having a college on land owned by a US company, as they were therefore satisfied that if the Cuban government failed to protect them then US government protection would be immediate.[402] As the rebellion was directed not only at racial discrimination, but also at the increasing US domination on the island, the US missionary connections with US business could lead to accusations that their allegiances were with US business.

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[398] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.37.
[399] José Garrido Catalá. Religious studies teacher at the Religious Seminary in Matanzas and Methodist minister (brought up as a Quaker member in Gibara) interviewed by author, 29th January 2001, Matanzas, Cuba.
[400] May Jones, letter to the Board, Gibara 22nd February 1901, 'Experiences of Sylvester and May Mather Jones in Cuba', Vol. I, p.49, *Friends Collection.*
[401] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.40.
[402] Ibid., p.62.

In 1909, after having visited Cuba, Quakers from Baltimore suggested that a boarding school should be constructed but it should admit 'white' children only. The boarding school was never built although land for it was purchased. There was discussion amongst the missionaries about whether it would be a good idea to exclude 'colored' students and most felt it would be appropriate to exclude black children, as this might attract the richer and 'better classes'. However, it was also expressed that drawing the 'color line' would be almost impossible in Cuba. It was proposed that the wealthy should be patronised, but that a 'color line' would be inappropriate and difficult to administer.[403] One missionary suggested that the schools should encourage a 'better grade Cuban' who would not want their children 'thrown in with colored children'. In Banes the Quakers' boarding school excluded Afro-Cubans and Jamaicans. Other Protestant missions in Cuba also introduced segregation in their schools.[404]

One notable contradiction to assumptions that the Quakers held racist attitudes, due to the proposed 'white' only boarding school, is the assistance and later employment of Rodolfo Crawford, a black man of Jamaican descent. He was given assistance by the AFBM to attend the Holguín school in the 1950s, was later recognised as a minister, and became the pastor of Puerto Padre meeting.[405]

Quakers were certainly not exceptions to racialist attitudes dominant during the turn of the twentieth century and during the first thirty years of the Cuban Republic. The Quakers' attitudes towards race were clearly interlinked with class issues and the Quakers' eagerness to influence what they described as the 'better' elements of society. It was through education that they targeted the richer and more influential Cubans and if this meant the exclusion of Afro-Cubans then, they believed, that was an issue that should be considered.

Gender divisions in Cuban society were also enhanced by the US missionary presence in Cuba and the Quakers were no exception to this. The initial role for the wife of the leader of the Quaker mission was to keep an exemplary Christian

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[403] Graves, 'Americanising Cuba by Cubanizing Protestantism,' pp.55-106.
[404] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.79.
[405] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba* pp.125-126.

home.[406] From that point on and throughout the time of the Republic in Cuba, Quaker missionary women would be employed as teachers but never directors of the schools and would be given roles as secretaries, or treasurers of the Churches but never that of a minister. One exception to this rule was the dominant and influential missionary, Emma Phillips Martínez, the US Quaker who was the leading missionary at the Puerto Padre mission. She concerned herself predominantly with the school, to the detriment of the Church, and was so influential that the school was known across the town as Mrs. Martínez's school. One missionary observed that the impress of her personality was evident throughout the Puerto Padre mission.[407]

US Protestant missions in Cuba, in general, enhanced the gender divisions already apparent in Cuban society through education programs aimed at women. The Quaker mission ran domestic science schools for girls, offering courses in stereotypical chores for women, such as home economic, sewing and embroidery.[408] Representatives of several Cuban schools visited the Quaker schools for ideas regarding these new departments and the government schools in Holguín apparently decided to create a domestic science department due to Quaker influence.[409]

To sum up, then, the Quaker mission in Cuba focused on the education of what it described as the 'better classes' with an aim to nurturing a Cuban Quaker leadership moulded by the US missionaries. The US Quakers wanted to bring the Cubans closer to US culture and were successful in this, as Cuban Quakers were also very much involved in other US institutions in Cuba such as the Masons and the Rotary Clubs.[410] A US orientated education and the influence that US culture disseminated by the US missionaries had on the Cuban Quakers will have made them more comfortable in alternative US institutions. This link between Quakers and other US institutions, particularly the Masons, has continued and is still evident amongst some of the leading Quakers and Quaker ministers today.[411]

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[406] Ibid., pp.13-14.
[407] Jones, *Not by Might*, pp.70-71
[408] Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba,* p.78.
[409] Henry Cox, Cuba Yearly Meeting report March 1937, pp.2-3. Cuba Reports (1935-1951) *Friends Collection.*
[410] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, February 2, 1945', Report to the AFBM, p.3. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[411] This became apparent from various interviews, informal conversations and observations.

The role that Quaker schools had was very different to that of the churches, particularly in Holguín and Banes. The schools charged fees and despite some efforts to aid children who could not afford to attend the schools, they generally excluded poorer and socially marginalised Cubans. The schools added prestige to the Quaker presence in Cuba as they attracted children from the 'better' elements of society and therefore become more accepted within Cuban society.

It was through education that the Quakers hoped to nurture the leadership for their missions but also, more ambitiously, for the Cuban nation. It was through education that the Quakers aimed for, and to a certain extent achieved, a more influential role in the Cuban communities they inhabited. The Quakers' initial goals were to set up temporary schools until the US government implemented a comprehensive school system in Cuba, which was one of the stated aims of the US occupation. However, the schools became central to the Quakers' 'civilising' mission until they were nationalised in 1961 as part of Cuban government efforts to establish a comprehensive education system.

Although the Quaker schools accepted Cubans of all faiths, pupils had compulsory religious education lessons and had to attend chapel services. English classes and courses at the Quaker business schools in Banes and Holguín would aid Cubans wanting to work in the UFC or other US businesses on the island. Protestant education in Cuba aided, to a certain extent, US hegemony on the island, particularly with the promotion of business, the English language and more generally a Protestant work ethic. The schools' aims were not only to disseminate their religious beliefs but also to bring Cubans closer to what they considered a superior US political and economic system and culture.

Chapter 7

The Politics of Quaker Funding: Striving for 'Self-Sufficiency', and Integration into a 'Cuban' System of Corruption and Patronage

The US Quaker mission board aimed to ensure the 'self-sufficiency' of the Quaker community in Cuba. The means by which the US and Cuban Quakers sought to achieve self-sufficiency is crucial to the analysis of the Quaker mission in Cuba, not only because it helps us understand the Quaker values that they were willing to sideline to obtain this goal, but also because it demonstrates how Cuban Quakerism became integral to the local and national political system. The Quakers accepted funding from the national lottery, whilst simultaneously opposing all forms of gambling. Due to the difficulty of realising self-sufficiency through contributions from the congregation, funding was sought from other bodies, such as the United Fruit Company (UFC) and local and national government. These funding bodies were approached with an aim to becoming less dependent on the US Quaker mission board, and becoming a more 'Cuban' church. The acceptance of UFC donations combined with the integration of the Quaker school in Banes into a local and national system of political corruption and patronage is examined in this chapter together with an analysis of Cuban Quaker justification that this was an integral part of the process of 'becoming Cuban'.

Some Cuban Quakers suggested that the acceptance of national lottery money was a means that justified the ends.[412] They further argued that such national institutions were an integral part of Cuban national life. While acceptance of donations from Batista's national lottery was considered unacceptable by many Cuban and US Quakers alike, including the AFBM, the acceptance of personal donations from the President himself was viewed as acceptable, without serious consideration being

[412] Walter Tamayo. Cuban-American, previously a leading member of Banes Friends Church, whose father was the director of the Quaker school in Banes, interviewed by the author, 15th July 2002, Miami, US.

given to the legality of such donations, or the source of the President's wealth. The Quakers did not question the motives behind Batista's donations, just as they did not query the UFC donations and the debt of gratitude that this produced. They did, however, debate the implications of their identification in advertisements for the national lottery, as this questioned their integrity concerning their open opposition to gambling.

A key concern is whether by 'becoming Cuban' the Quakers found themselves choosing between dependence on US donations (from the AFBM) or integration into the corrupt system of the Cuban local and national political elite. Although the latter would appear to be the 'national' option, much of the corrupt Cuban economic system was tied to dependency on reciprocal trade relations with the US, capital investment, and the promise of tax exemptions for US business. Ultimately the donations from the US based UFC that dominated Banes, both politically and economically, were considered as local donations that assisted the Quakers in their quest for 'self-sufficiency'. The national lottery donations were granted during the Batista government of 1940-1944 and military regime of 1952-1959. The first period represented a strategic and military alliance between Cuba and the US and Batista's enrichment from government funds, while the second period was characterised more by corruption and the promotion of a closer relationship with the US.[413]

The Quakers were the least wealthy of the traditional Protestant missions in Cuba. They were, perhaps, naïve in believing that, although they targeted poorer more rural communities, they could reach a situation in which these Cubans would be able to fund their own Churches. The missionaries tried to combine their efforts of attracting poor Cubans to their Churches with their aim of gaining respect within the more influential elements of society. The latter was achieved through the growing reputation of the Quaker schools, which, as we saw in Chapter Six, tended to target the middle-classes who could afford the fees. Whilst the US missionaries were delighted when Cuban Quakers held influential positions within the local

[413] For Batista's personal enrichment and corruption during the 1940-1944 period see: Thomas, *Cuba,* p.736. See also: William S. Stokes, 'The "Cuban Revolution" and the Presidential Elections of 1948,' *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Feb., 1951) p.49. For corruption and tax exemptions see: Morris H. Morley, 'The US Imperial State in Cuba 1952-1958,' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1, (May, 1982) pp.148-161. See also: Pérez, *Cuba,* pp.289-299.

community, they flinched when this led to their involvement in the 'vice' of gambling.

This chapter will expand on these contradictions focusing particularly on the receipt by the Banes Quaker School of funding from the national lottery and the debate this caused (and did not cause) within the Cuban Quaker church and the US mother institution. It will show how this ultimately produced a triangle of reciprocity in Banes between the Quaker school, the UFC and the local and national political elite. This contributes to the cultural encounters debate, as it highlights the dominant and manipulative nature of US business and its promotion of a culture of corruption, which perpetuated US domination of economic, political and cultural life. This chapter debates the extent to which the Quakers in Banes became part of this culture of corruption.

The 'Sin' of Gambling and the Quaker Stand Against it

> [La Junta Anual de los Amigos en Cuba] no puede permanecer muda e inactiva ante Decreto-Ley por el cual autoriza el juego de azar que constituye un pecado colectivo y abre las puertas de la corrupción ciudadana; estudio meditado y concienzudo, a la luz de amor a su pueblo y a la dignidad nacional, del dicho Decreto-Ley, hasta ver si se llega a un acuerdo que exija su inmediata derogación.[414]

This statement against the Cuban law authorising gambling in 1936, was sent to Cuban authorities by the Cuban Quaker Yearly Meeting, which demanded the law's repeal. The Cuban Quakers were vociferous in their disapproval of 'games of chance', as opposition to gambling constituted an integral part of their value system. Quaker history is replete with examples of Quaker opposition to gambling. Quakers have opposed gambling since the seventeenth century as they believed it acted against the moral and spiritual well-being of society due to its addictive nature, the encouragement of greed, and the rewards it reaped for the wealthy minority at the

[414] Yearly Meeting (Junta Annual) letter to the Cuban government, 'Junta Anual de la iglesia los Amigos en Cuba: Actitud de la Junta Anual de la iglesia de los Amigos en Cuba ante el Decreto Ley que autoriza el juego de Azar.' 1936. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*

expense of a poor majority. It was also contrary to Quaker values of social justice and the sharing of resources.[415] In 1911 the British Christian Discipline of the Society of Friends stated that 'we deeply deplore the enormous growth of gambling in this country. This habit now permeates all classes of society: commerce, finance and the press are tainted by it. We believe that all forms of betting and gambling and all merely speculative means of attaining money, are contrary to the spirit of Christ.'[416] The debate concerning Quaker attitudes towards national lotteries continues as an issue of contention in contemporary Britain.

US Quakers, like their British counterparts, opposed gambling and lotteries. In colonial America the Quakers consistently opposed the public lottery system, while other Protestant denominations tended to use it as a method of aggrandisement. The Quakers of Pennsylvania were the most ready to implement legislation against lotteries, but the laws passed were repeatedly disallowed by the Crown.[417] Like the British Quakers, their views regarding gambling continue much as they have done throughout previous centuries, although there is some acknowledgement that lottery funds are often targeted at the socially disadvantaged: 'The Religious Society of Friends continues to bear testimony against betting, gambling, lotteries, speculations or any other endeavour to receive material gain without equivalent exchange, believing that we owe an honest return for what we receive.'[418]

The Cuban national lottery was first established in 1909 and from the outset became a resource for political influence and personal enrichment. A large percentage of the funds would fall directly into the hands of the President and subsequently his friends and family, cabinet members, army and police officials, and other influential members of Cuba's elite. The lottery has been described by Pérez as 'a powerful political weapon' at the President's disposal.[419] The highly personalised nature of the President's patronage of funds from the lottery, and the thousands of jobs that the lottery created, also gave it a populist dimension.

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[415] *Role Over? National Lottery Funding and the Quaker Testimony against Gambling*, ed. by Quaker Peace and Social Witness, (London: Quaker Books, 2004), p.32.
[416] Ibid., p.35.
[417] John Ezell, 'The Lottery in Colonial America', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Wer., Vol. 5. No. 2. (Apr., 1948), pp.185-200.
[418] *Role Over?* ed. by Quaker Peace and Social Witness, p.43.
[419] Pérez, *Cuba,* pp.218-219.

President Batista's National Lottery and his Patronage to his Hometown of Banes, 1934-1944.

Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar was born in 1901, in Veguitas near Antilla, the United Fruit Company sugar port, at the time of the formation of the company. His family moved to La Güira, a poor district of Banes, on UFC land. His father worked as a cane cutter for the company and Fulgencio often worked with him, which reduced the time he could devote to public school attendance during the day. A Quaker scholarship enabled him to study at the Banes Quaker school in the evenings during the school year of 1912-1913.[420] His mother died when he was fourteen and he subsequently left school to work in various trades throughout Cuba, including a job on the railroads of the UFC, until he joined the army in 1921. His rise to power has been attributed, in part, to his wide knowledge of various parts of Cuba and different trades, his being a 'self-made man' from a humble background, and his wish to be loved by the masses.[421] The rise to power from obscurity of a man with a military background and populist agenda was a common political trend in Latin America during the 1930s and 1940s.

In 1934 Batista returned to Banes as Colonel of the armed forces, having contributed to the downfall of Machado. He returned bearing gifts such as a fishing boat for an old friend. Throughout Batista's period in government many of the poor from La Güira, Banes, Batista's childhood district, regularly received such donations.[422] Furthermore, many of the public works that were carried out in Banes, while Batista was in power, were attributed to his personal generosity. One former politician of Banes, Victor Amat Osorio, lists the many public works, including the Quaker school, that Banes apparently owes to Batista:

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[420] Ramón Longoria 'The Friends School in Banes and Funds Derived from the National Lottery', paper, American Society of Church History annual meeting in January 2003, p.2. The US missionary, Henry Cox, also verified that Batista was a student at the Quaker school, see: Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, p.113. Although some scholars dispute Batista's enrolment in the Quaker school, most acknowledge that he did attend the school. See also: Thomas, *Cuba,* pp.633-635. Victor Amat Osorio, *Banes: Estampa de mi Tierra y de mi Sol*, (Miami: New Ideas Printing, 1981) p.585.
[421] Thomas, *Cuba,* pp.633-635. See also: Osorio, *Banes,* p.585.
[422] Osorio, *Banes,* pp.585-588.

> El Hospital Civil Flor de la Caridad; La Escuela Superior José Martí; el Hospital Infantil Campesino, en Veguitas; el Centro Escolar 4 de Septiembre; los edificios de la Cruz Roja y del Centro de Veteranos; los edificios del Colegio Católico y la terminación del enorme complejo del Colegio Los Amigos; el Dispensario [...] en el parque 'Carmela Zaldívar', de la Güira, en donde se edificó también la Biblioteca de este mismo nombre en el sitio en donde una vez estuviera la humilde residencia de [la] familia [de Batista]; la construcción de las Calles de Banes con profunda espesor de concreto y la construcción de la Carretera de Banes a Samá y a Guarda la Vaca, así como la de Banes a Holguín y como las innumerables casas que se construyeron en La Güira para sus amigos pobres.[423]

It is interesting that Osorio claims these works to be 'gifts' from Batista without questioning the source of these funds and why Batista chose to allocate such resources to his hometown and to construct houses for his poor friends. Furthermore, Osorio distinguishes between these 'gifts' and the other beneficiaries of Batista's government, which he lists as the following:

> Muchas instituciones privadas; como por ejemplo, la iglesia Católica, la sociedad Flor Crombet, [...] la sociedad Club Banes, [...] un llamado Reparto Belisario Batista constituido por casas [...] que les fueron dadas en forma permanente, a los vecinos pobres de las orillas del Río Banes cuando la creciente famosa del mismo destruyera viviendas [...] en aquella parte baja de la ciudad.[424]

There was popular confusion as to the source of funding for developments in Banes during Batista's administration. Although some may have been proclaimed as 'personal' donations from the President, the source of such funds inevitably came either openly from public institutions such as the lottery, or had been embezzled from these institutions.[425] The personalisation of these gifts is partly due to the pride his hometown expressed in having one of their own rise to become President of the

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[423] Ibid., pp.585-588.
[424] Ibid., p.588.
[425] Thomas, *Cuba,* p.736.

Republic, but it was also the nature of Batista's populist platform. Osorio goes to the extent of attributing the progress of the town of Banes to the luck of Batista having been born there: 'Un hecho circunstancial, como es el nacimiento de un hijo de nuestro término, determinó el auge de nuestro progreso como ciudad de primer orden en permanente crecimiento durante toda la etapa de la vida política cubana.'[426]

Objections to the national lottery as one of many institutions used by the politicians in power to graft funds, were at the heart of the opposition campaign in the 1944 elections. It was the common belief that of every 20 million dollars spent on government buildings, 12 million was embezzled.[427] Concerns were also raised by the various Churches about the 'obstacle' of the 'universal habit' of gambling in Cuba. One study claimed that in 1940, the average Cuban family spent 30 per cent of their budget on various forms of gambling. They suggest that poor members of their churches would spend a great deal more on the lottery than they would on their church. One catechist claimed that 'the two curses of the Negro are immorality and gambling,' and that 'the Negroes are exceedingly poor [...] they say they cannot give more, but, when questioned, acknowledge that all play the lotteries'.[428] Church opposition was, to a certain extent, based on their concern that the lottery represented direct financial competition with their institutions.

The Quaker 'Encounter' with President Batista, 1940-1944

Some of the most consistently taught values preached in the Quaker Churches and schools in Cuba included an intolerance towards alcohol, dancing, smoking, and gambling. However, the Cuban Quakers were continually short of funds for the up-keep of their Churches, the salaries of their teachers and pastors, the expansionism of their schools and the building of chapels in their rural missionary work. As we saw in Chapter Five, the AFBM radically reduced funds for the Cuban mission in the early 1920s. In 1925 the AFBM reached the conclusion that they could no longer financially support the Cuban Quakers, offering the mission to another Protestant

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[426] Osorio, *Banes,* p.590. (When he talks of 'la vida política cubana' he is alluding to the Republican period due to his opposition to the Revolutionary government of post 1959).
[427] Thomas, *Cuba,* p.736.
[428] Merle J. Davis, *The Cuban Church in a Sugar Economy* (New York/London: international Missionary Council, 1942) pp.89-90.

denomination. This action was rejected by Cuban Quakers who decided to continue the Quaker mission with reduced funds. The Banes Church was left without missionaries and from this point onwards was managed almost entirely by Cubans. Miguel Angel Tamayo became director of the Banes school and continued in this role for some 30 years without receiving a salary. His financial stability came from his pharmacy, and on occasion funds for the school were donated from his business.[429]

The Quaker school in Banes was the only one in town to teach to pre-university level. It grew in popularity, always filling its classrooms to over capacity, and although the Quakers gave scholarships to some poor children, particularly church members, many who wanted to complete their education could not afford the fees. The lack of space for the great number of children wanting to attend the Quaker school led, in the late 1930s, to a determination amongst Banes Quakers to expand the school grounds. The congregation did not have the funds for such a project, and although they could count on donations from the AFBM and from the UFC, this was still insufficient for the enlargement envisaged. The director of the school, Miguel Tamayo, was apparently close to President Batista from as early as 1938. It is interesting to note that the superintendent of the Quaker Cuban mission, a US missionary, forbade this relationship to be one that might result in a loss of integrity for Quaker life in Cuba, particularly concerning the peace testimony. The US missionary felt that Cuban society was becoming more materialistic and militaristic and he linked this observation to a visit by Batista:

> It is increasingly difficult to teach [a] Quaker way of life in an increasingly materialistic and militaristic world. Colonel Batista, the strong man of Cuba, in a recent visit to Oriente Cuba singled out Miguel A. Tamayo of our Banes school, in which school Batista was one time a pupil. He grabbed Miguel by the arm and said, 'How is the school?' He also spoke of other things of vital importance to education matters of Cuba. There are now more than a thousand of the so-called Batista schools throughout the Island. A number of

[429] Walter Tamayo. Cuban-American, previously a leading member of Banes Friends Church, his father was the director of the Quaker school in Banes, interviewed by author, 15th July 2002, Miami, US.

> our graduates are teachers. They all carry revolvers hanging by their sides even the lady teachers of these schools. The whole program of discipline is based upon a militaristic interpretation of what correct discipline is. Gradually this same interpretation is slipping into all the schools. And unfortunately our own schools are not free of military methods. Especially is this true in the preparation of the pupils for public parades and the like.[430]

However, it was the US secretary of the AFBM, Merle Davies, who first requested a meeting with Batista in 1939 to request a donation for the project of building a spacious school.[431] Batista promised two thousand dollars initially, which was realised in 1943, and the school was located on a central site leased from the UFC.[432] The construction site was opened with a ceremony attended by Batista's daughter, and the project, according to the Banes Quakers, was of profound interest:

> The President of the Republic, [Banes] city mayor, many friends of Friends and former students are encouraging us and promise their economic cooperation. The President and Secretary of the Board, the Joneses and the United Fruit Company, through some of its higher-level employees, demonstrate also the highest appreciation and the most definite cooperation in the extensive project of our brother Miguel A. Tamayo.[433]

The Banes mayor was greatly involved in helping Quakers raise money for the school. An Education and Welfare Foundation was created, and based in the mayor's office, to raise funds for the project. The mayor proposed that 'as a special assignment from the President of the Republic, we pledge ourselves to the construction of Friends School.'[434] It is clear that the Quakers were held in great esteem amongst the most influential members of Banes society.

This initial 'gift' from President Batista was considered as a 'personal' donation from a former pupil. Questions as to the integrity of Batista's 'personal' finances and

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[430] Brief summary report by the Quaker Superintendent in Cuba for the AFBM, March 1938, p.1. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*
[431] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, p.63.
[432] Longoria, 'The Friends School in Banes and Funds Derived from the National Lottery' p.3.
[433] Ibid., p.4.
[434] Ibid., p.4.

their source was not discussed at any time, despite the well documented cases of embezzlement and corruption carried out by Cuban Presidents and Batista's evident enrichment from his position in public office.[435] The Quaker school still lacked sufficient funds for completion and Tamayo, the school's director, sought a meeting with Batista at which he presented him with a portrait of the President as a young boy on the steps of the Quaker school.[436] Batista, therefore, promised a larger donation for the school, which, to the Quakers' surprise, came from national lottery funds. This caused dispute in the Quaker Church due to their having actively campaigned against all games of chance, and opposed the law passed in 1936 that legalised such activities.

The Foundation created by the mayor of Banes received over 57 thousand dollars from the national lottery, of which 25 thousand was designated for the Quaker school and the rest was for public works projects. In October 1944 another 15 thousand dollars was received by the Quakers from the lottery, which was given by the President to Miguel Tamayo who then transferred it to the Foundation. The Banes Monthly Meeting decided to accept the money without consulting the Yearly Meeting, the Cuban Quaker central body, on the matter. The clerk of the Cuba Yearly Meeting at the time was the pastor of the Banes church, and in 1945 the Yearly Meeting Education Commission described the donations as being from a former student, Fulgencio Batista, rather than from the national lottery.[437] Once it was acknowledged that this was not the case the source of funds was recorded as having come from the 'Republic of Cuba,' again avoiding acknowledgement that they originated from the national lottery.

Since Banes monthly meeting had grown to almost the size of all the other Cuban Quaker churches put together, it could quash criticism raised by Quakers from the other churches. The US Quaker superintendent at the time supported the Banes

[435] Thomas, *Cuba,* p.736. See also: Stokes, 'The "Cuban Revolution" and the Presidential Elections of 1948,' p.49.
[436] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, p.117.
[437] Longoria 'The Friends School in Banes and Funds Derived from the National Lottery', pp.4-5.

Quakers, suggesting that 'each Church and School is doing its own work in its own way, but I continue to feel that Banes points the way for all of us.'[438] He added that:

> I cannot but repeat my belief that Banes is the center of gravity and key to the future in Friends work in Cuba. The fact of the matter is that it has grown to a size and strength which begins to approximate the sum total of all the rest of our churches. [...] some of the 'missions' of the Banes meeting are stronger than several of the monthly meetings. Banes reports four active missions and there are other places where regular or occasional meetings are held.[439]

The director of the Banes school, Tamayo, excused the acceptance of lottery money by suggesting that 'if Cuban Friends were to be a truly national group, then they must share the bitter as well as the sweet of national life. If this method chosen by the President was humiliating to Friends then they must bear this humiliation in silence.'[440] It is not clear how such an explanation can justify the u-turn from Quaker dissent at a law introducing the legality of a national lottery system, to then accepting money from this same institution. The US mission board was aware of this contradiction and critical of the acceptance of such funds, but ultimately, they were aware of their own reluctance to fund the Cuban mission and, wanting the Cuban Quakers to manage and fund their own organisation, felt obliged to accept Tamayo's explanation.[441]

A Respite in Lottery Funding: the Auténtico period, 1944-1952

> The criticisms of the Batista regime were very severe and oft-repeated. Whether true or not, virtually all Cubans believe that his government was full of favoritism and that public office was used brazenly for personal gain. The army, it is said, grew fat on 'hush money' and it is true that on modest-salaries officials built mansions and bought plantations. The spring campaign

[438] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, February 20, 1946', Report to the AFBM, p.5. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[439] Ibid., pp.5-6.
[440] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, pp.117-118.
[441] Ibid., pp.117-118.

> of Ramón Grau San Martín was definitely a 'turn the rascals out' campaign.[442]

This statement by the US Quaker superintendent in 1945 regarding the infamous corruption of the Batista government, is one of the few judgements made by the Quakers regarding corruption in Cuba, but it does not link this criticism to the acceptance of funds by Quakers from Batista's government. Once Batista was no longer the President, Tamayo turned to the United Fruit Sugar Company (UFSC[443]) for further assistance for the Banes school, appealing to the company for money for scholarships for the children of employees that went to the school. In the 1945-46 school year, 115 of the children who attended the school came from 66 families of company employees.[444]

Although the *Auténtico* party had been elected on a platform of cleaning up government, their 1944 to 1952 administrations were renowned for blatant corruption and embezzlement carried out by officials at all levels, including Presidents Ramón Grau San Martín and Carlos Prío Socarrás.[445] However, these embezzled funds did not so readily find their way into Protestant school projects. Grau was a devout Catholic and although the Catholic Church denounced his government for harbouring Communists, his religious convictions reduced the likelihood of patronage to Protestant private schools. The Quaker superintendent further noted that Protestant Churches supported Grau's opposition to the lottery:

> There are those who feared Dr. Grau's intense loyalty to the Catholic Church, and it is certain that he does not harbor the same sympathy for Protestantism which Fulgencio Batista held, but recently certain Catholics have declared that he should be excommunicated from the Catholic Church because he has pacted with the Communists. Protestants generally have supported Grau

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[442] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, February 2, 1945', Report to the AFBM, p.1. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[443] In 1944 the UFC created the United Fruit Sugar Company, a separate company to manage their property in Cuba.
[444] Longoria 'The Friends School in Banes and Funds Derived from the National Lottery', p.5.
[445] Pérez, *Cuba*, pp.284-288.

> because of his stand against the lottery and vice in general and because he is believed to be a man of high personal moral integrity.[446]

Furthermore, the rhetoric of the Auténtico period as a 'Revolutionary' process that was devoted to 'Cubanidad' and opposition to US imperialism led to a less favourable investment atmosphere for US business interests. It is interestingly during this period that one Quaker US missionary, Hiram Hilty, highlights the popularity of Communism in Cuba and describes it as 'the most live religion in Cuba today.' However, he warns that 'anti-communism has become a much more militant force than communism' and warns of the churches' involvement in this fanatical anti-communism:

> Locally the Association of Catholic Teachers even solicited the cooperation of the Evangelical teachers in the anti-Communist campaign. Recently an out-door mass meeting of workers-against-communism drew several thousand people in Holguín. The Communists, for their part, echo the current Moscow line for Latin America, that this enormous pressure against Communism in Cuba is backed and financed by the capitalist-imperialist United States. Articles like the one by Miss Montgomery which are appearing in an increasing stream in the American press tend to confirm this contention in the Cuban mind.[447]

Hilty added that:

> Tracts filled with 'hell-fire' and other fear-creating matter do not conform to my notion of the way in which to impress people with the love of God, but two or three sects in Cuba apparently take an opposite view. They flood the countryside. Furthermore, such tracts are available in huge quantities gratis and even our own church leaders make use of them because of the very

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[446] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, February 2, 1945', Report to the AFBM, p.2. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[447] Hiram Hilty, 'Cuba Field Report, 1946,' Report to the AFBM received February 1947. p.2. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*

> persistence with which they fall into one's lap. They are read and they influence people. Cubans deserve to read something more noble.[448]

This was an important observation, and Zanetti and García have analysed the efforts that the UFC made to propagate anti-communist sympathies in Banes through a local radio station owned by the company, articles in the local paper and fliers, in the 1940s and 1950s, and particularly after the election of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala.[449] Hilty's statement is perhaps one of the few examples in which a Quaker missionary has discussed the wider political culture in Cuba at the time, amid an otherwise striking lack of debate with regard to important social issues amongst the Cuban Quakers. This can help us understand the lack of discussion regarding the origin of Quaker funding and the focus on enlargement regardless of the funding source of such projects.

The director of the Holguín Quaker school, Ramón Morell, was approached by a senator of the Cuban government offering the sum of 30 thousand dollars from the lottery towards the constructions being carried out at the school in 1948, but Morell turned down the offer due to Quaker opposition to gambling. He denounced the Banes school for not having done likewise:

> Naturalmente yo sé que decirle que nó a [senador] Luis y [su esposa] Angélica es muy diferente que decirle eso mismo al Presidente Batista. Pero bien, nuestra opinión es que la iglesia Cristiana tiene que mantener sus principios y sus enseñanzas en todo tiempo, o caerá en menosprecio rápidamente [...] La Iglesia Evangélica en Cuba ha vuelto los ojos a nosotros en ansiedad por este hecho.[450]

Although Morell's actions and convictions are consistent, like those of the US mission board, he is predominantly concerned with the Quakers' reputation amongst the other Evangelical churches. The Quaker school and church faced more

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[448] Hiram Hilty report for AFBM, March 1944, pp.1-2. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*
[449] Zanetti, and Garcia, *United Fruit Company,* pp.335-336.
[450] Ramón Morell, Letter written to Merle Davies of the AFBM on February 3rd 1953. Correspondence box, Ramón Morell File 1947-1953, *Friends Collection.* Translation in Appendix.

competition in Holguín, they were not in such a prominent position locally as the Quakers in Banes, and they were therefore more concerned with their reputation.

Batista's Military Regime of 1952-1959 Funds the Quaker School in Banes

> For all interested in political decency Batista's golpe in 1952 was intolerable, an event comparable in the life of an individual to a nervous breakdown after years of chronic illness.[451]

After the 1952 coup Batista was granted recognition by the US administration and he encouraged closer relations with the US, stimulating foreign investment with a range of tax exemptions. He also reduced controls on the outflow of profits, which not only increased the flight of a tremendous amount of capital to the US (some 378 million dollars in 1958) but also reduced Cuba's capability to diversify national industry. It was considered by US business that Cuba under Batista was generally business friendly, and by the end of 1958 investment in Cuba surpassed any other Latin American country with the exception of Venezuela. Although many US corporations continued to voice their concerns about the relaxed attitude towards unionisation and the government's support for workers' wage demands, it was generally considered that Cuba represented a stable and opportune place for making profits.[452]

The corrupt political system enabled the business community to obtain favours from government officials with whom they had close ties. Furthermore, the American Embassy acted as a liaison service between US business and the regime, facilitating US capital interests.[453] US support of the Batista regime was justified due to the ease with which US business could operate in Cuba and also due to Batista's anti-communist tendencies. During Batista's 1940 electoral campaign the Communist party was his strongest ally, but the political climate and his close financial and political ties to the US eroded this connection.[454] While the US administration voiced

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[451] Thomas, *Cuba*, p.789.
[452] Morley, 'The US Imperial State in Cuba 1952-1958,' pp.148-152.
[453] Ibid., p.152.
[454] Thomas, *Cuba,* p.721.

concerns over the regime's endemic corruption, in general US policy was to support the military regime and expand US economic enterprise on the island.[455]

Batista's coup also represented a return to his previous manipulation of lottery funds for political patronage. Once Batista was again the head of state, the Cuban Quaker, Miguel Tamayo, was swift in acquiring five thousand dollars for the school through Batista's wife Marta Fernández. Furthermore, the school was again the recipient of national lottery funds of some ten thousand dollars, and the lottery tickets advertised the destination of the funds as 'El Colegio de Los Amigos', the Quaker school.[456]

It appears that the AFBM was not informed about the decision to accept money from the national lottery, but instead found out from a newspaper, as Merle Davis, the Administrative Secretary at the time, describes:

> Hemos leído en el periódico una noticia que el presidente Batista concedirá los beneficios de unos sorteos de la lotería nacional al Colegio 'Los Amigos' en Banes. Naturalmente esta noticia nos ha causado bastante aprensión porque el juego, incluyendo la lotería, ha sido condenado como un vicio por las iglesias evangélicas.[457]

He adds that they were aware that funds had previously been used from the lottery and that this had caused some conflict amongst the Quakers, but he was concerned that the acceptance of further funds from the lottery would not only cause tension amongst Quakers, but also disapproval from other Evangelical churches.[458]

A letter to Davis from the director of the Holguín school describes a reunion of the leading Cuban Quakers concerning the issue of the lottery funds. The superintendent of the Quaker churches expressed that the members were saddened and troubled about this question. Tamayo, the director of the Banes Quaker school, explained that he had not approached Batista but rather that the President had always proposed the

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[455] Morley, 'The US Imperial State in Cuba 1952-1958,' pp.154-161
[456] Longoria 'The Friends School in Banes and Funds Derived from the National Lottery', p.6.
[457] Merle Davis, letter from the Board to the Cuban Quakers 27th January 1953, Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*
[458] Ibid.

donations. Although Tamayo pleaded with Batista not to declare the Quakers as recipients of the donations on the lottery tickets, Batista continued to ignore this request and the tickets sold throughout the island continued to name the Quakers as recipients of the lottery funds. This would suggest that Batista's motives for funding the school were for propaganda purposes, as the advertisement of donations to schools clearly advanced his popularity. The Quakers did not debate the implications that the acceptance of these donations might have within the Cuban political arena, or the integrity of the government with which they were dealing. The only criticisms concerned their integrity regarding the acceptance of money from the lottery. It was revealed in 1953 that a further 30 thousand dollars from the national lottery would be designated to the Quaker school in Banes, to be taken from an overall donation of 650 thousand dollars for public works in Banes.[459] As we saw in Chapter Five, the school had plans for a toy shop and a sweet shop for poor children to work in to pay for their fees.[460] The superintendent of the Quaker mission reported that:

> At the present time [1953, the school] is planning to construct and equip the shops in a new wing of the school building from money which is furnished by President Batista. [...] Many of the responsible members in the different monthly meetings have expressed sorrow at seeing the name of the Friends School in Banes on the National Lottery. A written statement has been prepared containing a note of censure and request that it shall not happen again.[461]

There were continual protests against such donations. Merle Davis, the executive secretary of the AFBM wrote a letter to six of the Quaker leaders in Cuba to explain his concerns regarding these funds, asking whether they believed that the end justified the means. While all of the Cuban leaders reiterated their disapproval of the lottery, two of them expressed a preference for accepting the President's donations. In response to this the Board sent a letter both to the Cuban Quakers and the Cuban Council of Churches outlining their disapproval of the national lottery and their

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[459] Ramón Morell, Letter written to Merle Davies of the AFBM on February 3rd 1953. Correspondence box, Ramón Morell File 1947-1953, *Friends Collection.*
[460] Miguel Tamayo, 'Report on Colegio Los Amigos, Banes Oriente' 1951. p.3. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[461] 'Report on Colegio Los Amigos, Banes Oriente' 1953, p.3. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*

regret that the Banes school was built and improvements made using this method of funding.[462] Davis added that:

> La iglesia es una institución más importante y más duradera que el presidente, o su gobierno aún, y existe principalmente para purificar la sociedad de sus males. Por lo tanto creemos que cuando haya diferencias entre los hábitos del estado y los principios permanentes de la moralidad enseñado por la iglesia que los principios de la iglesia deben predominar.[463]

The monthly meeting at Puerto Padre also lodged an official complaint to the Yearly Meeting of 1953, expressing regret that the Banes school had been funded by the lottery and asserting their wish that this never occur again.[464]

In 1956 Batista again donated eight thousand dollars from the national lottery to the school which was again accepted by the Banes monthly meeting. The construction committee that administered this money consisted of the Banes mayor, several Banes Quakers and the administrator of the UFSC.[465] Despite the criticisms by other Quakers throughout this period, the Banes Quakers continued to accept donations from the national lottery, and the Quakers maintained a rhetoric that eliminated the lottery as the source of donations, preferring to refer to the donations as having originated from the President or his government:

> The school in Banes has a good modern building and an extensive campus. Through the influence of the President, who was a poor student in this school in his childhood, gifts from the government have been received which have made possible the construction of the central building. [...] During the last two years a beautiful wooden two-storey dormitory for 50 boys and [...] 20 girls, has been built with the resources at the school and some help from the

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[462] Merle Davis, letter from the Board to the Cuban Quakers 25th March 1953, Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*
[463] Ibid.
[464] Longoria 'The Friends School in Banes and Funds Derived from the National Lottery', p.7.
[465] Ibid., p.8.

> United Fruit Company. [...] Dr. Miguel Tamayo [...] has been the director for more than 20 years.[466]

After the triumph of the Cuban Revolution the school was closed by the Department for the Recovery of Misappropriated Properties and faced charges concerning the improper use of funds during the Batista regime. The charges were dropped and the school returned to the Banes Quakers as all funds had been used openly and accountably. The school then functioned for two more years before being nationalised in 1961 along with all private schools in Cuba.[467]

It appears that throughout this period of funding from the national lottery, Batista's close relationship to his hometown, Banes, and to Tamayo helped aid the Banes Quakers develop projects without having to depend on the AFBM for support. It aided the 'self-sufficiency' of the Quaker organisation, but at the cost of the values purported to be at the heart of Quakerism. Both gambling and the militarisation of Cuban society concerned the US Quaker missionaries, but Quakers were a part of this community, and ultimately wanted to be accepted both among the influential and the poorer sectors of society. In 1941, on José Martí's birthday, the Quaker mission school celebrated with a parade. Alma Cox, a US missionary in Cuba, lamented that 'there was [...] a highly military spirit which we regretted to see. And remarks were made that Friends were preparing a future army. We know better as Friends, but seemingly the pull for popularity is stronger than faithfulness to Quaker principles.'[468]

The US mission board continued to fund some pastors and superintendents and contributed to construction work for the mission in Cuba, but this was with reluctance and they continually encouraged Cubans to raise their own funds: 'You will notice also that our committee feels that the portion of money coming from Cuba [for the construction of a second storey to the Holguín school in 1948] is too small and that a new effort should be made this spring to raise additional funds for

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[466] Juan Sierra, 'Cuba Yearly Meeting of Friends Report,' 1957, p.2. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[467] Longoria 'The Friends School in Banes and Funds Derived from the National Lottery', pp.8-9.
[468] Alma Cox, report for AFBM, December 1941, p.1. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*

this construction work.'[469] The AFBM criticised the Cuban funding obtained by the Banes Quakers, yet at the same time continually asserted pressure for the Cuban Quakers to find alternative funds to those from the Board.

The Close Relationship Between the Quakers and the United Fruit Company

Zanetti and García have shown, in their study of the UFC in Cuba, that the company had almost total control over the local economy and political institutions. From the creation of the Banes municipality, which was born partly out of UFC antagonisms with the Gibara authorities over taxes, the local Banes authorities depended on the company for funding, materials and loans for almost all public projects. Most of the leading local politicians worked for, or were linked to the UFC, lobbying on its behalf at local and central government levels.[470]

The local government became heavily indebted to the company and the relationship between the mayor and the UFC was based on a system of mutual favours. The local newspaper stated that the debt to the UFC came at a high price. Although Banes had gained a sewage system, with a 50 thousand dollar debt to the company, the paper estimated that taxes due to the town, from which the company had been exempt, would add up to the cost of the Havana sewage system in its entirety. In 1944 the UFC created the United Fruit Sugar Company (UFSC), a separate company just to manage their property in Cuba. The company was written in as having one thousand dollars in capital (although it was worth at least 25 million dollars), which reduced dramatically the taxes that the company needed to pay the Cuban government.[471] Valuing the property at less than its actual worth to avoid paying the taxes due was a general policy used by the UFC in many Latin American countries.[472]A corrupt system of patronage lay at the heart of local Banes politics, and the mayor and his

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[469] Merle Davis, letter from Merle Davies of the AFBM to Ramón Morell director of the Holguín Quaker school. February 13 1948. Correspondence box, Ramón Morell File 1947-1953, *Friends Collection.*

[470] Zanetti and García, *United Fruit Company,* pp.313-344.

[471] Ibid., p.102.

[472] See: Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Massachusetts/London: Harvard University Press 1999).

administration would do everything that the UFC prescribed in return for personal favours extended also to friends and family.[473]

Although the UFC had less power nationally in Cuba than in some Central American countries, due to its status as one US sugar company of ten, local politicians performed the lobbying it needed at the national level. Furthermore, the company found in Fulgencio Batista a keen ally. During the takeover of UFC property by strikers in 1933, it was ultimately the military who stopped the action on behalf of the company. Once Batista took control of central government in 1934, troops were sent to protect the UFC. When Batista visited Banes he was treated with distinction by the company, which held banquets in his honour at the exclusive American Club. On one occasion Batista was even accommodated in the UFSC manager's house. Batista's business friendly platform that particularly accommodated US interests, including tax exemptions, further reassured the company. After the 1952 coup, the captain at Mayarí ensured the UFSC that he would fully cooperate with the company, that he was under orders to 'control' the communists and that workers' protests would be stamped out.[474]

The Quaker church in Banes was considered as a 'necessity' for the US community in Cuba along with the introduction of other such US cultural forms such as baseball:

> Los norteamericanos, a partir de 1900 que se instalaron ya en sus casas de las calles Campana y Los Angeles, comenzaron a estructurar sus necesidades fundamentales como era la construcción de una iglesia a partir de 1903 que se introdujo la religión de cuáqueros [...] se construyen instalaciones deportivas, hace también el club americano [...] y también un campo para jugar beisbol. Por lo tanto Banes era uno de los pueblos donde primero se practica el beisbol posiblemente en nuestro país ya que a partir de la influencia de la presencia norteamericana pues comenzaron a jugarse el beisbol.[475]

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[473] Zanetti and García, *United Fruit Company,* pp.321-344.
[474] Ibid.
[475] Abel Tarragó, Local Banes historian, interviewed by author, on 18th august 2002, Banes, Cuba.

Although Protestantism and baseball constitute very different kinds of cultural influence, they are both emphasised by Pérez as US cultural forms that had a great impact on Cuban society. They both constituted places in which Cubans and US citizens met within a context of US hegemony.[476]

The friendship between the Quaker mission's superintendent, Zenas Martin, and Captain Lorenzo Baker of the Boston Fruit Company, initiated the close relationship between the UFC and the Quakers. However, despite Martin's initial misgivings about not wanting to be in the shadow of a 'soulless corporation,' he maintained a close relationship with the UFC, later becoming a prosperous *colono* (a landowner who sells produce to the sugar mills). The Methodists, who also had close links to the UFC, expressed more concerns about the way in which Cuban workers were being treated by the company.[477] Little was mentioned in Quaker minutes or articles about their links with the UFC apart from praise and thanks for funding received. The 1918 Cuban Quaker annual conference was held in Banes and the Quakers officially thanked the rail companies and the Cuban Company for discounting their tickets for travel. They also thanked the UFC for the services that it lent the conference.[478]

Quite apart from the initial funds given by the UFC for the establishment of the Quaker Church in Banes, there were continual funds and aid for the construction and expansion of Church and school buildings, and travel between the Quaker stations in Cuba was subsidised by the UFC owned rail company. The land on which the Quaker properties were located was leased at the symbolic price of one peso or dollar per year, and this arrangement continued throughout the period of the Republic in Cuba. For example, land was leased by the UFC in 1956 for one peso, for student halls for interns of the Quaker school.[479] Furthermore, Quaker services were occasionally attended by UFC officials, some of whom became involved in the

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[476] Pérez, *On becoming Cuban.*
[477] Ibid., pp.231-232.
[478] Minutes of the fourteenth Quaker annual conference, June 1918, in 'Primeras Actas de Constitución de la Iglesia Cuáquera en Cuba', p.141. Holguín Quaker Archive.
[479] Managers Letters 11th July 1950, *Archivo del Museo Histórico*, Banes.

Quakers' English-speaking activities. One made generous donations including a pulpit.[480]

The UFC's manager greeted Quaker missionaries on arrival in Banes and invited them to stay at the exclusive American Club. As the Quaker missionary Henry Cox wrote in 1937:

> Economically the Friends of Banes are by far the strongest of the four Friends centers [in Cuba], yet have the poorest physical equipment, [the] buildings consist of church, home and school and another building leased from the United Fruit Company at the nominal rental of one dollar per year. It helps meet the needs of the expanding school. [...] We [Mr and Mrs Cox] were lodged in the spacious and comfortable American Club. With Dr. and Mrs. Tamayo we had lunch with Mr. and Mrs. E.S. Walker, general Manager of the Banes Department of the United Fruit Company.[481]

One of the reasons that the Banes church and school turned to Batista for extra funds was due to this apparent need to refurbish the mission's 'physical equipment'. The search for extra funds was carried out despite the claim that the UFC was always willing to help the Quakers economically and in every way possible to ensure that the missionaries were comfortable when they visited Banes:

> La United Fruit, lo que sí tenía siempre influencia es en el sentido de apoyar a la iglesia y ayudar a la iglesia. Siempre los ayudaron en todo económicamente, en la construcción, en la reparación, en todas las cosas que lo necesitó la iglesia, siempre la compañía lo ayudaba. Cuando venían los misioneros donde paraban era en el Club Americano, cuando venía algún visita se hospedaba allí, la compañía le daba comida, le daba toda la atención.[482]

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[480] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, p.43.
[481] Henry Cox, Cuba, brief summary report for AFBM, March 1937, p.8. Correspondence box, File 1935-1951, *Friends Collection.*
[482] Abel Tarragó, Local Banes historian, interviewed by author, 18th august 2002, Banes, Cuba.

The headmaster of the Quaker school in Banes from 1925 to 1960, Dr. Miguel Tamayo, was particularly close to Mr and Mrs Walker of the UFC. Mrs Walker worked as a voluntary teacher for a time in the Quaker school and Tamayo could rely on the Walkers to assist the church and school whenever it was needed.[483] Tamayo had gone to the Quaker school himself and later went to study in the US, gaining a pharmacy degree at Philadelphia College. He established a pharmaceutical business in Banes and worked as the headmaster of the Quaker school on a voluntary basis. As Hilty states: 'Dr. Tamayo's mastery of English was always of great value to him in his dealings with Americans, whether the missionaries or the United Fruit Company.'[484]

Tamayo's work as headmaster of the Quaker school gave him a tremendous amount of influence and respect in Banes. For a brief period in August 1933, after the fall of Machado, he held office as leader of the local government, albeit for less than a month before being replaced by military personnel.[485] Tamayo was a success story for the Quakers that shows how a combination of a Quaker education and a good command of the English language helped middle-class Cubans to negotiate an influential space in the UFC dominated society. Tamayo strove to shape the Quaker school in the image of Berea College, a college he attended during his time in the US, which further demonstrates the success that Quaker schools had in bringing Cubans closer to US cultural norms and education. They brought particularly middle-class Cubans closer to the 'terms of their reality [which] were largely defined by North Americans.'[486]

It is clear that the Quakers benefited financially from their close links to the UFC, but the important question here is also what the UFC gained from this relationship. The original motives for having the Quakers on their land may be different from some of the resulting benefits that they discovered later. Firstly it was stated both by the Manager of the UFC and Tarragó that the UFC wanted a US Protestant school and church in their midst, both to educate the US children and because it was a

[483] Walter Tamayo. Cuban-American, previously a leading member of Banes Friends Church, his father was the director of the Quaker school in Banes, interviewed by author, 15th July 2002, Miami, US.
[484] Hilty, *Friends in Cuba*, p.129.
[485] Amat Osorio, *Banes*, p.580.
[486] Pérez, *On becoming Cuban*, p.231.

'fundamental necessity' to the US community.[487] This would suggest that initially support for the establishment of the Quaker church and school was to provide a service to the US citizens as a separate community within Banes. The UFC's motives for such a relationship was not therefore solely to promote US religion, culture and education within the Cuban community in Banes. However, the Quaker missionaries were much more interested in reaching the Cuban community, as lessons and sermons were in Spanish and it was the evangelisation of the Cubans that concerned them.

US influenced education, including English and business courses focussing on typing and accounting, promoted by the church and school, acted as a bridge between the US and Cuban community in Banes. If Cubans wanted to work at the UFC and gain promotion within the company they would aspire to attend the business and English courses offered at the Quaker school. The UFC, therefore, gained workers who would have been trained in US Protestant values and work ethic. As Tarragó puts it:

> Yo considero que eso [la iglesia y la escuela de los Amigos] formaba parte de la estructura que ellos [UFC] daban a los lugares donde ellos ocupaban el territorio porque no solamente era explotar a los trabajadores, como fuese el trabajo [...] sino que hacía falta que el trabajador tuviera un lugar donde participar de otras actividades, entonces eso ayudaba a que fuera más disciplinado, más preparado, porque él que participaba en las actividades de la iglesia era una persona con más nivel, más disciplinado, más culto, más preparado. Si no había iglesia y no había escuela pues ese trabajador se convertía en un problema para la compañía, es decir en una persona más difícil de manipular, más difícil de utilizar en los trabajos.[488]

Cuban Quakers not only gained employment with the UFC but also with other US businesses with which the Quakers had connections. José Reyes, who was at the Puerto Padre Quaker school, was employed at the Chaparra Sugar Company, while

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[487] Abel Tarragó, Local Banes historian, interviewed by author, 18th august 2002, Banes, Cuba and the Managers Letters, January 27th 1901, *Archivo del Museo Histórico*, Banes.
[488] Abel Tarragó, Local Banes historian, interviewed by author, 18th august 2002, Banes, Cuba.

Pedro Font, one of the ministers at Puerto Padre, also worked as a banker for the Chaparra Company.[489] Although the UFC was the largest business donor to the Quakers, the US based Chaparra Sugar Company was also influential and donated money to the Quakers in Puerto Padre, Chaparra and Velasco. In the Quaker annual conference minutes of 1924, a debt is mentioned that the Velasco church owed to the Chaparra Company.[490] Puerto Padre Quakers acquired land to construct a chapel in Delicias in 1951 with land given by Chaparra Sugar Company.[491] Although the Quaker presence in the town of Chaparra was small, they hoped to establish a school there, probably in the style of the Banes school, but this never materialised to any significant degree:

> The good price which is being paid at the present time [1951] for sugar and the fact that the mill at Chaparra has recently installed the best machinery to be found in the world for the production of sugar, has caused this town of Chaparra to grow to greater and greater importance. Because of this Friends there are confronted with a great opportunity. Pedro Font, as honorary pastor and as an employee in the finance department of the company, is doing the best he can but without much success. [...] Friends in Chaparra are thinking that it would be desirable to have an assistant pastor and to establish a school.[492]

The Quaker link to other US business in the region, apart from the UFC, demonstrates the common objectives between the Quakers and US business interests and supports Pérez's assertion that due to UFC funding, the Quaker schools were 'obliged to help integrate Cubans into North American structures and the larger normative system on which they were based.'[493] The business school and English classes prepared them for employment in US business or for political dealings with

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[489] Pérez, *On becoming Cuban,* pp.231-232.
[490] Minutes of the twentieth Quaker annual conference in Cuba, June 1924, in 'Primeras Actas de Constitución de la Iglesia Cuáquera en Cuba', p.193. Holguín Quaker Archive.
[491] Juan Sierra, 'Cuba Yearly Meeting of Friends in Cuba Report,' 1951. p.3. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[492] Juan Sierra, 'Cuba Yearly Meeting of Friends in Cuba Report,' 1951. p.2. Correspondence box, File 'Cuba Reports 1935-1951,' *Friends Collection.*
[493] Pérez, *On becoming Cuban,* p.230.

the company. Upward mobility was closely linked to a US based education that helped Cubans relate to a US dominated society.

Charles Wilson's study of the United Fruit Company's history up to the 1940s gives insight into the company's attitude towards Central America as another frontier for 'Americans' to conquer. As Wilson puts it 'The frontier is no theorist's dream. It was and is a way of thinking and working made possible by the existence of free, or practically free, land for easy taking.'[494] This ethos also applied to Cuba post-1898. The devastation of land as a result of the independence wars, which left many landowners bankrupt or indebted, was seen as an economic opening for US business. The US occupation in Cuba and the changes to the laws on the demarcation of lands gave the US business community easier access to buy up land in Cuba. The popular belief that Cuba would eventually be annexed to the US and constituted another frontier to be conquered, aided the rush to buy land in Cuba.

Thomas O'Brian details how US business transformed Cuba during the republican period. He shows how the 'American corporate culture' penetrated Cuban society and analyses the impact this had on working and middle class Cubans. He claims that US corporate culture, namely the rationalisation of the work force, introduction of science-based technology, and a more individualised and competitive environment, led to resistance in the form of strike action and consumer boycotts during the 1933-1935 period. The attitude of superiority demonstrated by US businessmen contributed considerably to middle class protest as US management treated the Cubans as innately inferior and skilled Cuban workers saw their job possibilities taken by US 'experts'.[495]

The attitudes of superiority held by US business management and their paternalist role within Banes society extended to the supposed benevolent contributions made by the UFC to the community. The hospital in Banes was only accessible to workers of the company who paid health care premiums and was not extended to the community as a whole. Racist attitudes also prevailed limiting treatment of West

[494] Charles Morrow Wilson, *Empire in Green and Gold: The Story of the American Banana Trade*, (Henry Holt and Company, 1947) p.4.
[495] Thomas F. O'Brien, 'The Revolutionary Mission: American Enterprise in Cuba', *American Historical Review*, June 1993, pp.765-785.

Indian and Afro-Cuban workers to the hospital patio where a second rate service was administered:

> Existía un hospital que hizo la *United Fruit* donde también existía la discriminación. Por ejemplo, se hizo una sala en el patio independiente del hospital, para atender a los jamaicanos y los haitianos, entonces las personas del color blanco eran atendidos en el hospital con la división de que los cuartos privados, cuartos especiales con una sola cama o dos camas, eran para personas de nivel, es decir jefes de altos niveles y había un cuarto especial para norteamericanos cerrado incluso con una cadena y un candado [...] allí solamente ingresaban personas norteamericanas, trabajadores de la compañía porque en el hospital no tenían el derecho todas las personas de Banes sino los trabajadores de la compañía.[496]

The Quaker school in Banes, on UFC land, was a part of the social structure controlled by the UFC. The UFC's funding of the Quaker school was reciprocated in that the school offered English language and business training to Cubans who would graduate to become UFC employees. The promotion of a Protestant work ethic of hard work, abstinence, as well as comprehension of the English language were valuable assets to the UFC.

The Triangle of Reciprocity

A triangle of influential local entities exchanged funding and favours, reinforcing their positions and helping ensure the successful enlargement of the Quaker school in Banes. The United Fruit Company, the authorities (both local and central) and the Banes school worked closely to ensure expansion including adding a new business school. This triangle represented the basis on which local and national politics were administered, through political patronage and US corporate power. In the previous section I discussed the close relationship between the UFC and the Quakers; here I place this bond within the local and national political context of corruption,

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[496] Abel Tarragó, Local Banes historian, interviewed by the author, 18th august 2002, Banes, Cuba. Translation in Appendix.

patronage and ultimately the continuation of the political elite's power base within the local Banes community.

It may seem unfair to charge the Banes Quaker school with having entered into a 'national' system of political patronage supported and promoted by US business interests. However, there are three factors that demonstrate Banes Quakers' compliance with the powerful local, national and international political elite. Firstly, the receipt of funds from a corrupt public institution, which the Quakers acknowledged the national lottery to be. Secondly, the acceptance of donations from a military regime already four years into its tenure, with a well documented reputation for corruption, and finally, Quaker dependence on the US-based UFC for funds, land leases and materials. Working closely with the local and national elites ensured the continuation of the status quo. It also aided the President to gain advertising from his donations to the school, which helped legitimate his regime. Furthermore, as Tarragó suggests, the UFC gained compliant citizens as the school taught some of the workers of the UFC and their children a work ethic that would ultimately make them more likely to be employed and promoted within the UFC. This in turn would make the graduates of the school more acceptable candidates for the local political elite. Although there were scholarships available, and some poor children could get an education at the school, (Batista being the most obvious example) the predominant trend was the perpetuation of a cycle, controlled and manipulated by the UFC, that kept the town subservient to a system of favours given by the Company in return for a financial debt too great ever to be repaid, and an eternal debt of gratitude to the company that controlled the key institutions in Banes society.

This is not to suggest that Quaker dealings regarding the Banes school expansion knowingly promoted the perpetuation of a corrupt political elite. It is unlikely that the Quakers consciously promoted this agenda, rather they were inevitably part of this system due to their closeness to US culture and their financial dependency. This cultural familiarity is demonstrated not only through US missionary influences and the close connection to the UFC, but the leading Cuban Quakers also demonstrated this closeness, especially as the director of the school in Banes was a former pupil, had spent many years in the US and spoke excellent English.

Although the encounter between Batista as President of the Cuban Republic and the Cuban Quakers was effectively a 'Cuban' encounter, the terms in which donations from the President favoured the private sector could still be attributed, to an extent, to US constraints on the Cuban economy. Yet, it is clear that corruption and patronage within the Cuban political system cannot be attributed solely to US economic and political pressures. US authorities expressed concerns regarding the evident corruption in Batista's regime post-1952.[497] However, it is evident that Washington focussed primarily on favourable conditions for US economic interests in Cuba, particularly with regard to low business taxes and a continued reciprocal economic relationship favouring Cuban dependency on US imports and sugar exports. Batista helped ensure this, and was therefore awarded US loans and support, and the administration in Washington did not take action regarding the embezzlement of public funds in Cuba. This, of course, had an effect on the overall political culture in Cuba both nationally and locally. It is fair to suggest, therefore, that the President's donations to the Quakers constituted a part of the relationship that Cuba held with the US at the time, and that a lack of US condemnation of Batista's corrupt and illegal military regime may have dissuaded Quaker rejection of the donations in question.

The Quakers, throughout the 1940s and 1950s debated their opposition to the national lottery and the disgrace that the acceptance of lottery funds had on the organisation, but at no time was the corrupt source of Presidential funds considered. Had the donations come from Batista's 'personal' bank roll, as opposed to the national lottery, then it is unlikely that any objection would have been raised whether from US or Cuban Quakers. It would have been considered as a donation from 'a former student of the school'. This is how the first donation from Batista was described, and it places a smoke screen over discussions regarding the source of such personal funds.

The Cuban Quakers had faced a considerable cut in funds from their US funding body and, despite continued requests for more funds, they were left short, which

[497] Morley, 'The US Imperial State in Cuba 1952-1958,' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (May, 1982) p.154.

created difficulties in paying teachers and carrying out construction projects for the schools and churches. Their church congregations were made up of predominantly poor rural Cuban communities, although the Banes community was considerably wealthier, as most of the congregation were employees of the UFC, even they could only afford the pay of the pastor and some other related expenses. The extension of the school in Banes needed alternative funding, and although a contribution from the AFBM was forthcoming it was not enough to meet the ambitions held by the Banes Quakers. A considerable donation, including the leasing of the land and other benefits came from the UFSC. However, these sources of income were still insufficient and the Quakers turned to the public funds and donations of President Batista. This might not have been the case had the US mission board offered adequate funding, but the ambition for Cuban 'self-sufficiency' as a means to 'nationalising' the mission reduced the Board's will to contribute sufficient funds. The Board continually pleaded with Cubans to raise funds from their congregations. Although the Holguín Quaker school director refused to accept national lottery money, and continued to rely on the slow and nominal flow of funds from the Board, the school had a considerable amount of competition by the 1940s and could not afford to stain its reputation in a city where it had become one school among many. The Banes school, on the other hand, was the only school that taught to a pre-university level in the town, and was seen as the leading school in the community. The Quakers in Banes therefore put the planned expansions of the school before considerations regarding the moral reputation of the school's funding, especially as Banes was Batista's home town and his Presidential donations were considered as the charitable 'gifts' of a former resident.

I do not propose that local actors could not influence a particular version of the dominant US culture in their midst, but rather that any influence would be reinterpreted by the dominant US elite within a general culture of empire. This study supports research carried out by Amy Kaplan who does not condemn the world to US cultural imperialism, but instead helps explain this imperialism through the analysis of US cultures of empire. The promotion of US culture as superior, combined with racist attitudes that prevailed at the time, blocked any true ability to 'exchange' cultural influences.

The Quaker missionaries who went to Cuba did not want to 'Americanise' the Cubans, but as one Quaker pastor recently acknowledged, they failed in this respect.[498] The reason they failed was due to the generalised attitudes of US superiority as an integral part of their outlook and actions. Similarly the UFC may not have had a cultural agenda that involved a premeditated initiative to impose their culture on Cubans through the funding of Protestant Churches or schools in their communities. The UFC's initial concerns were to provide facilities for the US community in Banes. However, once the society had been established along hierarchical lines beneficial to the UFC and US citizens in the community, it was clear that the Quaker church and school served to facilitate and reinforce the structures put in place by the UFC.

To argue that there was an atmosphere of 'cultural exchange' in the town of Banes becomes almost a moot point because of the political culture that revolved around the machinations of a US company and its system of corruption, debt, and favours that ultimately promoted a culture of gratitude despite the fact that the UFC was not paying the taxes needed for the community's well-being. The company's clear objective was to enhance profit, not to exchange or learn from Cuban culture. In addition, the company would counter anti-imperialist sentiment in Cuba with anti-communist propaganda that even reached the Cuban Quaker pulpits. The culture the UFC promoted was one of patronage and corruption.

The US missionaries whose aim was to convert the Cubans, were closer to them on a daily basis, and continually expressed an attitude of cultural superiority inhibiting acceptance of a Cuban culture they regarded as inferior to their own. The missionaries' promotion of US culture, with the often expressed argument that the Cubans needed to be more like the 'Americans' to progress, combined with their close connection to the US based UFC and the political elite that supported US business interests, did not encourage an atmosphere of cultural exchange.

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[498] Heredio Santos, Minister of the Banes Friends Church, interviewed by the author 8th February 2001, Banes, Cuba.

Conclusion

From the outset the US Quaker missionaries were influenced by the discourse of 'Empire' emanating from the US when they embarked on their mission to Cuba. The missionaries' motives were the product of the historical development of Quaker evangelism in the US, at a time of Manifest Destiny, the belief that the US had created a superior society that should be spread to underdeveloped areas. The Quaker missionaries' felt the need to make their contribution to the 'saving' of Cuba, following the lead offered by the US military, believing their actions to be heroic and sought gratitude from the Cubans in return.

The Quaker missionaries presented what they considered to be a Quakerism that was 'pure' as opposed to the 'ignorance and superstition' of the Catholic Church and other Cuban religions. The missionaries also regarded the characteristics of US business and politics as superior, and when this was left unacknowledged, it was often considered that the Cubans were demonstrating a lack of 'gratitude' to their superiors. The Quaker links to US business assisted the promotion of the 'American Way'.

With the benefit of hindsight some missionaries expressed regret at the consequences of US dominance in Cuba, although Christian evangelisation was not considered as a contributing factor influencing this domination. Furthermore, much of the Quaker missionary actions and close ties to US business did not adhere to such reservations. The superintendent of the Quaker mission worked closely with the United Fruit Company, later becoming a sugarcane landowner selling his produce to the company.

The US Quakers were close to the Cubans on a daily basis. One missionary expressed a will to go to Havana to learn from the Cuban Quaker ministers that were established on the island before the arrival of the US missionaries. The US missionaries further claimed that their aims were not to 'Americanise' the Cubans except for when the essentials of Christianity coincided with American customs. However, it was the interconnectedness of the missionaries' Christian culture with

the historical and political moment in which they lived that led to the internalising of a culture of empire and assumptions of superiority. Amy Kaplan analyses the integral nature of US cultures of empire and the denial of this empire or its representation as unique or benevolent.[499] Exemplary of Kaplan's thesis was the Quaker missionaries' use of a paternalist discourse towards the Cubans, repeatedly referring to them as children in need of US supervision. Their beliefs in US religious and cultural superiority blocked any real ability of the cultural encounter to be considered as an exchange, as Gilbert Joseph and other scholars would propose. This was not due to the missionaries unwillingness to value 'Cuban' cultures, but rather due to the historical circumstances that led to the internalising of a culture of empire emanating from the US at the time.

Despite both the US missionaries' and AFBM's assertions that they wanted to create a 'self-sufficient' Cuban Quakerism, the missionaries continually expressed a lack of faith in the Cubans' ability to govern the mission, reflecting the attitudes of the US authorities towards the uprisings in Cuba that encouraged repeated US intervention. During the first three decades of the Republic in Cuba nationalist sentiment grew, and was particularly directed against the Platt Amendment and US interference on the island. However, there was little mention by US missionaries of important political movements in Cuba throughout this period, and when there was it tended to reflect a disparaging of the Cuban nationalist movements particularly the Grau San Martín government, which was not recognised by US authorities.

The US Quaker mission cannot be described as nurturing an organic Cuban Quakerism. One missionary stated that the Cuban Quakers in 1960 resembled the US Mid-Western Quakers of 1900. It was a Quakerism of the pioneers who had been portrayed as heroes and who portrayed themselves as heroes. The values imported by the missionaries, such as temperance, became central to the Quakers in Cuba, while issues of national social concern were sidelined.

Pérez, Yaremko and Crahan argue that US Protestant missionaries disseminated not just their religious beliefs, but also the US political and economic institutions of their

[499] Kaplan, 'New Perspectives on US Culture and Imperialism,' pp.11-19.

homeland.[500] They believed that through education their 'civilising' mission could nurture Cubans worthy of these imported values and institutions. The business and English language focus coupled with the promotion of the Protestant work ethic in more general terms, gave Cubans easier access to work in US companies, entrenching US hegemony on the island. Furthermore, class and race divisions were accentuated in the larger of the Quaker schools as they charged fees and targeted what they described as the 'better' elements of Cuban society. Although scholarships were available, they tended to go to Quaker children of the local church rather than the wider community. Discussions regarding the possibility of denying black Cubans access to a planned boarding school on the out-skirts of Holguín were only rejected on the grounds that this would be difficult to administer. The Quaker schools tended to enrol middle-class white Cubans, and it was through the schools that they hoped to nurture a Cuban Quaker leadership and, more ambitiously, local and national political leaders.

Promotion within the Quaker mission for Cubans inclined towards a belief in the benefits of US business and culture further distanced them from creating what could be considered as an organic 'Cuban' form of Quakerism. The influence that the 'Black Legend' had in terms of intolerance towards Catholicism and the racist attitudes towards religions originating in Africa, combined to form an intolerance towards much of what many Cubans had amalgamated into their national cultural identity. This intolerance and the conviction in US Quaker beliefs as 'pure' discouraged an attitude of exchange with regard to the diversity of Cuban cultures. Instead the aim was, through education, to supervise a Cuban Quakerism in the image of the pioneers' Quakerism, which was ultimately a combination of their own cultural, religious and political history.

The US Quaker missionaries insisted that the Cubans required US supervision. As late as 1948 the last US Quaker representative left Cuba arguing this point. The Cubans, on the other hand, maintained that their lack of independence was due to a financial dependency on the American Friends Board of Missions (AFBM). Although the AFBM encouraged the Cuban Quakers to become 'self-sufficient' as a

[500] See: Pérez *On becoming Cuban.* Yaremko, *U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba.* Crahan, 'Religious penetration and Nationalism in Cuba'.

means to nationalising the Cuban mission, most congregations could not raise the money for their pastors and much less the maintenance and expansion projects they had planned for their churches and schools. Banes was the mission station that became most independent of the AFBM, due to the donations they received from the UFC, the wealthier members of their congregation, and the national lottery administered by Fulgencio Batista, a native of the town.

The acceptance of national lottery money by the Cuban Quakers in Banes was contested by Cuban and US Quakers alike. In Holguín the director of the school turned down the offer of national lottery funds. However, these protests targeted the nature of the lottery as gambling rather than the corrupt administration of the lottery system itself. The affinity that many Cuban Quaker leaders had with US culture, partly a consequence of their education in the Quaker schools and periods at schools in the US, led to their integration into a system of patronage between the local, national and US political elite that dominated the town of Banes. The project for the expansion of the Banes school was predominantly funded by donations from the UFSC and the local and national authorities. The building of a business school, with many of its graduates later working for the UFSC, gave graduates access to the political elite, and further incentive for the donations. The UFSC controlled and manipulated most of the institutions and services in Banes, and functioned within a corrupt system of patronage with the ruling local elite in which loans and 'gifts' would be forthcoming from the company in exchange for tax exemptions. Although it is unlikely that Quakers wanted to promote the perpetuation of a corrupt political elite, their closeness to US culture and connections to the UFSC incorporated them into these structures of patronage and corruption.

Batista advertised his benevolent donations to the school on the lottery tickets sold, and was always eager to invest in his home town of Banes. In 1956, four years after the military coup, when corruption in Batista's administration was evident and acknowledged by the US government, the Quakers in Banes accepted further donations from Batista's national lottery. The Cuban Quakers followed the missionary example which helped place them, and particularly their school, within the more powerful and influential elements of society. Rather than questioning the corrupt nature of local, national and UFC politics they became part of this system

that funded their school and brought them closer to what they considered as a 'self-sufficient' and 'Cuban' Quaker organisation. It is interesting that the main rationale offered by Banes Quakers for accepting lottery money, is that it was an integral part of national life, therefore making the Quakers more 'Cuban'. As Miguel Tamayo suggested, they had to take 'the bitter with the sweet' of Cuban life, but it was not corruption that was an inherent part of Cuban culture, but the perpetuation of corruption that aided US business culture and a Cuban political elite that benefited from US political patronage.

Ultimately the source of funding for the Cuban Quaker project, the motives and outcomes of this funding, are what defined the context in which Cuban Quakerism would develop. Ideas regarding what it meant to be a 'Cuban Quaker' were torn between abstract values imported by the US Quaker missionaries and the survival of the organisation within a Cuban political system fraught with contradictions, and ultimately dominated by its relationship with US business interests.

Considering the political, historical and economic context in which the Quaker mission encountered its Cuban community, the encounter could not be considered an exchange. The attitudes of religious, racial and cultural superiority, connections between the US Quakers and US business interests and the promotion within the mission of Cubans who perpetuated US forms, combined to make any cultural exchange problematic. This highlights an evident flaw in Gilbert Joseph and other scholars' interpretation of the study of cultural encounters in Latin America. When studying cultural encounters between US institutions and Latin American communities a detailed analysis of the historical, political and cultural context in which these encounters occur needs to be emphasized. One question that future analysis will determine is whether the 1959 Revolution resulted in a more 'Cuban' Quakerism, breaking its dependence on US institutions for finance and supervision.

The importance of the historical moment and the internalisation of cultures of empire are fundamental to the conclusions of this thesis. One of the main reasons for studying the past is to further understanding of the present. The historical moment in which we live and the prevailing attitudes of our times can provoke a sense of religious and cultural superiority that, combined with political, military and

economic expansionism, justify an 'Empire' as superior to the 'Other'. The contemporary political and cultural moment is different in many ways to the period studied in this thesis, but there are also many continuities. US expansionism in the interest of the domestic financial elite is evident in many global encounters in the contemporary world, and cultural and religious US influences continue to play an integral part with regard to the promotion of US forms as superior and civilised as opposed to the barbaric other.

Religious forces of good and evil have played an important part in the rhetoric used by many US administrations. The symbolic discourse of an 'Evil Empire' during the Ronald Reagan administration and George W Bush's 'Axis of Evil' speech continue a pattern necessary for the presentation of the US empire's cultural and religious superiority over the Other. The justification of an empire always relies on the demonising of the 'evil other'. Kaplan claims that discourse regarding a US empire is silenced and that 'imperial politics denied at home are visibly projected onto demonic others abroad, as something only they do and we do not.'[501] During the American-Cuban-Spanish war rhetoric used exaggerated the 'Black Legend' and discourse used by US missionaries portrayed Catholicism as 'ignorant and superstitious' and demonised African religions in Cuba. The creation of an 'evil other' is necessary for the justification of the US empire's cultural and religious forms as superior, civilised and worthy of export.

The role that the Protestant religion plays within US cultures of empire should never be underestimated. The US administration has always used religious rhetoric to justify much of its actions. This thesis cites examples of US discourse regarding the Manifest Destiny and the superiority of US 'civilisation'. US President George W Bush is a devout evangelical Christian and has stated that he believed God wanted him to run for Presidency and has claimed that he had been called upon by God to go to war with Iraq, a war that was originally described as a Crusade.[502] Throughout this thesis it has been demonstrated that official and media discourses influence the attitudes of Protestants establishing missions abroad.

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[501] Kaplan, 'New Perspectives on US Culture and Imperialism,' p.13.
[502] Greg Austin, Todd Kranock and Thom Oommen 'God and War: An Audit and an Exploration' *http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/world/04/war_audit_pdf/pdf/war_audit.pdf* accessed on 15th August 2004, pp.29-35.

The 1990s in Cuba witnessed an upsurge in religious activity and Cuban membership to evangelical churches. The reasons for this are diverse: The Cuban government became more cooperative with religious institutions in the 1980s that were influenced by liberation theologians, reducing some discrimination towards the religious community. The economic crisis of the early 1990s further led Cubans to seek alternative solutions to their social and spiritual concerns leading many to join church congregations. It is also important to acknowledge the funds made available by US authorities for Protestant evangelical organisations with connections to Cuba and the ease at which US citizens can obtain religious visa's to enter Cuba compared to any other travel arrangements to the Island.[503] The motives for such funds should be analysed within a context of the cultures of empire hypothesis.

The motives and objectives of Protestant missionary activity in Cuba and influences that US authorities, media and prevailing attitudes have on these missions are crucial. This thesis demonstrates that even when the intention is not to 'Americanise' cultures encountered, divorcing 'Christian' values from missionaries' US cultural values is problematic. Notions of religious, racial or cultural superiority, combined with political and economic expansionism embody the culture of imperialism and describing it as a cultural exchange diverts attention from the nature of this historical and political phenomenon.

[503] For more information regarding US Government funds for religious organisations visit the 'Round Table on Religion and Social Welfare Policy', a project of the Rockefeller Institute of Government: http://www.religionandsocialpolicy.org/ accessed on 16th September 2004. For information regarding the US government's policy towards promoting Protestant and other religious activity in Cuba, by 'assistance and training to Cuban churches through streamlining licensing procedures and expanding outreach to those organizations' while limiting tourism, business and other travel to Cuba see the US Department of State's website: 'Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba' released by the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, 6th May 2004, http://www.state.gov/p/wha/rt/cuba/commission/2004/32238.htm accessed on 16th September 2004.

Appendix

All translations have been carried out by the author.

Chapter 3

Page 52

La iglesia Protestante guarda, a pesar de sus limitaciones, la semilla de la libertad humana.

The Protestant church holds, despite its limitations, the seed of human liberty.

Page 53

Si bien es cierto que en 1898 el presidente y el vicepresidente de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, la casi totalidad del gabinete y alrededor del noventa por ciento de los legisladores federales eran protestantes, Cuba no fue invadida por los evangélicos sino por la nación norteamericana y el poder politíco y económico de ese país no fue utilizado para favorecer a la pequeña comunidad protestante de Cuba como algunos se han apresurado a sugerir.

Despite the fact that in 1898 the President and Vice-President of the US, almost the entire cabinet and about 90 per cent of the federal legislatures were Protestants, Cuba was not invaded by evangelicals but by the US nation. US political and economic power was not used to favour the small Protestant community in Cuba as some people have hastened to suggest.

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[Es importante] mostrar cuál es la verdadera causa de que tales males subsistan entre nosotros, manchando los anales de nuestra vida progresiva y culta. "Brujería" es una vulgarización de ciertas prácticas de determinada religión de nativos de Africa; pero, de aquella parte de Africa donde aún no ha llegado nada de la civilización por eso [...] y porque en Cuba quedan muy contados nativos de aquel continente, no tiene razón de existir actualmente en este país. [...] Nótase que no son sólo los negros

ignorantes los que practican tales aberraciones, entre ellos hay varios blancos naturales de Cuba, Méjico y España. Si los blancos, que en cierto sentido no podemos llamar de cretinos, no llegan a comer ciertas partes del cuerpo humano, sin duda se debe solamente a sus gustos más delicados y mejores hábitos.

[It is important] to show the true cause of such discernible evils tarnishing our progressive and cultured existence. 'Witchcraft' is a vulgarisation of certain practices of a particular native African religion; from a part of Africa where civilisation has not yet been reached. Due to this [...] and because now there are very few Cubans from that continent, there is no reason that witchcraft should continue to exist in this country. [...] Take heed that it is not only the ignorant blacks who practice such aberrations, there are also white Cubans, Mexicans and Spanish. Although whites, who we cannot really call cretins, do not reach the point of eating certain parts of the body, this is due, no doubt, solely to their delicate tastes and better habits.

Chapter Four

Page 75

Los primeros misioneros norteamericanos que vinieron a Cuba tenían una cosa especial [...] ¿por qué? porque ellos no vinieron aquí como norteamericanos a compartir a lo cubano sino vinieron a compartir como cubanos a sentirse cubano y en este aspecto te puedo enseñar algo por ejemplo: la hija hembra de estos misioneros murió aquí [en Gibara], está enterrada aquí, está su tumba allí en el cementerio. Ellos se adaptaron a Cuba, [...] no vinieron a imponer una cultura sino a tratar de asimilar como eramos nosotros. Es la diferencia que hay entre los misioneros cuáqueros y el resto de los misioneros.

The first US missionaries that came to Cuba had something special. [...] Why? Because they did not come here as North Americans to share Cuban culture but they came to share as Cubans, to feel like Cubans and to this end I can give you an example: the daughter of those first missionaries died here [in Gibara], she is buried here, her tomb is there in the cemetery. They adapted to Cuba, [...] they didn't come

to impose their culture, but to try to assimilate what we were. This is the difference between the Quaker missionaries and the other missionaries.

Page 77

Cuando hablo de la vida religiosa no me refiero al modo de vivir de aquellos hombres y mujeres que han huído del mundo y se han metido en conventos, vistiéndose de los hábitos de clérigos y monjes, pensando que por medio de la cogulla y sotana podrían agradar á Dios. A tales personas les tenemos lástima. La jactancia ni agrada á Dios ni ayuda á los hombres.

When I talk of a religious life I am not referring to those men and women who live hidden from this world and live in convents and wear the gowns of clergymen and monks, believing that through the cowl and cassock they can please God. We feel sorry for such people. This arrogance does neither please God nor help man.

Chapter Five

Page 98

El evangelio fue y es una fuerza revolucionaria, y nuestro primer error, por temor fue reprimir los brotes revolucionarios de hace 25 años confinando al pueblo a los moldes que habíamos traído del extranjero, pero que en Cuba eran exóticos. [...] El más grande enemigo del protestantismo en Cuba, fuera del pecado mismo, es el dominio extranjero: jamás Cuba será evangelizada así [...] Cristo vino para libertar, no para apoyar a la injusticia, la tiranía.

The gospel was and is a revolutionary force, and our first error, because of fear, was to suppress the revolutionary outbreaks of 25 years ago, confining the population to the moulds that we had brought from abroad, but which were exotic in Cuba. [...] The greatest enemy of Protestantism in Cuba, apart from sin itself, is foreign domination: Cuba will never be evangelised like this [...] Christ came to liberate, not to support injustice or tyranny.

Pages 100-101

No pudimos liberarnos de la ingerencia de los misioneros por motivos en primer lugar económicos, por el mantenimiento de las propiedades y la carencia de los obreros o pastores suficientes para atender a las iglesias organizadas y los colegios. El gobierno [revolucionario] de nuestro país aceptó definitivamente [...] a la iglesia como una institución nacional, aunque muchos seguían pensando que era una iglesia americana, de americanos, no era así, era una iglesia de cubanos pero con una libertad limitada. [...] Sufríamos algunos de los obreros nativos en Holguín, en Puerto Padre etc. porque no podíamos [...] liberar[nos] de la ingerencia de los misioneros a causa de que el sostenimiento de las escuelas era muy precario.

We couldn't liberate ourselves from the interference of the missionaries firstly because of financial reasons, maintaining the properties and the lack of workers or pastors to attend to the churches and schools. The [Cuban revolutionary] government accepted [...] the church as a national institution, although many continued to think that it was an American church, made up of Americans, it wasn't like that, it was a Cuban church but with limited liberty. [...] The native workers of the Holguín, Puerto Padre and other churches suffered because we couldn't free ourselves of the interference of the missionaries because of the unstable nature of the survival of the schools.

Page 110

Pajarito tricolor cantó así
Vino no, agua sí
Y cantando tan alegre tricolor
Repitió vino no

Tricolour little bird sang like this
Wine no, water yes
And singing so contently tricolour
Repeated wine no

Page 111

Nunca se utilizó [el misionero] los propios elementos de nuestra cultura; los instrumentos musicales de nuestra cultura como decir el tambor, maracas, o la guitarra, un poco más la guitarra, sí, pero no usaban en la iglesia. Ahora se utilizan [...] hay un movimiento en general en las iglesias protestantes y evangélicas de renovación en el sentido de utilizar elementos autóctonos. [...] Lo que cantaban es americano o inglés, muy pocas cosas de autores cubanos, o latinos.

[The missionary] never used elements of our [Cuban] culture; musical instruments from our culture such as the drum, maracas, or the guitar, a little more the guitar perhaps, but they did not use these instruments in the church. Nowadays we use them [...] as there is a movement, in general, of renovation amongst the Protestant and Evangelical churches, in the sense that we use more indigenous elements. What was sung is American or English, very few things by Cuban authors or Latinos.

Page 111

Nunca olvidaremos las conferencias sobre la paz de la Señora Jones. Precisamente la labor pro-paz, tiene un lugar prominente en nuestra obra. En noviembre pasado celebramos una reunión de confraternidad internacional, cursamos invitaciones a individuos de casi todas las razas y naciones, que conviven en esta comunidad. Muchos asistieron y la reunión resultó en un gran acto pro-fraternidad y Paz universal.

We will never forget the conferences on peace given by Mrs Jones. It is precisely the work in favour of peace that has a prominent place in our work. Last November we celebrated an international fraternity meeting, issuing invitations to individuals of all kinds of races and nations that cohabit in this community. Many attended and the meeting resulted in a great act in favour of universal fraternity and peace.

Page 114

realmente el cubano, en general, veía el 'American way of life' como el ideal.

really the Cuban, in general, saw the 'American way of life' as an ideal.

Chapter Six

Page 126

muy pocos Amigos en Cuba son prudientes; la mayoría son maestros, empleados, y obreros y algunos son tan pobres que necesitan del auxilio de la iglesia. (Los menos son estos pobres pues en término general la mayoría pertenece a la clase media).

very few Quakers in Cuba are wealthy; most are teachers, office workers and labourers and some are so poor that they need the help of the church. (These poor members are the least as in general most come from the middle class).

Page 128

Los colegios de los Amigos [...] eran colegios privados pero eran colegios donde no había esa diferencia de clase, no como los colegios católicos [...] donde estudiaba la clase alta. [En los colegios de los Amigos] había que pagar pero [...] no eran esas cantidades exorbitantes [...] no eran colegios donde la diferencia de clase era marcado porque eran colegios de clase media y clase baja, no eran colegios de clase alta. [...] Incluso tengo entendido, y conocí a [...] estudiantes que estaban becados en el colegio porque no podían pagar, eran estudiantes de clase baja inclusive. Uno de los casos de esos estudiantes de clase baja es el mismo caso del presidente, Batista que fue al colegio de los Amigos y que también no era, en aquella época, una persona de clase alta, era un humilde del pueblo.

The Quaker schools [...] were private schools but they were schools where there wasn't that class difference, not like the Catholic schools [...] where the upper class studied. [In the Quaker schools] you had to pay but [...] not exorbitant amounts [...] they weren't schools where class differences were obvious because they were middle and lower class schools not upper class schools. [...] In fact, as I understand it, and I did know [...] students that had scholarships to the school because they couldn't afford to pay, they included students from the lower classes. One of these cases of a student from the lower classes was the case of the President himself, Batista who went to the Quaker school and who was also, at that time, not from the upper class, but a humble poor man.

Page 129

ningún estudiante de Gibara, que yo recuerdo, fue becado.

no student from Gibara, that I can remember, had a scholarship.

Chapter Seven

Page 137

[La Junta Anual de los Amigos en Cuba] no puede permanecer muda e inactiva ante Decreto-Ley por el cual autoriza el juego de azar que constituye un pecado colectivo y abre las puertas de la corrupción ciudadana; estudio meditado y concienzudo, a la luz de amor a su pueblo y a la dignidad nacional, del dicho Decreto-Ley, hasta ver si se llega a un acuerdo que exija su inmediata derogación.

[The Cuba Quaker Yearly Meeting] cannot remain mute and inactive faced before this decree that authorises games of chance that constitute a collective sin and opens the door to widespread corruption; a thorough and careful study, with the light of love for our people and for the dignity of the nation, will see if an accord is reached that calls for the law's immediate repeal.

Page 140

El Hospital Civil Flor de la Caridad; La Escuela Superior José Martí; el Hospital Infantil Campesino, en Veguitas; el Centro Escolar 4 de Septiembre; los edificios de la Cruz Roja y del Centro de Veteranos; los edificios del Colegio Católico y la terminación del enorme complejo del Colegio Los Amigos; el Dispensario [...] en el parque 'Carmela Zaldívar', de la Güira, en donde se edificó también la Biblioteca de este mismo nombre en el sitio en donde una vez estuviera la humilde residencia de [la] familia [de Batista]; la construcción de las Calles de Banes con profunda espesor de concreto y la construcción de la Carretera de Banes a Samá y a Guarda la Vaca, así como la de Banes a Holguín y como las innumerables casas que se construyeron en La Güira para sus amigos pobres.

The civil hospital 'Flor de la Caridad'; the secondary school José Martí; the children's countryside hospital in Veguitas; the school centre '4th of September'; the Red Cross building and the Veteran's centre; the building of the Catholic school and the completion of the enormous complex that comprised the Quaker school; the clinic [...] in the 'Carmela Zaldívar' park, in la Güira, where the library of the same name is also housed which is in the same location where Batista's family once had its humble residence; the construction of the streets of Banes with a thick layer of concrete and the construction of the main road from Banes to Samá and Guarda la Vaca, also the one from Banes to Holguín and the numerous houses that were constructed in la Güira for his poor friends.

Page 140

Muchas instituciones privadas; como por ejemplo, la iglesia Católica, la sociedad Flor Crombet, [...] la sociedad Club Banes, [...] un llamado Reparto Belisario Batista constituido por casas [...] que les fueron dadas en forma permanente, a los vecinos pobres de las orillas del Río Banes cuando la creciente famosa del mismo destruyera viviendas [...] en aquella parte baja de la ciudad.

Many private institutions; like for example, the Catholic church, the 'Flor Crombet' society, [...] the Banes club, [...] a district called Belisario Batista made up of houses [...] that were given, on a permanent basis, to the poor people of the neighbourhood on the shores of the River Banes when the famous tidal wave destroyed houses [...] in that low part of the city.

Page 141

'Un hecho circunstancial, como es el nacimiento de un hijo de nuestro término, determinó el auge de nuestro progreso como ciudad de primer orden en permanente crecimiento durante toda la etapa de la vida política cubana.'

An incidental event, like the birth of a child in our area, determined the growth of our progress as a first class city in permanent development throughout the period of Cuban political life.

Page 148

Naturalmente yo sé que decirle que nó a [senador] Luis y [su esposa] Angélica es muy diferente que decirle eso mismo al Presidente Batista. Pero bien, nuestra opinión es que la iglesia Cristiana tiene que mantener sus principios y sus enseñanzas en todo tiempo, o caerá en menosprecio rápidamente [...] La Iglesia Evangélica en Cuba ha vuelto los ojos a nosotros en ansiedad por este hecho.

Naturally I know that saying no to [Senator] Luis and [his wife] Angélica is very different to saying no to President Batista. Nevertheless, our opinion is that the Christian church must maintain its principles and teachings throughout, or it will decline rapidly into disrepute [...] The Evangelical Church in Cuba has anxiously turned away from us because of this.

Page 150

Hemos leído en el periódico una noticia que el presidente Batista concedirá los beneficios de unos sorteos de la lotería nacional al Colegio 'Los Amigos' en Banes. Naturalmente esta noticia nos ha causado bastante aprensión porque el juego, incluyendo la lotería, ha sido condenado como un vicio por las iglesias evangélicas.

We have read in a newspaper a news item expressing that President Batista will award takings from some draws of the national lottery to the Quaker school in Banes. Naturally this news has caused a great deal of apprehension because games, including the lottery, have been condemned as vice by the evangelical churches.

Page 152

La iglesia es una institución más importante y más duradera que el presidente, o su gobierno aún, y existe principalmente para purificar la sociedad de sus males. Por lo tanto creemos que cuando haya diferencias entre los hábitos del estado y los principios permanentes de la moralidad enseñado por la iglesia que los principios de la iglesia deben predominar.

The church is a more important institution and more durable than the President, or even his government, and it exists principally to purify society of its evils. Therefore, we believe that when there are differences between the actions of the state and the

permanent moral principles taught by the church it is these principles that should prevail.

Page 155

Los norteamericanos, a partir de 1900 que se instalaron ya en sus casas de las calles Campana y Los Angeles, comenzaron a estructurar sus necesidades fundamentales como era la construcción de una iglesia a partir de 1903 que se introdujo la religión de cuáqueros [...] se construyen instalaciones deportivas, hace también el club americano [...] y también un campo para jugar beisbol. Por lo tanto Banes era uno de los pueblos donde primero se practica el beisbol posiblemente en nuestro país ya que a partir de la influencia de la presencia norteamericana pues comenzaron a jugarse el beisbol.

From 1900 US citizens moved into houses in the streets Campana and Los Angeles, they also started to construct what they considered as necessities like the building of a church from 1903 when the Quaker religion was introduced. [...] They [US citizens] constructed sports facilities, the American Club [...] and also a playing field for baseball. Therefore, Banes was one of the first towns where baseball was played in the country due to the US presence and influence.

Page 157

La United Fruit, lo que sí tenía siempre influencia es en el sentido de apoyar a la iglesia y ayudar a la iglesia. Siempre los ayudaron en todo económicamente, en la construcción, en la reparación, en todas las cosas que necesitó la iglesia, siempre la compañía lo ayudaba. Cuando venían los misioneros donde paraban era en el Club Americano, cuando venía algien de visita se hospedaba allí, la compañía le daba comida, le daba toda la atención.

One way in which the United Fruit always had influence was in the way it supported and helped the church. The company always helped them economically, in construction, repairs, in everything that the church needed the company would help out. When the missionaries came they would stay at the American Club, visitors would be accommodated there, the company would give them food and attend to their needs.

Page 159

Yo considero que eso [la iglesia y la escuela de los Amigos] formaba parte de la estructura que ellos [UFC] daban a los lugares donde ellos ocupaban el territorio porque no solamente era explotar a los trabajadores, como fuese el trabajo, [...] sino que hacía falta que el trabajador tuviera un lugar donde participar de otras actividades, entonces eso ayudaba a que fuera más disciplinado, más preparado, porque él que participaba en las actividades de la iglesia era una persona con más nivel, más disciplinado, más culto, más preparado. Si no había iglesia y no había escuela pues ese trabajador se convertía en un problema para la compañía, es decir en una persona más difícil de manipular, más difícil de utilizar en los trabajos.

I believe that [the church and the Quaker school] formed a part of the structure that they [UFC] gave to the places they occupied because it was not only the exploitation of the workers, a given due to the nature of the job, but it was also necessary that the workers had a place to take part in activities. This helped them to be more disciplined, prepared, because those who participated in the activities of the church were people of a higher calibre, more disciplined, more cultured, better prepared. If there had been no church or school then the workers would have become a problem for the company, in other words, in workers that would be harder to manipulate, more difficult to put to use in the work place.

Page 162

Existía un hospital que hizo la *United Fruit* donde también existía la discriminación. Por ejemplo, se hizo una sala en el patio independiente del hospital, para atender a los jamaicanos y los haitianos, entonces las personas del color blanco eran atendidos en el hospital con la división de que los cuartos privados, cuartos especiales con una sola cama o dos camas, eran para personas de nivel, es decir jefes de altos niveles y había un cuarto especial para norteamericanos cerrado incluso con una cadena y un candado [...] allí solamente ingresaban personas norteamericanas, trabajadores de la compañía porque en el hospital no tenían el derecho todas las personas de Banes sino los trabajadores de la compañía.

There was a hospital built by United Fruit in which there also existed discrimination. For example, they made a room in the patio, independent of the hospital, to attend to the Jamaicans and Haitians, so white people were treated in the hospital which was divided up into private rooms, special rooms with just one or two beds, for high level employees, the high level bosses, and there was a special room for North Americans, which was even closed with a padlock [...] they only admitted North Americans there, company workers. The hospital was not open to all the people of Banes but just the workers of the company.

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Interviews

(All interviews carried out by author)

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Ajo Berencen, Alma. Minister at the Velasco Friends Church, interviewed 11th February 2001, Velasco, Cuba.

Ajo, Dra. Clarita. Religious studies teacher at the Religious Seminary in Matanzas and Episcopal minister (previously a Quaker member in Holguín) interviewed 30th January 2001, Matanzas, Cuba.

Ajo, Maulio. Minister at the Holguín Friends Church, interviewed 2nd February 2001, Holguín, Cuba.

Alfonso Martínez, Julian. President of the Cuban Quaker Youth Group, interviewed 4th February 2001, Holguín, Cuba.

Armenia Yi, Maria. President of the Cuban Quaker Yearly Meeting, interviewed 23rd

February 2001, Gibara, Cuba.

Batista, Elexi. Cuban-American minister of the Miami Friends Church, interviewed 7th July 2002, Miami,US.

Batista, Helmer. Cuban-American minister of the Miami Friends Church, interviewed 7th July 2002, Miami, US.

Borrego Ajo, Sara. Secretary of the Cuban Quaker Yearly Meeting, interviewed 12th February 2001, Velasco, Cuba.

Carlos, Luis. Apprentice minister at Gibara, interviewed 19th February 2001, Gibara, Cuba.

Catalá, Elisa. Cuban-American leading member and treasurer of the Miami Friends Church, interviewed 7th and 12th July 2002, Miami, US.

Catalá Garrido, Orpha. Leading member of Gibara Friends Church, interviewed 20th February, 2001, Gibara, Cuba.

Cepeda, Dr. Rafael. History and literature writer and lecturer and Presbyterian minister, interviewed 24th July 2002, Havana, Cuba.

Chaveco Ramírez, Julia. Leading member of Banes Church, interviewed 16th August 2002.

Criado, Kirenia Pérez. Apprentice minister at Havana, interviewed 30th January 2001, Matanzas, Cuba.

Cruz, Maria Elena. Leading member of the Velasco Friends Church, interviewed 12th February 2001, Velasco, Cuba.

Escalona González, Eirena. Leading member of Gibara Friends Church, interviewed 20th February, 2001, Gibara, Cuba.

Escalona González, Elaine. Leading member of Gibara Friends Church (president of pastoral commission) interviewed 20th February, 2001, Gibara, Cuba.

Escalona González, Enelia. Leading member of Gibara Friends Church, interviewed 6th August 2002, Gibara, Cuba.

Fernández Quintana, Lucila. Leading member of Banes Friends Church, interviewed 16th August 2002, Banes, Cuba.

Garrido Catalá, José. Religious studies teacher at the Religious Seminary in Matanzas and Methodist minister (previously a Quaker member in Gibara) interviewed 29th January 2001, Matanzas, Cuba.

González Gutiérez, Ana Delia Miguela. Leading member of the Puerto Padre and Havana Friends Churches, interviewed 25th February 2001, Havana, Cuba.

González, Nereida. Leading member of the Banes Friends Church and Sunday School teacher, interviewed 7th February 2001, Banes, Cuba.

Gutiérez, Mirna. Leading member of the Holguín Friends Church, interviewed 4th February 2001, Holguín, Cuba.

Gutiérez, Rosario. Leading member of the Velasco Friends Church, interviewed 12th February 2001, Velasco, Cuba.

Guzmán Fernández, Elvia. Leading member of Banes Friends Church, interviewed 6th February 2001, Banes, Cuba.

Guzmán Fernández, Orpha Esther. Previously a member of the Banes Friends Church, interviewed 7th February 2001, Banes, Cuba.

Heredia Pérez, Juan. President of the Youth Group of a Holguín Pentecostal Church, interviewed 3rd February 2001, Holguín, Cuba.

Hidalgo Herrera, Andrea. Leading member of the Velasco Friends Church, interviewed 12th February 2001, Velasco, Cuba.

Hidalgo, Vivian. Leading member of the Velasco Friends Church, interviewed 12th February 2001, Velasco, Cuba.

Longoria Escalona, Ramón. Minister at the Puerto Padre Friends Church, interviewed 14th February 2001, Puerto Padre, Cuba.

López Pérez, Milva. Leading member of the Velasco Friends Church, interviewed 13th February 2001, Velasco, Cuba.

Machín, Hugo. Local representative of the Communist Party, interviewed 3rd February 2001, Holguín, Cuba.

Oro Breff, Nereida. Leading member of Gibara Friends Church, interviewed 20th February 2001, Gibara, Cuba.

Peña Reyes, Jorge. President of the Cuban Quaker Youth Group, interviewed 24th February 2001, Gibara, Cuba.

Pérez, Julieta. Minister of the Banes Friends Church, interviewed 7th February 2001, Banes, Cuba.

Pérez Gómez, Junior. Leading member of the Velasco Friends Church, interviewed 13th February 2001, Velasco, Cuba.

Pérez Lopez, Isel. Methodist Minister, interviewed 22nd July 2002, Havana, Cuba.

Periche, Miguel. Previously the Quaker minister of the Gibara Friends Church, interviewed 7th February 2001, Banes, Cuba.

Reina Marín, Eulalia. Leading member of Holguín Friends Church and Sunday School teacher, interviewed on 8h August 2002, Holguín, Cuba.

Rodríguez Rodríguez, Rosa Maria, Leading member of the Velasco Friends Church, interviewed 13th February 2001, Velasco, Cuba.

Santiesteban Bosch, Dikson. Apprentice minister at Floro Pérez near Gibara, interviewed 21st February 2001, Gibara, Cuba.

Santos, Heredio. Minister of the Banes Friends Church, interviewed 8th February 2001, Banes, Cuba.

Soca, Mercedes. Leading member of 'un-programmed' Havana Quaker meeting, interviewed 20th January 2001.

Tamayo, Walter. Cuban-American, previously leading member of Banes Friends Church, interviewed 15th July 2002, Miami, US.

Tarragó, Abel. Local historian, interviewed on 18th august 2002, Banes, Cuba.

E-mail Interviews

Pupo-Ortiz, Yolanda. Works for the 'General Commission on Religion and Race' of the United Methodist Church, Washington D.C., her parents were active members of the Quaker church in Holguín, interviewed on 18th August 2004.

Jones, Alberto. Writes for AfroCubaWeb: http://www.afrocubaweb.com/albertojonesdiazbalart.htm and grew up in la Güira, Banes, interviewed on 13th July 2004.

Meeting and Discussions

Meetings were held with various Cuban scholars on religion in Cuba at the Socio-religious Department of the Centre for the study of Psychology and Sociology (CIPS) in Havana, Cuba, between 15th-26th January 2001 and between 22nd–30th July 2002.

Participant Observation

'Un-programmed' Quaker meeting in Havana, Cuba: 16th January 2001.

Quaker meetings in Holguín, Cuba: 1st-5th February 2001, including women's meeting, youth meeting, meeting for worship and Sunday School.

Quaker meetings in Banes, Cuba: 6th-9th February 2001, including bible study, meeting for worship and a US Quaker building brigade helping reconstruct the Banes Quaker Church.

Quaker meetings in Velasco, Cuba: 10th-13th February 2001, including youth meeting and meeting for worship.

Quaker meetings in Puerto Padre, Cuba: 13th-18th February 2001, including Sunday worship, Sunday school, youth meeting and monthly meeting.

Quaker meetings in Gibara, Cuba: 19th-24th February 2001, including women's meeting and the Cuban Quaker Friends Yearly Meeting.

Cuban Quaker meetings in Miami, US: 7th-14th July 2002, meeting for worship and bible study at the Cuban Friends Church in Miami.