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The Presence of Africa in the Caribbean, the Antilles and the United States

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Franklin Franco - Jean Ghasmann Bissainthe - José Guerrero - Rafael Jarvis Luis
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FOREWORD

Global Foundation for Democracy and Development (GFDD), in the United States of America, and Fundación Global Democracia and Desarrollo (FUNGLODE), headquartered in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, are dedicated to promoting research and awareness in areas crucial to the democratic, social and economic sustainable development of the Dominican Republic and the world. The two think tanks organize meetings and educational programs as well as generate studies and publications that contribute to the development of new perspectives, searching for innovative solutions and creating transformative initiatives.

GFDD and FUNGLODE are honored to present the publication series RESEARCH AND IDEAS. The series includes research papers, articles, speeches and keynote addresses that discuss critical issues of the contemporary world from national, regional and global points of view.

These selected works present scrupulous analysis, introduce innovative ideas and transmit inspiration. We hope they will contribute to a better understanding of the world, empowering us to act in a more informed, efficient and harmonious way.

Natasha Despotovic
Executive Director, GFDD

PREFACE

Thanks to the initiative of Dr. Leonel Fernández, President of the Dominican Republic and Honorary President of Global Foundation for Democracy and Development (GFDD) and Fundación Global Democracia y Desarrollo (FUNGLODE), in July 2011, we organized an important event in our country, "The International Conference on the Presence of Africa in the Caribbean, the Antilles and the United States." The academic event was convened to examine and analyze the influence and contribution of African cultures to our multifaceted region.

In the one hundred and sixty-seven years of independence enjoyed by our society, there have only been three gatherings of this type held on Dominican soil. The first was organized by the Department of Scientific Research at Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo in 1973 under my coordination and direction. The second was held under the auspices of UNESCO in 1996, as part of the "Slave Route Program;" and the third, with which we are currently concerned and over which I had the honor of presiding, was convened by GFDD and FUNGLODE.

Through this publication, we present the scholarly essays that formed part of that conference.

It is worth noting that possibly the most significant detail to emerge from this event was the eloquent proof of existing similarities among the infinite cultural characteristics that exist in the Antillean nations, despite differences in language. This enables one to realize how very close we find ourselves on the shared path to unity among the Caribbean peoples.

Along these lines, it is essential to underscore the preeminent level of knowledge displayed by the national and international scholars who presented papers on the cultural, historical and even immigration problems that have arisen from the Dominican-Haitian historical-territorial conflictive reality. This fact provides proof of the existence of a new Dominican vision on future relations between these two nations that, by design, share the destiny of the island of Hispaniola.

This new vision, to be recognized and praised, was already evidenced by the fraternal and supportive efforts undertaken by the government of Dr. Leonel Fernández in the days and months after the devastating earthquake that hit

Haiti in 2010, which was then followed shortly thereafter by cyclones, storms and the noless tragic cholera epidemic, the effects of which are still being felt today on that part of the island.

Examining the dissertations presented at this conference, now available in this book, the reader will have the opportunity to see that this meeting was truly an academic gathering. This is particularly true for Dominicans who, for such a long time, have lived without recognizing the African continent. This seminar was an enriching experience for us as well as a valuable contribution to the expansion of knowledge about our roots.

The conference also contributed to strengthening national consciousness, an element of great value in this age of globalized knowledge. We are beginning to experience in our country, finally and fortunately, the collapse of the last vestiges of the worst prejudices that have plagued and divided nations and mankind nearly everywhere on earth for several centuries– the breeding ground for the worst disgraces suffered by humanity. Hallelujah!

Franklin Franco
Sociologist, Dominican Historian and Professor

The Presence of Africa in the Caribbean, the Antilles and the United States

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Introduction

This publication represents the high-level scholarship presented by national and international experts during the academic conference, "The Presence of Africa in the Caribbean, the Antilles and the United States," organized by Global Foundation for Democracy and Development (GFDD) and Fundacion Global Democracia y Desarrollo (FUNGLODE), in association with the Ministry of Culture of the Dominican Republic, the Dominican National Commission to the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the Universidad Autonoma de Santo Domingo (UASD), during July 18-20, 2011 at FUNGLODE headquarters in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

The objective of the conference and this publication is to elevate discourse on the historical trajectory of persons of African descent throughout the continent, and to further understanding of how this trajectory continues to shape modern-day society.

The ensemble of articles covers a diverse array of subject matter that spans five centuries of history. The authors contextualize and analyze the transformative global consequences and implications of the trans-Atlantic slave trade; processes of acculturation and transculturation; systems of color, "race" and class; black civic activism and political culture; and the emergence of a black literary aesthetic.

GFDD and FUNGLODE would like to extend special thanks to all of the authors who have contributed to this publication.

We believe that the questions and conclusions put forth by the authors will provoke readers to engage with historical, sociological and political polemics in new and profound ways.

We would like to extend special thanks to all the individuals and institutions that coordinated the conference, and made this publication possible, in particular Franklin Franco y Delia Blanco.

We hope that this compilation inspires a new generation of historians, sociologists, anthropologists and literary experts in the Dominican Republic and abroad to expand upon and enhance the existing body of scholarship on African Diaspora Studies.

We look forward to realizing subsequent initiatives aimed at advancing this important field of research.

Yamile Eusebio
Director of the GFDD New York Office
and Director of Educational and
Formative Activities at FUNGLODE

Kerry Stefancyk
Project Coordinator, GFDD

Africa and the Slave Trade

José Guerrero
Africa and Santo Domingo
in the XVI Century

Dario Solano
UNESCO'S Slave
Route Project

"Africa and Santo Domingo in the 16th Century"

by José Guerrero

Africa and Santo Domingo first interacted when Spain introduced slavery to the island in the 16th century.

Afro-American slavery began in Santo Domingo. Not only were the initial processes of indigenous and black slavery first manifested here, but so were the first slave rebellions and the earliest racial and cultural mixing of Amerindian, Africans and Europeans. During the 16th and 18th centuries, slavery took two forms based upon the type of development occurring: intensive agriculture during the former, and ranch-based, patriarchal development during the latter. As W. Megenney (1990:5) has established convincingly, in the encounter between Creole-speaking African slaves and Spanish colonists in Santo Domingo in the 16th century, a unique culture and language were produced from Afro-American, sub-Saharan, Portuguese and Spanish influences, all of which today form an integral and essential part of Dominican culture.

Understanding colonial slavery in the 16th century is key to understanding the history and culture of Santo Domingo and the origins of the relationship among Europe, Africa and the Americas.

For conceptual and methodological purposes, an examination of the subject of slavery in Santo Domingo requires first a review of its origins in Africa and its relationship with the early days of European capitalism.

While slavery in Africa existed prior to the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the form of slavery introduced by Europe was very different. In the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era, Arab-Muslim expansion established a commercial network with Mediterranean Europe. Slave trafficking was not unique to the black African population.The practice emerged from the slave-trading influence of Mediterranean Europe. As states began to form, slavery and slave trafficking occupied an increasingly important role. While in Europe, after the fall of the Roman Empire,

slavery declined. However, this new type of slavery was very distinct from what had existed in the Mediterranean basin, where it had limited economic, tribal and political functions. As R. Cassá explains, the slave trade never undermined the relationship between central states and their surrounding tribal communities. That is, it did not divide the population into antagonistic social classes.

Before the 15th century, the number of slaves was modest and limited to commercial trafficking in the Sahara. In most African societies, slavery was unknown or limited to the domestic sphere. Often, slaves were assimilated into tribes through marriage and kinship ties. Although the formation of kingdoms and empires was associated with control of the slave trade, it never became the central component of social or economic relations. Only in the 16th century when Europeans made African slavery their main economic activity, did it become large-scale.

The first Europeans to do so were the Portuguese, although slaveholding in minor numbers continued in Europe during the final centuries of the Middle Ages. The Portuguese established commercial trading posts on the islands and along the coasts of Africa to supply themselves with gold, ivory, luxury goods and slaves, at prices much below those in Europe. This altered the internal dynamic of African societies, especially along the Atlantic coast. The various mechanisms utilized by the Europeans and their African partners to capture slaves depended on geography and on historical circumstances. The volumes of slaves trafficked expanded astronomically (Cassá 2003: I: 73, 78-79).

Slave labor in Africa, and forced servitude in the Americas before European contact, never became dominant aspects of production due to internal factors. For slavery to be transformed from a local and tribal phenomenon to a social structure of classes and a full-fledged business of exploitation—the "worst ignominy of human history"—it had to become the principal source of accumulation for European commercial capitalism, as occurred early in the 16th century.

O. Ianni (1976) points out that the relationship between slavery and capitalism seems, at first glance, paradoxical. Just as free labor was

becoming the norm in Europe starting in the 16th century, different forms of forced labor were being created in the New World. The conquistador's estates and slavery in the Americas developed in the context of the reproduction of commercial capital. To the extent that slavery expanded through discoveries of new lands and the colonization of those lands, the original accumulation of capital occurred in Europe as a precursor of modern capitalist development.

As Karl Marx describes, the hidden slavery of the wage worker in Europe required overt *sans phrase* slavery in the New World. The discovery of deposits of gold and silver; the campaigns of extermination, enslavement and entombment of indigenous peoples in the mines; the conquest of the East Indies; and the conversion of the African continent into a hunting ground for black slaves, all signal the dawn of capitalism. The several stages of the original wealth accumulation are centered in Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and England. The treasure conquered outside of Europe, through ruthless enslavement and massacre, flowed back to the metropolis as capital. This context led to the emergence of the free laborer in Europe, and the slave laborer in the New World.

Two factors were essential to slavery in the Americas: unoccupied lands to produce food supply, and labor for the production of goods (see Ianni ibid: 13-15).

The economic benefits and the level of exploitation reached by New World slavery were among the most extreme in human history. The dynamic of commercial capital involved in slave trafficking was an important element for the maintenance and the expansion of slavery in the colonies and the so-called commercial triangle connecting Europe, Africa and the Americas. From it emerged modern history and the phenomenon that is now called globalization. Slave society, based on Amerindian, black and Creole slavery, reproduced social and cultural inequalities among two distinct classes or castes: the master and the slave.

Since the 16th century when the trafficking of Africans to the New World began, until the 19th century, nearly 10 million enslaved Africans were transported from Africa, 35 percent of whom were sent to the Caribbean.

Many of the economic, social, political and cultural problems that afflict the countries of Africa and the Caribbean stem from 16th century slavery, the chain that linked Europe, Africa and the Americas, of which Santo Domingo was the first link.

Slavery In Santo Domingo

Many Dominican and foreign authors have touched upon the topic from a variety of perspectives, the most comprehensive being Carlos Larrazábal Blanco (1975), Carlos Esteban Deive (1980) and José Luis Sáez (1994).

According to Bernardo Vega, the most thorough ethno-historic essay on slavery in Santo Domingo is that of Deive (1980: I: IX), whose work has become an essential bibliographic reference. Deive refutes the traditional historical thesis that slavery and the presence of blacks were merely episodic occurrences that contributed nothing of relevance to the economy, society and culture of the Dominican Republic. Deive argues that ethnocentrism creates a devalued image of persons of African descent, stemming from racial and class prejudice, and dismisses the role of the black slave in the construction of the Dominican nation.

He instead insists that the colony of Santo Domingo depended on black labor. This explains the insistent and dramatic requests by authorities and colonists to import massive numbers of slaves, given the inexorable exhaustion and eventual extinction of the indigenous population. Many documents bear witness to the degree to which colonial society rested upon the thousands of men and women uprooted by violence or trickery from the African continent, only to later be forced into a wide variety of tasks (1980: XII-XIV).

The black African slave had a fundamental role in the three cycles of the colonial economy: gold, sugar and livestock.

Slavery and gold

Slavery as a social class system was brought to Santo Domingo by the Europeans and was unknown to indigenous society. Indigenous chiefs had servants or domestic laborers called *naborías*, who according to Father Las

Casas, were not slaves because "*en esta isla ninguno hobo entre los indios esclavos*" ["on this island there are no hobos among the Indian slaves"] (Cassá 1990:139).

Before discovering the Americas, Christopher Columbus visited a Portuguese *factoría*, a commercial trading post at San Jorge da Mina in Ghana to trade in gold, ivory, spices and slaves (Guerrero 1987). He reached Santo Domingo during 1492-1493 with wage-earning men who enjoyed feudal privileges and a *factoría* model that included the commercial exchange of products and eventually slaves. The pursuit of riches –the consequence of the expansion of commercial capital and a mercantilist policy– motivated the Portuguese to navigate the African coasts, and the Spanish to discover the Americas. Where gold and silver could not be used for trade, slaves and foodstuffs were utilized instead. Accumulation of commercial capital could only be achieved through the deployment of forced labor (Deive 1980: I: 14).

The initial contact between the indigenous peoples and the Spanish included barter and compulsory taxes in the form of gold, cotton and food. The failure of the colonial government and indigenous resistance led to the capture and enslavement of indigenous men and women. In 1495, after a punitive campaign, Columbus sent 500 indigenous slaves to Spain and promised 4,000 more. In each of his ships' return trips between 1492 and 1500, hundreds of indigenous persons were loaded aboard as slaves (Cassá1990: 200). Slave markets existed in many European capitals, mostly comprised of Africans and Arabs. Fernando Ortíz reports on the presence of black *curros* in Sevilla in the 13th century. Queen Isabel rejected the sale of indigenous persons, as proposed by Columbus and Cristóbal Guerra in 1496 and 1501. However, as Deive explains, the attitude of the Spanish monarchs toward the enslavement of indigenous peoples was highly ambiguous, given that the monarchy permitted the taking of indigenous slaves under royal license in Venezuela, with the provision that one quarter was to be reserved for the Queen herself (1980: I: 8).

To maintain the colony without importing the government model in use, at the time, required the enslavement of Amerindians, as they did not enter into the mercantilist economy voluntarily, and in the words of Las

Casas, the Spaniards "did not engage in manual labor." Columbus failed as a governor when he tried to force the nobles and soldiers to work on the road to Los Hidalgos on his first incursion into the interior of Santo Domingo (Guerrero 1988). In any case, it was he who introduced indigenous slavery to the Americas– a topic on which Esteban Deive has published an entire book (1995).

The decree granting land to the conquistadors in 1503 converted indigenous peoples into a class of servants for the purposes of evangelization. This decree also dealt with matters of judicial freedom, forced labor and wages. Cassá believes that the form of slavery on the island was unique. Deive refers to the slavery on the island as "simulated slavery." Spanish feudal institutions took on a very different role in the Americas, and became the basis of an implacable slave system (1990:188). The results were so disastrous that the Crown tried to substitute other types of personal rule, as the liberation of the indigenous would signify the colony's ruin. Starting in 1518, the drop in gold production and the decline in the indigenous population were offset by the cultivation of agricultural products for external sale and the massive introduction of African slaves. Two processes occurred simultaneously: economic change and ethnic change. The *encomiendas* were prohibited in 1544, but even after the liberation of most of the enslaved Amerindians, more indigenous slaves continued to enter Santo Domingo from the mainland. In the middle of the 17th century, Amerindians from Yucatán, Mexico had settled in Boyá, which had been merged with the last outpost at Enriquillo, established in Azua about 1535.

Historical documents often mention enslaved Amerindians together with enslaved persons of African descent. Cassá notices a transculturation among Amerindians, Spaniards and persons of African descent through the transmission of elements of Amerindian material culture to the Spanish, and later, to enslaved Africans, who then became part of the colonial society. One form of transculturation was through sexual unions with Amerindian women. The scarcity of Spanish and black women, along with the majority female composition of the Amerindian population, led to a physical and cultural *mestizaje*. Frequently, Amerindians delivered Amerindian women to Spanish visitors, who then passed these women on to

black men. Many Spaniards became white chiefs by marrying Amerindian women. Kidnapping of women by escaped black slaves was also common (1993:220-225). Starting in 1513 with the importation of enslaved Africans of both sexes – as part of a strategy to reduce rebellion and escape – sexual unions between white men and enslaved African women resulted in the emergence of a Creole population (Larrazábal 1975:15-16,180). The oldest documentation of a Creole population—sons or grandsons of slaves born in the Indies—appears in the will of Juan de Castellanos in the 16th century. In this document appears: "Andrés, *criollo* from Santo Domingo." The term *criollo* eventually acquired a broader meaning, including all offspring of Spaniards born in the Americas (Deive 1980: I: 252).

Some authors such as R. Mellafe and Ayala argue that the first persons of African descent arrived in Santo Domingo on Columbus' second voyage (1493-1496). While Pereyra and Franco contend that the arrival took place in 1499. Nobles typically traveled with their servants and slaves, often acculturated blacks known as *ladinos* or *latinos*, a term applied in Spain to those who spoke Latin or Castilian and had a skill of some sort regardless of whether they were Moors, blacks or other foreigners (Deive 1980: I: 35). This can be understood from the order of December 16, 1501, the first official reference to the delivery of black slaves to Santo Domingo, "*que hayan nacido en poder de cristianos, nuestros súbditos e naturales*" ["… who may have been born in the hands of Christians as our natural subjects"]. On December 12, 1502, colonists were authorized to bring along "*cuantos negros quisiesen*" ["… as many blacks as they like"]. Some were freedmen and earned wages, and one of them became a conquistador himself in Puerto Rico. A black woman took care of the sick in the first hospital in the Americas, founded by Ovando. Another, together with María de Arana, was responsible for cooking for the Dominican priests in 1544.

Governor Ovando requested in 1503 that no more *ladinos* be sent because they ran away along with the Amerindians and taught them bad habits. They did so because they experienced the rigors of slavery after being transferred from domestic service to mining. This shows that black slavery existed before Ovando. In 1504 the Queen permitted each Spaniard to set sail with four white, Moorish or converted Muslim slaves. Despite the existence of a plethora of documents prohibiting their entry and ordering

their expulsion, between 1,500 and 2,000 converted Muslims entered the country in 1569 alone (Deive 1980: I: 20).

In any case, Ovando quickly changed his mind about the importation of blacks. In 1505 he asked for twenty more slaves, in addition to the seventeen from Guinea that had been purchased in Lisbon and had arrived to the colony. His cook, a black man, became famous for cutting off the heads of indigenous people "in a single blow" and became the subject of the first popular tune in the colony. Among the "black loros"—mulatto or black—were both freedmen and slaves (Rodríguez Demorizi 1978:190).

The King gave his assent to the traffic and promised to send one hundred slaves "who shall gather gold for me" and build the Ozama fort. In 1510, he ordered the importation of fifty slaves for work in the mines, and in April of that year another one hundred with the recommendation that they should be well treated. His motives were less humanitarian than economic. Spain had been excluded by a papal bull from trafficking slaves from Africa, and lacked the necessary capital to engage in it. The cost and labor value of slavery was quite high: one black slave was worth more than seven Amerindians and said to plant ten times more yucca per day than an Amerindian. Black *ladinos* in Europe were not sufficient in number to supply the colony for the new intensive and massive scale sugarcane industry. The price of slaves was so high that it exceeded the fixed capital of the plantations (Deive 1980: I: 93).

Slavery and sugar

From 1515 on, the authorities explored the possibility of substituting the mining of metals for sugar cane production. The bishop of La Vega, Pedro Suárez Deza, asked the King for permission to begin establishing sugarcane plantations.

In response to the large numbers of enslaved Africans brought to the island between 1516-1517, especially as contraband, Cardinal Cisneros prohibited commercialized slavery. Slavery, however, was reactivated shortly afterwards, this time marked by greater reliance on the importation of enslaved persons directly from Africa, referred to as black *bozales* ["muzzled ones"], due to their availability and presumed submissiveness.

The term *bozales* was an allusion to undomesticated livestock and the method of rendering dogs harmless by enclosing their snouts. They spoke only their own languages. An engraving of the period depicts a slave with a muzzle over his face– perhaps to prevent him from communicating with other slaves.

In 1518, Hispaniola was considered the best land in the world for blacks, despite the likelihood that they outnumbered the Spanish population. Control was maintained by the same method applied by the Portuguese in Cape Verde: severe punishment. The majority of black runaways in 1529 were *bozales*, and escapes and uprisings were common throughout the 16th century. Lemba, Juan Vaquero and Diego de Ocampo, men who would lead armies of more than 6,000, endangered the colonial order. Defeating the leaders of these groups would require infiltration, the promotion of competition among rivals and the formation of special military patrols comprised of blacks and whites.

The dominant sectors–officials, colonists and clergy–constantly petitioned for permission to import slaves directly from Africa. The Catholic Church played an active role in black slavery, and received many slaves as a result. The first to encourage the practice were the Dominican priests that arrived to the island in 1510, who proposed that slavery be implemented to the Jerónimo priests, between 1516 and 1519.

Bishop Ramírez de Fuenleal resumed gold production in Cotuí in 1531 with the labor of enslaved persons of African descent, while Decan Álvaro de Castro created the Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit from 1531-1532, the oldest working congregation in the Americas, and rebuilt the township of Mejorada (Guerrero 2005).

One of the biggest proponents of importing black slaves to Santo Domingo was Father Bartolomé de Las Casas, although he was neither the first to do so nor responsible for its implementation. The Bishop of Chiapas, Mexico saw black slavery as natural, based on the writings of Aristotle and the Biblical curse of Noah on Ham, the brother of the Ethiopians Cus and Seba, as the "servant of nations"–and thus had no scruples about supporting it. He advocated for black slavery, thinking that it would contribute to the

survival of the Amerindian race, which he believed had been born free and should remain so. He objected to the first sale of Amerindians by Columbus for "treating them as if they were Africans." Afterward, De Las Casas regretted his position and wrote *Short History of the Destruction of Africa*—in which he described the effects of European slavery on that continent—years before his *Short History of the Destruction of the Indies* (Sáez 1994:22). According to De Las Casas, before 1520, blacks lived in Santo Domingo as they had in their homes in Guinea, but as they began to work in the plantations, they became ill and died "daily".

Columbus brought sugarcane from the Canary Islands to La Isabela in 1493, and in 1501 the first cane fields were planted. Sugar was first produced in Nigua in 1505 or 1506. In 1510, a rise in the price of sugar in Europe stimulated further production. In 1516, the first plantation was established by the educated Velosa and the Tapia brothers. In 1520, large-scale sugar production, along with the decline in the Amerindian population and the decrease in gold output, necessitated a massive influx of African slaves, but tense social relations and the severe labor conditions spurred rebellions and escapes.

The first slave uprising in the Americas occurred on December 25, 1521 at a plantation belonging to the viceroy Diego Colón in Nigua—not on the Isabela River in 1522 as Oviedo thought. The leaders were twenty gelofes, highly Islamicized ethnic Wolofs. The rebellions spread throughout the interior of the island to Azua and Ocoa, attracting other blacks on the island to the rebel leaders and causing significant damage, including the deaths of twelve Spaniards (Deive 19993:133-134). After a violent clash with Spanish troops, runaway slaves were dispersed, captured and hung. In the first orders about runaway slaves issued in 1528, measures of control were established over "blacks, whites and Canary Islanders" who had revolted. The whites were Spanish *moriscos* or Christianized Arabs, and the Canary Islanders were descendants of the African *guanches*. Retribution for rebellious slaves was bodily mutilation followed by hanging. Persons of African descent were prohibited from carrying arms, and ranch or household slaves and black day laborers were discouraged from rebellion through promotion of negative images of black "troublemakers, drunkards and thieves" in the city of Santo Domingo. Finally, as a preventive measure,

slave marriage was introduced in 1513, permitting landowners to import female ladina slaves to be "married" to males, and thereby reduce the likelihood of uprisings.

The uprising of 1521 did not impede the later importation of additional enslaved persons of African descent. In 1526 alone, 600 enslaved persons were brought to the island without licenses, and another 2,000 after 1550. A strategy utilized until the 17th century was to pretend that they were sailors. Pirates like Hawkins and governors such as Francisco de Cabellos in Puerto Plata smuggled in enslaves openly, in cooperation with Creoles and foreigners. Those caught were usually let off with a fine.

The enormous economic benefits of the slave trade did not reach the Spanish Crown, even though a portion of the income went towards the construction of castles in Toledo and Madrid and towards luxury goods for the nobility. Italian and Portuguese merchants profited most, including the Centurión brothers for whom Columbus was a commercial agent. The Portuguese controlled slave trafficking in the 16th century through their outposts in Cape Verde/Santo Tomé, Ghana and the Congo-Angola. Slaves arrived to the slave house in Lisbon and were distributed from there. According to M. Herskovits, at the beginning of the slave trade during the first half of the 16th century, most of the enslaved Africans destined for the Americas were taken from Guinea between the Niger and Senegal rivers and the Congo-Angola region. W. Megenney argues that the Bantu peoples were the predominant African ethnic group in Santo Domingo, especially insofar as folk and linguistic traditions, while the religious aspect that predominated originated in the sub-Saharan or Sudanese regions (1990:5). Shipments came from Africa with slaves of different, sometimes rival ethnic groups. In many plantations, they were mixed together to make communication among them more difficult. Deive has identified more than 133 African ethnic groups in Santo Domingo (1997:14).

By the middle of the 16th century, more than 30,000 persons of African descent had arrived to Santo Domingo. In 1557, some of the 30 sugar plantations and mills each had more than 900 blacks working for them.

The population of the colony was comprised mostly of blacks engaged in agriculture, but also in public works such as the construction of walls, homes, aqueducts, forts and churches. Their diet consisted primarily of meat and cassava. With the crisis of the sugar system from 1580 onward, ginger root cultivation emerged as a major industry, depending upon the labor of nearly 6,000 blacks. To recover from the destruction caused by the Drake invasion of 1586—in which some blacks participated in exchange for the promise of freedom—the governor asked for the importation of an additional 4,000 slaves and the creation of an armed troop of freedmen commanded by a white captain.

Spain was unable to guarantee a permanent flow of blacks to Santo Domingo. In 1650, it became known that the mines were not being exploited due to insufficient labor supply. The irregularity of the shipments of enslaved persons, and the high mortality rates due to plague, diseases and the work itself, raised the cost of slave labor. From 1520 onwards, blacks constituted the only labor force available for mining, and its profitability depended entirely on enslaved Africans (1980: I: 49).

Slavery and livestock

Livestock breeding developed in Santo Domingo parallel with mining and agriculture. The sugarcane plantations maintained ranches in order to provide food sources for slaves and modes of transportation for the shipment of sugar cane and sugar. In the two first decades of the 16th century, chroniclers describe large ranches that included land, livestock and forests, abundant with wild animals (Bosch 1999). The ranch, from an economic and social point of view, was a productive unit led by an owner and dependent upon slave labor, with goods destined for external markets (Deive 1980: I: 105). The oversight of the ranch was not always performed by the owner himself. Most often, this duty was performed by a person of either African or mixed African and European descent (Silié 1976:26).

Trade in livestock passed through several different modalities. During the 16th and part of the 17th centuries, meat and skins were sold. By the 18th century, live animals were brought to market for sale. In 1577, a slave was worth 50 hides on the open market. In 1609, black and mulatta women reportedly accepted hides for sexual services.

The sale of hides put livestock production itself in danger, given that only the skin was utilized, while the meat went to waste. This is the origin of the popular sayings about "tying up dogs with sausages" and "better salt than a goat." The colonial official and councilman, Cristóbal de Tapia asked the King to lower the cost of salt due to the wide gap between the "*el mucho trabajo y costa en pagarla a tan crecido precio y ganado tan barato*" ["costs and hard work at such a high price for such cheap livestock"] (Rodríguez Demorizi 1978: 102-103). The black market sales of hides and meat to Spain's European rivals was so lucrative that it led to a system of contraband, in which colonial officials participated. Black market sales were destroyed by the famous *devastaciones de Osorio* in 1605 and 1606, which depopulated the northern territory and relocated the inhabitants by force. According to Manuel Arturo Peña Battle, many of those who resisted were led by the mulatto, Hernando Montoro. Most of the rebels were mulattos and freed blacks who reacted upon seeing their land holdings ruined.

Pedro Mir considers the *devastaciones de Osorio* as the most important event of Dominican history. More than half the territory was laid to waste and abandoned. The plantation economy was nearly eliminated, giving way to the predominance of livestock breeding. Meanwhile, slavery as an institution was minimized and took on more patriarchal and feudal characteristics. Unions between whites and blacks led to the emergence of a population of mixed African and European ancestry, referred to as Creole (Cassá 2003: I: 206). Slavery in Santo Domingo took on a unique form when Creole society came to be led by the landowners and cattlemen, whose holdings were distributed over 189 sectors (Bosch 1999: 73). Out of a total of 9,648 slaves, eight percent worked on plantations, 77 percent on ranches and estates, and 15 percent in domestic labor.

Slavery was influenced by the patriarchal nature of colonial society, as the lives of slaves evolved, resembling the freedmen's pattern of life, especially in rural areas, where masters and slaves often cooperated in hunting escaped livestock or in caring for domesticated animals.

Cassá emphasizes a fundamental socio-ethnic process that occurs due to the intercultural and interracial mixing of black and white populations, resulting in an ethnically and culturally mulatto population. The Creole

mulatto modified Hispanic cultural patterns and incorporated African cultural modalities, resulting in a deepening symbiosis between Hispanic and African cultural components (2003: I: 222-223).

Poverty in Santo Domingo in the 17th century was severe, and directly linked to the shortage of black labor. By 1650, it was said that blacks were "*los que cultivan la tierra y crían ganados y estos van faltando porque mueren muchos y en estos tiempos no vienen más de Guinea...*" ["… those who cultivate the earth and raise cattle, and they are getting scarcer because many die, and nowadays no new ones come from Guinea …"] (Deive 1980: I: 135). Masters could no longer buy slaves, and the latter had ample opportunities for manumission and self-reliance. Many times mulattos or freedmen kept one or two slaves themselves as soon as they acquired their own freedom (Sáez 1994:32). Some black women could dress better than their owners.

Between 1659 and 1666, the cacao crop was lost because there were no slaves available to harvest it. According to Sánchez Valverde, an epidemic laid waste to the population, especially among blacks and the remaining indigenous population. For Juan Bosch, the generalized misery led to a de facto liberation, if not a legal one, such that slaves were behaving like freedmen by 1659 despite their formal status. Similarly, freedmen treated their own slaves as peers. The society had equalized daily relations between masters and slaves, even though the legal difference remained (1999:121). The late reference by Sánchez Valverde to "Indians" in 1666—a reference that Bosch finds inexplicable or meaningless—may be the first use of the term Indian to apply to blacks and mulattos, which is still common in the country today.

Rubén Silié warns against any attempt to romanticize the slave experience, and to overlook its class character and the profound differences in the material conditions of life between the slave and the master.

Dominican society at the time was permeated by racist ideology, resulting in the creation of a racial classification system, which included the categories of black, *mestizo*, mulatto, *pardo* and gradations of mulattos, quadroons, octoroons, and so forth based on the relative remoteness of African ancestry. It was not for humanitarian reasons that the rancher

permitted his day laboring blacks and slaves to achieve self-sufficiency and freedom. It was rather for his own benefit, as the costs incurred were less. The unique aspect that distinguishes ranch slavery in Santo Domingo from slavery practices in the rest of the Americas, is that the process of manumission preceded that of abolition (1976:106-109). Dorvo Soulastre, in 1798, stated that "*ésta facilidad en la manumisión ha hecho considerable el número de negros libres y la mezcla de colores … en una población de 125 mil individuos el número de hombres libres alcanza a 110 mil*" ["… this ease in manumission has produced a sizeable number of free blacks and a mix of colors. . . . [I]n a population of 125,000 individuals, the number of free men has reached 110,000"] (Sáez 1994:512).

The 1680 Treaty of Nimega and the ascension of the Bourbons to the Spanish throne at the end of 1701, resulted in the sale of cattle to the French colony of Saint-Domingue, and in turn, an improvement in the colonial economy. The sale of cattle would remain the main commercial activity throughout the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. Tax collection by the local bureaucracy only served to spur rebellions, such as that of early 1721 by mulattos, blacks and "unattached men." The French accused the Spanish authorities of wanting to take over their lands in the north, and the Spanish accused the rebels of delivering the colony to the French. The importance of the French colony for Santo Domingo was a strategic political factor in the unification of the island in 1822, and in the independence of the Dominican Republic in 1844. The requests to promote new products such as cacao and tobacco in the 17th and 18th centuries were accompanied by licenses to introduce blacks.

By 1691, the inhabitants of Santo Domingo were mulattos and blacks, many of whom fled from the French sector and settled in villages and encampments such as Los Mina where they lived as freedmen or day laborers or were recruited into militias. Moreau de Saint-Méry states that "*los terrenos aledaños a la capital son en general muy fértiles y era costumbre arrendar terrenos a negros libres o esclavos jornaleros, que no trabajan sino cuanto le es necesario para vivir y cultivan para el consumo de la capital*" ["the lands near the capital are in general very fertile, and it was the custom to rent lands to freed blacks or day laborer slaves, who only worked enough to provide themselves with the necessities of life and to provide for the

needs of the capital"] (Silié 1976:102). What kind of slave society allows its slaves to work just enough to subsist? Freedom before abolition makes Santo Domingo unique to the rest of the Americas.

During the 18th century, the island of Santo Domingo was divided into two distinct colonies: the French *Saint-Domingue* and the Spanish Santo Domingo, characterized by an agricultural economy and intensive slavery in the western French sector and a ranch economy and a more patriarchal system of slavery in the Spanish-speaking eastern part of the island. From this division, Haiti and the Dominican Republic emerged.

The abolition of slavery

By the 19th century, the development of capitalism had made slavery unproductive, leading the more developed countries to demand its abolition. Commercial capitalism created slavery in the 16th century, and industrial and financial capitalism abolished it in the 19th century. It is not a paradox, but rather a causal relationship.

O. Ianni argues that in most colonies (Haiti being the exception), the abolition of slavery was "white men's business" (in Deive 1980: I: 193). Slavery was abolished in Haiti in 1793 by delegates from the French Convention. The leader of the Haitian revolution, Toussaint Louverture, created an economic "miracle" on the island without hesitating to subject the population to a regime of covert slavery (Ibid: 208). In any case, the Treaty of Basil in 1795, transferred the colony of Santo Domingo to France, under whose legislation slavery was prohibited. In 1796, the last great slave rebellion occurred at the Boca de Nigua plantation and was suppressed by the Spanish. It was there that Toussaint established one of his camps when he occupied Santo Domingo and abolished slavery in 1801, after discovering that Spaniards in Cotuí were going to sell three black Frenchmen.

Members of the abolitionist society, such as Gaspar Arredondo, were alarmed by the Toussaint government, but even an anti-Haitian researcher such as Antonio Del Monte y Tejada, the first Dominican historian, expressed his sincere admiration for the former slave, saying that his withdrawal to Azua and San Juan brought "a heap of blessings for Dominicans." The Boyer government, which unified the government of the

island from 1822-1844, again abolished slavery that had been reestablished by the French in 1805 and by the Spanish in 1809. The last slaves entered the country officially in 1812. There were more than one hundred, and they were baptized in the cathedral (Sáez 1994:44).

An unexpected event in Monte Grande, a town near the capital, almost impeded Dominican independence, the same night of February 27, 1844. There, a sizeable group of blacks refused to support the independence movement due to a rumor that slavery would be reintroduced. After the report was successfully refuted, the first act of the new Dominican government, on March 1, 1844 was to declare that slavery had ended forever on the nation's soil. On July 17, the order was ratified by a decree by President Santana, punishing by death the trafficking of slaves. According to Vetilio Alfau Durán, this was in response to the unexpected arrival of a Puerto Rican slave trader who came to claim slaves he had owned who had escaped to Santo Domingo and had later joined Santana's troops. When these former slaves recognized their former master, they came close to murdering him on the street (Deive 1980:I:230).

Since then, no government—not even during the annexation by Spain in 1861—has dared to reestablish slavery in the Dominican Republic. However, there are still evident signs of rejection of all things African, and the aftermath of the stereotypes and social-racial prejudice against the black and mulatto population, has been present throughout the country's history. Despite Albert Einstein's remark that it is easier to achieve atomic fission than to dislodge prejudices, it is also no less true that when history is rooted in culture, prejudice is not erased by silence nor forgetting. Despite the distance, Africa is not far from us and never has been, if, as Plato says, to know is only to recall what is within.

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"UNESCO's Slave Route Project"

by Dario Solano

Considering that the value of memory is an essential reference in building our identities, doubts persist about the historical accuracy of African slavery in the New World. This history, as we know it, has been distorted and poorly told, thus challenging us to reconstruct the objective truth about the tragic events that inflicted deep wounds in Africa, Europe and the Americas and determined what would become of our people in the future.

One of the major challenges of The Slave Route Project, therefore requires a legitimate return to this hidden tragedy to study its causes, modalities and consequences with historical thoroughness and then make this information available, as a universal question, in books around the world. The slave trade was a forced encounter between millions of Africans, indigenous peoples and Europeans in the immense geo-cultural area of the Americas and the Caribbean.

The Slave Route Project is a critical look at how the tragedy of slavery involved every continent and provoked profound transformations. The impact of this tragedy –the kidnapping and massive deportation of millions of Africans and their enslavement for centuries– is still apparent in today's societies. These transformations, profound and global, partially account for the socio-cultural, geopolitical and economic configurations that exist in the contemporary world.

The Slave Trade Route is an interdisciplinary program created to carry out scientific research around this historical past, which has been defined as a crime against humanity.

Recognizing the vast scope of this issue, an external evaluation of the first ten years of the Project's existence concluded that it was still very young and that there was still a huge area to be covered before reaching its main objectives, which include breaking the silence surrounding slavery

and the slave trade, contributing to the establishment of a culture of peace, peaceful coexistence and mutual understanding among all people.

A. Strategic Alternatives

1. Objectives

The strategy embodies the three objectives defined by the Project since its inception; the importance and unifying effect of these were confirmed by the external evaluation mentioned herein. Nevertheless, to better reflect certain elements underscored in the previous formulation, these objectives will be reformulated in the following manner:

- Break the silence surrounding slavery and the slave trade in different regions around the world, clarifying the magnitude of both, their causes, risks and modus operandi used in multidisciplinary scientific research.
- Highlight the consequences of slavery and the slave trade on contemporary societies, in particular to assure a better understanding of the multiple transformations and interaction that occurred as a result.
- Help establish a culture of peace, mutual understanding and coexistence among all people while facilitating reflection on intercultural dialogue, cultural pluralism and the construction of new identities and citizenships in modern societies.

2. Principle Lines of Action

The new strategy will also maintain the lines of action established during the first phase of the Project. Notwithstanding, they will be reformulated in the following manner:

- Deepen scientific research on slavery and the slave trade.
- Develop curricular and educational materials with the idea of promoting the teaching of this tragedy on all academic levels .
- Promote contributions from Africa and its Diaspora.
- Promote living cultures and artistic and spiritual expressions resulting from interactions generated by slavery and the slave trade.

- Preserve written archives and oral traditions related to slavery and the slave trade.
- Create inventories, preserve cultural heritage material and related memorial sites and places related to slavery and the slave trade and promote memory tourism based on this cultural heritage.

B. New focuses to reinforce the strategic alternatives of the Project.

1. Development of scientific research

During the first phase of the Project, scientific research was the main focus. Since then, many universities and academic organizations have developed research programs that have shed a great deal of light on this topic. The Project, which does not pretend to be a specialized research center nor does it have the means to carry out large scale research projects, seeks to identify a niche that will enable it to utilize its comparative advantages as a basis for international cooperation. Its activities must be focused on strengthening international networks of experts and facilitating the exchange of knowledge

Notwithstanding, in order to fill some voids, the research must be done on the least known aspects of slavery and the slave trade. With this objective, new networks within the Project will be established, particularly in certain regions that have, up to now, received little attention and that are explorer topics that have not been sufficiently studied.

There will be a series of studies done with the view of increasing knowledge of historical events around the slave trade and its consequences in Asia and the Arab-Muslim world.

To guarantee the increased participation of more young researchers and to achieve a fresh view of the topic, a scholarship program is being set up in different regions. The program will incentivize exchange between these institutions and will enable interested students to undertake research related to slavery and the slave trade.

Within this new strategic orientation, the International Scientific Committee will play a decisive role by providing advice, approving re-

search projects and consolidating consensus on the accumulated knowledge of the slave trade.

Development of curriculum and pedagogical material

This strategy intends to reinforce the Project's activities in this important area by better translating research results into applicable educational programs for teachers, local authorities, civil society, organization, media and press outlets, in an effort to respond to the urgent needs associated with this topic. Two aspects will be focused on:

(a) Review of school textbooks and university courses

Promote the review of textbooks of various levels including university courses, with the objective of creating a comprehensive teaching strategy on slavery and the slave trade. Actions to be undertaken:

- Draw up a strategic document designed for national authorities, in particular ministers and education professionals, about the needs and modalities regarding the revision of textbooks and university study plans.
- Lobby education ministers at meetings/events in order to persuade them to adopt the policies. The first step should be to sensitize and educate countries, such as those of the Caribbean, Latin American, the Indian Ocean and Europe. There will be a special action specific to the African Union for the development of academic curriculum on a sub-regional level.

(b) Development of teaching material

Reflect the results of pedagogical research material to raise awareness of the different areas of the slave trade. These materials should use multimedia technology to cover the interests of the schools and communities.

Actions to be taken:

- Develop a methodological model that will enable the elaboration of these materials.
- Develop teaching materials directed at the sub-regions that also

have certain historical characteristics: Central America, West Africa and the Indian Ocean. These materials will serve as a basis for the creation of materials capable of satisfying specific national and local needs.

Raising consciousness about the contribution of Africa and the African Diaspora

A series of activities are planned within the Project (research, events, meetings, exhibitions) to promote better comprehension and knowledge of Africa's contribution to the rest of the world as well as contributions made by African descendents in the evolution and progress of the countries that received them and their countries of origin.

Special emphasis will be placed on the transference of African knowledge, expertise and technology to the rest of the world, particularly to countries in the Americas and countries of the Indian Ocean.

The Project will also contribute to fortifying links between Africa and the Diaspora, through promoting awareness about the slave trade, particularly within the framework of the African Union strategy.

Promotion of living cultures and artistic and spiritual expressions

The Project will continue to carry out and promote activities aimed at increasing knowledge about living cultures and artistic and spiritual expressions generated by the slave trade.

With this objective, the project will seek to establish a closer association with important events that promote these cultures and expressions such as music and film festivals and commemorations, etc. It will utilize the name, Project in Support of the Slave Route, to support these events and give them major visibility.

A strong emphasis will be placed on the lesser-known aspects of these cultures, especially those raised in dialogues and interaction among the African and Amerindian populations. The functioning of these cultural

processes, including how they defied political prejudices, stereotypes and segregation and their impact on the construction of identities in modern societies. Major attention will be paid to current interactions in these modern societies, especially the new cultures and contemporary expressions that are nourished by the heritage that comes from slavery and the slave trade.

Preservation of written archives and the oral tradition

Efforts will continue toward preserving the collection of memories recorded in oral tradition and written archives as new studies surface, in particular in North America, West Africa, the Caribbean, Europe and Asia.

In addition to the UNESCO publication, *The People's Memory – the Slave Route,* other research findings will be turned into electronic files and made available online to facilitate the conservation, dissemination and promotion of these oral traditions. They will also use pedagogical materials as a basis for identifying memorable sites and places in the countries involved.

Exhaustive efforts will be undertaken to identify, preserve and use the written and iconographic archives related to the slave trade. New associations will be established with archives, libraries, museums and private collections as part of this effort.

The Project will facilitate the exchange of experiences and material among museums and archival collections of certain countries that possess important collections such as Cuba, Portugal, the United Kingdom, France, the United States, as well as similar institutions in Africa, and, more importantly, material available from the abolition of slavery commemorations of 2007 and 2008.

Cooperation with professional archiving organizations on an international and regional level will be reinforced to increase knowledge about the existence of these sources of information and to facilitate researchers' access to them.

The available iconography from the Project will be digitized and transferred to the Project's webpage to facilitate access, which can be made available under certain conditions.

Inventories and preservation of the material heritage, places and memorial sites

In close collaboration with the World Heritage Centre, the Project will undertake a UNESCO-WTO (World Tourism Organization) program concerned with the identification, preservation and promotion of memorial sites linked to slavery and the slave trade through cultural tourism. Based on existing inventories in Africa (Central Africa, Portuguese-speaking African countries and Western Africa), inventories will be created in other countries (Eastern Africa, Northern Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Caribbean, the Americas and Europe). The proposed inventories will enable the following:

- Draw up geographical maps with sites, buildings and places by region and by country.
- Establish itineraries to promote cultural tourism.
- Promote the preparation of documents for the proposal of new sites related to the slave trade to be included in the World Heritage List.
- Incentivize the extension and/or application, when applicable, of sites already on the list to guarantee a major presence of history related to the slave trade.
- Stimulate Member States of the 1972 Convention to include a series of slave trade sites and cultural itineraries on the List.

In collaboration with the World Heritage Centre and the Division of Cultural Objects and Heritage, the Project will contribute to providing more thorough knowledge on the close links between the slave trade and certain sites, buildings and places already included on the World Heritage List. In that these places, unfortunately, are often overlooked, there will be a review of the descriptions of these sites on the website of the World Heritage Centre and in UNESCO publications, in consultation with interested Member States. The information included in the description of the registered sites on the World Heritage List is of particular importance as it contributes to breaking the silence that has surrounded slavery and the slave trade.

A. Extending the reach of the Project to other regions

Up until now, the Project's activities have concentrated on the trans-Atlantic slave trade. It now seeks to broaden its reach and transmit the universality of this tragedy. As such, it will reach out to include the following regions in the second phase:

The Arab-Muslim World: activities to be carried out:

- Undertake research that compliments existing studies on commerce in Asia and throughout the Sahara.
- Disseminate information and organize activities to raise awareness (meetings, publications, exhibitions, communication) to contribute to breaking the silence.
- Establish and strengthen research networks on the topic.

Asia: activities to be carried out:

- Undertake research to complete rudimentary studies on the topic and to look further at the slave trade, its consequences, the African and Asian Diaspora (the sub-continent of India and the Far East) in collaboration with research networks.
- Disseminate information and organize activities to raise awareness that will contribute to breaking the silence.
- Establish and strengthen research networks on the topic.

The Andes: activities to be carried out:

- Undertake research to better comprehend cultural interactions between African and Amerindian populations.
- Launch a pilot program in Esmeraldas, with the view of extending it to other regions, as a way of promoting Amerindian intercultural dialogue within the context of their joint resistance to slavery and colonization.

B. Introduction of new topics

New topics, not thoroughly explored to date, will examine the implications of slavery and the slave trade.

The consequences of slavery: activities to be carried out:

- Undertake studies on the trauma caused by this tragedy and its consequences on individual and collective conduct of African descendants.
- Raise awareness among national authorities on the need to instruct health, social security and education professionals to deal with the psychological effects of slavery.

Combating racism and discrimination: the Project has contributed to the recognition of slavery on the part of the United Nations "as a crime against humanity" at the World Conference on Racism, held in Durban in 2001. The Project will participate in the application of certain recommendations presented in the Declaration and the plan of action resulting from this Conference, as is reflected in the UNESCO strategy against racism and discrimination, approved in 2003 by the General Conference.

Actions to be carried out:

- Participate in information and awareness raising events related to the deconstruction of racist theories and prejudices that continue to feed discrimination against populations of African origin.
- Organize meetings on procedure and plurality of memories and the formulation of adequate policies in the construction of new identities and citizenship in modern societies.

African Cultural Expression in the Caribbean

Odalís G. Pérez
Black Memory in the Caribbean

Patrick Bellegarde-Smith
Haiti: Between a Rock and
a Hard Place: Black Agency
and International Speeches

Avelino Stanley
The Cocolos: From Discriminated Immigrants
to Cultural Heritage of the Dominican Nation
and All of Humanity

Jean Ghasmann Bissainthe
African Ethnic Groups
and their Influences on
Haitian Society

"Black Memory in the Caribbean"

by Odalís G. Pérez

The Caribbean iconography connected to documentary bibliography has presented a range of scenes and scenarios in which the black person, the slave and slavery culturally depict the formation of Afro-Americanism as an attitude and symbolic framework. Cultural interpreters, as well as the indexed systems of images and bodies of domination, reproduce the inscription on land, body, history and political movement, in which concepts of law and archive function as a repressive judicial system.

Engravings, paintings and drawings of black persons and slavery in Hispaniola and the rest of the Caribbean appear in many history and historiography manuals, colonial chronicles, reports of colonial governments, and documents dating from colonial and republican history.

Iconography of battles between black warriors, Creoles, Spanish, French, Dutch and English reflect elements of warriors, patriarchs, in groups or communities. Portraits of black rebellions, black slaves and slave owners, sugar cane harvests and forced labor on plantations in the Caribbean islands all provide data on slavery and the influence of Africa in the Caribbean.

The dancing and ceremonial iconography found reflect life in settlements located in the hills and mountains in the southern portion of the island of Santo Domingo, and certain regions of the central mountain range.

The images of Haitian invasions and engravings of Toussaint Louverture, Jean J. Dessalines, Sebastian Lemba, Charles Herard and others illustrate that black memory in the Dominican Republic developed throughout the pre-Republic social formation, along the political lines of the period, amongst the backdrop of failed ephemeral independence from Haiti, circa 1844.

The black person, as a theme in Dominican art, has gained value, based on efforts to rescue ancestral memories, representational of different cultural models of Africa in the Caribbean islands.

The figurative typology related to slavery dominated the so-called Caribbean culture-based texts: letters of domination, slave codes and regulations, formal and informal recommendations, contracts, secular and sacred ceremonies, songs, prayers, poems, biographical narrations, and other sources.

The iconography of African influence is significant in the context of aesthetic-sensitive and icon-perceptive productivity, such that cardinal figures –drawings, pictorial works, sculptures, photographs, and audiovisual as well as spatial expressions– form the diverse cultural worlds of the Caribbean islands.

The figural representations are explained through the borders and centers of historiography and cultural study, gathering the visions, actions, projections and/or creations linked to ethno-historic culture and ideology.

The image of Caribbean historical-cultural worlds can be seen in paintings by Jorge Severino, sculptures by Gaspar Mario Cruz, drawings and paintings by A. Dumbardon, drawings by Julían Amado, paintings by Antonio Guadalupe, installations by Tony Capellan, and other visual products.

What becomes visible as an image of the Caribbean world is what we find in the study of poet and critic Ramon Francisco –an image of mythical "physiology" related to ancestral images in the Dominican Republic and the Caribbean (see: *Macaraos del Cielo, Mascaraos de la tierra. The man, his gods, his beliefs, in De tierra Morena Vengo (1987).*

Researcher Martin Lienhard (2008) has studied the maroons of the Maniel de Neyba (Santo Domingo 1785-1794) and the images of rebellion, based on historic testimonials of dissidence and insurgency (see in particular Chapter IV, titled "Agrestes e irreligiosos". *The Maroons of Maniel de Neiva* (Santo Domingo, 1785-1794, pp. 83-111).

Black Memory in the Caribbean, however, is formed through the instruction of the transatlantic voyage, from the Mediterranean route, East-West, overseas, and from the very crossings of commercial slavery in the Caribbean islands (English, French, Spanish, Dutch, Danish).

Images of exploitation, torture and fragmentation of the black body and black groups within Afro-Americanism have been profiled in Caribbean socio-cultural history through economic, political and documentary projects; life stories, family histories, the slave trade, slave gravesites, phases of death that will become valuable later through ethno-cultural contact that supports cultural hybridism, resulting in a human effort extending to the different cultural bodies of the Caribbean islands.

Through historical literature (fiction, post-cultural historical and post-identity essays, poetry about black persons, black short story, and novels about slavery), the actions of black rebels in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Guadalupe, Guyana, Colombia, Venezuela and Brazil are depicted in images of resistance. Interference and authoritative instruction taken by slave owners, cultural administrators and pedagogues of violence and death are recreated by authors of poetic, narrative, ceremonial, ethno-religious, ethno-political, dramatic, historiographical and visual texts and briefs.

An entire era of plantation life, internal wars and the cultivation of violence is explained in the context of a cultural worldview based on the "other," in which otherness and identity are an essential component of life. Some catalogues of the social and political worlds and images, as we can see in Jean Pierre Moreau (1992), J.A. Saco (1879), Larrazabal Blanco (1967), Moreau de Saint-Mery (1944), Glissant (2005) represent stages of destruction and violence against the individual and socio-political institutions in the Caribbean and the rest of the Americas.

In search of political, economic and cultural directions, images and events, we can identify some contextual directions and bridges in studies, histories and essays (see Frank Moya Pons, 1973 and 2008; Enrique Ott, 1975; Francisco Moscoso, 1999; Arturo Morales Carrion, 1995; Lidia Cabrera, 1970, 1985, and 1993), as well as the slave routes,

in prints, paintings, photography, drawings, videos, films, and other cultural forms.

Black Memory in the Caribbean emphasizes political points related to visual creation, wherein syncretic icons, images, bodies and cultural productivity construct life stories, religious texts, written and oral reports, histories of oppressed people, narrations by older persons, chronicles and epic poems that give testimony to what has been the root text in the Caribbean islands.

Both colonial history and postcolonial studies have proposed new maps for the interpretation and understanding of worldviews, in which plantation culture, occupied lands, persecution of black leaders, sexual violence against black women, economies of crime, and acts of hatred towards black infants represent the basic law of domination in the Caribbean.

In colonial and postcolonial French Guyana, British Guyana, Haiti, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Jamaica, the Colombian Palenque, Trinidad, Barbados, Saint Thomas and other islands, what is revealed through official and independent written history, is a link between the whip, work and the land, conveying an image of a world oppressed or subverted by a dual political economy.

Epidemics, demographic crises, social unrest and stagnation, along with the poverty that demolished rural and urban life in the Caribbean, are some of the issues addressed by historian Frank Moya Pons in his recently published *History of the Caribbean: Plantations, Trade and War in the Atlantic World* (2008).

According to Moya Pons:

> *Las Antillas españolas, por su parte, dependían oficialmente de los limitados esclavos que los monopolistas de Sevilla podían servirles a través de los negociantes autorizados por ellos para llevar negros a América. Todavía a finales del siglo xvii, la Corona española se empeñaba en mantener el abastecimiento de esclavos regulado bajo el llamado sistema de asientos, en virtud del cual un negociante recibía el privilegio de introducir en monopolioun cierto número de negros esclavos*

> *durante un determinado número de años a cambio de pagar una suma fija a la Corona. Los asentistas españoles nunca pudieron servir a las colonias hispanoamericanas adecuadamente y por ello el contrabando de negros nunca cesó en la América hispánica.*
>
> [The Spanish Antilles, officially depended on the limited slaves that the monopolists of Seville could provide through the slave traders authorized by them to bring slaves to America. Still, at the end of the seventh century, the Spanish Crown was determined to maintain the supply of slaves regulated under the so-called seating system, under which slave traders received the privilege of introducing in monopoly a certain number of black slaves for a certain number of years in exchange for paying a fixed sum to the Crown. The Spanish grantees could never adequately serve the Spanish-American colonies, thus the smuggling of blacks never ceased in Spanish-America (see Moya Pons, op. cit., p.107).]

The smuggling route, a product of the black slave brought about by the colonial metropolitan administrators (England, France, Spain, Holland), produced not only invasions and oppressions, forced labor and torture led by armies and the church, (through a teaching program especially calculated for the islands), but also through an economic and tax-based system of production through which slave labor would be the main vehicle and irrational production form used by the economic, political and ideological leaders of the Caribbean islands, from the 16th to 20th centuries.

The Caribbean islands are not just the sum of potential and actual images, but together create a set culturally shaped by diversity and otherness. The progression of their imaginations (political, religious, literary and artistic), creates varied pronouncements, in the line of social rhythms, such that inter-culturalism and inter-productivity have resulted in models of relation, intrusion and otherness – producing, in turn, creative and destructive formulae in an anomalous order marked by cultural hybridity, which has shaped modernity (see Peter Burke, 2010).

Black Memory is a root space of mixed culture –subverted, discredited or rejected by social movements based on ideas of freedom, creation, differentiation and work. The imaginary destination and restructuring of cities, towns, rural and urban areas have created a map, a horizon and a

root text that is made estimable through the reading of a *mestizo*, hybrid text that distances itself from the historical-cultural subject of the so-called myth of origin.

In this reverse order, in this age of law, the archives and images read the codes, moral, political and economic regulations and legislation over black persons. In the case of Hispaniola, this is called the Spanish Black Code. *The Código Negro Carolino* [Carolina Black Code] of 1784 (see Javier Malagon Barcelo, Ed. Taller, Santo Domingo, 1974), was an ethno-cultural, political and moral regulation system.

The focalization of recognized images, such as servitude and slavery, emphasizes the significance of the power of domination, manipulated by the notion of "moral government of the servants," whose informal synthesis can be read in the first chapter of the government:

> *Siendo pues la religión el objeto primario y ornamento de todo buen gobierno, lo debe ser con mayor razón en el de los esclavos y negros libres, cuya miserable suerte y condición sólo puede recompensar el incomparable beneficio del conocimiento de S.M., cuyo rústico y sincero carácter recibe benignamente sus benéficas impresiones; siendo de la mayor importancia a la seguridad interior y exterior de la isla, su amor y adhesión a ella, pues su poderosa influencia ha preservado en muchas ocasiones importantes provincias de la Corona Española.*
>
> [Being that religion is the primary object and ornament of all good government, it should be more so in that of slaves and free blacks, whose miserable fate and condition can only compensate the incomparable benefit of knowledge of S.M., whose rustic and sincere character benignly receives the charitable impressions; as inner and exterior security are to the greatest importance for the island, love and adherence to it, through its powerful influence, has preserved on many occasions, important provinces of the Spanish Crowne. (op.cit., p.163).]

The law, as prohibition, is expressed and established in what has been constituted as repression-representation. What is prohibited has a *ratio*, but also an origin from which jurisdictional authority is recognized. In

the case of the Black Carolina Code, Catholic moral comes together with power, legislation and application of corrective arguments.

Similarly, the Second Law, based on the Black Code of France, presents the scenario of a slave and enslaved world. The memory of racial exploitation, united with the ideology and culture, evokes the struggle between two memories: that of the exploiter and that of the exploited. The Second Law proclaims that:

> *Prohibimos por esta razón bajo las más severas penas las nocturnas y clandestinas concurrencias que suelen formar en las casas de los que mueren o de sus parientes a orar y cantar en sus idiomas en loor al difunto con mezcla de sus ritos y de hacer los bailes que comúnmente llaman Bancos, en su memoria y honor con demostraciones y señas (que anticipan regularmente antes que expiren) indicantes del infame principio de que provienen en muchas de sus castas, singularmente en los minas y carabalíes de que hay el mayor número a saber el de la metempsicosis, aunque adulterada, o trasmigración de las almas a su amada patria que es para ellos el paraíso más delicioso. Por lo cual se deberá formar un breve tratado moral dirigido a desterrar en los negros sus erróneas pero bien arraigadas nociones e ideas de las divinidades de su patria, según sus diferentes castas que varían igualmente en sus ritos.*
>
> [For this reason we forbid, under the severest penalties, clandestine and nighttime gatherings that usually occur in the homes of those who died or their relatives to pray and sing in their languages in praise of the deceased with a mixture of rites and dances called *Bancos*, in their memory and honor with demonstrations and signs (that they anticipate before they die), indications of the principles of infamy from which come their castes, uniquely in the mines and Carabalis, of which there are a greater number, knowing that of metempsychosis, although adulterated, or transmigration of their souls to their beloved country, which is for them the most delicious paradise. Thus, they should form a brief mortal treaty aimed at banishing within the Blacks their erroneous, but deeply rooted notions and ideas of the divinity of their homeland, in accordance with their different castes, that equally vary in their rituals (op. cit., p. 163).]

The ideological nucleus is focused on the world of the Caribbean or Antillean blacks. The dominant discourse aims at taming, correcting, amending and educating to banish visible and invisible practices, socialized in gatherings that usually take place in the homes of those who died or their relatives.

The dominant discourse achieves its cohesion in the framework of Law 3, constituted as an axis of a racist universe established by administrators and religious educators and masters:

As part of the documents of barbaric actions, the Carolina Black Code of 1784 and The Third Code, Black Caribbean Memory was constructed from the text of the wandering, based in the root text of oppressed black cultures, exalting an ideological path, in which social operators influence the images, African-American iconographies – *mestizo* or hybrid. The owner, the steward, the priest, the ruler, the "caretaker," the executioner and other domesticated subjects are also the guardians of education and good customs. Conceptions, especially the dominant viewpoints, see the African black as superstitious and fanatical, and thus illustrate a universe of culture manumission and repression:

> *Son además estos africanos supersticiosos y fanáticos, muchos fáciles a la seducción y a la venganza e inclinados naturalmente a las artes venenosas, de que han usado peligrosamente en las colonias extranjeras; siendo pues el objeto más importante de su buen régimen y administración asegurar sólidamente a la Isla Española y al Estado su tranquilidad y sosiego interior y exterior, se hace necesario desarraigar de su corazón tan vehemente, nativas inclinaciones sustituyendo en él las benéficas de la lealtad al soberano, del amor a la nación española, del reconocimiento y gratitud a sus amos, de la subordinación a los blancos.*
>
> [These Africans are also superstitious and fanatical, easily swayed to seduction and revenge and naturally inclined to the poisonous arts, which they have used dangerously in the foreign colonies; the most important object of their good regimen and administration being to solidly reassure Hispaniola Island and the state of their inner and outer tranquility and peace; it is necessary to vehemently uproot from their hearts

> their native inclinations, substituting the charitable qualities of loyalty to the ruler, love for the Spanish nation, recognition of and gratitude for their masters, subordination to whites… (op. cit., p.167).]

The vision of a memory of slavery in the Spanish Caribbean reveals an institution of domestication and violence against blacks originating from the so-called "good regime and administration," characterized by decidedly racist legislation and social regulations.

From there arise the importance of the Black Codes in Spanish America, for the purpose of understanding black life and memory, and also in the French, English, Dutch controlled islands (for the Black Codes of Spanish America also see *Manuel Lucena Samoral: The Black Codes of Spanish America*, UNESCO/University of Alcala, 1996.)

The expansion, however, of a significant and poetic text through history and its diverse expressions, encourages awareness of blackness linked to a process of ethno-cultural, ethno-religious and ethno-poetic metamorphosis that enables the understanding of the main motives and moments of black poetic expression, with a view of the significance of the social and historical worlds of black persons in the Afro-Antillean Caribbean.

The example presented by Romulus Lachatanere (see, *Oh, my Yemaya!*, Ed. of Social Sciences, Havana, 1992), of *guemilere* songs and prayers, constitutes an invocatory framework in whose poetry, in which an oracular and ceremonial world is expressed, confirming an ancestral memory in motion (see pp. 76-83), concerning Elegua and how to invoke it as a deity (see also *Rezos o Cantos* and *Uno, otro y otro a propósito de Ogún*).

From a critical perspective, the Dominican poet and researcher Aída Cartagena Portalatín contributes to the understanding of poetic-identity in her work "Culturas Rebeldes con Causa" ["Rebellious Cultures with a Cause"] (see, *Col. Montesinos*, Ed. Taller, Santo Domingo, 1986). The African evocation from America follows the routes of a search based in the aspirations of the Antillean islands (see "A Ulysses America" by Haitian poet Rene Depestre p.147-148. In addition "When I dream at Tam Tam" by poet, novelist and essayist Jacques Roumain, p.148").

This post-colonial poetic evocation speaks to the subject's historical-cultural life, and eludes to the subject's black, *mulata* and ancestral identity:

> *Mi corazón tiembla en la noche como el reflejo*
> *de una cara en las hondas agitadas.*
> *La antigua mirada brota del fondo de la noche…*
> *Un río te lleva lejos de la orilla…*
> *Sus padres inclinan sus oscuras caras.*
> *sus secretos movimientos te mezclan con la ola*
> *[y el blanco te hizo mulata, es el pedacito*
> *[de espumas echado, como un solivazo, sobre la ribera.*
>
> [My heart trembles at night like a reflection
> of a face in the rough waves.
> The old-fashioned look rises from the depths of the night…
> A river takes you far from the shore…
> Your parents bow their dark faces…
> their secret movements mix with the wave
> and the whiteness made you a *mulata*, it is the bit
> of foam, cast, like a touch of saliva, on the shoreline] (Op. cit.p.148).]

Through black and *mestizo* poetic memory, the multi-voiced cultural rhythm of the denied entities in the Caribbean asks the socio-historical questions of a time and place of rebellion.

In the case of the Dominican Republic, an entire body of historic and cultural poetry is recognized by crossing over a "mountainous homeland", in whose dwellings we find contact between Africa and America – a culture of difference and a culture of rebel identities. Poet Ramon Francisco, in his "*La Patria Montoñera*" ["The Mountainous Homeland"] (2004), produces a rhythmic flow of invocation-subversion propitiated by the Black *mestizo* Caribbean memory.

In "*La identidad negada*" ["The Denied Identity"], one can conduct an analysis based on the poetry of Dominican culture (see Odalís G. Pérez: *La identidad negada. Los caminos de la patria montonera.* Eds. Identidades Vivas, Imp. Editora Mani, Santo Domingo, 2003 pp. 31-32 y pp. 35-39).

> *¿A cuáles dioses acude el poeta en los trazados y constituyentes basales de La patria montonera? Los per-*

> *sonajes que aparecen ya perplejos, ya distantes, ya presentes en el conjunto poemático, sitúan el acontecimiento pero no como crónica o texto historilógico, sino más bien como código-imagen de una cultura que habla por sus bordes, centros y miradas. La presentificación de mitos y supuestos contratos rituales que observamos en el orden iniciático del poema, remite a un espacio donde el conflicto narra sus propias fuerzas, su edad en el marco de una historia colonial y poscolonial, dependiente e independiente, fontal y crítica (ver Odalís G. Pérez, Op.cit.p.31).*
>
> [To which gods does the poet turn to along the path to the mountainous homeland? The characters already appear perplexed, already distant, already present in the poetic set. They situate the event, but not as a chronicle or historic text, but more as an image-code of a culture that speaks for its borders, centers and outlooks. The presentation of myths and supposed ritual contracts that we observe in the initial order of the poem refers to a space in which conflict narrates its own powers, its age in the context of a colonial and post-colonial history, dependent and independent, fontal and critical (see Odalís G. Perez, Op. cit., p.31).]

In the context of Caribbeanism and Neo-Caribbeanism, a path of the denied identities becomes visible. These resistant identities, as indicated in the work cited above, are emphasized in the critical attitude of founding signs and transmitters of messages of memory in the context or approach of a poetry of culture, of the times and spaces of a root text that is constructed from a memory marked by cultural movement:

> *A todo lo largo de las discusiones que genera actualmente el concepto de identidad cultural nacional, observamos la resistencia que surge en el archivo intelectual dominicano, en torno a nuevas visiones y posibilidades que instruyen dicho concepto, principalmente en el marco de los nuevos programas culturales, educativos, lingüísticos, artísticos, políticos y económico-sociales (Op.cit.,p.171).*
>
> [Throughout the process of the discussions currently generating the concept of national cultural identity, we see the resistance that arises in the Dominican intellectual archive, about new visions and possibilities that instruct this concept, particularly in the framework

> of the new cultural, educational, linguistic, artistic, political and socio-economic programs (Op. cit., p.171).]

We return, in this sense, to the historic-iconographic relationship–vision-image, culture-testimony, space-identity, oppression-life-culture in the multicultural Caribbean islands. Engravings, paintings, sculpture, photography, artistic installations, environmental actions, poetic performances and semiotic spaces of the Caribbean are inscribed in an aesthetic-cultural map, revealing a social, natural and political history of oppression and cultural sub-otherness.

From March 24-27, 2004, the Dominican National Commission for UNESCO organized the International Seminar on the Slave Route in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. The seminar contributed to the study of black cultures in the Caribbean, especially with respect to issues of race and cultural identity in the Dominican Republic. During the event, researchers and specialists presented research on ethnic and cultural representations of the Caribbean, Caribbeanism, and Neo-Caribbeanism, in the context of diverse Caribbean histories, under the cardinal of cultural and ethnic studies (see the contributions in said *Seminar.…of* Monique Boisseron, Martha Ellen Davis, Jesus Guanche, José G. Guerrero, Mervin A. Lewis, Rafael López Valdes, Luz María Martínez Montiell, Richard Price, Saly Price, Geo Ripley, Carlos Andujar, Pedro Urena Rib, Kimberly Eison Simmos and others).

Black Memory in the Caribbean is not only the memory of persons of African descent, but also of their oppressors. The root history and body history of cultural oppression seek to reveal the path to freedom and revolution forged by the political nuclei, rebellious cultures and rebuilders of dominant ethno-historical paradigms.

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"Haiti: Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Black Agency and International Speeches"

by Patrick Bellegarde-Smith

Haitian nationhood and nationality are situated at the confluence of two great revolutions, the Haitian Revolution of 1791, and the French Revolution of 1789. Though connected in some ways, these revolutions were independent of one another, the first, responding to the angst of African-born slaves caught in the maelstrom of European and American imperial currents and colonialism. Early Haitian history holds significant lessons that seem valid for all small nations in the process of "becoming," on the eve of independence. Haiti happened to be the first nation to emerge from colonialism in the Caribbean and Latin America, at the end of the 18th century. The poet, philosopher and statesman Aimé Césaire, from Martinique, wrote that "[Haiti] is the first country of modern times that [had] posed to reality… and this in all its social, economic, and racial complexity, the question the 20th century has endeavored to solve, the colonial problem. " Césaire then added his now famous formulation, "Haiti where negritude stood up for the first time," when it told the world that Blacks believed in their humanity.

Haiti has a number of "firsts." It was the first modern state of African origin, followed later by Liberia. It was the first independent state in the Caribbean and Latin America, followed by Mexico and Venezuela. In Haiti, we find the only successful slave revolt in all history that resulted in a genuine revolution – Spartacus having failed in ancient Rome. Though the Haitian Revolution of 1791 changed the world irremediably, it is the least studied revolutions that are, in any case, rare events in world history. Color and "race" are an indication as to why this is so.

The bold action of enslaved Africans in *Saint-Domingue*/Haiti led to the view by slave-owning nations that Haiti was a terrorist state. They had challenged the status quo of the late 18th century international system. The nascent Haitian state declared all citizens to be "black," notwithstanding their ethnic and racial origins; the government seized all lands having

belonged to the white planters, to distribute later to officers and combatants of the wars of independence, in Latin America's first land reform; the country established the first "law of return," – followed by Israel in 1948— in which any enslaved black person, upon landing in Haiti, would become a citizen of the new republic. In this, Haiti was establishing its credentials as a front for "terrorism." But, there was more. Haiti gave men, guns, and ammunition to Simon Bolivar at his two landings in the country while fighting for independence in South America. President Alexandre Petion merely asked that Bolivar free the slaves where his armies proved victorious. Petion is seen as a founder of Pan Americanism. Haiti backed Mexico in its struggle against Spain, and Greece, against the Ottoman Empire. Earlier in 1779, before there was a Haiti, black boys and men fought to establish the United States, notably at the Battle of Savannah, Georgia, under the leadership of French General de Rochambeau. The new Haitian state collapsed the definition of citizenship, nationality, race and color, based on what Europeans had left as their legacy on racial matters, *defiant* in its new-found blackness. Haitians of the first hour were defining for themselves what it meant to be "black" in Latin America. Haiti's revolution had been global in its reach, its sense of freedom and its humanistic ideology, universal.

What was the world's response to this perceived threat to all slave-owning nations? The response was swift: a crippling economic embargo and a long and protracted ostracism that would last decades. The "savage" blacks had overturned slavery, chased the planters and killing a number of these, and gave sustenance to enslaved populations throughout the continent.

Both the ostracism and the embargo were daunting. The pro "working class" positions seemingly adopted by Haiti's first Chief of State Jean-Jacques Dessalines, led to his assassination in October 1805. The regicide was, in retrospect, a counter-revolution, spelling the end of the Haitian Revolution. Gone was the grand alliance between (mostly black) slaves and (mostly brown) *affranchis*. An incipient bourgeoisie, the sons (and daughters) of white slave-owners, reasserted its rights to riches and political power that would last essentially to this date. Early Latin American *pensadores* were *criollo*s, white men whose roots and European civilization

served as an anchor. The class origin of early Haitian social thinkers was similar to their Latin American counterparts. Once in power, these thinkers provided a sharp turn in Haitian ideology, though the country retained still its reputation as a dangerous example, as slavery continued to exist in the Caribbean, Brazil and in the United States. "Blackness" revealed its revolutionary potential in the Haitian Revolution of 1791-1805, but no longer.

The new Haitian bourgeoisie had the same social position, the same ideals as the American bourgeoisie – the "Patriots" who rebelled in 1776, the same principles, the same desires as the new Latin American elites that were coming to power. Bourgeois nationalisms (labeled patriotism then), were invariably linked, but there was the pesky matter of "race" that set the Haitians apart. In Haiti, Baron de Vastey, a trusted advisor to King Henry I, had called for European colonization as early as 1817. The historians Thomas Madiou and Joseph Saint-Remy argued for miscegenation to help in "civilizing" Haiti. Beaubrun Ardouin wrote that mulattos were the ones "fit" to rule over Haiti. They believed in white superiority, but not in white supremacy, an important distinction. The period of "white envy" dominated the Haitian ideological discourse after 1805.

The philosopher Demesvar Delorme (1831-1901), dreamt that Haiti would be an integral part of French *civilisation*. Louis-Joseph Janvier (1855-1911), was a disciple of Auguste Comte, as was Antenor Firmin (1850-1911), and Justin Devot (1857-1921). Under heightened racism emanating from American and European intellectual centers in mid-19th century, Haitian intellectuals felt the need to defend the possibility of black progress through education. They thought that the benefits of Western civilization could be taught to their hapless congeners just as they themselves were. Dantes Bellegarde (1877-1966), a sophisticated apologist for French cultural hegemony as the best guarantor of continued Haitian independence, wrote: "What would become of a Dahomean islet in the midst of the Americas?" He answered his own question by arguing that the League of Nations' Trusteeship Council would be arguing Haiti's fate! Absent were the notions of an autonomous African civilization, or a Haitian culture within it. Haitian social thought at that time was derivative of Western Europe, as were largely those of Latin American thinkers who

themselves were in the process of killing, subduing, pacifying, assimilating, and "civilizing" their indigestible Native Americans, as true heirs of Spanish colonial policies. The Haitian intelligentsia as part of the country's ruling class, did not make any original arguments leading to an indigenized philosophical discourse in which all Haitians could see themselves.

Dantes Bellegarde had warned his countrymen in February 1907, "God is too far, and the United States is too close." The U.S. invasion in 1915 and subsequent Occupation 1915-1934, were the "end point" of many U.S. interventions on behalf of foreign capitalists and against perennial rural peasant revolts against the Port-au-Prince oligarchy. Haiti's foremost diplomat in the 20th century, Bellegarde never fell for the "allure" of Africa, though he participated in several Pan-African conferences organized by his friend W.E.B. DuBois. He was a staunch believer of DuBois' concept of the "talented tenth," in which the efflorescence of the black world would school their unfortunate brethren in the ways of civilization. Bellegarde remained mired in the French intellectual orbit. He despised the Black American Booker T. Washington and the Jamaican-American Marcus Garvey, as being anti-intellectual. His political allies were the Puerto Ricans Luis Muñoz Marín and Teodoro Moscoso, the Venezuelan Romulo Betancourt, and the Costa Rican José Figueres, together with an assorted number of eminent French intellectual figures such as Paul Claudel, Henri Bergson, Jacques Maritain.

But there were countervailing discourses to the dominant ideological system in Haiti. The peasants were "revolting" incessantly, going back into "*marronage*," becoming maroons as the slaves of yore, in an independent Haiti. Haitians were neither Christians nor French-speaking. They spoke Haitian (Creole), and practiced Vodou, a creolized religious and spiritual system originating in West and Central Africa. These cultural institutional landmarks of the Haitian creative genius were disparaged by whites and the Haitian elite. With the advent of the American occupation of 1915, all bets were off. The dormant ideologies erupting from the Haitian war of independence resurfaced in middle-class intellectuals as *indigenisme* and worldwide negritude. In a larger sense, negritude as a cultural phenomenon, was a part of a greater Latin American awareness finding expression in the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the APRISTA movements

in Peru and Bolivia, in the negrismo of Cuba and similar developments in Puerto Rico.

In lectures in the first part decade of the 20th century, and his subsequent magnum opus, "*Ainsi parla l'oncle* (Thus Spoke the Uncle)," Jean Price-Mars inaugurated a cultural revolution in the land, and accused previous intellectuals of "cultural bovarysm," of pretending to be what they were not, as Madame Bovary in Gustave Flaubert's celebrated novel. Haitians were not "colored Frenchmen," but the descendants of Africans who had forged a new nationality and whose culture was vibrant and unique in the context of the Americas. To "show" both the internal context and the international and the global dimensions of what had transpired, Price-Mars coined the term "africology," – the study of peoples of primary African descent throughout the world. Pre-existing culture and the vast achievements of the Haitian people led intellectuals of the middle-class in Haiti to "re-imagine" blackness as both a potent national and transnational force. For his prescient thought, Jean Price-Mars became the "Father of Negritude," in the words of Senegalese poet and statesman, Leopold Sedar Senghor, and his acolytes, Aimé Césaire and Leon-Gontran Damas.

Haiti, once more, was *defiant*. Earlier at the dawn of the 19th century, it had dared to proclaim the humanity of all blacks. Early in the 20th century, it proclaimed its cultural genius to the world, and the world listened… at least in Africa and the African diaspora. That new understanding of itself, led Haiti to its first middle-class governments – those of Dumarsais Estime, Francois and Jean-Claude Duvalier, and Michel-Joseph Martelly. Worldwide, the negritude movements became a vector for African independence from European colonialism. Once more, Haitians were teaching the world about what it meant to be "black" in the context of the Caribbean, the Americas and the world.

Suggested Readings:

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"The Cocolos: From Discriminated Immigrants to Cultural Heritage of the Dominican Nation and All of Humanity"

by Avelino Stanley

The day UNESCO proclaimed the Los Guloyas Cocolo Theater Dance Troupe of San Pedro de Macorís a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, a flood of national pride and emotion was unleashed. As soon as the news was released, on Friday morning, November 25, 2005, local media posted it on their web pages and the international press published the news around the world. It was an amazing joy for the whole country. I remember this day; in the midst of the celebration the announcement provoked, I asked the group's director at that time, the nearly octogenarian Daniel Henderson (Linda), how she felt. Her response was a faithful interpretation of what I felt:

— "I don't know what it all means. I just know that something big is happening."

The following day, in a report published in *El Caribe* newspaper, Felipe Simón (Rudy), second in command at the paper, was asked about the work of Los Guloyas. Rudy's response showed that he possessed a sophisticated level of awareness about the role the group plays: "Over the course of all these years, we have had the opportunity to travel to various countries around the world promoting our folklore and flying the Dominican flag." One month later, the Municipal Town Hall Council of San Pedro de Macorís declared November 25th "Municipal Guloya Day," to be celebrated annually. The year before, 2004, the Museum of the Dominican Man presented Los Guloyas as a candidate to UNESCO, in an effort to have this "Dominican expression" recognized as an example of cultural heritage of humanity.

The small plaque categorically establishes Los Guloyas as an intangible piece of Dominican cultural heritage. They are a genuine expression of national identity. An important detail to point out: this cultural manifestation does not have its origin in this land. It was brought to the Dominican Republic on a migratory wave of Cocolos, an ethnic group that

arrived in large numbers to the country and became part of Dominican society. This fusion contributed to the local culture in the areas of folklore, gastronomy, religiosity…Descendents of the Cocolos have shown an equally impressive list of contributions, inside and outside the country, in the areas of sports, literature and the fine arts. These details are not generally viewed by those who study the social processes of nationalization through a unidirectional lense. The State is not the only creator of national identity. Luis Castells, Spanish specialist in nationalization and identity issues, said in a research paper published by a joint university team in 2011, "Local and regional spaces have not only been receptors but also generators of identity. In fact, that which is local can serve as a form of identification with the national…" [1]

Today it is not uncommon to hear about the recognition by UNESCO referred to as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Nevertheless, a hundred years ago, who would have imagined that a cultural expression of the Cocolos would have been declared a symbol of identity of Dominican culture? Their work had not yet begun to transform the only machine capable of transforming the intangible: time. Chaplin, with an obsession of seeing everything from the silver screen, said "Time is the best author: it always writes the perfect ending." Today, certainly, the Los Guloyas ending is perfect. However, we know that when it all started, far from this perfection, it was a bitter and painful beginning.

The Cocolos arrived to the Dominican Republic at the end of the 19th century and in larger numbers at the beginning of the 20th century. They were attracted by the modern sugar industry that was vigorously on the rise. The industry began to flounder when Dominicans refused to do the arduous job of cutting, stripping and chopping the cane. The daily wage was so low that local peasants preferred to subsist on their smallholdings. This reality forced the sugar producing companies to seek other options among the inhabitants of the British West Indies. In this way, the nascent sugar industry managed to survive the serious threat of labor shortage. Descendents of freed slaves from the British colonies entered the country to fill these openings and to meet their own urgent needs to survive. On their islands, they were so close to misery and so far from home that hunger plagued them day after day.

The inhabitants of the British Caribbean left the islands in small boats known as *goletas* and arrived in droves to the Dominican cane-cutting ports. They came with their belongings strung over their shoulders and their hearts full of hope. However, between the sugar-cane plantations and the *bateyes* – the company towns located on the plantations – they found themselves in a sea of penury and the swells of this poverty battered them day and night.

The reality they encountered would profoundly and permanently affect them. These immigrants never imagined that, in addition to low wages and difficult working conditions, they would also be subjected to the pain of rejection. This rejection was the result of being from a subjugated social class, coming from a distant land and from not speaking the language of the country where they landed. The final and most devastating misfortune came because of the color of their skin.

"*Estos desgraciados cocolos… vienen a Macorís, no a vivir, no a fundar, sino a trabajar cuatro meses, en los cuales solo cambian de traje en carnaval para pedir limosnas bailando en las calles públicas...*" ["These damned Cocolos…they come to Macorís, not to live, not to lay down roots, but to just work for four months and the only time they change clothes is during the carnival so they can beg for money dancing in the streets."][2]

"*Necesitamos inmigrantes sanos, inteligentes y laboriosos, no solo como nuevos factores de producción de riqueza del país… sino hasta como elemento biológico que acrezca la vitalidad de nuestra raza ...*" ["We need healthy, intelligent and hard-working immigrants, not just new production factors for the wealth of the country…but rather biological elements that will help increase the vitality of our race."][3]

"*Necesitan permiso para inmigrar al país los naturales de colonias europeas en América, los de Asia, los de África y los de Oceanía, así como los braceros de otra raza que no sea la caucásica. ...*" ["Nationals from the European colonies in the Americas, Asia, Africa and Oceania need permission to immigrate to the country like all farm workers from other non-Caucasian races."] [4]

"*Se ennegrecen la playa, los depósitos y las calles, con el desembarco de cocolos.*"["The arrival of the Cocolos here is darkening the beach, the stores and the streets."][5]

"*La historia de un negro no le interesa a nadie. …de nosotros lo único que ha interesado siempre es nuestro trabajo… Y, a cambio, nos han devuelto mucho rechazo, mucho desprecio por ser negros.*" ["The history of a black man is of no interest to anyone…the only thing that interests us is our work…And, in exchange, they have rejected us and heaped disdain upon us for being black."][6]

Immigrants from the British Antilles were subjugated by the urgent need to survive. For that reason, they buried their difficulties and made do with the low wages they received. They resisted. They also protected themselves under the vanity of being subjects of the British Crown. However, on Dominican soil, people threw mud, dripping with the contemptuous word "cocolos," at the British coat of arms. "Cocolos" not because they were from the island of Tortola as was thought. No. "Cocolo" became synonymous with "damned black Haitian." The term was already offensive on the island well before the sugar industry began in the last quarter of the 19th century. In 1980, Fradique Lizardo wrote about the origin of this term, attributing it to an African tribe of "cocolisos." In 1999, Rafael Núñez Cedeño, Dominican linguist and professor in Boston, definitively set the record straight. He affirmed that the word "cocolo" came directly from Africa, from the sub-group *lapes-cocolí*. [7]

The origin of the suffering endured by the Cocolos was not just in the migratory waves that came to the Dominican Republic. This was a continuation of an old wound, an ancestral wound. To understand the origins of this treatment, one must look at the slavery system instituted by European slave owners in the New World. Hugh Thomas[8] calculated that between 1492 and 1870, some 54,000 shiploads full of enslaved Africans crossed the ocean from the coasts of Africa to America. He wrote that during this period, 13 million slaves were shipped from Africa and two million died during the passages. The remaining 11 million slaves were distributed all around America. Of this total, from 1700 to 1786, the British brought 610,000 slaves to Jamaica and 2,130,000 to the rest of the West Indies.

In addition, between 1844 and 1917, the British brought some 416,000 Indians from the East Indies to their colonial possessions in the Caribbean, according to Hebert Pérez Concepción.[9] In Haiti, when it was still known as Saint-Domingue and the Bois Caimán rebellion broke out in 1791, there were 500,000 slaves cruelly dominated by 10,000 whites. The work these slaves were forced to do was so brutal that their offspring, born in American territory, had an average life expectancy of only about twenty years. Those who were brought over, on the other hand, often did not last for more than five to seven years. The horrendous treatment of these 11 million slaves, cruel and inhuman, is the origin of the pain inherited by the Cocolos.

Anti-slavery outcries soon turned into an unstoppable wave and eventually resulted in abolition, which became law in the British Caribbean in 1838. Although reluctantly accepted, the new legislation did not bring about the hoped for well-being. In 1850, millions of liberated slaves, men and women, were abandoned to their own devices. It was not a rosy picture for those in the West Indies. As Spanish singers, Ana Belén and Víctor Manuel, say in their song: "Quien puso el desasosiego en nuestras entrañas, nos hizo libres pero sin alas, nos dejó el hambre y se llevó el pan."[10] [Those who kept us captive have now released us, but we have no wings to fly, they have left us with hunger and taken away the bread.]

Thrown into a subsistence economy, the British colonies were in the grip of famine, which forced the inhabitants of the West Indies to seek other options. To survive, they had to sell the only thing they owned: their work force. The second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th, marked the stampede period in the British colonies. Some went home to their county, England, where they were greeted with more resentment than enthusiasm. However, the vast majority set their sights on their Caribbean neighbors. The main countries to receive them were Panama, Cuba, Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico.

In Panama, they got involved in building the railroads and the huge demands of building the Canal. Gerardo Maloney[11] wrote that between 1880 and 1889, some 84,000 workers emigrated from Jamaica to Panama, of which 62,000 returned. He also affirmed that between 1904 and 1912,

45,107 workers were recruited in Panama; 23,037 of whom were from the British Caribbean, mainly Barbados.

In the other receiving countries, the demand for labor was fueled by a modern sugar industry that was becoming huge based on expanding North American ambition. Joel James, José Millet and Alexis Alarcón, in *El vudú en Cuba*[12], reported that between 1915 and 1929, nearly one million Antillean workers passed through Eastern Cuba and that 40 percent of them were from Jamaica. The fact that Puerto Rico was first a Spanish colony then a United States territory starting in 1898 made access to the migration records difficult at that time. However, between 1898 and 1942, forty-three sugar production centers came into existence. There are also press accounts from that period that report about the migratory waves to this island from the Minor Antilles.

Harry Hoetink[13], a Dutch anthropology and sociology professor who lived in the Dominican Republic and other Caribbean countries, reported that in the first decade of the 20th century, there were three to four thousand workers in the country, mostly British subjects. The registration of inhabitants from the British Antilles in the Dominican Republic became more thorough with the completion of the 1920 census, an often-cited document.[14] According to this census, of the 49,520 foreigners living in the country, 5,763 were immigrants from the British Antilles. In the second census, completed in 1935, there were 9,272 inhabitants from the British Antilles living in Dominican territory. Needless to say, the number of people living there illegally was high, and therefore not reflected in the censuses. The majority of these illegal residents lived in the sugar mills, *bateyes*, of San Pedro de Macorís. The second most important settlement was in La Romana, although people lived in sugar mills in other areas of the country. No matter where they settled, the relentless harassment these people faced was a constant burden of discrimination.

However, persistence is more powerful than humiliation. The Cocolos resisted. In this resistance rests the key to what Chaplin called "the perfect ending." That disdainful comment from 1900, "the only time they change clothes is during the carnival so they can beg for money dancing in the streets" took on a life of its own that went beyond "carnival." More than

carnival, it was the identity of those immigrants, which they revived every year around Christmas time. There were many celebratory expressions. There were the cock fights or the fights of the exotic bird, the paluil. Still fresh in the collective consciousness of San Pedro de Macorís is David and Goliath, based on the Biblical story of the battle between good and evil. Very few still remember the Bull or the Dance of the Oxen from the 1920s and 1930s. The characters, painted in reddish purple, dressed up like oxen with real tails and horns. One also remembers the stilt dances where the characters donned fringed jackets covered with little mirrors. Among the most attractive was the dance of the *momís*, which was performed amidst the woodcutters. All of these expressions became portraits, like aged sepia-toned prints, and took the path of forgetting. Now the only expression from those days that remains is the wild Indian, or dance of the Indians. This is what is now called Los Guloyas.

This "carnival," with the passing of the decades, no longer refers to the Cocolos from Saint Kitts and Nevis, but rather the Dominican Los Guloyas. This intangible expression catapulted into the most concrete cultural contribution left by the Cocolos. It was a fusion that brought life and color to Dominican culture. This "carnival," 105 years later, has come full circle. Out of the 64 submissions to UNESCO in 2005, 43 were chosen as Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, one of which was the Los Guloyas Cocolo Theater Dance Troupe of San Pedro de Macorís.

Today, Los Guloyas are a cultural treasure for all Dominicans and all of humanity, as they fill the country with joy and pride. There is only one aspect of Los Guloyas that still causes us pain. It has been six years since the UNESCO declaration, and the authorities have not yet begun to apply the Preservation Plan. This plan is part of a commitment assumed before UNESCO when the country applied for recognition. Hopefully, when they finally make this decision it will not be too late; since the UNESCO declaration, Linda and Rudy have passed away. We should not let anymore of Los Guloyas die before the Preservation Plan is put into effect.

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[3.] Speech given to the nation by President Cáceres on February 27, 1910. General Archives of the Nation, 1910. Cited by Orlando Inoa, Ob. Cit, pg. 35.

[4.] Article 3 of Law No. 5075 on Immigration, from March 11, 1912. Cited by José del Castillo. "La inmigración de braceros azucareros en la República Dominicana, 1900-1930." Santo Domingo, CENDIA, 1978, pg. 44.

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[6.] Avelino Stanley, Tiempo muerto. Cololo Editorial, Santo Domingo, 1998, Pg. 7.

[7.] Rafael Núñez Cedeño. "Desentrañando el término cocolo". Periodical of El Siglo, in two parts. November 6, 1999, pg. 3C, and November 13, 1999, pg. 7C.

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[9.] Hebert Pérez Concepción. "Introducción al Caribe", In: Pensar el Caribe. Five essays on the Caribbean region. Various authors. Editorial Oriente, Santiago de Cuba, 2004. Pg. 32.

[10.] From the song: "España Camisa Blanca", by Ana Belén and Víctor Manuel.

[11.] Gerardo Maloney. El Canal de Panamá y los trabajadores antillanos. Panamá 1920: cronología de una lucha. In: bdigital.binal.ac.pa/bdp/volumes/XXIX/Volume_XXIX_P3. Pdf.

[12.] Joel James, José Millet & Alexis Alarcón. El vudú en Cuba. Centro Dominicano de Estudios de la Educación (CEDEE), Santo Domingo, 1992, pgs. 53-54.

[13.] Harry Hoetink. Santo Domingo y el Caribe inglés, ensayos sobre historia y sociedad. Fundación Cultural Dominicana, Santo Domingo, 1994, pg 106. (The first edition is from 1962.

[14.] In this case, we have taken from Julio César Mota Acosta, Los cocolos en Santo Domingo. Editorial La Gaviota, 1977, pg. 19.

"African Ethnic Groups and their Influences on Haitian Society"

by Jean Ghasmann Bissainthe

Twentieth century Haitian society is tied to its past and to the African somatic and psychological influences that have shaped modern Haiti's culture. The ethnic groups that influenced Haiti most strongly in the 17th century are the Mandinga (Banmana and Malinké) and the Dahomey people (Aradá, Mina-Popó, Mina-Nagó), who were uprooted from the Gulf of Guinea. The vocabulary and syntactic contributions of the Banmana (Bambara) to the formation of the Creole language clearly indicate their predominance among the Haitian population in the second half of the 17th century. The African ethnicities and groups that most contributed to the formation of the linguistic and religious culture of Haiti are the Banmana, the Nagó (Yoruba), the Aradá and the Congolese.

During the Haitian Revolution, the Bafiote and Bonsongo of the Congo, the Nagó and the Ndoquino (Carabalí) of Nigeria all participated.

Dr. Jean Price-Mars classified African ethnicities in Haiti, but did not catalogue numbers of each or their places of origin. Furthermore, he compared the Sudanese blacks by emphasizing variations and subdivisions based on skin color. Price-Mars divided the Nigerian people into four groups: a) the eastern Nigerians, or black Nilotic peoples of the eastern Sudan, of Hamitic lineage, slender with flattened features and tightly curled hair; b) the Nigerians of the central French Sudan, the Hausa group; c) the Nigerians of the western Sudan and Senegal. Among these are the Mandinga who mixed with the Peuls or Foufouldé of Judaeo-Syrian origin; and d) the Nigerians of the Guinean litoral (Jean-Price Mars, 2000, p. 89).

Duvalier followed his colleague and classified the Africans as Sudanese (Senegalese, Jolofes, Mandinga-Bambara); Guineans (Ibo-Nagó, Caplaou-Fon, Aradá-Agoua); and Congolese (Fon, Mondongo, Mayombé, etc.) (Duvalier, 1968, p. 189).

Prior to the colonial period, African lands were inhabited by chains of coexisting societies that often fought among themselves for territorial control. Colonial rule uprooted and dismantled these local and regional relationships. Some ethnic groups constituted closed universes that operated as non-hierarchical or segmented societies. They defined themselves based on traditional behaviors transmitted from generation to generation such as language, diet, religious practices, taboos, etc. In Haiti, we cannot speak of ethnicity, but rather a cultural community with specific features expressed in customs, language, and religious beliefs. These cultural groups exist independently of the State, and in certain circumstances, have acquired political appointments.

African peoples are the product of many migrations, contacts and racial intermixing that occurred over many centuries. Amselle and M'Bokolo argue:

> *Debido a la antigüedad y la complejidad de las mezclas (migraciones individuales, esclavitud, uniones interétnicas, etc., los criterios somáticos no son fiables. Primeramente los colonizadores utilizan la palabra raza, no solo porque la idea estaba de moda sino porque no hubo subyugación más radical que la que marca en los rasgos físicos*
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> [Due to the antiquity and the complexity of the mix (individual migrations, slavery, intermarraige, etc.), the somatic criteria cannot be determined with certainty. First, the colonizers used the term race, not just because the idea was in fashion, but because there was no more radical form of subjugation than that based on visible, physical traits] (Amselle & M'Bokolo, 1999, pp. 115-116).

They later defined race by language to distinguish among slaves by their place of origin. Therefore, the authenticity of the Banmana and Congolese peoples depends on their spoken languages. The inhabitants of the language zones of the Mandé family in Mali, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, and Guinea, and those of the Bantu languages of the west (Kongo, Kumbundu and Umbundu), are distinct among themselves. Similarly, there were differences among the Bacongo groups in the south,

of modern-day Gabon, who spoke Vili dialects (Fiote, Bavili, Sivil, Tsivili) and the Kikongo or Congolese speakers of the northeast coast of Angola, which includes modern Angola, Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville, as distinct from those of northeast Gabon (Kikumbe, Kikunyi, Kidondo, Kituba, Kiyombé, Kiñanga, Kisigombé, and Kintandu). The other Bacongo groups, the Mundamba, the Mumbala, the Babembe, the Bakamba, the Bambamba, the Malemba, the Mayombé, the Mumbaque, the Kariba, the Baluba, and the Lubatos of southern Zaire or northern Angola felt somewhat superior to other ethnicities. However, in Haiti two superior groups from the Congo were recognized: the Mayombé and the Monsombé (Mosambico). The latter was the Macua-Mosambico culture from the north of Mozambique; cultural similarities with the ancient Egyptians suggests the possibility of contacts between the two groups.

The Soninké, the Congolese Macua-Mosambico, the Yoruba and the Ibo had kinship, friendship, and commercial links with Arabs, Egyptians, Hebrews, and Phoenicians (Dos Santos Baptista, 1951, p. 13). The migration of the Yoruba toward the territories of Ghana and Benin during the Middle Ages gave rise to various cultures that merged with other ethnicities, groups and subgroups over time, like the Adja-Ewe, who later divided and formed other groups known as the Popó, Aradá, Barbas or Baribás, Gâ, Lucumí and Mina Nagó. According to the origin myth of the Yoruba tribe, all are children of Odudúa, a deity of the Ile-Ife territory of western Nigeria. Other interesting examples are the Mandinga, the Congo and the Carablí – the ethnic groups from whom the Haitian people acquired most of their characteristics. Ethnologists recognize the existence of 26 groups within the Mandé family, originating in the southwest of Mauritania and Mali approximately 2,000 years ago. Despite their cultural and linguistic affinities, the Soninké, the Malinké, the Bámbara and the Diula, who considered themselves superior to other ethnic groups because of skills and historical legacies, were hostile rivals.

Haitian society must be considered in light of the political and military philosophy of the 18th century Congolese, which encompasses both absolute and limited power. The Congo was always governed by a king, but his power and authority were never static. There were periods in which the king received full powers from his subjects, while at other times he had to

consult them before making decisions. The same phenomenon is seen in the Yoruba Kingdom, but the general tendency was to place limits on the powers of the monarch.

The yearning to become the king or supreme chief was a failing of all the black *caudillos* who rose to power in the *Saint-Domingue* colony. They gave themselves titles and sported military garb to receive salutes from their underlings. Each locale had a supreme chief or king, and his followers were the first to grant him absolute power. Thus between 1791 and 1795, in the northern region, Macaya was the King of L'Acul; Juan Jean François – a prominent black leader – was the King of Fort-Liberté, Sainte Suzanne, Grande-Rivière du Nord and Limonade; Youé was the King of Limbé; Jean Louis Le Parisien was the King of Dondon; and Barthélémy – a former collaborator of Boukman – was the King of Petite-Anse.

Toussaint, of Aradá origin, fought and defeated the chiefs of the Nagó, Congo and Ibo encampments. The Congolese leader Macaya escaped from prison and was later recaptured and disappeared (Archivo General de Simancas, War Secretariat—AGS.S.G. Leg. 7157, exp. 19, #136. Letter of Juan Francisco to governor García, 6 May 1793; AGS, S.G. Leg. 7157, exp. 14. Letter of Biassou to Joaquín García y Moreno, governor of Santo Domingo, 16 Sept. 1793; John K. Thorton, 1993, pp. 14-18). Makaya was one of the black leaders who refused to reach a pact with the French commissioner sent by the Convention to pacify the slaves, arguing that the monarchy was the only form of government invented by God, declared: *"Yo no estoy dispuesto a tratar con regicidas pues soy súbdito de tres reyes, los de Francia, España y Congo."* ["I'm not going to deal with regicides because I am the subject of three kings, those of France, Spain and the Congo."]

All the best-known ethnic groups of Sudanese Africa—the Aradá, the Popó, the Lucumí, the Barbas or Baribás, the Nagó, the Gâ, and the Mina-Nagó originated from the Yoruba. Both in Haiti and Brazil, the Yoruba were introduced as Nagó, and others were named according to the ports from which they embarked, such as Malemba, Mina, and Luango because the slave traders paid more attention to the site from which they had taken the slaves than to the ethnic groups they represented. From a linguistic perspective, those who came from the Gulf of Guinea (from Senegal to

Nigeria) were classified as Sudanese groups; those from Cameroon to South Africa and East Africa were considered Bantu. Although there is a common lexicon and a basic syntactic system among almost the entire Bantu world, the term Bantu refers to a cultural, rather than an ethnic or racial group. The groups that have influenced the Haitian people most strongly culturally are the Bambara, the Aradá, the Nagó and the Congo. Recent studies have concluded that the Haitian language, a living expression of the cultural heritage of the Haitian people, acquired its syntax from the Yoruba and Banmana languages, that is, from the Sudanese tribes. Although the Congo region provided 60 percent of the black population of Haiti in the second half of the 18th century, its languages did not form the linguistic basis of the Haitian tongue.

The Congolese contributed greatly to the Haitian Revolution and Independence in political, military and religious terms. This new research undermines the thesis of the linguists Suzanne Comhaire Sylvain and Claire Lefèvre, who believe that Creole comes from Ewe and Fongbe, two of the Kwa languages spoken in Togo and Benin (formerly Dahomey). Even though these languages are of Sudanese origin, the Dahomeyan groups' linguistic contribution to Creole is slight, while the religious patterns they transmitted to the Haitian populace are quite strong.

As mentioned above, some Haitian groups considered themselves superior to the rest, such the Aradá, the Mundamba, the Macua-Mmozambicos, the Ibo, the Nagó and the Mandinga. After the Haitian Revolution, they obtained immense landholdings, and during the 18th and 19th centuries occupied top positions within the black military hierarchy. Yet, they tolerated the religion of the masses: Vodou. Haitian Independence was the product of the Haitian masses – the product of cohesion among blacks and their obligatory alliance with the mulatto population. However, the mulatto governments of Haiti, despite conniving with the Catholic and Protestant churches during the 19th and 20th centuries, could not destroy Vodou, which, as Price-Mars posits, is fundamental to the nation's social and political transformations of the nation. Today, Haitian governments no longer engage in this pernicious struggle, although overseas Protestant churches continue to seek to undermine Haitian identity to further their own ends.

Haitian ethnographers agree that the black residents of the *Saint-Domingue* colony largely came from the Congolese coast and Angola (Price-Mars, 2000, p. 71). The Congolese were divided among true Congolese groups, represented by the Mayombé and the Monsombé, and false Congolese from the jungle swamps. Saint-Méry was the first to establish the difference:

> *Los verdaderos congos o Congo Franco para servir de la expresión de Saint-Domingue salen de los reinos del Congo y de Angola, y son como todos los de esta costa, de una dulzura y de una alegría que les hace rebuscar. Amantes del canto, la danza y la apariencia, ellos son excelentes domésticos, y su inteligencia, su facilidad para hablar puramente el creole, sus rostros sonrientes y sin marca, sobre todo en las mujeres que no tienen pequeños crecimientos en la frente, y que la coquetería podría ser tolerada. Se distinguen las mujeres congoleñas por su cultura, porque ellas están acostumbradas con ésta en su país, y que en general los congos viven allí de consumir yuca, mucho más que de plátanos, que les gusta tanto que ser congo es sinónimo de comilón de plátanos.*
>
> [The real Congolese or the French Congolese, to use the Saint-Domingue expression, were from the kingdoms of the Congo and Angola. Like all people from this coast, they have a sweet and pleasant demeanor that makes them popular. Lovers of singing, dancing and adorning themselves, they make excellent domestics, and their intelligence, ease in speaking only Creole, smiling, unmarked faces, especially in the women, who do not have disfigured foreheads and whose coquetry is agreeably appropriate. Congolese women are distinguished by their culture because they were immersed in it in their home country. In general, the Congolese consume yucca much more than plantains, which they like so much that "Congolese" is synonymous with plantain-eater] (Saint-Méry, 1875, p. 38).

The Mayombé and the Monsombé, sometimes called "French blacks", come from the coasts of Cabinda, Luanda and Benguela. As Saint-Méry explains:

> *Los malimbe, sacados del reino del mismo nombre, son como todos los congoleños de una talla mediana y de una apariencia intermedia que les sitúan entre los senegaleses*

> *y los negros considerados en general como negros de la Costa de Oro. Continúa diciendo: "Los negros de Zaire, los Gabinda y Ambris mostraban en su carácter una apariencia ligera de orgullo que no tuvieron los otros habitantes que los avecinaban.*
>
> [The Malimbé, taken from the kingdom of the same name, are of medium height like all Congolese and have an intermediate appearance between the Senegalese and the Gold Coast blacks. The blacks of Zaire, the Baginda and Amris, display a slightly proud demeanor that neighboring groups do not manifest] (Ibid, p. 38).

Saint-Méry describes the slaves of Benin as an ancient tribe of Dahomey, which all Haitian social scientists consider to be the source of Haitian religions. He maintains that Benin provided only a few Africans to *Saint-Domingue*, as the sacrifice of prisoners was customary there, and later on, persons from the Ouaire Kingdom, which borders Benin on the south were seen there. The latter are very docile despite their proximity, and they all have a very dark appearance like those from the Gold Coast. This is not the case with persons from Benin, including the Mokos, nor with those from Galbar. They call themselves "Ibos" so as to not awaken preventive measures, and they use the same precaution for blacks from the Gabon River further south of Galbar, who are also weak and sickly (ibid, p. 37). In his work, Price-Mars writes, "The structure of the Dahomey religion has the same elements as our Vodou. In Dahomey certain gods, the spirits in general, are called *vodún*" (Price-Mars, 2000, p. 73).

Political unification and the religious homogeneity of the popular masses led to the end of slavery in Haiti. Price-Mars analyzes the issue of popular religion in Haiti throughout his essay and recognizes that—despite the similarities—Vodou, not Cuban Santería or other Afro-American religions, constitutes the cohesive factor of Haitian identity (ibid, p. 73). As Duvalier argues:

> *El tiempo hará su obra bajo el impulso de los aradá, de los ibo y de los dahomeyanos, los miembros de las diferentes tribus, se encontraron en la jungla para librarse al culto de los dioses de África. Insensiblemente, un trabajo de asimilación debía hacerse: los dioses se mezclaron, los ritos también. Y la religión de la tribu más emprendedora, la religión a los cuadros más sólidos a la jerarquía*

> *mejor organizada, debía prevalecer. Es así que el vodú predomina en las creencias y en el culto dahomeyano.*
>
> [Through the ages, under the influence of the Aradá, the Ibo and the Dahomeyans, the members of different tribes met in the jungle to celebrate the cult of the gods of Africa. Slowly and imperceptibly, assimilation had to occur: their gods were mixed up as were their rites. And the religion of the most ambitious tribe, the religion of the most solid cadres of the best organized hierarchy, had to prevail. That is how Vodou beliefs came to dominate in the Dahomeyan cult] (Duvalier, 1968, p. 197).

For Duvalier, the Juda or Aradá, the Ibo and the Fon were those who propagated Vodou and thus contributed to the cultural formation of the Haitian people (Duvalier, 1968, p. 194).

African mysticism is very powerful in Haiti and covers all aspects of social life. The veneration of ancestral spirits exists; popular beliefs remain current, and Vodou appears under a variety of names. The nocturnal dance called *rara* is performed by members of the Makayana congregations, or those called Sanpwèl and Bisango. The Bisango are commonly called "Zinminnin" in the Artibonito region in memory of the Azimini-Ndoki slaves of eastern Nigeria. This is especially true of the Calabar region, where the first slaves established secret societies in the island's jungles. The Bakongo of Angola and the Congo brought aquatic river and water spirits called *Bisimbi* to Vodou – understood as alien creatures.

The Makaya religion, similar to Vodou, was propagated by Don Pedro, an escaped slave from the Spanish side of the island who became a powerful priest based in the Petit-Goâve region. Saint-Méry reports on the presence of this famous black personage of Spanish origin in the 1750s and 1760s:

> *En 1768, se ha visto una danza llamada danza a don Pèdre o simplemente danza Pèdre, causar la muerte a los negros y los espectadores electrificados por el espectáculo de ese ejercicio convulsivo comparten la embriaguez de los actores, y aceleran por sus cantos y una medida rápida, una crisis que es común a todos. Un negro de Petit-Goâve, llamado Pedro, de origen español, aprovechándose de la credulidad de los de su raza y de su supersticiosa*

> *naturaleza y manera de ser, inventó una danza análoga a la del vodú a mediados del siglo XVIII, pero con un ritmo muy intenso. Para que el efecto fuese aún mayor, los negros ponían en la tafia o aguardiente de caña que bebía al bailar, pólvora de cañón bien molida. Y los efectos de la pólvora fueron tales que muchos negros morían en medio de fuertes convulsiones. Las autoridades prohibieron la danza de Don Pèdre con penas graves, pero ineficientes.*
>
> [In 1768 a dance called Don Pedro's dance or simply Pedro's dance appeared and caused the death of blacks and spectators, who were amazed by the spectacle of this drunken, convulsive exercise accelerated by wild songs and rapid beats. A black from Petit-Goâve named Pedro, of Spanish origin, taking advantage of the credulity of those of his race and their superstitious nature, invented this dance analogous to Vodou in the middle of the 18th century and gave it a very intense rhythm. So that the effect would be even greater, the blacks put finely ground gunpowder in the tafia or cane liquor that they drank before dancing. The effects of the gunpowder were such that many died of their convulsions. The authorities prohibited Don Pedro's dance with severe, but insufficient, penalties.] (Saint-Méry, 1875, p. 60).

Duvalier believes that the mystic history of black leaders such as Mackandal, Boukman and Pedro must be understood as part of the empire of the manifestations of the *luases* Loco, Ogoun Ferraille, Pemba, Caplaou Pemba, who symbolize powder and fire (Duvalier, 1968, p. 203). The Petro rite merged with that of Simbi Makaya, begun by the witch doctor, Padrejuan (Padrejón), sometime in the 1670s. Afterward, François Makandal consolidated it in the 1740s and 1750s, and Macaya then reformulated it between 1770 and 1780. They were all fugitive slaves who organized and led revolts between 1679 and 1780 in the cities of Port-de-Paix (Northwest), Cabo Haitiano (North), Fort-Dauphin, Quartier Morin, Limonade, (Northeast) and others. For the followers of the Petro rites, Don Juan Pedro, upon his death, became an important spirit within the Makayana sect called "ti Jean Petro", the beloved son of the feminine spirit Erzulie Dantor. In the Rada rite (Dahomey and Yoruba), two of the three drums that are used have Spanish names such as *el adjunto* (the mother of the drums) of one meter or more in height, *el hunto* (together) or the *segundo* (second). The smallest called *boulah* (baby) or *gonave* is 40 to 50

centimeters high and takes its name from Allah, the supreme being or solar energy. The Congolese rite of Haiti also uses three drums of different sizes called *manman* (mother), *gran* (large) and *katabou* (small). The Petro rite has only two drums, the *manman* and the *segundo*. Saint-Méry observed that in the *chica* or *shika* dance or the African *calenda*, characterized by the movement of the lower parts of the body below the waist, uses two drums: the *manman* and the smaller *bam-boulah* (ibid, 1875, p. 53). In Santo Domingo, the three drums of the Rada rite include two twins (the *chivita* and the *alcahuete*) and the *palo mayor*.

Despite the multiplicity of African ethnicities represented in the Haitian slave population, some groups were relatively more numerous. During the period between 1720 and 1780, western and central Africa provided almost 45 percent of the slaves for *Saint-Domingue*. The Gulf of Benin provided more than 28 percent, while slaves loaded from the coasts of Luango, Benguela and Malemba were mostly from the Congo and totaled approximately 60 percent. With a slave population that oscillated from 450,000 to 500,000 in the 1780s, almost 270,000 were Congolese. The preponderance of the Congolese and the Rada is reflected in the structure of the Vodou religion, whose principal deities are organized in complementary and parallel rites known as Rada, Congo and Petro, the last of which is of Creole origin, born in the context of slavery and resistance to oppression.

The Mondongo Congolese constitute the Kumbundu ethnic group of Bantu origin. Saint-Méry affirms that the Mondongos were feared among Africans for their ferocity and their passion for cannibalism although he does not establish any differences among them (Saint-Méry, 1875, p. 39). However, Duvalier expresses his doubts and places them probably in Guinea, later contradicting himself by stating that not all were Congo Pelé. The Haitian ethnologist erroneously classifies the Congolese Moussondi and the Mondongo Bratassi in different groups, when in fact they belong to the same ethnicity. Until modern times, Bratassi continued to be a higher spirit of the Moussondi de Moussambé tribe in the Congo. The Mondongos perpetuated the domination of their hereditary and psychological traits. However, not all of them were so ferocious, and those of Calenda were good-hearted and represented elements of progress (Duvalier, 1968, p. 201). But the Calenda

came from the Congo and Angola, that is, from the Camdombé rhythm and dance groups that are found in Brazil together with the Congo Pélé, and were brought to the Americas by Portuguese slave traders.

Almost all the principal groups from the colonial epoch had a derogatory slang name, either imposed by the colonists or by the slaves themselves. For example, the Ibo were also called "*Ibo pann kò a yo*" (the Ibos who hang themselves); the Congolese were called "*volè kabrit*" and "*mangé bannan*" (goat stealers and banana eaters); the Quiambas and Bambara "*volè kòden*" or "*volè mouton*" (turkey and sheep stealers); the Aradá "*manjé shyin*" and "*ava kòm yon aradá*" (dog eaters or *tacaño como un aradá*); the Mandingos, Bambara, Manni or Mahi Mahi "*volè poul*" (chicken thieves), etc. (Saint-Méry, 1875, p. 36). These offensive nicknames divided blacks among themselves and damaged their self-esteem. Violence often resulted from the use of these insults. Happily, when the trumpets of the great revolution sounded, the slaves united to overcome their religious, racial, social and economic differences, and triumphed over their exploiters. The cultural influence of the Congolese was three times greater than that of the Rada among the slave population of *Saint-Domingue*. However, the Rada and Petro nations predominated in the Haitian Vodou system. The explanation for this paradox could lie in the fact that the religious system of the Rada was more powerful and took root rapidly in the French colony, as the Aradá slaves arrived in large numbers during the first decades of the 18th century. By the middle of the 18th century, the western territory of the island had received more Congolese than Aradá, which produced a forced and uneasy coexistence among some spirits (*luases*), especially those that formed the pantheon of deities of the Nagó, Aradá and Congolese tribes.

Haitian Vodou is full of benign spirits who can cure, bless and bring good luck. However, there are also blood-thirsty, evil spirits, and zombification represents the degenerate side of Vodou. Some Calabar tribes (Ibo, Ibibio, Carabli, Efik) have had a strong influence on popular Haitian mystical beliefs. For example, the word *po-ngungun* used in the Haitian Creole dialect comes from Ibo (Mgugu) and refers to the part of the tabacco plant, a key element in Santería, magic, divination and almost all African religions. For Bantu speakers, the word means a bothersome person or a malign spirit, while in the Yoruba language *egugu* means the

spirit of a dead person. In the entire region bordering the Niger and Old Calabar Rivers, *egungun* refers to an idol or a sacred symbol that contains a vengeful spirit, the strongest of all the phantasms that appear 40 days after the death of an important leader. Zombification is utilized by evil-doers who set about to perturb the spirits traveling to another dimension, and this conduct is considered forbidden.

On the political and military level, Spanish authorities described Jean François, the most famous black general between 1789 and 1794, as a womanizing, high-strung, arrogant leader, and a stirring orator. Toussaint hated him so much that in 1800 he declared Jean François a bandit and called for his followers to be liquidated (AGI, Estado 3, # 10, letter of Juan Francisco Pétécou, Cádiz, 10 May 1803). Biassou was discredited as a chief for his brutal treatment of his subordinates. After his Ibo and Mosambé followers showed their discontent, Biassou retaliated furiously with frightful punishments and with the macabre executions of dozens of dissidents. Dessalines, a lieutenant of Toussaint, was overly ambitious for power and did everything to eliminate his chief. From 1802 on, he was completely loyal to the French and put himself at the service of Captain General Charles Leclerc. Both Dessalines and Christophe helped the French to uncover Toussaint's plans as he prepared a general insurrection to fortify his position as supreme commander to fight for independence with the help of the English and the Americans.

Throughout Haiti's history, rival clans jockeyed for control. Hatred, revenge, resentment and intransigence were constant. The founding fathers of Haiti were sucked into the political whirlwind by the inexorable forces of history. They named themselves military aristocracy, with the mission of protecting national borders and avoiding wars. They developed a mystique through membership, rooted in their commitment to force and perpetuation of power. This feeling and the intrigues that marked the development of the earliest structures of Haitian society relegated all other traits of the national psyche to a subordinate position. When the clan falls apart, its members fight among themselves. Haiti's Republican History is a series of battles and fratricidal wars. The bulk of Haitian society, the popular classes and the middle class, was and continues to be eternally deprived of a dignified life by each government in turn. This exclusion

fractures cultural identity and individual self-esteem and robs Haitians of the enjoyment of health, education, sanitation, adequate housing, decent jobs, etc.

The Haitian persona is robust when the individual rediscovers and affirms his or her cultural identity and feels integrated into society. Astute leaders must work to consolidate the traditions of the masses in the face of the threat of cultural annihilation from hegemonic countries. To abandon this struggle for cultural emancipation is to embrace a death sentence. Those who fail to denounce it are accomplices to the spiritual genocide of a nation vulnerable to monstrous historical vandalism. A new search for cultural identity would aid Haiti to take advantage of its ethnic diversity and enable it to give each social group its proper place within the community. While the lust for power and profit leads toward barbarism, the international financial institutions will continue to weave the nets, into which the Haitian people always fall. Some peoples, given their history, constitute one body. Others construct unity from diversity. Still others define themselves by the constant domination of one group over another and are condemned to suffer as a result of the hatred and resentment of the disfavored groups. The Haitian masses demanded justice from the day of their independence, but no government has been able to provide it. As a result, misery and unrest threaten to lead the Haitian nation to slaughter.

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Transculturation in the Dominican Republic

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"Transculturation and its Particularities in the Dominican Republic"

by Celsa Albert Batista

According to Manuel Moreno Fraginals, the phenomenon of transculturation consists of the loss of original cultural elements and its subsequent substitution by new ones, under circumstances of exploitation and labor optimization. However, transculturation can also take place in different situations when social groups coexist together, as is reflected in American cultural history. The dynamics of coexistence and interaction tend to produce transculturation and acculturation, due to its impact on basic daily material conditions that modify and/or preserve culture.

Transculturation as a social phenomenon can also be observed in the formation of indigenous Caribbean peoples. In groups such as the Igneris, Ciboneyes, Guanajatabeyes, Caribes and Arahuacan Tainos from the Venezuelan Orinoco river, close habitation resulted in acculturation under the Tainos in the territory of the Bohío-Hispaniola Island.

In the case of Europe, it can also be considered that Spain, as a cultural and historical concept, agglomerates common cultural elements too. It is noteworthy that Spain was forced to fuse different political regions in order to reconquer territory from the seven hundred years of Moorish invasion. In that context the marriage between Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon was crucial

However, important differences exist even today between Castilian, Galician and Andalucian people. Efforts to recover original elements of the different root cultures are still being pursued in these regions. For instance, in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, the traditional commemorative mass of July 25th is given in both Galician and Castilian languages. In addition to these regional transcultural elements, Moorish influence in life style and commercial trends has also had a deep impact in Spain.

Therefore, when we study the impact of the expeditions of Columbus that landed in the Americas, we need to take into consideration processes of both peninsular deculturation and acculturation, which added to the difficulties of the voyage and the landing, and the subsequent encounter with a new culture, which added and detracted additional foreign cultural elements. This complexity is reflective in the Factoría Colombina in Hispaniola.

As early as Columbus' second voyage in 1493, it is possible that unregistered African slaves were brought over as servants or as part of the 'objects' or luggage that authorities or the designated ruling class carried with them to their new colonial administrative posts.

There are specific dates in which African men and women were exported to the island, prior to the arrival of Fray Nicolas de Ovando. In 1503, Fray Nicolas de Ovando wrote to the Spanish monarchs requesting that no more slaves be sent to him until further notice – concerned because his slaves refused to accomplish their tasks. He declared that the newcomers were teaching "bad habits" to the older slaves, and fleeing to the mountains to hide. In this context, we understand that "bad habits" refer to a frequent practice, and that Ovando was worried because it did not just concern fifteen or twenty slaves, but a large number of them. Ovando's concerns point to the fact that a generalized rejection of slave labor on the island can be dated to the beginning of its implementation.

It was clear that the Spanish colonization of this island was coming as a direct order from the royal crown. Fray Nicolás de Ovando brought over imperial institutions such as the town or city council, and Catholic religion with a variety of religious orders, guilds and other such structures. There was also the importation of cattle, horses, goats and other agricultural and livestock imports. Introduction of their architectural styles was another imported element, along with many others.

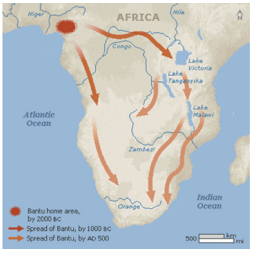
According to historians, before the year 1511, the four thousand some male and female slaves residing on the island were given the name of *ladinos* or *mestizo*s. The term ladino means transcultured, and referred to whether slaves were fit to become possessions of the Spanish.

Initially, the *ladinos*, both men and women, would be taken to Castile and be baptized, indoctrinated in the Catholic religion and taught the Spanish language, because the practice of any other religion other than the Catholicism was forbidden in the newly acquired Spanish territories. According to the Third Carolina Black Code, a legal treatise on slavery, "*Prohibimos el ejercicio público de otra religión que no sea la católica romana…*" ["The public practice of any other religion other than Roman Catholicism is forbidden..."] (35).

In order to understand the process of transculturation in the context of exploitation, we need to examine the phenomenon of the slave trade as a forced Diaspora, crafted with very specific objectives. To these characteristics, we need to add the impact of other circumstances, such as overcrowding, smuggling, disease and death rate, etc., during the voyage, topped with the horrendous experiences of slave markets and distribution practices related to slave integration. In order to effect successful integration, male and female slaves were classified as follows: tala slaves or woodcutter slaves (for plantations and haciendas); *jornalero* or farm laborer slaves (rented or hired out as hands for any required service, especially door to door or traveling sales); domestic slaves (house workers, maids and caretakers). It is interesting to note that in the case of the island, studies do not reveal the use of males as domestic or house slaves, as was the case in Cuba and Brazil -- where male slaves were employed as domestics.

Both slavery and the slave trade, as well as racial discrimination, were denounced as Human Tragedies and Crimes against Humanity at the United Nations International Conference in August 2011. This condemnation tacitly includes the processes of deculturation and acculturation implicit in the larger phenomenon of slavery, together with the ensuing deep wounds of violence, fear and devaluation.

In the particular case of the island of Hispaniola, the African slaves were first brought by Portuguese slave traders who traded mostly in people from the Bantu culture in Africa. The map showed was elaborated by the International Center of Bantu Civilization CICIBA, which was presented in Gabon



in 1998 at the International Seminar on Bantu Cultures in America, the Caribbean and the United States, and sponsored by UNESCO.

As we can see from the map, the large area covered by Portuguese slave trade intervention indicates that the first Africans imported to Hispaniola were Bantu. However, we need to point out that Spain did not participate directly in the slave trade, but mainly bought and sold slaves from a variety of European traders who were in business with various members of the African hierarchy. This is the reason why we find that the African population that poured into Hispaniola for nearly four centuries came from different cultures and areas of Africa.

This was the case during the reign of Charles v of Spain. Spain was buying from German bankers, to whom it had issued a licence for a formal concession. Spain also bought from English and French traders, among others, who roamed the African West Coast and made attempts to penetrate the interior towards Zaire, Nigeria, Benin and other areas. On a number of occasions, these areas were perpetrated by the English and French at different times. Because of these facts, we know that the origin of African Dominican descendency lies mostly in the Bantu culture along with considerable Yoruba cultural influence.

Spain dealt in the slave trade for its own colonies between 1651 to 1662. The remainder of the time, it bought slaves from other European slave traders. The forced African Diaspora depopulated huge areas of Africa, with numbers in the millions. The characteristics of the trip were the same, leaving deep scars on the Africans: unbearable fear, tension and deculturation.

The island of Hispaniola started importing slaves directly from the African continent between 1518 and 1520, under the administration of the Jeronimo Friars. They were called *bozales* and the friars promised the Spanish crown to undertake the job of transculturation of Hispaniola. This implied the indoctrination of the inhabitants in the Catholic religion, which meant baptizing them, teaching them about religious festivities and Catholic mass, and to making sure they learned the Spanish language.

The importation of *bozal* slaves directly from Africa was symbolic of the industrial change from an economy of gold extraction to one of sugar cane cultivation and production, which required massive numbers of laborers. The decision to make this industrial shift was made by the Jeronimo friars. There is recorded data pointing to the fact that before 1540, there were over 12,000 slaves on the island, about 24 *ingenios*, or sugar refineries, and 4 *trapiches* or smaller refineries, haciendas, family houses, etc., in which slaves worked according to the needs of the particular business (the smaller refineries needed a minimum of 80 slaves and the larger refineries needed 500).

This body of historical data suggests that the African men and women brought over for slave labor came from a variety of places and cultures within Africa. It also implies that because of the multiple points of origin, the community of African slaves had a harder time communicating and effectively organizing among themselves to resist against the situation in which they found themselves. In this way, the colonial superstructure, which included the teaching of Spanish, became the nucleus or the unifying agent for these diverse African groups. The language of the masters became the only vehicle of communication for the slaves.

During the three centuries of colonial rule, there were a number of developments in terms of the population. The biological union between the Spaniards and the native population gave way to descendants called *mestizo*s. The mixture between Spaniards and African women produced a wide spectrum of racial expressions. However, since most of the indigenous population was exterminated, at the beginning of the 16th century, there were very few indigenous females. So between the 16th and up until the middle of the 17th century, the most proliferous mixtures within the population were between Spaniards and Africans, and between mulattos. There were also children born from Spaniards alone that were referred to as *criollo*s, and children born of African parents alone. The dynamic of this phenomenon is what Professor Juan Bosh, in his book *Composición Social Dominicana*, calls racial democracy.

Dominican society is characterized by the widest racial spectrum between white and black, a melting pot of racial variety, skin colors,

physical features and phenotypes. Carlos Larrazábal Blanco concludes the following in an essay about the Dominican population on the eastern part of the island by the end of the 18th century:

slaves (black and mulatto)	30,000.00
mulattos and freed blacks	38,000.00
whites	35,000.00
Total black, white and mulatto population	**103,000.00**

Another special feature of the island´s historical development is the phenomenon known as the *cimarrón* or *cimarronaje*, the rebellion and fleeing of African slaves from forced labor into a life of freedom. Carlos Esteban Deivi explores this phenomenon in a research paper on *cimarronaje* and documents the existence of 19 *manieles*, or *cimarrón* colonies, between the end of the 16th and 17th centuries, in which there might have been over seven thousand rebel slaves. These colonies were safe spaces for the rebels, in which it was possible to develop cultural tools as a means by which to create solutions for everyday life. Deivi explains that some of the known activities in these colonies included the manufacture of weapons, mostly knives and swords, distilling rum from sugar cane and semi-annual cultivation of the land, among others.

After the decline of the sugar cane industry, the economy of the island shifted to livestock, which included the use of extensive amounts of land dedicated to raising cattle and smaller amounts reserved for cultivation of minor crops such as ginger, tropical fruits or cassia.

During the 17th century, the Caribbean Islands became the stage for a number of important events that had a definite impact on the identity of the whole region. Between 1605 and 1606, the island of Hispaniola begins its process of political division under the so called *Devastaciones de Osorio*, a series of measures decreed by the Spanish crown to control French illegal trade in the colony's northern and western regions, by forcibly resettling their inhabitants closer to the city of Santo Domingo. This resettlement, which otherwise proved disastrous, ended up founding the communities of Monte Plata and Bayaguana.

The conflicts between France and Spain would end with the Treaty of Nimega in 1678, in which Spain would accept French settlements in the western side of the island. In 1680, the French started bringing in African slaves directly from their own African settlements, particularly from the area of Dahomey. This was the beginning of one of their most prosperous sugar cane colonies.

By 1697, Spain and France signed another treaty in Ryswick, in which Spain officially accepted French rule of the western side of the island. It also established, once and for all, the division of Hispaniola into the French Colony of Saint-Domingue and the Spanish Colony of Santo Domingo. From that moment on, people talked about the other side, and this side; and thereafter two different identities based on this territorial division began to be forged.

During the 17th century, the island was not only the stage for 'racial democracy' as Professor Bosh called it, but also for deep financial crisis for that part of the population referred to as the "people of the Dominicans." There was a massive exodus of investors and Spanish colonists towards the Viceroyalty of the New Spain and South America. Due to the subsequent financial crisis and the characteristics of the cattle economy, the population that remained on the island grew very close, and slaves, freed blacks and mulattos milled around and mixed with authorities, white Spaniards and their children. The hardships of slavery were slackened in the first eighty years of the 17th century, although the social status of slaves remained the same.

Toward the end of the 16th century, Spain´s European enemies, discontent over Spain's legal and financial monopoly of the colony through the "*Casa de Contratación de Sevilla*," attacked and besieged Spanish Caribbean territory with pirates, buccaneers and contraband. One of these instances was when Sir Francis Drake captured the city of Santo Domingo in 1586, by order of the King of England, and from the strategic point of the cathedral *Primada de América*, demanded a ransom for its return to Spanish rule; the Dominican ladies of the time had to gather it for him.

At this point in time, there were other attacks on the island from different pirates and buccaneers. These attacks had deep social and political consequences for the population of the Spanish colony. As a result, Spanish authorities were obliged to create an army made up of freed blacks and mulattos, which was divided into two battalions, one of *pardos* or mulattos, and another one of *morenos libres*, or free black men. These militia men would eventually be considered part of a special social status, different from their original equals, closer to the ruling class and the children of Spanish colonists born on the island, although occasionally scorned for their inferior clothing and appearance.

Spain's political enemies contested her rights over the Caribbean islands, including the Dutch. Eventually this Caribbean region ended up restructured into the Afro-Hispanic Caribbean, the Afro-French Caribbean, the Afro-British Caribbean and the Afro-Dutch Caribbean.

Towards the second half of the 17th century, Britain seized Jamaica among other islands. However, during the 18th century, the region experienced apparent political stability due to the return of the Bourbon Dynasty to Spain. Notwithstanding, there was a border crisis that ended with the 1777 Treaty of Aranjuez, establishing precise borders on the island. At the same time, slave trafficking was intensified in the eastern side of the island due to the intensive slave labor situation in the French colony. Additionally, during the 17th and the 18th centuries there was a significant increase in the Canarian population in the south, north and in the capital city of the Spanish Colony of Santo Domingo.

Toward the end of the 18th century, a truly significant event took place in the context of the French Revolution, the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen', stating that all men were equal before the law. The recognition of these rights did not reach the French colony in Hispaniola, but the failure to extend the new ideas of the French Revolution in the Spanish section of Hispaniola precipitated the Slave Rebellion of 1791. Later in 1795, the Treaty of Basil was signed between France and Spain, by which France returned certain European territories to Spain and in exchange, Spain handed over the colony of Hispaniola to France. From that moment on, the island was under French rule.

In 1801, Tousaint Loverture, leader of the French colony, took over the eastern part of the island in the name of France and abolished slavery, establishing a united government that never thrived because Tousaint was never acknowledged by Napoleon as having sufficient authority for implementing such changes. Instead, Bonaparte sent General Louis Ferrand, in 1802, to act as governor of the former Spanish colony, and Ferrand reestablished slavery on the island. This was the beginning of the French Era in Santo Domingo.

In spite of the efforts to sustain French power, General Ferrand found himself defeated by liberal and conservative groups of Santo Domingo. The liberal party, under the leadership of Ciriaco Ramírez, was bent on a passionate agenda to obtain independence. However, they were actively opposed by the conservative group, who under the command of Juan Sánchez Ramírez attacked and besieged the French wanting to return to Spanish rule. When General Ferrand killed himself, Sánchez Ramírez took the opportunity to proclaim victory after the battle of Palo Hincado in Seibo, in November 1808, and to launch a return to Spanish rule, in spite of the incipient political unrest in the American continent and the inevitable institutional changes that even Spain was undergoing at the time.

In 1809, the *reconquest*, or return to Spanish rule was underway with very few setbacks. Moreover, there was no parallel significant economic development to trigger a political independence project. Nonetheless, in 1821, Dr. José Núñez de Cáceres presented a Haiti-Spain proposal for independence that would later be called the Ephemeral Independence, not only for being short lived, but also because it did not contemplate the abolition of slavery. In fact, in one article, it stated that those who did not know how to read or right could not vote or be political candidates. Stipulations like these had a very negative impact on the population, which was largely illiterate, but also very eager to end slavery once and for all.

In 1822, the Haitian government was invited by a group of cattle ranchers from the eastern side of the island and the capital of Santo Domingo to consider the establishment of a unified government, a project that had been in the mind of Núñez de Cáceres and in the interest of Haitian government. The Haitians saw the eastern population as incapable

of dealing effectively with the slave population, so in January of 1822, in an event celebrated at the City Hall of the capital of Santo Domingo, Dr. José Núñez de Cáceres handed over the keys to the city to the Haitian President Jean Pierre Boyer, after a solemn speech about the common history of both nations. Boyer immediately declared the abolition of slavery.

Later in 1824, Haitian President Petión signed an agreement with the United States, which committed the island to introducing the free African-descent population from the southern United States to the Bay of Samaná and the provinces of San Cristóbal and Puerto Plata. The purpose behind this agreement was to reactivate the economy of these territories.

Although the Haitian government implemented many positive legal and political measures for the general population, it also imposed other controversial measures such as the official use of the French Language; the confiscation of Catholic Church land and persecution of clergy; and the obligation to share in the payment of taxes demanded of Haiti by the French government. These measures became very unpopular with the Dominican population, and the ensuing discontent acted as a catalyst for the rebellion against the Haitians planned by Juan Pablo Duarte, a colonel in the Haitian army at the time who organized a group of students into a secret society, *La Trinitaria*, the first political organization to oppose Haitian rule.

Once independence from Haiti had been established following the victory of Los Trinitarios, the first national government was constituted by the *Junta Central Gubernativa*. The newly formed armed forces under the command of Santiago Basora, demanded that the *Junta Central Gubernativa* execute the legal provisions for the abolition of slavery – provisions that had never been properly implemented in the eastern part of the island. The *Junta* then declared the definite abolition of slavery in the new Republic on March 1st, 1844.

Toward the second half of the 19th century, measures were implemented to vitalize the sugar cane industry and to acquire skilled technicians – by opening up immigration to people from the Antilles, groups of Afro-British came to work. The Cocolos came to the eastern region, to Barahona (in the south) and to a number of refineries in

the capital. This type of immigration continued until the first decades of the 20th century when, during the first US occupation of the island between 1916 and 1924, there was an influx of Puerto Rican and Haitian immigrants.

It is noteworthy that during the period of colonization there was a body of rigorous legislation that regulated every aspect of the slave population and their offspring. It regulated all their activities, labor, rest periods, artistic activity and sports. It also regulated their activities in relation to their skin color and their relationships to masters and whites in general. The *Código Negro Carolino* or Carolina Black Code, the main body of rules and regulations concerning slaves, states the following in Chapter II, Law 6:

> *Las escuelas públicas de la enseñanza de las primeras letras y rudimentos de la Religión abiertas hasta ahora indistintamente para los jóvenes de primera distinción, para los blancos de todas clases y para los pardos y negros libres, de cuya confusión y mezcla derivan respectivamente desde su niñez, las siniestras impresiones de igualdad y familiaridad entre ellos. Estarán cerradas por punto general en adelante para todos los negros y pardos primerizos, que deben dedicarse todos a la agricultura sin que puedan por eso mezclarse con los blancos, los tercerones, cuarterones y demás que pueden ponerse en aulas separadas, pero dirigidas por personas blancas de probidad e instrucción, que impriman desde sus primeros años en el corazón los sentimientos de respeto e inclinación a los blancos con quienes deben equipararse algún día.*
>
> [Public schools dedicated to teaching the rudiments of language and religion have been open until now to all students, white, mulatto and free blacks, and their mingling since childhood has created confusion among them as to false notions of equality and familiarity. From now on they will be closed to all blacks and mulattos, all of whom need to apply themselves to farming and agriculture and not mingle with whites, tercerons or quadroons; the latter two should be in separate classrooms, taught by white teachers of known integrity, who will imprint from childhood those qualities of respect and inclination towards the whites with whom they will one day be equal.]

The impact of this social-racial legislation, together with derogatory adjectives and names for blacks and mulattos (*saltapatrás, tenteenelaire, grifo, pelo malo, zambo, contrahecho, alcatraz, etc.*) were crucial elements in the creation of the island's social mentality. This moved the nation toward a racist society, a society based on disassociation, discrimination in which the ruling class generated conflict in order to come to terms with its identity, since there was a deep stubborn negation of human dignity and basic development of the human being even in those citizens who were free men and women. It also generated low self-esteem and self-denial and miscreant behavior, and replicates the attitudes and values, which for centuries shaped relationships between masters and slaves. These distortions have represented immense challenges for researchers, sociologists, historians, psychologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, teachers and other professionals who work with the Dominican population from the angle of social sciences throughout the last five decades.

After four centuries of coexistence – during which the Dominican Republic was the center stage for different European groups, Africans and African descendants living together, and during which some of the Africans already shared syncretized cultures since the end of the 15th until the 20th century – we can no longer talk about transculturation, but about cultural syncretism – the fusion of two or more different cultures that results in the emergence of a new culture. The new population that arises from biological crossbreeding is at the center of this new culture. Creativity, reinvention and cultural syncretism are part of the dynamic elements which resulted in the Dominican people and culture.

This culture emerges with the encounter of the three pivotal matrixes, and is enriched by additional cultures already syncretized that are at the center of the Dominican community, such as the Cofradía del Espíritu Santo de San Felipe de Villa Mella, the Los Guloyas Cocolo Theater Dance Troupe of San Pedro de Macorís, proclaimed by UNESCO to be a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2001 and 2005; the *Gagá* of Haitian influence; the *Zarandunga de Baní*; the *Bambulá de Samaná*; the *Atabales* or kettledrums, accompanied by singing of *salves* and *plenas*; and ritual dances and festivals all throughout the country.

In addition to instruments and utensils, we can point to the following elements: the *merengue* and/or *perico ripiao*, a festive dance known nationally and internationally, involving instruments of African origin (*tambora, güira de metal,* and *marimba*) and European origin (guitar and accordion). The diversity of religious syncretism is based on the Catholic Christian religion and on a rich variety of African deities. This is the case of the *Servicio a los Seres* with a structure of 21 división. In other areas of the Caribbean, religious syncretism is expressed in the mixture of the Catholic and African cosmogony as is the case of Santería in Cuba and Puerto Rico and other countries.

The impact of the tide of human diaspora involved a parallel process of botanical and zoological diaspora. In the context of food, every morning we are in Africa, Europe and Asia, when we consume coffee, milk and sugar, and in the Middle East when we consume wheat bread. At lunch time, we would be sitting at the table in Asia as we eat rice and in Europe and America, when we choose beans and meat, but also in Africa if we prefer *guandules, guinea, ñame, molondrón, malanga*, in Europe with delicious soup or stew, and we come back to Asia with banana, plantain, mango, etc. If we mix these elements and we produce recipes such as *moro de guandules* and fish with coconut (one of the main dishes of Samaná), or a dinner menu of *donplin con bacalao* or *harina con carne* (traditional dishes of San Pedro de Macorís, la Romana) topped on a Friday or Saturday with a dessert of *chacá con dulce o con sal* , which is a classic of Haitian and Dominican diets. Most of these recipes and fruits belong traditionally to diets of African origin, but are now part of the Dominican culinary art.

This phenomenon of syncretism can also be observed in a diversity of cultural expressions of Dominican life. As a source of poetry in literature; in many objects and utensils as the *pilón* in its different sizes, the shade of the beautiful *flamboyán* tree, etc. All these things express the diversity, wealth and strength of a nation that accepts it historical past, the building blocks of its culture and therefore, accepts its soul and roots. That is, it acknowledges its social and cultural identity.

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"The Social Role of Imported Blacks in the Dominican Church"

by José Luis Sáez

To begin, we must explain that the three centuries of slavery in Santo Domingo were ruled by a peculiar regime of social relationships quite different from those existing in other Spanish colonies in the Americas and in the Caribbean. Secondly, we must also clarify that many authors who have tried to dramatize their opposition to the system, freely draw conclusions from other systems and geographical locations, but end up distorting the real history of black slavery in the monarchic period of Santo Domingo.

If we also factor in the economic component that degraded productivity and the loss of drive toward foreign markets, we can see why the importation of enslaved persons of African descent became a necessary element of coexistence, and how it would change the future profile of Dominican society. It is along these lines that Juan Bosch, in his *Composición Social Dominicana*, refers to the peculiar style of 18th century Dominican slavery, as "a racial democracy when it came to relationships," a phenomenon which became the seed for the future style and mentality of Dominican slavery. [1]

In this paper I will argue that the Dominican Church – or more appropriately the Church in Santo Domingo – remained open to the integration of imported enslaved Africans, much more than the colonial society or its political institutions. While other circumstances also influenced this phenomenon, which I do not deny, the focus of this paper will be the influence of the Church. [2]

Access to sacraments: baptism, matrimony and burial

Estimating that 80 percent of baptized slaves in the 19th century were children of legitimate marriages is not an exaggeration. Of the 11,516 children of slaves baptized between 1590 and 1822 in the Cathedral of Santo Domingo alone, about 9,212 were children of legitimate marriages and underwent baptism 21 or 23 days after they were born. The majority

had Castilian family names –a form of identification and evidence of property– while those recently arrived or illegitimate children (whose given family names reflected the ethnic groups they belonged to) were mostly adolescents or adults at the time of baptism.

Enslaved persons of African descent that had grown up in the home of the slave owner since early childhood were considered house slaves, a term that eventually degenerated and became simplified in parish books, as "*angel de encase"*, or "in-house angel". [3]

Another important factor in the identity of imported black descendants is the scarce records kept on black children abandoned at birth. Children abandoned at birth were always white, and were left at the door of the Jesuit college or at one of the two female convents, or at the door of a midwife´s home, *comadre* or *comadrona*, and even once at the door of Clemente Aguilera, a free black.[4] During the course of three entire centuries, there are only records of three black children abandoned at birth, even though they are described euphemistically as *morenos* or mulattos.[5]

One of the signs of the Church´s tolerance, likely unbenounced to the established political power, are the records of frequent marriages since 1674 [6] between slaves of various owners, and between slave women and freed male slaves, or visa-versa. Likewise, even though in few cases, there were marriages between male slaves and daughters or Castilian descendants, such as the one that took place on February 4, 1675, between Juan de la Concepción, a slave of Juan Bautista de Saavedra and the widow, María de la Peña.[7] Five years later on May 13, 1680, there is a marriage registered between Lucas Gutiérrez, a mulatto slave of Juan de Mieses, and Tomasina de Valdesía, legitimate daughter of Rodrígo Lino and Francisca de Valdesía.[8] That same year, on June 11, there is also a marriage registered between Domingo Márquez and Luisa de Figueroa, a black slave belonging to Rodrígo de Acevedo, performed by Juan Rodríguez Girón.[9]

The opposite case of a marriage celebrated between a Castilian man and a free black woman took place in 1759, between Gregorio José Reguilto, a native of Las Mesas (Cuenca), with mulatto Isabel Catarina Soriano.

Also noteworthy are the cases of slaves or freed slaves, always black, who were buried in privileged chapels, while most deceased were taken to the cemetery or the Cathedral´s graveyard, today known as the *Plazoleta de los Curas*. On January 3, 1764, Juan Ventura de Lara, a free black from Costa Rica, married to Catalina Girón, was buried at the San Cosme and San Damian chapel´s crypt, home of Archbishop Meriño's mausoleum. While on February 22, 1763, Domingo de Chalas, who died suddenly at his master D. Diego Phelipe´s hacienda, was buried in the crypt of the Chapel of San Juan.[11] On November 4, 1763, Bernarda Landeche, a freed black woman, widow of Juan de Altagracia, also a freed black, was buried in the Candelaria Chapel. Five months later on April 4, 1764, Francisco Salinas, a *mina* black, married to Ana Valdés, also a *mina*, was buried in the same chapel.[12] To these we must add two more slaves who were buried in the pulpit side of the nave and the lectern side of the nave between April and December 1763.

Finally, there is the case of José Hinojosa, a slave pertaining to "the goods that remained after the death of D. Ignacio Hinojosa," who was buried in the crypt of his master´s guild (probably the previously cited crypt of San Juan) at the convent of Santa Clara on April 20th, 1779.[13] Only in few cases were persons of African descent buried in their own chapels. These persons were always freed blacks or free mulattos of high economic status. Such was the case of Agustina Rondón or Rendón, a *parda libre* who was buried at the church of Las Mercedes on December 12th, 1782.[14]

The importance of economic rank is evident in the case of the establishment of some of the chaplaincies. Among the large number of chaplaincies registered in the 18th century, one stands out, recorded as established at the parish of Santa Barbara on November 13, 1735 by Francisca Juliana, a free mulatto, with an initial capital of 400 pesos. Its first Chaplain, appointed in the will of the founder, was Father José Lino del Castillo.[15]

Creation of guilds and brotherhoods: solidarity and protection

The importance given to guilds and brotherhoods by the Church is manifested in chapter 1, title number 6 of the First Diocesan Synod of Santo Domingo.

> *Todas las cofradías y hermandades que por devoción y aumento de la religión cristianas están erigidas y fundadas en este arzobispado, --decía el documento del sínodo convocado por el arzobispo Fr. Domingo Fernández de Navarrete, O.P. el 5 de noviembre de 1683--, mandamos que se visiten todos los años por Nos o por quien lo cometiéramos, para que se reconozca si perseveran en su loable instituto, y que hagan sus constituciones.*
>
> [All guilds and brotherhoods are erected and founded in this archbishopric for the devotion and increase of the Christian religion, according to the document of the synod summoned by Archbishop Father Domingo Fernández de Navarrete, O.P., on November 5, 1683. We order that they be visited every year by us or by whoever we designate, so that they are inspected to make sure they persevere in their praiseworthy institution and follow their laws.] [16]

Along these lines, the First Archdiocese Provincial Council, convened and presided over by Father Pedro de Oviedo Falcón, s.o.c. (September 21, 1622 to January, 1623), stresses in chapter 10 of its fifth session (December 19, 1622) the Bishop´s authority over the guilds, without whom they cannot be created. For this same reason, they need to be visited by the Bishop or his delegates.[17] In any case, even with the knowledge that some guilds belonging to blacks were already twenty years old, the document does not specify the guilds it refers to.

In addition to the well-known *Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios del Carmen y Jesús Nazareno*, a guild established by Creole blacks at the hospital of San Andrés on July 2, 1592, and whose chapel has been preserved in its entirety and is now part of the *Parroquia del Carmen*, imported enslaved persons of African descent and established other brotherhoods and guilds, even within the very Cathedral of Santo Domingo. The Cofradía –or guild– of San Juan Bautista was founded on July 8, 1602 also by Creole blacks, and had its See in the chapel of San Juan, which is situated on the lectern side of the Cathedral. This Chapel is no longer there today. As we mentioned previously, there was a guild by the same name founded by *ararás* blacks in the Chapel of San Cosme and San Damián of the Cathedral. The Chapel of the Candelaría was the See of the guild of the same patronage, comprised of *biafra* and *mandinga*

blacks, founded in 1602 by Antón López. According to Carlos Larrazábal, this guild already had 300 members in 1613, and was already admitting white members.[18] The same was happening in the Guild of La Magdalena, comprised of *zape* blacks, whose See was in the Magdalena Chapel.

Outside of the Cathedral, and even in a number of parishes on the island, was the Guild of Espíritu Santo. It was started in the valley of Baní apparently among the slaves of the *ingenios* –or sugar refineries– on an unknown date in the 18th century. Apparently, it had a hospital at its disposal where sick slaves could be housed.[19]

The promotion of the importation of enslaved Africans on the part of the Church

The decrease of ecclesiastical personnel of Castilian origin, along with population growth and the uncertainty of seminaries regarding the adequate formation of future clerics, resulted in the acceptance of descendants of enslaved Africans into religious orders, including the priesthood. This was taking place during the second decade of the 17th century, even at the risk of antagonizing or simply ignoring the laws laid down by the First Provincial Council of Santo Domingo (September 1622 to January 1623).

This council, the only one in this ecclesiastical province, took charge of determining the so-called "legal age" of natives and blacks. It granted both of them the right to receive the sacraments, attend mass at least six times a year, in the case of agricultural workers, although it excluded them from religious orders. In the case of the latter, the third chapter of the second session (November 6, 1622), specifically stated that blacks ("*fusco colore affecti*"), could not be admitted into religious orders unless they were three generations removed from the *tronco etíope* –or African blood line.[20]

Of those promoted into priesthood, the first and most notable was undoubtedly Tomás Rodríguez de Sosa (c. 1605-1670), a teacher of children, an expert in Latin, a great preacher and a chaplain of the Real Audiencia. He was ordained a priest in 1625.[21] And there would be more to come. At the end of that same century, thanks to the negotiations lead by Archbishop Francisco de la Cueva Maldonado (1662-1667), there were eight more ordained that were "*manchados con esa macula*" [tarnished

with the stain], as they were redundantly referred to in some documents of the time.[22] Moreover, on January 15, 1665, the same Archbishop suggested to King Philip IV that he ordain Diego de Quesada Torres as a superior, grandson of Real Academia officer Jerónimo López de Torres, who was born a slave.[23] Diego de Quesada Torres, a legitimate son of Jerónimo de Quesada and Melchora de Torres, was baptized by Canon Melchor de Torres on March 22, 1645.[24]

In addition to the well-known Prebendary Antonio Sánchez Valverde y Ocaña, other ecclesiastics of African origin in the 18th century included: Nicolás de Aguilar (died in 1741), Juan de Gálvez, José de Quesada, Lázaro de Acevedo (teacher and priest of San Andrés), his brother Francisco de Acevedo, Gabriel de Piña y Urdaneta, José Luis de Fonseca (priest of Baní en 1723) and Juan Antonio Aguilar (died in 1741). [25]

However, because prejudice was rampant and could be tackled by either law or repression – and even more so because it is determined by economic factors – a long time would pass before descendants of slave mothers and white fathers, or vice-versa, could freely become members of the very elitist group of the *Cabildo* –or chapter– of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo. An example of this prejudice is the rejection of the proposal that the prestigious Pedro Agustín Morell de Santa Cruz y Lora (1694-1768) occupy the position of Doctoral Canon, although he had been nominated by the King. The respected Pedro Agustín Morell de Sant Cruz played a very honorable role, first as bishop in Nicaragua (1749-1753), and later in Santiago de Cuba (1753-1768), as its thirtieth bishop. The reason behind his rejection was the fact that his grandmother was a mulatta.[26]

African descendants ordained as priests towards the end of the 17th century, and who later held positions in the Ecclesiastic Guild of Santo Domingo included José Fernández de Villafranca (Precentor 1716), Juan Agustín de Castañeda (Treasurer 1723), Dr. Nicolás Antonio de Valenzuela (Vice Rector of the Pontifical University of Santo Tomás 1777-1778), Francisco Antonio González (Canon 1784), Dr. José Rengifo Pimentel (Provider for the Archbishopric 1725-1729, 1743-1745), and Dr. Melchor Carrión (Archdeacon 1739). Only the latter two managed to attain the much coveted position of Deacon in 1729 and 1749 respectively.[27] Evidently,

besides the prestige, the position of Deacon was already endowed, in the middle 18th century with a stipend of 560 pesos, whereas that of Canon only received 267 pesos and the simple ration of 150 *ducados*.

The disappearance of the institution of slavery with the first republican regime in the 19th century, marks the moment when the Dominican social profile starts coming into focus –there is no need to quote that overused cliché of the melting pot. For this same reason, before the beginning of the 19th century, the Church had already integrated mulattos into positions of clergy, even as dignitaries. It was not required that they had Castilian names and family names, and not the "indelible brand" of tribal names. These same descendants slowly built up their presence in the Guild, at least until its virtual disappearance during the unification of the island by a single government in 1822. During the second period of Spanish colonial rule in 1861, the Guild came back practically as a fictional institution with its positions integrated mostly by Spaniards. Later, when it was reorganized in 1875 as a caricature of the original institution created in May 12, 1512 and called the *Cabildo Honorario*, it was no longer appropriate to talk about African presence in its ranks. Now it referred to the new type of Dominican who was already a part of the secular clergy and on his way to being integrated into the regular clergy.[28] This is the situation that persists in the 21st century, with new economic structures and well-defined racial profiles, the origins of which date all the way back to the middle of the 17th century.

References

1. Bosch, Juan Composición social dominicana. Historia e interpretación 10ª ed. (Santo Domingo; Alfa y Omega, 1979), 79.

2. Although basically I have not changed the principle put forth in my work, La Iglesia y el esclavo negro en Santo Domingo. Una historia de tres siglos (Santo Domingo: Patronato de la Ciudad Colonial, 1994), what I am expressing here, in addition to a being more precise and to broaden the topic, I have added to and broadened the use of direct sources from the Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Santo Domingo (ASD).

3. In the now defunct books of the Archbishopric de Santo Domingo, between February 5, 1667 and June 18, 1669, 27 deaths of children were reported in this category of "ángel de encase", corresponding to many masters. Cfr. ASD. Catedral. Libro I Entierros (1666-1701), ff. 33-46v.

4. Cfr. ASD. Libro X Bautismos (1758-1762), f. 340.

5. The first case is "morena de casta Anagro" (22 mayo 1757), followed by two unspecified mulatas (15 julio 1781 y 15 agosto 1781. Cfr. ASD. ASD. Libro IX Bautismos (1753-1758), f. 216v; Libro XVI Bautismos (1779-1782), ff. 193, 201.

6. This is the marriage of the Jesuit's slaves Manuel de Soto (casta Angola) and Ana de Suero (free), held on December 26, 1674. Cfr. ASD. Catedral. Libro III Matrimonios (1674-1719), f. 1v.

7. Cfr. ibid., f. 14v.

8. Cfr. ASD. Catedral. Libro III Matrimonios (1674-1698), f. 44. Officiated by Bach. Juan Rodríguez Girón, priest of the Cathedral, with the witness Diego González and Francisco Benítez. More on the family, see C. Larrazábal B. Familias Dominicanas IV (Santo Domingo, 1978), 214.

9. Cfr. ASD. Catedral. Libro III Matrimonio (1674-1698), f. 138v [10] Cfr. ASD. Catedral. Libro V Óbitos (1758-1767), f. 126v; Carlos Larrazábal B., op. cit., 160.

10. Cfr. ASD. Catedral, loc. cit., f. 104v.

11. Cfr. ASD. Catedral, loc. cit., f.104v.

12. Cfr. ASD. Catedral, loc.cit., f. 130.

13. Cfr. ASD. Catedral. Libro VI Entierros (1778-1798), f. 45. Officiated by Father Juan de Mena, priest of San Miguel, in the Cathedral. Assisted by Ignacio Hinojosa Jobel, born in 1699, and married to Petronila Valerio; died on September 2, 1778. Cfr. C. Larrazábal, op. cit., 70.

14. Cfr. ASD. Catedral. Libro VII Defunciones (1778-1798), ff. 100v-101.

15. Cfr. ASD. Libro II de Capellanías (1749-1753), f. 167; repr. J.L. Sáez, La Iglesia y el negro esclavo en Santo Domingo (1994), 402.

16. "Primera Sínodo Diocesana celebrada por el arzobispo de Santo Domingo, don fray Domingo Fernández Navarrete, en 5 de noviembre de 1683. En él se hicieron y se incluyen las constituciones y aranceles". AGI. Santo Domingo, 93, No. 258/A, f. 90.

17. Cfr. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, O.F.M. Cap. (ed.), Actas del Concilio Provincial de Santo Domingo. 1623-1623 (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1970), 92.

18. Cfr. Carlos Larrazábal B., Los negros y la esclavitud en Santo Domingo (Santo Domingo: Julio D. Postigo e hijos, 1975), 136-137.

19. Ibid., 136.

20. Cfr. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, O.F.M. Cap. op. cit. (1970), 25-26. See commentaries of Monsignor. Hugo E. Polanco B. in "El Concilio Provincial de Santo Domingo y ordenación de negros y de indios", Revista española de derecho canónico XXV:72 (Madrid, Setiembre-Diciembre, 1969), 697-705.

21. To see more about this outstanding mulato cleric, see my essay, "P. Tomás Rodriguez de Sosa: Un esclavo que se entregó a otro Señor", en Cinco siglos de Iglesia Dominicana (Santo Domingo: Amigo del Hogar, 1993), pp. 47-60.

22. Cfr. José L. Sáez, La Iglesia y el negro esclavo en Santo Domingo (Santo Domingo: Patronato de la Ciudad Colonial, 1994), pp. 60-63.

23. Taken from Fr. Cipriano de Utrera en Noticias Históricas de Santo Domingo VI (Santo Domingo: Fundación Rodríguez Demorizi, 1983), 257. López de Torres was the son of a white father and black slave mother although his father later gained her freedom. Cfr. C. Larrazábal. Los negros y la esclavitud en Santo Domingo (1975), 140-141.

24. Cfr. ASD. Libro II Bautismos (1638-1673), f. 73, No. 388. As Larrazábal noted, the use of Don or Doña as titles for names and an expression of a certain social degradation, they can also be used to refer to the condition of being a descendent from a slave.

25. Cfr. C. Larrazábal B., op.cit., 138-141. Various of these refer to Fr. Cipriano de Utrera, O.F.M. Cap. in his documented study "Morell de Santa Cruz", Clío XIX:90 (C. Trujillo, Mayo-Agosto 1951), 71, col. 1-2.

26. See Father Cipriano de Utrera's essay, "Morell de Santa Cruz", Clío XIX: 90 (Mayo-Agosto 1951), pp. 57-74.

27. Cfr. Raymundo González, "Nómina de los prebendados del Cabildo de la Iglesia Catedral de Santo Domingo (1629-1811)", BAGN LXXI:123 (Enero-Abril 2009), pp. 258-268.

28. Cfr. Rafael Bello P. Cabildo Honorario de la Catedral de Santo Domingo (Santo Domingo, 1986), 39-68.

"Reflection of African Presence in Dominican Historical Events, Concepts and Terminology"

by Lipe Collado

In Dominican society, there are transcendental profiles of a multi-directional acculturation of African related negritude, which have been ignored or cornered by countless historians and other academics. Some of these erratic narrators have been considered historians by the people because they are able, at times, to appropriately target the host of major political events, together with smaller instances of cultural, political, social and economical transcendence, which make up our discourse as a nation.

Those transcendental profiles are the sparkling expressions of African presence –like when one perceives sparkling light on glazed stones. I refer to them as "African reflective presence" because they encapsulate inside us the refractive effect of African essence. In other words, African reflective presence is a specific capsule of acculturation.

It is a way of approaching the African influence that has helped shape the nation through an omnipresence, although at times, obliquely expressed.

In this sense, let us consider Francisco del Rosario Sánchez, the first President of the first Dominican government, a sparkle of African essence, a 27 year-old –minus ten days– *saltapatrás*, the denomination given to the son of a *mulata parda* and a black man. In the final and decisive days, the liberal *saltapatrás* directed, planned and executed the patriotic conspiracy of a group comprised predominantly by white Creoles, which culminated in the Declaration of Independence on the night of February 27, 1844. This declaration proclaimed, among other things, the establishment of a democratic system, freedom of the press, and the abolition "of slavery", declaring the equality of "civil and political rights for everyone not withstanding differences of origin and birth".[1] On the 28th, he took on the presidency of the *Junta Central Gubernativa*, and on the 29th day of the leap year, he resigned and handed it over to the white conservative Tomás Bobadilla.

Three months and 11 days later, on June 9th, he resumed the presidency when his liberal party carried out the first Dominican coup d'état. However, one month and four days later, on July 13th, he was overthrown by the conservative party led by the white general, Pedro Santana, who would, after November 6th, become the first constitutional president of the Dominican Republic.

General Santana doubly betrayed the nation by bringing about the loss of sovereignty and independence when he annexed the country to the Spanish Empire, and when he sent national hero Sánchez to the firing squad. Sánchez had been wounded and arrested upon his arrival to the country as he led an armed group against annexation.

In keeping with the major injustice by which historians and other academics have interpreted events, probably influenced by subconscious racism, Santana has been recorded as the first Dominican president, despite the fact that in the Hall of Dominican Presidents of the Palacio Nacional, it is Tomás Bobadilla who appears as the first president. So it appears that the *saltapatrás* Francisco del Rosario Sánchez has yet to be acknowledged as president, twice over: first for historical accuracy and secondly because he is the embodiment of our liberal national ideal.

What arguments of historical interpretation and political logic can be used to justify ignoring his presidential priority? That he was the ephemeral president of a provisional *Junta Central Gubernativa* previous to the constitution? In this case, why does Bobadilla, also president of the same *Junta*, appear in the Hall of Dominican Presidents of the Palacio Nacional and as part of the list of presidents? And why is General Antonio Imbert Barreras also there, he who was the President of the National Reconstruction Government[2], created and implemented by the United States occupying troops in 1965 to confront the provisional constitutional government of Colonel Francisco Alberto Caamaño Deñó[3]? And lastly, why do the hall and the presidential list include those presidents of the patriotic *Junta*s *Gubernamentales* of the War of Restoration? Why include these presidents and not him? Why Blanco Bobadilla? Did not Bobadilla succeed him as president? Did Sánchez not succeed Bobadilla as president afterwards? Why does he not appear as president in the first or third place,

this reflection of African heritage present in the first day and first months of our independent republican life?

African heritage during 63 years of dictatorship

Until recently, it was a classical interpretation of Dominican history to assume that, during the 22 years of Haitian occupation from 1822 to 1844, Dominicans and Haitians did not inter-marry for lack of common interests and ideals[4]. At the depth of this assumption was a sense of racial relief, as in, "Thank God we did not mix with those blacks." This thinking, coming from the intellectual elite of a nation made up by many mulattos, few pure blacks and even fewer whites, took for granted that we were talking about a white society. But, no. Looking back today at this criterion and its construction, we realize that, at the time, the concept of black in the Dominican Republic was associated with African and, given our mixture, we were non-black, but also non-white. For many Dominicans –particularly those opinion makers, black equals *prieto*[5], which equals Haitian, which equals African. This is why the concept of black is encapsulated in the Haitian, who is a reflection of the African. To be Dominican black is considered the same as to be African.

As if Athena were mocking Hispanophiles, either consciously or subconsciously, we have had constant profiles mirroring African reflections, encapsulated in sixty-three years of dictatorships, sometimes tyrannical and bloody. Some of these dictatorships were enforced by men of Haitian, or even African slave descent. For instance, Buenaventura Báez, five times president[6], governed for thirteen years, the *prieto mañé*[7] Ulises Hereaux Lebel, three times president, governed for nineteen years[8]. While the white-washed mulatto Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, also three times president, governed for thirty-one years[9].

Buenaventura Báez was the son of an enslaved mulatto woman and the illegitimate son of white priest Juan Sánchez Valverde. Former United States Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, Sumner Welles, writes in the first volume of his book, *Naboth's Vineyard: The Dominican Republic, 1844-1924,* that "his appearance bore few signs of his mother´s African blood, the only features being his curly hair and the grayish tone of his skin." The African reflective presence in him favored his leap towards the

presidency of the Republic in 1849, because "Baez´s African blood heritage attracted colored voters who could feel they could have some participation in the government, and thus avoided the possibility of another invasion" (Naboth's Vineyard, Vol I, p. 101), of blacks, meaning black Haitians. In my opinion, this assertion acts as a Damocles sword to the concept of Africanness, within a society that is in denial of its ancestry; however, an important part of its origin and development may be something close to a racial and political imposition of the law of gravity on the part of the African neighbor.

However, as is the case –which will be a constant feature in all other dictators of African origin – this heritage will surface with surprising frequency as a fact used for revenge. The mulatto Báez –definitively unscrupulous, a betrayer and denier of national values– received a heavy load of criticism that was softened when applied to white Creole governors who deserved the same judgment for being equally unscrupulous, betrayers and deniers of national values, as was the case of dictator Santana.

It would seem that the African reflective presence was part of the reason why the Dominican Republic was not annexed to the United States between 1860-70. The obvious presence of African heritage in Dominican society at that time, and in Báez himself, became a factor for some United States congressional representatives to oppose his request for annexation. In addition to this, the mulatto General Luperón, local leaders and Haitians participated in military and political actions to depose Báez and avoid being subjected to a United States regime "oppressive of blacks".

Samuel Hazard, who accompanied the United States commission that travelled around the country in 1867 to evaluate the possible advantages of annexation, writes condescendingly in his book *Santo Domingo, its Past and Present*, about Dominican black blood. Although on page 218, he takes up the curious role of protector and projects a form of racial guilt in his description of President Báez:

"*Tiene 57 años justos, y en ningún caso se le podría tomar por otra cosa que por español si no fuera por su cabello, cuando gira la cabeza, presenta una cierta semejanza con el pelo característico de los africanos […] Los*

retratos que han circulado representándole como negro son completamente falsos." ["He is exactly 57 years old, and one would think he is Spanish, were it not for his hair; when he turns his head he does have a certain resemblance to African people because of his hair […] The pictures that have been circulating and representing him as black are totally false."]

He goes on to whitewash him even more by saying, "His French is as good as his Spanish, but his English is only tolerable." In his eyes, believing languages makes a person whiter, he mentions it again on p. 370 when he says, "However, the General´s secretary, who in spite of being black, seems to master a number of languages."

This same author, racial protector and whitewasher of the annexationist president, writes on page 217 about our "dirty blacks." He also narrates, on page 368, how on the occasion of being embraced by Federico, a white officer with good appearance, he did not mind, but when General So-and-so, a tall, strong man as black as tar approached him on his horse saying, "Me too, Sir. I confess my patriotism wavered, although I did allow him to embrace me, and afterwards made sure I avoided the threat of embraces by other blacks."

Ulises Heureaux Lebel, Lilís, a dictator for nineteen years, represents our political and human archetype of African heritage: the son of a black mulatto Haitian officer, nationalized as Dominican, who was the child of a French man and a black Haitian mother; and, on the other side, the son of a *mulata prieta, saintomeña* (Dominican and Haitian), settled in Puerto Plata, where he was born on October 21, 1845. Although generally considered a pure black, since African features were prominent in him, while Lilís was in power, racial considerations became a political factor of rejection. Black skin reflective of African origins was considered negative and rejected from an aesthetic point of view. This has also been reflected in Dominican oral racism. Lilís's exercise of power took place in a context abounding in racist actions, expressions, terms and considerations, to such a degree that even he scorned his own blackness, together with that of other blacks and mulattos. From his first day in power, he attracted blacks of all denominations among this population of dark mulattos, towards the construction of a social and political platform based on racial equality that

would oppose traditional white political power[10]. For many years, until his death, he had the black Colonel Pedro Pepín in the position of fortress military commander of Santiago, as if to racially insult those powerful politicians and merchants in the city who were considered pure white. Certain unique elements in the way he exercised power have been handed down in popular imagination through a series of anecdotes supported by documents and first hand witnesses in which there is a mixture of racial, political and social ingredients.

He was, like all tyrants, inhuman, disciplined, cold, practical, willful, implacable, and most of all, intelligent, bordering on genius. His collection of racially-based anecdotes in which blacks blacken blacks is encapsulated as reflective of African presence in the maxims of Dominican thought, particularly because Lilís is a real life sampler of how references to his African physiognomy impacted the collective racial consciousness and subconsciousness.

For him, whites and blacks had to have different occupations, as he told a young black man from Dajabón who had shown interest in becoming a priest: "Try to change your vocation, my boy, you and I came out of the oven overcooked, and if we study Latin we go insane."

On another occasion, during a dispute with the French consulate in which he refused to return a certain amount of money to a French-owned bank, he was visited in his office by the commander of a French fleet, Admiral Abel de Librán, who had come to demand a solution to the problem. After listening to the commander´s threats, President Lilís asked him if he was a believer of Darwin´s theory and immediately answered his own question by saying, "I totally believe it to be true and I am convinced that blacks descended from apes, and, you know Admiral, that apes never let go of anything they grab."

This *prieto*, who jeered at his own blackness and appeared to scoff at himself, was the same man who sent the poet Juan Isidro Ortea to the firing squad and had him buried with a cut-out of a poem written in Latin in which he ridiculed him in racial and political terms.

He was also the man who received in his office an old enemy who had, from exile, sneered at his being black, and left him standing for an hour facing his desk without even looking at him. He then later asked his secretary at a nearby desk, if "humiliation" was spelled with or without an "h."

When once he found out that one of the assistants had not come to work on account of "the birth of a little angel," he asked about the baby´s color and when told that he was black, he retorted, "not a little angel then, but a little corpse, because little angels only come from white people."

We could go on relating anecdotes, but the important factor for the purposes of this paper is to associate certain sayings and expressions with the government of the *prieto* Lilís, such as "Let *prieto*s be in the open" (so as not to be confused with Haitians), or, "this government belongs to *mañeses* (Haitians)," or, "Lilís sleeps stark nude in the open air to turn white," or, when opponents saw Lilís pass by, they said, "it´s getting cloudy", or, "we all have the black man behind our ear"; or, "if you see a white and a black together at the table, either the white owes the black, or the food belongs to the black," or, that Lilís danced la *cuadrilla* so well that "he looked white" ...

An illustrious nationalist, and one of the heroes of the War of Restoration that overthrew the Spanish Empire in 1865 and restored national independence and sovereignty, General Luperón was also of African ancestry. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina too was of African ancestry. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo ruled the country with an iron fist from 1930 to 1961. He was the son of José Trujillo Valdez, son in his turn of the Spaniard José Trujillo Monagas and Dominican mulatto mother Silveria Valdez, and of Julia Molina, daughter of Dominican peasant Pedro Molina and Luisa Erciná Chevalier, the illegitimate daughter of a *prieto* Haitian officer with the occupational troops during 1822 and 1844, and the Haitian Diyetta Chevalier.

This tyrant, a "whitened" mulatto, made efforts to "improve the race", meaning whiten Dominicans by promoting migrations of Spaniards, Arabs, Germans, Jews and other non-black ethnic groups. In rejection of the sparkling African presence, in 1937, he ordered the genocide of

thousands of Haitians, drawing, with blood, the border between the two nations.

Tíguere: a reflection of African presence

The term that classically denominates typical Dominican Spanish, *tíguere*, is indirectly linked to African culture. The word *tigre* or tiger, which designates the wild jungle animal, pronounced with a rolling "r", *tiguerrrrr*, has evolved into the term *tíguere* in Dominican jargon. The word seems to have been made popular by occupying Haitian troops as a designation for youth hanging around streets and open spaces hustling and surviving by their own wits, as socially disinherited beings, which we nowadays call *palomos*[11].

Did the Haitian African enslaved by the French find similarities in those beings with their homeland beast?[12]

Towards the end of the 19th century, the term *tíguere* became popular[13] and later was elevated to the category of concept that designated and defined that unique social being of the emerging urban environment that would end up evolving into the character of the Dominican *tíguere*.

To be a *tíguere*, is defined primary by the law of survival at any cost, in which actions are ruled by the principles of "landing on your feet", and "getting out" of any situation using any means necessary. In regards to these behaviors, there are a few characteristic elements: ways of conducting oneself, ways of speaking, gestures, attitudes and other specific traits. Since and during permeation of social leadership in the thirties and fifties in Santo Domingo's emblematic neighborhoods, the behavior and psychology infiltrated the society of the nation´s capital, and then spread throughout the country.

In order to know Dominicans and Dominican culture, it is necessary to familiarize oneself with *tíguere* – a popular figure that represents a magnified fragment of society that cannot be ignored without running the risk of ignoring a large part of the social whole.

The word *tíguere* is associated with lower-class blacks, to the extent that when talking about neighborhood *tíguere*s, one is instantly talking about poor individuals with dark skin. Although in the last forty years, this comes

more to mind as we approach neighborhoods that are close to ancient slave enclaves, such as Los Minas and its periphery, the western periphery of Arroyo Hondo...

Through *tígueraje* (the act of being a *tígueres*), the reflective African presence implicit in the skin color and heritage of individuals perceived to engage in these behaviors has played an important role in social and political struggles, in that they have been confined to economically segregated urban sectors. Revolutionary activity of gangs of *tígueres* –groups of poor *prieto*s- was the argument that President Lyndon B. Johnson put forth on April 29, 1965 to justify the landing and political intervention of US military troops in Santo Domingo to oppose the reinstatement of constitutional president Juan Bosch.

Even though Johnson used the word *tigres*, as the animal is called in Spanish, we know that he was referring to black *tígueres* when he said, "The *tigres* have made a specialty of slaughtering policemen, driving them to destroy their uniforms and take to hiding. Law and order have collapsed."

Those of us who participated in the Constitutional Revolution of April of 1965[14] and took part in the famous Battle of Puente Duarte,[15] either as combatants or their assistants, or backup carnage in support of military combatants and civil constitutionalists, know that the great mass of the civil resistance impacted by shrapnel and grapeshot from airplanes and war tanks pertaining to troops 'loyal' to the United States was mostly integrated by *prieto*s with African features from economically segregated neighborhoods such as La Mina, Katanga, Guachupita, Gualey, Mono Mojao, Mendoza, Los Guandules, urban extensions of the disappeared Faría, Villa Faro, the nine.

Most of them were sympathizers of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, the party of the children of *machepa* –the poor, the *prieto*s, the *tígueres*– who came from the old slave enclaves that later became the *Distrito Nacional* and who had José Francisco Peña Gómez as their main leader in the fight against the replacement of the 1963 Constitution. Peña Gómez was a black Dominican with African features, son of a Dominican mulatto woman and a black Haitian man, who was miraculously saved from

the 1937 killing of Haitians and who, when campaigning for the presidency in the nineties, was twice the victim of a racist campaign based on his black African features and his Haitian descent, and in turn, his African ancestry.

It is interesting to note that, save exceptions, in the large bibliography on the constitutional revolution, which normalized the country, the *tígueres* are mentioned as decisive factors in the fighting that took place in the streets; that is, the blacks from poor neighborhoods with psychological attitudes of *tígueres*. So much so, that in the Spanish version of José Moreno's book, *Pueblo en armas: revolución en Santo Domingo*, the words *tíguere* and *tígueres* are mentioned over fifty times.

Final observations

Dominican racial terminology –with racist origins– merits research and study beyond the scope of this paper. It is necessary to look into the connections between social and racial components. Who has studied the 'rayano', that unique dark skinned social being on both sides of the border for whom territorial confines do not exist, neither Dominican culture nor contraband, but only human beings equal in the eyes of God that go about their daily business, oblivious to imaginary divisions drafted by authorities and tax considerations? Such a study would imply deciphering words and expressions such as *mondongo, bembú, mañé, mangú, mofongo, sancocho, sancocho prieto, engañutado, pajón, papaúpa, cachumbambé, guay, mandé, canchanchán, papábocó, culí, biembién, baquiní, sarandunga, patatú, salapatroso, tolete, melopea, negro retinto, blanco jipato, blanquitos de por allá adentro, maldita prieta, moño malo, nariz de coditos, nariz pará, nariz de blanco, nariz fina, él es fino, nariz de frononón, nariz platanoide , nariz de prieto, él es ordinario, arreglar la raza, mejorar la raza, el negro negrea al negro, es un ñame, ñame con corbata, pelo bueno, pelo fino, pelo malo, pelo de pimienta, pelo de pasitas, pelo de alambritos, pelo duro, pelo pajoso, pelo revoltiao, saber lo que es un peine en moño malo, papaúpa de la matica, el León de la matica, el León de la Metro, el negro es comida de puerco, en mi casa negro el caldero y yo, si el negro te causa espanto recuerda que de negro viten la iglesia/ Jueves y ei Vieines Santo/ de negro ponen ei manto/ en aquel sagrado recinto, indio claro, indio oscuro, indio lavao, indiecito, dañó la raza, tiene buen vientre, tiene mal vientre, me dañó el muchacho, nació ordinario, negrito come coco el negro si no la hace a la entrada la hace a la*

salida, algún día ahorcan blancos, algún día ahorcan blancos y negro será el verdugo, algún día ahorcan blancos: cuando ya no haya un negro vivo, es negro pero piensa como los blancos, es prieto pero tiene el corazón blanco, es negro pero tiene el cerebro de blanco…

Because, as all of us here know, everything that has been depicted here is a body taken from facts and words of a puzzle waiting to be filled in by all of us. Although we have to recognize that it has already been tinged by oral tradition and reality, as well as by social and historical events, as nothing comes out of nothing.

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1. Historian Franklin Franco states in his book, *El Pensamiento Dominicano*.1780-1940, (p. 92 and 93) that before a number of blacks were included in the independence conspiracy, it was a racist movement "of pure or mostly pure European descent"; and that on February 28th, in order to avert an attempted revolt of black soldiers it was decreed that, "Slavery has forever disappeared from Dominican territory, and whoever states the contrary will be considered a criminal and will be punished if necessary."

2. General Antonio Imbert Barreras was president of the so-called Gobierno de Reconstrucción Nacional from May 7 to August 30, 1965. Colonel Francisco Alberto Caamaño Deñó was appointed President of the Republic on May 3, 1965 by the National Congress that had been elected on December 20, 1962, and that met on May 3rd during the constitutionalist revolt. He renounced the presidency on September 3rd, in favor of a provisional government that had been agreed upon by the conflicting parties.

3. Historian Franklin Franco Pichardo, author of an extensive bibliography that focuses on racial elements within Dominican historical events, is a pioneer in historical analysis contrary to this trend of thought. He has demonstrated the community of Dominican and Haitian interests and the ways that Haitian occupation contributed to "equaling" of the races and to stimulating Dominican economic, social and political development.

4. *Prieto* refers to a person with very dark skin.

5. Buenaventura Báez governed 13 years. He was president of the Republic five times: 1849-1853/1856-1857/1865-1866/1868-1873/1876-1878.

6. *Mañé* means "to touch" in patois. According to a helpful explanation, Haitians screamed in patois at Dominicans, "no mane", when wrestling, that is "don´t touch me", but meaning, "don´t hurt me", "don´t kill me". This is why many Dominicans call Haitians and black Dominicans with African features, "mane".

7. General Ulises Hereaux (Lilís) was only president for twelve years, although he ruled effectively for nineteen years. He was president of the Republic three times: 1878/1882-1884/1887-1899.

8. General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina was only president seventeen years, although he ruled effectively for thirty-one years, from 1930 to 1961. He was president of the Republic twice: 1930-1938/1942-1951.

9. "My patriotism" needs to be explained in the context of his acting under the belief that his country would be better off annexed, and therefore he needed to be civil to the American commissionaires who were evaluating the relevance of the demand for annexation.

10. Different references point to the fact that president Lilís, upon finding out that an influential black Dominican sympathized with a white opponent, would visit him so as to convince him to vote for him because he was black like he was.

11. *Palomos* is a term given by Dominicans to children and adolescents, mostly black who hang out in the streets in groups struggling for survival.

12. What has been considered important and traditional tend to get lost in a nebulous past intolerant of the quest for one common origin. We are syncretic.

13. One of the protagonists of Enrique Aguiar's novel, *Eusebio Sapote,* which recreates life in the capital of Santo Domingo towards the end of the 19th century, is a *tíguere bimbín*. *Tíguere* was probably the most used word by Dominicans after the *sanantonio coño*, and has multiple daily applications.

14. On April 24, 1965 there was a civil and military uprising to return constitutional president Juan Bosch to power. He had been overthrown on September 25, 1963. United States troops began landing on April 28th to prevent it. Military and political confrontation with North Americans and those loyal to the United States continued until September 3rd of that year, after which a provisional government was set up. This period of conflict from April 24th to September 3rd has been called the Constitutional Revolution.

15. Within the context of the Constitutional Revolution, a decisive battle took place on April 27th in the vicinity of the Duarte bridge which connects the eastern and western sides of Santo Domingo. The loyalist troops advanced, protected by more than 20 war tanks and attack armored vehicles over the Duarte bridge from the east towards the western bank, while the army, armed civilians and masses of defenseless blacks demanding a return to a constitutional government were machine gunned and bombed by airplanes. In spite of the fact that the loyalist military superiority produced hundreds of dead military and civilians, they were recklessly defeated, which gave way to a United States military intervention on the following night to prevent the replacement of Bosh´s constitutional government.

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"The Cocolos and Samaná[1]"

Rafael Jarvis Luis[2]

Many people still confuse the Cocolos of San Pedro de Macorís, La Romana, Barahona and Puerto Plata with the English speakers living in Samaná. This false perception is due to the various factors they have in common, such as the use of English to communicate among themselves, to practice Protestantism, and to show respect and veneration for their elders, notable in many of their descendants. Since these ethnic groups immigrated to the Dominican Republic, the majority culture has not been able to easily distinguish the cultural differences between the two groups of immigrants.

When the two different groups of workers arrived to the island in the 19th century, they came under different circumstances. Their reasons for leaving their homelands behind were also different as were the years in which they arrived.

The Afro-descendants living in Samaná came from the United States, which had gained its independence from England on July 4, 1776. Many of them were fleeing the plantation system in the southern states, a system fomented by philanthropic societies of bankers and business people who bought and used slaves to boost their own capitalist production. The government of James P. Monroe, 5th President of the United States, placed no restrictions or impediments on these activities.

Efforts by institutions that rescued and freed numerous men, women and children from slavery, received a significant boost when the US government formalized an agreement with the British – owners of Sierra Leone in West Africa – to use part of the territory as a settlement for freed slaves who wished to relocate. In 1822, a group of freed slaves went on to found Liberia.

The political situation in Haiti was volatile at the time Liberia was founded. The death of King Henry Christopher on October 8, 1820, created the conditions for President Jean Pierre Boyer to unify the island. On February 9, 1822, the entire island of Hispaniola was brought under one

government. While these events were taking place, the Haitian President was in negotiations with France to persuade the country to recognize Haiti's independence. After several years of diplomatic negotiations, on April 25, 1825, the French accepted Haiti's insistent petition for independence. To communicate its decision, France sent the news with a powerful flotilla, which demanded a payment in excess of 150 million francs in exchange for recognizing the independence clamored for by Haitian leaders.

In the face of this dilemma, the Haitian President decided to pay the demand in order to keep the peace. Following this difficult moment, he concentrated his energies on strengthening the country's production apparatus in order to honor the financial commitment he made to France. He placed officials from the former reign of Henry Christopher in advantageous social positions with the idea of producing capital goods to sell on the world market to make the money he needed to pay France. The eastern part of the country, with its fertile land and favorable political conditions, was the most natural area to satisfy these conditions and needs. This was the area he had his eye on when he unified the island.

Haitian historian, Dantes Bellegarde, affirmed that in 1822, Boyer had been thinking the following:

"(…) en una inmigración extranjera con objeto de aumentar la población y también intensificar la labor agrícola, y su selección se había fijado en los Negros de los Estados Unidos (…)."[3] ["(…) in a foreign immigration with the goal of increasing the population and intensifying agricultural labor, and his selection was made with an eye on the Negroes in the United States (…)"]

In 1823, Boyer entered into contact with the African Colonization Society in New York and, through his envoy J. Granville, expressed his interest in receiving various freed slaves in his country. At that point, the population density in the eastern section of the country was very low. There were less than 100,000 people living on vast tracts of land, which were perfect for agricultural production.[4] With the idea of making use of this nearly empty land, he proposed the July 8 Law of 1824, which took over all ecclesiastical holdings, estates in rural areas and all property and

possessions belonging to the Crown then turned them over to the public domain. Included in these confiscations were all investments and assets, territorial taxes, Church properties and belongings of those who were absent from their land.[5]

In referring to the topic, historian Jean-Marie Dulix Thèodat affirmed that in October of 1824, the first group of Afro-Americans arrived in Samaná. Their arrival expanded the population by 17 percent, increasing the total population to 1,721 inhabitants.[6] In 1828, five years after Haitian authorities began bringing freed black persons from the US, some 13,000 persons had arrived to the island.[7] Of this number, 6,000 were in the first group. Many of them entered through the Port of Santo Domingo, from which they were redistributed to towns on the eastern side of the island.[8] Samaná was a favored location for the distribution of workers, which accounted for its significant rise in population. In 1819, there were 754 inhabitants and by 1824, it had risen to 1,721.[9]

Boyer managed to attract a large number of people in a short period of time because he promised to pay between $6 and $10 dollars weekly to workers with specialized skills in addition to covering their moving costs. He even made the added offer of distributing land, farming instruments and seeds.[10] Some 200 families took him up on his offer and went to Samaná to start farming.[11] The reason this settlement of Afro-descendants was possible in Samaná was political in origin. The time period stipulated for these workers to remain there was indefinite and it was up to President Boyer to make certain everything happened as planned. However, circumstances beyond his control nearly brought the whole project to the brink of disaster. A typhus epidemic took the lives of many of the immigrants from the United States who settled in other areas of the eastern part of the island. Others went back to where they came from in the US.[12]

It appears that those who settled on the peninsula quickly recovered from the devastating effects of the typhus outbreak. In 1851, it was reported that some 300 people were still there, whereas in other places, no immigrants from the United States remained.[13] In 1876, the material progress of the immigrants from the US was notable, as they owned homes in the center of the city.

The Cocolos, quite different from the black Americans who settled in Samaná, came from British colonial territories in the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean. The first immigrants arrived in the 19th century a few years after the Separation of the Eastern Part of the Island from Haitian dominion was proclaimed in February 1844. The presence of these new immigrants was supported by the Peace, Friendship, Commerce and Navigation Treaty signed on March 6, 1850 between the English and the Dominican authorities. On May 7, 1850, the treaty was promulgated by the administration of then President, Buenaventura Báez.

Puerto Plata was the place where immigrants from Turks and Caicos first arrived. They came as day laborers in the salt mines. In those early years, Cocolo women also came to do domestic work. At the end of their long workday, they returned to their homes. Economic necessity resulted in the immigration of these workers.

The presence of the early Cocolos provoked a response of rejection on the part of some authorities and people who opposed what had happened 46 years earlier with the workers from the United States. The factor that most influenced this behavior was prejudice. A July 1850 communiqué from Breff, Vice Consul in Puerto Plata, sent to Robert Herman Schomburgk, British Consul in the Dominican capital reflected that sentiment:

"*(…) En verdad, aparecería de todo lo que ha dicho y hecho el Ministro, que los Súbditos Británicos no son bienvenidos aquí y posiblemente no podrán entrar fácilmente al país. Ningún hombre de piel oscura es bienvenido aquí aunque sea Súbdito Británico. A tales personas todo le está prohibido.*[14]*(…)". ["(…) In truth, it seems from what everything the Minister has said and done, that the British Subjects are not welcomed here and possibly will not be able to easily enter the country. No man with dark skin is welcome here even though they are British Subjects. For these people, everything is prohibited. (…)*"]

Fifteen years after the beginning of the modern Dominican sugar industry in 1870, British subjects began arriving to the Eastern Caribbean.

Their arrival had to do with the vertiginous drop in sugar prices on the world market provoked by its competitor: beet sugar. For the

sugar refinery administrators and owners, these immigrants were the only specialized source of labor prepared to work in the national sugar industry for the meager wages offered. From that point on, production and capitalist relationships were shifting all around the world. The epicenter of capitalism was slowly moving out of Western Europe and over to the United States. This change implied new modalities in its development. To increase profits it was necessary to have a mobile international workforce. In this new scheme, Afro-descendants from the British Antilles were hired as the workers of choice in the Dominican Republic's unstable sugar cane industry.

The hiring of this huge mass of workers in the national territory was directly linked to their previous labor experience in technical areas. This was notable on the construction work done for the Sánchez-La Vega railroad. The presence of a large number of them in this area resulted in the founding of Sánchez by the Cocolos.[15] Baud affirmed that 350 Cocolos played a role in the founding. The labor participation of other Cocolos was seen in the first oil refinery in the Dominican Republic. In 1898, it was operating in La Romana, funded by capital from Cuban investor, Enrique Dumois. However, the sector in which Cocolo labor was most prominent was in the sugar industry.

Nevertheless, independent of the fact that two immigrant groups were both colonized by the British and shared the same language, they had little in common in other areas. They were culturally different from each other. In research done in the 1980s, anthropologist Soraya Aracena explained in her research that farm workers developed their own work songs and dances.

The *bamboulá*, known also as a round, was a circle dance in which men and women alternated as they clasped hands and danced around each other to the music of kettledrums. Another dance was the *Isidora*, which was done in three-step rounds, back and forth to the music of drums, guitars, the tres, calabash and the marimba. They played ball and drank ginger beer. They made Jhony cake with coconut milk, among other daily activities.[16] From these practices exercised over the course of many years, in addition to the extensive cultural and spiritual interaction, a slow process of acculturation took place.

Something similar also took place with the Cocolos who settled in Puerto Plata, San Pedro de Macorís, La Romana and Barahona. One of the fundamental activities that differentiated the Afro-descendants of Samaná from the Cocolos was the orientation of their main labor activity. While those from the United States mainly farmed, immigrants from the Eastern Caribbean worked in the factories. The Cocolos, who worked in agriculture, generally worked in the sugarcane fields, but never in the area of food production for the domestic market, as did those who settled in Samaná.

The Cocolos introduced the game of cricket. Their varied culinary arts included okra, with which they made a soup with abundant amounts of vegetable to give it its green color. The most outstanding trait of this group of immigrants is their dance, the guloya. The Guloya Dance Theater piece, David and Goliath, was recognized on November 25, 2005, by UNESCO as a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.

The circumstances, origins, motives and the years in which each group immigrated to the island were different as well as the work they did when they arrived. Their cultural practices distinguished the differences between each group as did their contribution to Dominican society in the process of acculturation.

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"African Religions and their Christian-Magic Transformations in the New World"

by Geo Ripley

I want to dedicate this conference to Ricardo Alegría, of Puerto Rico, who recently passed away, and who was during his entire life a fundamental agent of Puerto Rican identity.

I am going to quickly reference the processes of the slave trade: the capture, the crossing, the sale, the union of different ethnic groups, the intentional absence of communication created during the slave trade, the emergence of Creole languages and dialects – of *bozal*, of the *palenques*.

I will focus on the *languages of freedom*.

The languages of freedom allowed, despite their differences, for the creation of a spoken communication, and contributed to advancing struggles to abolish slavery and to achieve independence.

Languages fused together, resulting in a rudimentary language that consolidated through use. In this way, individuals of varying linguistic groups were able to initiate communication and conspire collectively on many occasions.

In San Juan, Puerto Rico it has been identified that groups that practice *bomba* and *plena* have differences and grave problems among themselves, and perhaps this is based on the reminiscence of these differences among groups that may have arrived from Africa and have maintained themselves until today.

Then arise the processes of conversion to Catholicism, Christian baptism. We were in the age of Counter-Reformation. A person is given the name of a Christian saint, so that the saint serves as an intermediary between the person and the saint to further devotion. The slave loses his/her conception of African divinity in function of the Catholic saint.

We see, for example, the image of Saint Cosme and Saint Damién, the saints of medicine that transform into *los Ibeyi, los Mellizos Divinos, los Jimaguas, los Marasas*. They are very young saints.

Here in the Dominican Republic, Saint Carlos Barromeo, who dresses in red and appears with a rooster and a bell and transforms himself into Candelo, who then evolves into Chango.

At the same time, the image of Saint Antonio Abad, the hermit, the old man surrounded by animals, also known as Saint Antonio de la Crianza, recreates himself in as a Legbá, his name Papá Legbá Manosé, Chief of 21 nations, Chief of the Legbá nation.

Papá Legbá opens borders.
Papá Legbá opens barriers.

This is what is called by the Servers of Mystery at the beginning and at the end of all celebrations.

I personally believe that the process of syncretism occurred fundamentally in a moment in which African groups were not able to communicate among themselves, or had minimum communication.

We see in the Dominican Republic that the polemic surrounding Ogún comes up constantly: Ogún is Petro, Ogún is Rada (arara), Ogún is not Congo, etc.

Ogún is recreated in Santiago Mayor, known as Saint Santiago in our country. And, why is this? Ogún is that and much more. What has happened is that during this moment of synchronism that occurred among African groups, the Araras knew him as one form.

They worshiped him and Ogún assumed a form with characteristics of this ethnic group. However, through the birth of Petró, Ogún assumes other characteristics and is worshiped in a different manner, with other distinct rituals, such that his manifestation during an altered state of consciousness (possession ritual) is different.

This, from my perspective, is the real syncretism that occurs among African groups: Belié Belcán under the image of Saint Michael the Archangel, of the Rada nation, is placed on the altar – the alter of the whites, the alter of sweets – which is made to look like the Christian altar, and where we also find Ogún.

The Forces, nations and forms of worship varied.

We find the Force and the Guedé nation. The image of Saint Michael the Archangel recreated in Belié Belcán, the one that is placed on the Rada altar transforms himself in Belié Macutíco, who acts as a Guedé, speaks like a Guedé and assumes the characteristics and roles of a Guedé.

Yet similarly, there is Belié Belcán with Congo characteristics, who transforms himself into Bosú Tres Cuernos, the powerful, with completely different coloration. His sermon is manifested in a different way. He is worshiped differently as well.

The problem is that one must study the point in which this entity manifests itself, through the image of a Christian saint that assumes spiritual regency characteristic of the celebrations, practices and prayers of the Catholic Church.

These aspects define this mystery. Behind the image of Saint Michael the Archangel we have his services. His services are central to him, his axis mundi, the central point from which offerings and rituals are made. They are animist identities, as they maintain a relation with the spirit of all things. However, at some point, animist manipulation also plays a role. Priests, through the sacred word and the ritual elements of food, drink, ritual washings, plants and offerings, as well as the blessing of objects, make the spiritual essence radiate.

We find throughout all parts of the island that altars contain a specific stone that cures people, that reveals messages, that serves as protection and that can move and disappear. The stone is bestowed to individuals as a form of protection, and when the person goes to search for it, it is found upon the altar.

This is the animist and animatist idea through which all these properties acquire strength through spiritual work. Therefore, when an initiation is realized, we never find the image of a Catholic saint in the center of a site where consecratory actions are taking place, nor do we find such images displayed on the head. What we do find are objects that are African in origin. Therefore, what is referred to as syncretism of European Christian saints, I refer to as recreation, or rather creation, as it is the manner in which they were able to maintain their traditions, masked behind Catholic saints, that due to spiritual importance, assumed spiritual regency.

According to recent research by Dr. Ivor Miller, the use of Christian images represents a union of power.

The African spirits, upon creating themselves in Christian images, increase the strength of their essential powers.

African Luases material forces.
Christian images spiritual forces.

I have attended Vodou ceremonies in many locations, and when a Guedé – one of the four acting forces in Dominican Vodou – manifests itself and speaks of a Luá, of the Rada nation, a nation of whites – the whites at the altar that speak "pagringo " – "Oh yes, because they speak nasally, ah, well in a given moment he can become *gringo*" – and spits saying "25 pechos" (25 pesos).

We must recall that the freedom of a slave was purchased at the time for 25 pesos.

During the conference of Frank Moya Pons, he spoke of Juan Vaquero (Jean Vaqueo), conveying that he was one of the first to establish maroon communities on the island – and upon death, was deified. He is a Luá of the Petró nation. Juan Vaquero was killed for treason. In a song about him, the lyrics say: "*Ay, yo no tengo amigos, yo no tengo amigos, yo soy Jean Vaqueo*." ["Ay, I don't have friends, I don't have friends, I am Jean Vaqueo."] According to Moya Pons, the story of Juan Vaquero still lives on 500 years later within historic memory.

I would like to specify that I am referring to the practice of Vodou thirty, forty years ago, and possibly earlier, each Being, each Mystery, each Luá – are distinct spiritual concepts that join together in functional terms. If one had economic problems, he or she referred to Belié Belcán. If one had sentimental problems, he or she sought Anaisa or Metresili. If one had problems with quarrels, he or she would consult Belié Belcán, but if the situation was very grave, he or she would seek Petró or Congo.

In contrast, the new Vodou of recent years is more similar to the concept of "Regla de Ocha", Rule of Ocha, which is Cuban Santería. This leads me to question: Is this not influenced by the large volumes of Dominicans living in the United States? Because previously, every person, regardless of their guardian Luá, their protector, would look to Belié Belcán if experiencing an economic problem. Yet now, this is not the case. Now each person meets first with the person who maintains the spiritual religious link with a mystery, and this mystery resolves all things and loses the specificity that characterized mysteries thirty, forty, fifty years ago.

The current imaginary that assigns these new functionalities has also taken on a new sense. Many years ago, we discovered the image of the Immaculate Conception, the Virgin. The chromolithography was the reduction of a painting by Murillo, in which the symbol of Mary was above the moon with her celestial court of twelve stairs and a snake with feet, which is Aida, and water below.

We also find, for example, that the image of Saint Marta the Dominator is also used as Aida Wedo in many home temples. In Haiti, I found photography of Marilyn Monroe as Aida Wedo, as well as photographs of the birth of Venus de Boticceli as Belle Venus, a form of Aida Wedo. These are indications that these living religions are undergoing constant change.

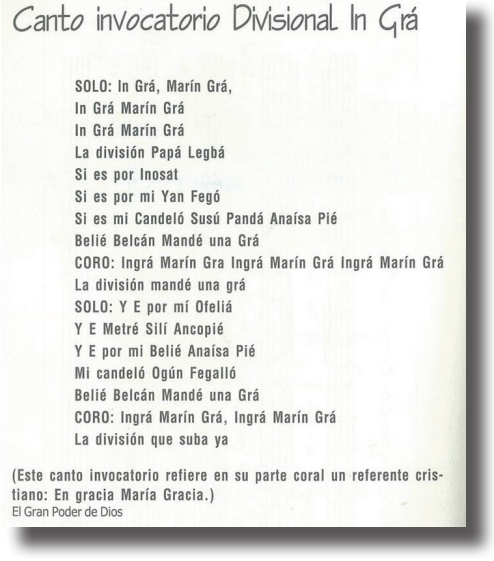
Another very interesting point that I would like to share with you is that as soon as Juan Pablo II, today Beato Juan Pablo II El Magno, in a Vodou home temple in Batey Chicharrones, I found upon the Rada altar an image, a calendar that had the dates cut out. I asked "What does our deceased father do here?" He responded: "He was a Saint. Listen to what I tell you," and he gave me the image as a gift, that I keep in my home to this

day. I mentioned this to some priests that a Vodou priest had said this to me, and there ended the conversation.

Something interesting in terms of attendance is that religions continue to complement one another. This is what has occurred in the Caribbean. Religions in many cases arrive complete, but in many cases they arrive incomplete and are completed. The Cuban tradition begins with the child. When the child begins to detect the presence of spirits he or she becomes a spiritualist. Afterwards he or she begins the process of the Congo tradition, which is ignited, and from there involves the passage to Ocha, the crowned saint, and if he or she is on the path of learnedness, he or she will enter into Ifá. However, in the tradition of Ifá, this journey is not necessary. Firstly, as it is a Congo and Yoruba tradition. Ifá has its own ancestor, which is the worship of Egungun. Because if we are alive in this moment, it is because we are treading over our ancestors.

Conducting research I have discovered one music that I have recorded which is known as Creole *Salve* (mortuary ritual vocal chant). This type of music has been song in twenty-one nations worldwide. At one point of time, I performed an exercise; I translated it into Latin and sang it in a classic style. We integrated an antique lute and later on added drums.

Here are the lyrics:



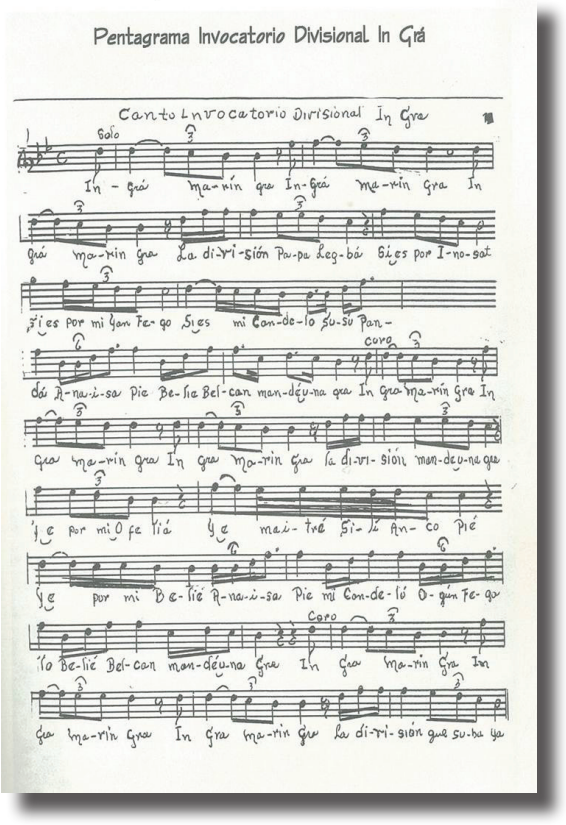
Canto invocatorio Divisional In Grá

SOLO: In Grá, Marín Grá,
In Grá Marín Grá
In Grá Marín Grá
La división Papá Legbá
Si es por Inosat
Si es por mi Yan Fegó
Si es mi Candeló Susú Pandá Anaísa Pié
Belié Belcán Mandé una Grá
CORO: Ingrá Marín Gra Ingrá Marín Grá Ingrá Marín Grá
La división mandé una grá
SOLO: Y E por mí Ofeliá
Y E Metré Silí Ancopié
Y E por mi Belié Anaísa Pié
Mi candeló Ogún Fegalló
Belié Belcán Mandé una Grá
CORO: Ingrá Marín Grá, Ingrá Marín Grá
La división que suba ya

(Este canto invocatorio refiere en su parte coral un referente cristiano: En gracia María Gracia.)
El Gran Poder de Dios

(The chorus of this invocation song refers to a Christian reference: In grace Mary grace.)

The Great Power of God



**I would like to express thanks to Alexandra Amele Ripley Mateo, who worked on this material, and to my mother, Aida Gómez Rueda de Ripley, for reviewing this document.*

Towards a Black Aesthetic: The Creation of Pan-Africanism

Mateo Morrison
"Aimé Césaire and the Relation between the Negritude Movement and Dominican Literature"

Delia Blanco
"Leopold Sedhar Senghor: The Poetry of Africanness"

Roger Toumson
"A Movement of Two: Césaire y Fanon, Affinities and Contradictions"

"Aimé Césaire and the Relation between the Negritude Movement and Dominican Literature"

by Mateo Morrison

The ample and diverse cultural mosaic in the Caribbean has its origins in the region's struggles against various European colonial countries that disputed their hegemony in the region. This resulted in the evolution of different official languages and Creole expressions, which are reflective of the European dominion over the Caribbean territory. This evolution generated a process of hybridization that characterized all of the region's historical events.

In contrast to other countries in the Americas, such as Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and Guatemala, where indigenous cultures survived, inhabitants in the Caribbean are fundamentally of European and African ancestry as a result of slavery, which generated inhuman production levels, increasing the wealth of the most powerful European countries involved in the slave trade.

From a cultural standpoint, syncretism resulted in multiple cultural manifestations. In Europe and Africa, culture is not homogenous, but rather very diverse. In the Caribbean region, new cultural expressions were being constructed with strong African roots, amid an official culture dominated by English, French, Spanish and Dutch influences.

These official languages co-existed together, with oral discourses that enabled communication among the poorest, becoming actual Creole languages on some Caribbean islands.

The countries colonized by England, such as Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, achieved their independence after many years of coexisting with the colonizers, during which they adopted peculiar forms of inter-relating.

In the case of Dutch possessions, such as Curacao or Aruba, expressions of political affiliation intimately linked to the colonizers, up until recently, in relation to levels of administrative autonomy.

The Dominican Republic and Cuba, gaining independence in 1844 and 1895 respectively. Via the Platt Amendment, imposed by the United States, Puerto Rico stopped being a Spanish colony and became an American territory, obtaining the status of a Free Associated State with the United States in the 1950s.

French colonial holdings included Martinique, Guadalupe and French Guyana which, after a long colonial process and struggles for independence, remained under French control, while maintaining distinct national characteristics.

The case of Haiti is considered an exceptional occurrence. In 1804, it achieved its independence, being the first essentially black nation to gain its freedom, becoming an inspiration to all African descendants, affirming that it was possible to overcome slavery and oppression.

These are all important circumstances to consider when examining Negritude (the embrace of blackness), in particular, the significance of Aimé Césaire as the most important poet and most essential figure of this subject matter.

The Negritude movement emerged not in the Caribbean but in Paris through a series of joint publications, the first being *Legítima Defensa* which appeared in 1932. This publication denounced the annexation process of the French Caribbean bourgeoisie and adopted the values of black culture as its standard.

There were other publications, such as *Revué du monde noir*, in which Césaire, Damas and Senghor presented the basis of their doctrines for a political tendency in favor of a Pan-African Diaspora.

It is not a coincidence that this movement emerged in France – a country that experienced one of history's greatest revolutions in the name of equality and fraternity. During the beginning of the 20th century, France welcomed black artists from different parts of the world, becoming a mecca of jazz and other African cultural manifestations.

Born in Martinique in June of 1913, Aimé Césaire absorbed the characteristics of his own environment, developing consciousness both as a black man and as a Martinican. His inclination for literature took him to a place that ultimately enabled him to reflect upon this consciousness and project a view of the world as expressed in his essays, theater pieces and poetry.

His *Discourse on colonialism* and other work published in the important magazine, *Tropiques*, and three theater pieces, *Et les chiens se taisaient*, *Une Tempete*, and *Une saison au Congo*, will never reach the level of Aimé Césaire's universally important book-length poem, *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal [Notebook of a Return to the Native Land]*, published in 1939. This poem mixes the earthly strength of black culture with the best tradition of French lyricism, through the extraordinary linguistic revolutionary values of the French surrealist movement.

For the great writer, Agustí Bartra "The words of the poem are French, surrealist and African, but it does not adhere to any of them."

Aimé Césaire will say:

> …words, ah yes, words
> more words than new blood, words that
> are waves and holy fire,
> malaria and lava and swamp fires
> and sudden blazes of meat,
> and blazes of cities.

The meeting of Césaire and Bretón in Martinique in 1941 was considered a deciding factor in the publication and dissemination of this text, which later the great writer Jean Paul Sartre would include in the so-called literature of commitment. Sartre said:

> One can talk here about committed poetry and even directed and automatic, not because of the intervention of reflection, but because its words and images continually express possession. Relief can be found in Surrealism. In his fire, Césaire possessed the intransigency of the demands and of the thirst for vengeance.

Césaire studied at the Liceo Luis Legrand of París where he met Leopoldo Senghor, a black man from Senegal. He said, "When I met Senghor, I told myself I was African."

Césaire´s political evolution propelled him from independence to autonomy and to support the political process of Martinique while, at the same time, encouraging the evolution of the process toward making his own original ideas less excluded. For that reason, in 1959, he said the following:

> Starting from the consciousness of being black, which implies taking charge of one´s own destiny, history and culture, Negritude is the simple recognition of this fact and does not entail racism or the negation of Europe, or exclusivity, but rather the opposite, a fraternity of all men of the black race, not because of the color of our skin, but because we share a culture, history and temperament.

I consider these fragments of the *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land* essential to conveying the universality of the poem:

> Neither the teacher in his classroom nor the priest in his catechism can extract even one word out of that sleepy little black boy, in spite of the energy with which they tap on his shaved head, for it is in the swamps of hunger where his hungry voice has drowned (one-word-only-one-word and I´ll-save-you-from-the-white-queen-of-Castille, one-word-only-one-word, see-that-small-savage-that-doesn´t- know- even-one-of-God´s-ten-commandments.)
>
> Because his voice is forgotten in the swamps of hunger and it is impossible to extract anything at all out of that little scoundrel out of a hunger that doesn´t know how to climb up the rigging of his voice, a heavy and limp hunger, a hunger deeply buried within the hunger of that famished mouth.
>
> I shall once rediscover the secret of great communication and great combustion. I shall say storm. I shall say river. I shall say tornado. I shall say leaf. I shall say tree. I shall be drenched by rains, moistened by dews. I shall roll like frenetic blood on the slow current of the eye of words, on crazy horses, on fresh children, on clots,

> on covers, on vestiges of temples, on precious stones far away enough to discourage miners. Whoever does not understand me will neither understand the roar of a tiger.
>
> Who and what are we? An admirable question! By contemplating the trees, I have become a tree and my long tree feet have dug into the soil large sacs of venom, tall cities of bones. By thinking of Congo.
>
> I have become a Congo murmuring with forests and rivers where the whip cracks like a great banner the prophet´s banner where the water sings likuala-likuala where the lightning of wrath throws its greenish hatchet and dominates over the wild boars of putrefaction in the beautiful violent edge of the nostrils.
>
> Customs angels who set up guard against prohibitions at the gates of foam. I declare my crimes and that there is nothing to say in my defense. Dances. Idols. Relapse. Me too.
>
> I have assassinated God with my laziness, my words, my gestures, my songs of obscenity.

The relationship between the Negritude movement, in particular the movement coming from the French Caribbean islands, along with Jamaica and other Caribbean islands, or with the solid movement of defense of black values through work like Jean Price Mars's, *So Spoke the Uncle*.

In the case of the Spanish Caribbean, authors such as Fernándo Ortíz and Lidia Cabrera in historical research, and Emilio Ballagas and Nicolás Guillén in the area of poetry have contributed greatly to the literary cannon on blackness. In Puerto Rico, there have also been historical and literary movements culminating with the poetic works of Luis Palés Matos. In the Dominican Republic, Manuel del Cabral´s texts, "*Pilón"* and *"Trópico negro"*, are the most transcendental writings on blackness. The works of Dominican poets Rubén Suro, Francisco Domínguez Charro, Abel Fernández Mejía, Antonio Fernández Spencer, Norberto James, Tomás Hernández Franco and Francisco Domínguez Cha have contributed greatly to the literary body on blackness.

However, addressing the topic of blackness does not mean taking on Negritude. Most of our Spanish-speaking writers who have broached

the topic, do not do so with the ideological identity of Negritude, but in some cases, as an act of compassion or solidarity against oppression, and in others, in solidarity with Garvyism, which proposed a return to Africa. Such is the case in Manuel del Cabral´s poem, "*Trópico picapedrero*".

Hombres negros pican sobre piedras blancas,
Tienen en sus picos enredados el sol.
Y como si a ratos se exprimieran algo…
Lloran sus espaldas gotas de charol.

Hoy buscando el oro de la tierra encuentran
El oro más alto, porque su filón
Es aquel del día que pone en los picos
astillas de estrellas, como si estuvieran
Sobre la montaña picoteando a Dios.

[Black men swinging picks against white stones,
sun and the glint of steel tangled together.
And as if pressed and wrung out of their bodies...
Their backs are weeping drops of patent leather.

Today, digging for the gold of the earth, they find
a richer gold vein, they find their lode is a morning's
gold, the day on which their humble picks wear
splintered stars, as if they were on a mountain,
swinging their picks at God.]

The second poem we have is "*Viejo negro del puerto*" by Domínguez Cha:

¡Viejo negro del puerto!
¿Qué deseo te taladra?
¿Qué mística idolátrica penetra en tus entrañas
Que, inmóvil como estatua, te embriaga de fulgor
De mil estrellas lánguidas…?

Inútilmente sueñas con tu retorno al África.
Si pudieras tejer con tus brazos
Un pedazo de jungla flotante
Y dejarte arrastrar por los mares…

O tejer con clarores de luna
Un velamen muy blanco y extraño
Y dejarte impulsar por el aire:
¡Qué aventura tan grande!

¡Viejo negro del puerto!
¡Quisiera consolarte!

[Old black man of the port!
What desire will be borne of you?
What idolatrous mysticism penetrates your core,
immobile like a statue, it intoxicates with the brilliance
of a million languid stars …?

You uselessly dream of your return to Africa.
If you could weave with your arms a piece of floating jungle
and tow yourself across the oceans …

Or weave with the radiance of the moon
a very white and unusual sail
and let yourself be propelled by the air:

What a great adventure!

Old black man of the port!
I wanted to console you!]

Negritude is a passion born of an explosion. A language that tries to create a new space, burning with a seed that encapsulates the very essence of the vindication of a marginalized culture, of men and women that had been at some point thought of as not having red blood, and therefore not thought to be an essential part of humanity.

We value all manifestations of blackness or Negritude in all their dimensions. However, in order to understand the absence of identification with this movement in the Dominican Republic, we need to consider the country´s specific features and its historical pro-Spanish ruling class.

Traditional Dominican intellectuals thought for decades that culture was only that which came from Spain or other European cultures, and later on, from the United States, but always looking at the United States from the point of view of white culture. By contrast, the Haitian ruling class viewed it differently when it allowed hundreds of black Americans to migrate to Santo Domingo, some of which settled in places like Samaná and preserved their cultural expressions. The dance, *bambulá*, is one of these cultural expressions.

Other African presences in the Dominican Republic, from either Africa, Haiti or the British Caribbean Islands, did not influence the Dominican

Hispanophile perception. With the advent of the Trujillo tyranny from 1930 to 1961, these perceptions were enhanced, and manifestations of African culture were marginalized, including expressions bearing any resemblance to Negritude. As a result, the birth of the Negritude movement in 1932 and the launching of *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* in 1932 had no influence in a country where the majority of mulattos were considered white, and the majority of blacks aspired to whiten their skin and did not view their African origin as positive, but rather as a backward state associated with the neighboring country of Haiti.

It is important to evaluate the historical and social moment that made the Dominican Republic turn its back to the majority of other Caribbean islands and their cultural expressions.

There are two examples we need to point out as essential in illustrating the presence of Negritude in the Dominican Republic. The main one is related to Aída Cartagena Portalatín, and took place after André Breton´s visit to the country after his stay in Haiti. Aída Cartagena writes in her book, *Culturas africanas: rebeldes con causa*:

> *El hombre vivo está hecho de recuerdo, de celebraciones que, si son aptas, desea que se repitan. Como ejemplo, recuerdo cuando se estrechaban las manos de André Bretón con las mías en el segundo piso del edificio La Gloria en la calle El Conde. Eugenio Fernández Granell, que además de crítico es pintor e ilustraba los cuadernos de la Poesía Sorprendida, llevó a La Gloria a los poetas del grupo para saludar a Bretón, quien, después de terminada la Segunda Guerra Mundial y antes de regresar a Francia, quiso llegar a Santo Domingo para ponerse en comunicación con los poetas surrealistas cuyas obras conocía. El gran poeta galo regresaba a su país con el Segundo Manifiesto de su tendencia literaria. Eran los días más recientes de la postguerra. En los Cuadernos de poesía Sorprendida se disfrutaba la lectura de poemas inéditos de Juan Ramón Jiménez, Jorgue Guillén, Dámaso Alonso, Altolaguirre, León Felipe y otros grandes de los que se quedaron o salieron de España cuando su guerra. Enviaban sus colaboraciones para que se publicaran en Santo Domingo.*
>
> *En un aparte conversaba con André. Yo citaba nombres de los poetas europeos cuyas obras se leían y discutían en nuestras reuniones. En un momento abrió su maletín*

y tomó, para regalármelo, el último número de TROPIQUES que publicaba el poeta martiniqués Aimé Césaire. Todo el material era literatura de la negritud, poesía de cepa negroafricana y negroantillana que se alimentaba en las fuentes del gran país natal, África. Con este ser vivo, lleno de preocupaciones, esa misma noche comencé la celebración de los rituales de aquel encuentro que se multiplicaría: Bretón-Césaire-Senghor-La negritud. Desde esa misma noche vi otro mundo dividido no en países sino en hombres blancos y en hombres negros. Parecía bastante idealista admitir el hecho de que, en la comunidad de los negros, la función del poeta o del artista en general, es celebrar la existencia y permanencia de los valores y no su destrucción, como en el mundo de los blancos.

[An alive man is made of memory, of celebrations which, if proven suitable, he will wish to see repeated. For instance, I remember the moment when André Breton and I shook hands on the second floor of the La Gloria building in El Conde street. Eugenio Fernández Granell, who is a painter besides an art critic, and the illustrator of the magazine *Poesía Sorprendida*, brought our group of poets over to La Gloria to meet with Breton. Breton had come to Santo Domingo before returning to France after World War II, to make the acquaintance of the surrealist poets whose works he had already known. The great French poet was returning home with his literally Second Manifesto. These were the first years of the aftermath of the war. The booklets of *Poesía Sorprendida* gathered unpublished poetry by Juan Ramón Jiménez, Jorgue Guillén, Dámaso Alonso, Altolaguirre, León Felipe and other great poets who had remained in Spain or fled the country during the Civil War and sent their work to be published in Santo Domingo.

I was talking to André on the side, quoting names of the poets we read and discussed in our meetings. At one point, he opened his briefcase and took out the last issue of *Tropiques*, a review published by Martinican poet Aimé Césaire, and gave it to me. The whole issue was about Negritude literature, poetry of black African and black Antillean origin still being nurtured by sources of the ancient homeland, Africa. That very night, and together with this very alive being, so full of preoccupations, we initiated the rituals of our encounter that later would proliferate into Breton-Césaire-Senghor-Négritude. From that night on I envisioned

> a different world. A world divided not into countries, but between white people and black people. It sounded quite idealistic to admit that in the black community, the role of the poet or the artist consists in celebrating the existence and permanence of values, and not in their destruction, as occurs in the white world.]

As opposed to her other companions of the *Poesía Sorprendida*, Aída saw, in the presence of Bretón, a bridge to reach the African world. Her stay in France enabled her to become acquainted with the great intellectuals of Negritude such as Aimé Césaire, and to reach Africa from the hands of Sedar Senghor.

Undoubtedly influenced by this experience, as seen in her book *La tierra escrita*, the Dominican intellectual would later write:

> *Mi madre fue una de las grandes mamá del mundo.*
> *De su vientre nacieron siete hijos que serían en Dallas,*
> *Memphis o Birmingham un problema racial.*
>
> *(Ni blancos ni negros).*
>
> *Lala al servicio de la casa por más de treinta años no la olvida.*
> *En cada frío que se hace en nuestro valle la recuerdan también los que recibieron en el pueblo sus frazadas baratas.*
>
> *Mamá ignoraba las Teorías Políticas. (Encíclicas y a Marx).*
> *Sólo entendía que el pobre sufre hambre, reclama pan y necesita abrigo.*
>
> *Un periodista dijo que ella era un programa privado de Asistencia Social.*
> *Mujeres de vida buena y de vida mala aún la lloran.*
> *Sus cosas eran deber de amor.*
>
> *Mamá. Olimpia. Mamá. El público no debe por fundas de alimentos ni frazadas y techos levantar estatuas.*
> *Deber de amor son esas cosas.*
> *Deber del hombre por todos los* HOMBRES.
>
> *¡*POBRE NEGRA *la niñera! Mi casa era un circo. (pelotas, muñecas, columpios, patines, gritos, castigos y vainas).*

Durante diez años Negra tendió sobre mi cuerpo la sabanita blanca.

(que dios haya repartido con ella el latifundio de su reino, y que descanse en paz!!!!).

Porque luego Negra corrió con muchos varones en Curazao.

Ahora los brazos de mi soledad se extienden como alambres hacia su recuerdo. De todos modos:
NEGRA!, NEGRA!, muy alto grito: NEGRA!!

Negra muerta: te digo en esta página que, a veces, el recuerdo de un muerto es pesado e indigesto.
–Lo cierto es– me explicó un psiquiatra–
que el recuerdo para ser correctamente asimilado necesita estar pegado a un sentimiento de amor, gratitud, admiración, odio, sexo, o cualquier otro tema…

[My mother was one of the great mothers of the world. From her womb seven children were born were born who would be a racial problem in Dallas, Memphis or Birmingham. (Neither white nor black).

Lala, who worked in the house for more than thirty years never forgets her. Every cold season that comes to our valley, those in the village who received her cheap blankets remember her also.

Mama did not know political theories. (Manifestos and Marx). She only understood that the poor suffer, need food and need shelter.

A journalist said that she was a private program for Social Welfare. Good women and bad women still mourn her. Her duties were those of love.

Mama. Olympia. Mama. The public should not erect statues because of food drives, nor blankets and roofs. These things were a duty of love. The duty of mankind towards all MEN.

Poor black woman, the babysitter! My house was a circus. Balls, dolls, swings, skates, shouts, punishment and hassles.

For ten years the Black Women spreading the white sheet over my body.

> May God share with her the estate of his kingdom, and may she rest in peace!!!!
>
> Because later the Black Women ran with many men in Curazao.
>
> Now the arms of my solitude extend like wires towards your remembrance. Nonetheless: Black Woman!, Black Woman!, very loud I yell, Black Woman!!
>
> Dead black woman: I tell you on this page that at times the memory of a death is heavy and indigestible. What is certain, my psychiatrist explained, is that memory, to be correctly assimilated, needs to be attached to a feeling of love, gratitude, admiration, love, sex or some other matter…]

Another example is the poet Juan Sánchez Lamouth of Martinican origin, who refers to his African descent in his poem *Los Lamouth*. Black poet Juan Sánchez Lamouth was part of the 1948-1960 group of independent poets, which included Ramón Francisco and Marcio Veloz Maggiolo. During his 39 years of life (June 24, 1929 to November 18, 1968), his literary career was multifaceted and characterized by ideological diversity. He dedicated part of his poetic work to exalting negritude and to writing against discrimination.

While many of our poets admired Spain, North America, France, or just simply wrote about political aspects of national life, Lamouth who wrote widely about all topics, in my opinion, has written the most genuine poems on blackness. His poetry reflects the racial prejudice, deeply rooted in Dominican society, that he experienced. In contrast with Cartagena Portalatín who traveled the world, Lamouth never left the Dominican Republic. His vital experience and his readings gradually built a unique space for Negritude. The movement, although later questioned by the *creolité*, filled an enormous space within Dominican culture and contributed to one important sector of humanity´s cry for freedom.

I believe that the best homage to Aimé Césaire during the International Seminar "Presence of Africa in the Caribbean, the Antilles and the United States", organized by Global Foundation for Democracy and Development (GFDD) and Fundación Global Democracia y Desarrollo (FUNGLODE),

would be to cite our poet Juan Sánchez Lamouth's texts, given his proximity to the world created by the Martinican and universal poet, Césaire.

Various lyrical works show the relationship of Dominican poet Juan Sánchez Lamouth with this important movement and its essence. Let us look at the text, "señas de identidad" ["signs of identity"]:

Mi nombre Juan
color
negro latino
residencia
la aldea
ocupación
poeta
bienes
la poesía
seña particular
una herida profunda
que me supo abrir
la oligarquía.

[My name Juan
color
black Latino
residence
the farm
occupation
poet
possessions
poetry
distinguishing physical characteristics
a deep wound
inflicted to me
by the oligarchy.]

Another emblematic poem of our poet is *:* "*Maldición*" ["Cursed"], written to poet Jules Romains for not having sung to black people:

Bien debería el mar penetrar hasta la tierra enferma de tus huesos por haberte llenado de silencios viendo a los hombres negros. Tú dices que Dios es blanco; yo contradigo; Dios no tiene color. Ese canto a los hombres blancos fue un poema que hiciste sin provecho. Ahora que mi canto viaja a tu tierra ciega en mi bosque de luto te maldicen los pájaros. ¡Maldito seas! ¡Mil veces! hasta

en las lámparas de los locales subterráneos. Hasta las mismas aldeas te maldicen con sus niños desnudos y sus árboles ahora que el carbón y los murciélagos no pueden ser horrores de tu alma…

…Maldito seas por ti fue más difícil traducir a los ángeles de la iglesia de Pedro; he aquí a Mayakouski señalando todas tus piedras varias; porque odiaste a los negros hasta los cementerios declaran huelgas de hambre en contra de tus huesos sé que hasta las pirámides te maldicen. Dios no tiene color, desgraciado poeta.

[The sea would do well to infiltrate the diseased soil of your bones for having kept your silence when you beheld black people. You say that God is white, I disagree; God is colorless. Your song to white people was a barren poem. Now that my song is carried to your sightless land, birds curse you in my bereaved forest. May you be cursed! A thousand times! Even on the lanterns that light subterranean spaces. The very villages curse you with their naked children and their trees, now that coal and bats can no longer be horrors to your soul...

Be damned! For your sake it was harder to translate the angels from Peter´s Church. Here we have Mayakousky pointing at your different stones; because you hated black people even graveyards go on hunger strike against your bones. I know that even pyramids curse you. God has no color, you wretched poet.]

The other poem is "*Saludo conjunto al poeta Leopold Sedhar Senghor*" ["Greetings to poet Leopold Sedhar Senghor"]:

Pastor de los negros de la iglesia del mundo, que aún luchas por llevarnos hacia la tierra santa de tus prédicas. Saludo tus fuerzas misteriosas hasta en los tréboles negros que tienen las barajas. Tú que llenaste tu corazón de tierra frente al otoño oscuro de los pobres, te saludo en nombre del polvo de estos barrios; parece que estas tierras de América no son muy buenas para que crezcan las plantaciones de la justicia. Señor de las bellas palabras, tu alma es la plazoleta donde pueden hablar las gentes negras. Ved: corazones coléricos siguen manchando de rojo la piedra doméstica del pueblo. Borra el statu quo de los judas como lo hizo el reverendo King al sonar su trompeta salvadora. Nosotros, los negros de América, te saludamos unánimemente. Te saludan los niños que

aún cortan flores para adornar el mutismo de los ídolos blancos.

[Shepherd of blacks in the church of the world, who still struggles to lead us towards the holy land of your sermons. I salute your mysterious fortitude even in the black clubs of playing cards. You filled my heart with earth in the face of poverty´s dark autumn, I salute you in the name of the dust of these neighborhoods. It would seem that American soil is not good for growing the plantations of justice. Master of beautiful words, your soul is the town square where black people might speak. Observe: wrathful hearts still stain with blood the domestic rock of the nation. Erase all Judaic status quo, as did the reverend King, when he blew his trumpet of salvation. We, the blacks of America, salute you in unison. The children, who still cut flowers to adorn the silence of white idols, salute you.]

Finally, : "*Versos para recitarlos con melopeas de violines haitianos*" ["Verses to be recited with the intoxication of Haitian violins"], which exalts black poetry as having a borderless identity and being a celebration of black history and culture.

Sea entre el Vodú, o el Clerén celoso
quiero melopeas de violines negros,
violines haitianos surcados de duendes,
violines que tengan fuertes amuletos

Si en mi alma hay flores, son flores morenas,
también mis auroras, son auroras negras;
por eso deseo saludar a Haití
con mi voz florida de muchos poemas.

Melopeas haitianas lleguen a mis versos,
abran sus estuches violinistas negros,
tomen en sus manos los arcos mestizos
que la diosa África aplauda mis versos.

El negro es romántico, sus signos atávicos
hace que en la tierra trabajen cantando,
sus poetas cantan con fuerzas telúricas
canciones de siembras, de bueyes y arados.

Por eso deseo melopeas morenas,
melopeas rebeldes, ritmos embrujados;
que sean calientes como sus clerenes
y contengan notas de tierras sembradas.

Violinistas negros, abran sus estuches,
que aromen los arcos sus oscuras manos;
mis versos rebeldes, mis versos de trópico
son para leerse con música haitiana

[Be it among Vodou, or the jealous *clerén*
I want the intoxication of black violins,
Haitian violins furrowed with spirits
violins that hold powerful amulets.

In my soul there are flowers, they are dark flowers,
my dawns as well are black dawns;
for this I wish to salute Haiti
with my lyrical voice of many poems.

Intoxicated Haitians arrive to my verses,
open their black violin cases,
taking in their hands the mestizo bows.

May the Goddess Africa applaud my verses.

The black man is romantic, his atavistic signs
make them sing while they work the land,
their poets sing with the force of the earth,
songs of planting seed, oxen and plough.
This is the reason I yearn for dark intoxication,
rebel intoxication, bewitched rhythms
as fiery as their *clerenes*
that contain musical notes of the sown earth.

Black violinists, open your cases.
Perfume the bows with your dark hands;
my rebel verses, my tropical verses
are made to be read with Haitian music.]

I was part of the Martinique delegation of The Universidad Autónoma of Santo Domingo that awarded the *Honoris Causa* Doctorate to Aimé Césaire, an instance of crucial recognition to a universal poet. We were able to honor him during his lifetime and express our admiration for his contribution to humanity.

"Leopold Sedhar Senghor: The Poetry of Africanness"

by Delia Blanco

Few intellectuals and politicians of the 20th century had careers as prolific as Léopold Sédar Senghor. The brilliant intellectual, poet, essayist and linguist – a man of culture and peace – was born in Joan, Senegal, in 1906 and died in Verson, France, on December 20, 2001.

Born into a bourgeois family, he began his studies at the Catholic Mission in Ngasobil, in the Libermann School, and after finishing secondary school in Dakar, went to Paris, to Louis-le-Grand High School and later to the Sorbonne. In 1935, he obtained a doctorate in language. While he gave classes in language and literature at Descarte High School in Tours (1935–1938), he continued taking Black-African linguistics courses with Lilias Homburger in the Paul Rivet School of Higher Studies, and Marcel Mauss and Marcel Cohen in the Ethnology Institute of Paris. It is not surprising that the French Republic named him one of the immortals of the French Academy. This African of the Serer tribe was baptized as a Catholic at the age of seven in the mission of the Fathers of the Holy Spirit in Joal, his native town. The Christian element of his schooling was fundamental and established a basis, so that in his adult life he succeeded, in his mission as Head of State, to be a humanist, pioneer of democracy in Black Africa and apostle of dialogue.

Named professor at Marcellin Berthelot de Saint-Maur-des-Fossés High School in 1938, he mobilized in 1939 and was imprisoned in June 1940. After two years in a Nazi internment camp, he was freed due to illness in 1942. He then joined the Resistance in the National University Front. From 1944 until the Independence of Senegal, he held the chair of Black-African Languages and Civilizations at the National French School.

In 1945, he began his political career when he was elected as a deputy. In 1948, he founded the Democratic Front of Senegal, and as his party's candidate, was elected by a wide margin in the 1951 and 1956 elections for the National Assembly, successfully being elected Secretary of State

in the government of Edgar Faure (1955–56). He was later elected to be mayor of Thiès, the railroad capital of Senegal. Member of the Consultative Assembly of the European Council, on multiple occasions he was also Delegate of France to UNESCO and the United Nations General Assembly. He was appointed as Minister Counselor of the French government in July 1959, and finally, he was elected to the first President of the Republic of Senegal on September 5, 1960, after leading negotiations on the country's independence.

His political trajectory was as a peace-building man of dialogue, as he always assumed his responsibilities with ethics and restraint. A political ally of France, the country that enabled him to grow and develop, he was a strong opponent to German occupation of France, and in 1940, he joined the resistance against the Nazis.

In his terms in office, he tried to modernize agriculture in Senegal, energetically fighting corruption and inefficiency in public institutions. He forged closer ties with neighboring countries and maintained cooperation with the French. He defended an African socialism based on openness and democracy and humanist socialism, rejecting proposals and slogans such as "dictator of the proletariat." He was a vigorous spokesperson for the countries of the south, protesting the unjust terms in which international trade was developed, in which the industrial countries held an enormous advantage over the agricultural nations. Reelected President of the Republic from 1963-1968, and 1973-1978, he stepped down from the position on December 31, 1980.

With respect to his literary achievements, in 1934, along with other students, he founded the magazine *L' étudiant noir* [*The Black Student*] After 1945, he began publishing his works, such as *Chants d´Ombre* (1945), *Hosties Noires* (1948), *Ethiópiques* (1956), *Nocturnes* (1961), and *Lettres d´hivernage* (1973), among others. *Lettres d´hivernage* (1973) and *Élégies majeures* (1978), represent a style of poetry in which the rhythm and imagery reflect the sounds of the African savannah.

Léopold Sédar Senghor is one of the poets whose writing is based on his own experiences, both joy and suffering, of the man and the people.

His writing was nurtured by primitive bases, which become the well and spring where poets come to drink, to transform the bulk flow of memory. Such is Senghor's case, whose poetic work is fed by three essential genres: the personal, the historic (gently slipping toward the legendary and the mythic) and the poetic, which contribute the knowledge of the early poetic traditions, both oral and written, African and European. While the first two essentially determine the thematic and ideological profiles of his work, the latter contributes above all to configure the musicality of the *mestizo* poem of African and European rhythms, as well as to model and modulate the metaphoric substance that definitively makes the poetic creation possible. Senghor's genius consists of giving poetic language the resonance of Africanness through the rhythm of the words and the verses, with a sense of nostalgia and dream, whose musicality energizes memory and converts the past into a sensual power of the present. The set of poems in *Chants d'Ombre* [*Shadow Songs*] evoke his displacement to Europe, and become a magical metaphorical space in which things acquire different meanings through the filter of distance, both in space and time.

> I have lived in this kingdom, I have seen with my own eyes, I have listened with my own ears to fabulous beings beyond the things, the Kouss and the tamarinds, the manatees singing to the rivers, the crocodiles guarding the springs, the deaths of the people of my ancestors who spoke to me, invited me to the alternate truth of the night and noon...

The poet presents to us a magnificent nature through his memories of people in his childhood, finding depth in the memory to evoke the native land of things from the past, which he jealously guards with the loyal darkness of his black memory.

In *Hosties Noires* [*Black Hosts*], the story presents a protagonist, maintained throughout the work, to go back through the course of time in a collective space to drink from the springs of Africanness. The poet integrates in the collective memory the historic evolution of his mistreated people and continent, creating a reminder of pre-colonial Africa, to amass greater evidence to condemn colonization and its consequences, successfully creating a conscience with the reader on the future. *Hosties noires* is an epic whose ideological function appeals to a new way of honor, value, fraternity, and above all, dignity.

Léopold Sédar Senghor showed in his work that memory serves to reveal one's real identity. Having recently experienced World War II, it was his memory that dictated to him the rifle massacre of the Senegalese people. From that moment on, the poet went back through the course of time, passing through the avatars of colonization, the mistreatment of slaves, the unmerciful human and economic exploitation, and finally, presenting these events in his dream as authentic *Childhood Kingdoms of the African Man in Pre-Colonial Times*. All this nurtures and recuperates the history of pre-colonial Africa, and constitutes the seed of a politically committed poet, the germ of a new vision of the past, sometimes idealized, and, generally very vindictive.

Reflection on the historic evolution of a mistreated people constitutes the thematic support of a book *Hosties noires*, which colors the tone of the saga and whose ideological function leaves little doubt: it has to do with vindication of the past, and also appeals to a new splendor through a new social and political composition of a disfigured Africa. Many episodes of the story, not only of Senegal, but also other African peoples, are reviewed in this second book of poems that announces, at the same time that it denounces ungodly atrocities. Such is the case of the poem *"Epites á la princess"* ("Letters to the princess"), in which the apocalyptic predictions of the prophets are directly transcribed, now sadly proven true, that come to overview the evolution of humanity in three phases, their successive deaths: the eras of Discovery, Reason and Technology (Senghor, 1990:142), in which man shows his enormous capacity to self-annihilate.

On the other hand, the recreation of prehistoric figures is often full of fiction, especially the heroes responsible for a past of glory whose biography almost becomes a hagiography, as an example of those eternal values, that for Senghor, rule the life of the African man, always in relation to an inherited ethic, such as the codes of honor, value, solidarity and generosity, among other values. Another case is the figure of Chaka, the warrior responsible for the expansion of the Zulu empire at the cost of not only his valor and his men but also of the pillage and crimes, to which the author dedicated a long polyphonic poem in *Ethiopiques*. A dark character, at the center of a legend of contradictory valor, Chaka illustrates the moral problem of a military leader split between political and military interests,

on the one hand, and the observance of strict ethical and moral standards, on the other.

In other cases, the historic figures serve as references to a socio-political universe that disappears under the colonization process, such is the case of Koumba Ndoféne Dyouf, the last king of the Sine, and of Kaya-Maga, representative of a Mali dynasty. The recuperation of these figures is almost always intentional, as it responds to the will to magnify an idea or a value of a people or an entire society.

> I lived the myth, essential for Africa. On the one hand, Africa for five centuries, like Christ, crucified by the slave trade and colonization, but Africa redeemed, and through its suffering, redeeming the world, rising to help plant a humanist civilization; on the other hand, black Africa. Femininity. Love. Poetry, which appears here in the last of the Elégies majeures, under the figure of the Queen of Sheba, for whom, for years, I lived in adoration.

The dream of mythic time is often embodied under the feminine aspects of the Queen of Saba, who became the mother of Africa. Three poems from three different books develop the points discussed in the previous descriptive meta text: "*A l´appel de la race de Saba*" (*Hosties noires*), "*L´Absente*" (*Ethiopiques*) and "*L´Elégie pour la reine de Saba*" (*Elégies majeures*).

Senghor constructs his poems based on several isotopies skillfully woven together under the aspects of the Queen of Saba/woman/mother of Africa/poetic creation, in a framework that ranges from the verification of absence to the celebration of presence achieved through the poetic word, whose dynamic seed will be love.

Returning to Senghor's resource of memory is: unrest, uncertainty, uprooting…it renounces the hostile present, function of the memory. According to Bachelard to, "Memories are the reward of a prior refusal to live anything else but what one chooses …" The next phase concerns the collective and recuperates history, corresponding to the social and political commitment to achieve a more just and egalitarian society. Then comes

the third phase, the path toward peace. All these phases are reflected in his literary works.

Léopold Sédar Senghor definitely showed himself to be an intellectual of unparalleled learnedness. He had a broad understanding of Greek-Latin languages and adored the French language. When he spoke, one could always sense the poet behind his words. He was considered to be a "word magician," through which he embodied the beauty of the African soul. Based on these observations, we can consider that the morphology and the function of the diverse flow in Senghor's poetry to be powerful principles and elements activated by a powerful memory capable of conjuring the forgotten and its inherent risk – the loss of roots leading to the dissolution of one's own identity.

As is well known, in Senghor the poetic seed is not only African, but also European. In his case, it is acquired through education in multiple readings undertaken enthusiastically during his French-speaking studies: Hugo, Baudelaire, Bimbaud, Mallarmé, Apollinaire, Claudel, etc. He drank from the poetic springs of symbolism and surrealism, determinants in his concept of symbolic imagination, of syntax and prosody that helped to forge his rhythmic bases, orchestrating and achieving a style of poetry with the magic of miscegenation.

Given all this, it is logical that critics of French and English literature consider Senghor to be the greatest writer in the French language in all of Africa and other French-speaking countries.

He performed all his roles with great stature and impeccable dignity, without moral compromise or debt. He succeeded in becoming the African who achieved the highest academic degree in France, "The aggregation of letters and grammar," considered to be the greatest revalidation and academic degree of French scholasticism, of his generation. It is important to situate Senghor's experiences in 1928, in the middle of the French colonial era in Northern and Western Africa, making his achievements all the more remarkable. He obtained a French degree with brilliance, as well as won the entrance competition to preparatory classes at the Normal Schools, such as the Louis le Grand High School in Paris, the most emblematic and prestigious.

The *khágne* preparatory classes exercised the demands of method. In his memoires, Léopold Sédar Senghor confessed:

> Week after week, year after year, I have made progress in understanding the Greco-Latin soul, whose greatest inheritance is the French civilization. Little by little I have been able to decipher the meaning of history, within economic and social events, as well as the meaning of philosophy, which lies in the dialectic: the dialogue between subject and object, intellect and material, reason and fact, Man and Nature.

Léopold Sédar Senghor was one of the leading exponents of the Negritude movement, along with the intellectual Aimé Césaire of Martinique (1913-2008). Césaire is considered to be the ideologue behind the movement's conception. Césaire's work is marked by the defense of his African roots. This great intellectual and tireless combatant, who shared the same principles as Senghor, was also educated in Paris, where he received a scholarship from the French government after his education in the Victor Schoelder High School in Fort-de-France. In September 1931, he moved to the French capital and began studying at one of the most famous high schools of Paris, the Louis-le-Grand High School. On the first day there, he met the future president of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, with whom he established a lifelong friendship.

The concept of Negritude evolved thanks to the contact of Césaire and Senghor's with young Africans who, in those years, were studying in Paris (such as the Sengalese Birago Diop), as well as, among others, León Gontran Damas of French Guyana and Guy Tirolien of Guadalupe, — victims of the cultural alienation characteristic of the colonial society in Martinique and French Guyana, both discovering an unknown part of their identity — the African component. With Senghor and Césaire taking the lead, they successfully developed their ideas using as a platform the newspaper *L´étudiant noir* : [*The Black Student*], where the term Negritude first appeared, a concept that originated from Aimé Césaire as a reaction to the cultural oppression of the French colonial system, the main objective of which was, in part, to reject the French project of cultural assimilation, and in part to promote African culture, disparaged by the racism arising from colonial ideologies. Constructed in opposition to the French colonial

ideology of the era, the Negritude project was more cultural than political. Beyond a partisan and racial view of the world, it reflects an active and concrete humanism aimed at all the oppressed on the planet.

Biographical note:

Throughout his life, Léopold Sédar Senghor's work received growing international recognition. Senghor was the recipient of the gold medal of the French language; grand international prize of poetry from the French Society of Poets and Artists (1963); gold medal of poetic merit of the international prize Dag Hammarskjold (1965); grand international literary prize Rouge et Vert (1966); Peace Prize of German Libraries (1968); literary prize of the International Academy of Arts and Letters of Rome (1969); grand international prize of poetry of the Knokke-le-Zoute Biennal (1970); the Guillaume Apollinaire Prize (1974); Prince of Poetry 1977; Duca Cino Award (1978); International Book Award from the International Committee of the Book (World Book Community, UNESCO, 1979); prize for his cultural activities in Africa and his work on peace from President Sadat (1980); gold medal from CISAC (International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Compositeurs); First World Prize Aasan; the Alfred de Vigny Prize (1981); the Athénaï Prize in Athens (1985); international Golden Lion Award in Venice (1986); the Louise Michel Award in Paris (1986); the Mont-Saint-Michel Award in Paris (1986); Intercultural Award in Rome (1987).

In addition to receiving all these awards of recognition for his work, he was named Doctor Honoris Causa at 37 universities, including: Sorbonne, Strasbourg, Lovaina, Burdeos, Harvard, Oxford, Vienna, Montreal, Frankfurt, Yale, Meiji, Nancy, Bahia and Evora. He was a member of the Babara Academy (1961); associate member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences (1969); member of the Academy of Sciences, Fine Arts and Art of Bordeaux; member of the Academy of Sciences of Ultramar (1971); member of the Black Academy of Arts and Letters (1973); member of the Mallarme Academy (1976); and a member of the Academy of the Kingdom of Morocco (1980). He was nominated several times for the Nobel Prize in Literature. On June 2, 1983, he was elected to be a member of the French Academy.

He died in Verson, France, at the age of 95.

"A Movement of Two: Césaire and Fanon, Affinities and Contradictions"

by Roger Toumson

An epistemological rupture: Negritude

Aimé Césaire, Nicolás Guillen, Luís Palés Matos, Frantz Fanon, Georges Lamming, Guy Tirolien, Manuel Rueda, have explored the sources of a radically innovative poetry as much in the order of language and discursive formations as in the order of ideas and sensibilities of concepts and imagination. I propose here to examine one of the most relevant episodes in the battle over ideas whose discourse on Negritude has been among those of excellence. This episode in the struggle for reaching full disclosure on the topic can also be put another way. Nietzsche said the "struggle for life" confronts two canonic figures: Aimé Césaire[1] and Frantz Fanon[2].

An overall theory

Negritude developed at the end of World War II, during the second half of the century, at a historic moment characterized by a translation from colonization and access – real or projected – to national independence of peoples under European colonial domination in Black Africa, North Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America. The Negritude movement has, since its first appearance, a causality and political finality. However, if it has a political reach, the discourse of Negritude is not, a *priori*, of a political nature. It is, above all, a discourse of theoretical status. In this paper, what I will put forth is an overall theory. Such a theory implies historical theory and a theory about the historical condition of human societies, a philosophy of the subject, its nature and culture. As such, Negritude has a fundamentally philosophical dimension. Without a name or status, it is a philosophy of an action – a philosophy of thought and of action. From the point of view of the history of ideas, of sensibilities and of discourses, Negritude appears today in the full light of its radical critical function. The argument of Negritude has to raise a rigorous requisition against all arguments postulated from the logic of European domination, hierarchical postulations, egocentric postulations, monocentric postulations affirming

that, in all ordered thought and action, the superiority of white people on the one hand and the constitutive inferiority of black people on the other. Negritude is, at once, a requisition and a plethora. In all of the work of the founders of Negritude, they point out that this movement is, in effect, motivated by the rehabilitation of the black race, the revaluation of African civilizations and black-African cultures from the scale of the black continent to the scale of a black Diaspora. Theoretically, the discourse of Negritude is an overall discourse, in the sense that theories of Negritude have wanted to deliver the historical experiences of black people starting from the immediate present to the most distant past, worldwide. Césaire invented the word and concept in his book-length poem *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* [*Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*]. It was Senghor who said it, the critical invention of Frantz Fanon ruined the trajectory. It is important to raise an inventory as a balance of the arguments and counter-arguments that have given form and substance to the contradictory dialogues that came about, in an oblique or frontal position, philosophical or ideological, between the teacher Aimé Césaire, and his disciple Frantz Fanon. Two fundamental texts of Aimé Césaire *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* [*Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*] and *Discourse on Colonialism* on the other. Texts by Frantz Fanon that are equally fundamental are *Peau noire, masques blancs* [*Black Skin, White Masks*] and *Les Damnés de la Terre* [*The Wretched of the Earth*].

The Critical Intervention of Frantz Fanon

Franz Fanon was a student of Aimé Césaire at the Liceo Schoelcher, in Fort-de-France, Martinique. His initial admiration was openly expressed in his first essay, *White Skins, Black Masks.* The Negritude that Aimé Césaire discusses in his *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land* is a combat weapon against the alienation suffered by the colonized black. In the early years, Franz Fanon adhered entirely to the dialectic and rhetoric of this requisition. However, the evolution of his thought would be very fast. Soon he would express his disagreement over ontological postulations, which according to him, were a racialization of Negritude. This disagreement would put him at odds with Aimé Césaire and would last until his death -- the opposition of these two conceptions of man – two philosophies of humanism: abstract humanism and concrete humanism. This debate between the two philosophers found its projection in the Martinican writer

and philosopher, Edouard Glissant, inventor of the concept "diverse" which, he says, substitutes "universe," while substituting a concept of "*diversal*" from the concept of "universal."

Stages of maturation

Frantz Fanon was born the same year as Patrice Lumumba, in 1925. They died the same year, in 1965. Is there anything more to this than an unimportant coincidence? A psychiatrist and ideologue of resistance of colonized peoples under colonial oppression, Franz Fanon was, throughout his life, and now still fifty years after his death, an emblematic figure of the intellectual movement which, in theory as well as in practice, was involved in describing, analyzing and struggling against the implacable structures and logic of the colonial system in the paroxysm of the struggles begun after World War II, on a tri-continental scale.

Following the relevant publication of "Black Skin, White Masks" in 1952, the First Congress of Black Writers and Artists, held at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1956, Frantz Fanon made a show of his intellectual force with his presentation of *Racisme et Culture*, in which he said, "Racism is not a constant of human thought, it is a written disposition in a determined system." In 1959, he published *L'An V de la révolution algérienne* (*A Dying Colonialism*)[4]; *Les Damnés de la terre*; in 1961, (*Wretched of the Earth*) [5]; and in 1964, *Toward the African Revolution*[6].

Alienation/closeness

A reflection on the work of Frantz Fanon is only pertinent under the condition of returning to re-examine his meanings in function with their uses to describe certain concepts, notions and analytical schemes, such as the concepts of alienation and its opposite, on the one hand, and the notion of violence and dialectical schemes for national independence, on the other. Fanon's discourse mobilizes the sources of ideology and mythology, whose hypotheses should be avoided. Having said that, what then is it in Fanon's concepts that are relevant today in the resolution of the struggles of people today? The simple question leads us to discern the limits of Fanon's critical intervention in political thought at the historical moment of his time. What stands out, when going back to read the texts of Fanon, is his force of percussion and his heterogeneousness. It is important to consider

each one of these two major texts, *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth*, from the point of view of that Fanon is transmitting an essential message. As I justifiably underscore, Francis Jeanson's view of *The Wretched of the Earth* as the confirmation of *Black Skin, White Masks*, providing greater clarification. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, but also in *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon describes figures that desire recognition, figures that are presented in pathological and immature ways.

Taken all together, Frantz Fanon's work constitutes what Hegel describes as the phenomena of the forgotten consciousness. The transformation of the dominated conscience, the conscience itself, is effectively not alienated, as it acts according to a process, which in *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon describes in three phases. The first phase, assimilation of the colonized by the colonizer; the second phase, non-assimilation, defined by remembering on the part of the colonized; the third phase is the "period of struggle". *Black Skin, White Masks* describes the dominant consciousness, alienated by the colonial situation and culminated in the need for transformation that is transmutation. These political analyses of *The Wretched of the Earth* relate to the psychological, philosophical and political dimension of *Black Skin, White Masks.* In *The Wretched of the Earth,* Fanon describes the mechanism of introspection and outward reflection. The awareness goes from the sphere of race to the sphere of culture, to the sphere of the sovereign nation, passing from the individual to the collective.

The thesis, according to which violence is regenerating, is inspired by the Hegelian concept of "a struggle to the death for recognition." In *Black Skin, White Masks,* the chapter titled *The Black Man and Recognition* reflects this Hegelian view. Frantz Fanon writes, "attributing nearly magical virtues to the armed struggle."[7] He moves from the notion of violence to the armed struggle without explaining the analogy. He moves "without transition, from the political or historical realm to the existential realm."[8] The armed struggle becomes, according to him, the most significant form of violence which, in the colonial context, rules the relationship between the dominated and the dominators.

In his dedication to Berténe Juminer in *Sociology of a Revolution*, Frantz Fanon postulates, "Action and agitation are incoherent if they do

not restructure the consciousness of the individual." On page 12 of the same book, he writes: "There is a new nature of the Algerian man, a new dimension of his existence." This transformation is directed at the conquest of national independence and the building of the nation.

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, he comes to the conclusion that, "decolonization acts on the being"… Decolonization is truly the creation of the new man… "That, in man, which is colonized becomes the same process through which he becomes liberated" [9]. From this, it goes on to the phenomenological concept taken from existentialism to the ontological concept, of which Césaire is responsible.

What perturbs this position is, undoubtedly, the absence of an adequate methodological concept. In the elegiac poem, Aimé Césaire wrote in homage to Frantz Fanon, he celebrates the heroism of the "warrior of the Silex." Césaire celebrates not the heroism of arms, bayonets or cannons; rather, intellectual heroism, the intellectual titanism of Frantz Fanon.

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Translation from French to Spanish by Delia Blanco

Black Political Culture in the xx Century

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"Racism and Immigration in Santo Domingo"

by Franklin Franco

I

It is well known that the Dominican sugar industry, a source of jobs for immigrants – the basis of the national economy for nearly one hundred years and part of Dominican national heritage since the 1961 death of Trujillo – has practically disappeared.

Neo-liberalism killed the sugar industry and is killing the agriculture and cattle industry, transforming the entire production apparatus and turning the Dominican Republic into a society dedicated to providing services.

When the sugar industry utilized the labor of thousands of Haitian workers, this abrupt transformation of the national economy propelled the work force to quickly move towards jobs in other farming activities, such as coffee-picking, planting, rice cultivation and construction. This was done with the approval of landowners and national business people.

This accelerated transformation of the economy took place at the precise moment in which Haiti – declared the poorest country on the continent – began its rumblings against the dictatorship of the Duvalier family. Haiti was experiencing the sweet taste of representative democracy with the election of President Arístides, who enjoyed broad popular support. However, it was not long before a new round of military coups in the nation of Toussaint ushered in a period of political instability and intervention on the part of the big powers. This tortuous process culminated in a US military occupation, this time in the name of the United Nations, using the excuse of needing to restore "order, peace and democracy."

It is also well known that throughout this tumultuous period, thousands of Haitians took to the seas and headed toward the coasts of the United States in crudely made boats. At the same time, another huge

exodus was spurred by hunger, unemployment and political chaos when Haitians sought refuge in the Dominican Republic where, little by little, they became part of the agricultural and industrial apparatus.

The eruption of this new wave of destitute peasants and Haitian workers in the Dominican Republic (a phenomenon that continues today) has unleashed the evils of racism, although draped in the cloth of nationalism, reviving and strengthening the old anti-Haitian prejudices that surfaced in Dominican society and have persisted since the beginning of the 19th century.

Prejudices and stereotypes meticulously engraved in the mind of the Dominican people, through the rigorous use of the national education system, the media and the creation and maintenance of intellectual groups, specialized in the distortion of Dominican history and the promotion of racism.

Some peculiarities of the country´s history have played an important role in the development of racial prejudices among Dominicans. For example, the Dominican Republic, in contrast to other countries in Latin America, is the only country that achieved its independence (1844) in a struggle against another country on our continent– Haiti, a country fundamentally populated by persons of African descent.

Since 1844 until today, this peculiarity has facilitated the development of a false nationalistic sentiment fed by anti-black, racist conceptions.

During the 19th and 20th centuries, as a result of the depopulation of our territory, dozens of regulations (rules, decrees, laws, etc.) directed at stimulating population growth were put into effect. All of these regulations impeded the legal entry of people of color into the county.

It is important to point out that this racist conduct was codified as legal policy throughout the governments of Trujillo and Balaguer. During the Presidency of Trujillo, laws were enacted that prohibited all cultural manifestations of black culture. Manifestations of culture resulted in incarceration.

In a report petitioned by Trujillo in 1945, and prepared by a group of the most outstanding intellectuals of that period, one can recognize the theory that has guided the immigration policy of the Dominican Republic for many years:

> *La inmigración europea, o, más exactamente dicho, la inmigración de hombres y mujeres de origen caucásico, de cultura semejante a la del núcleo alrededor del cual se ha formado el pueblo dominicano, y que, a pesar de todas sus adulteraciones etnológicas, le ha legado su ideología y sus tradiciones, es una necesidad inaplazable de nuestra vida nacional. La progresión del crecimiento vegetativo de los africanos traídos a nuestro suelo por los españoles y de los ingresados después, es mucho más rápida, que la de los europeos; las sucesivas oleadas de los haitianos que vinieron en invasión bélica o en infiltración pacífica, y la insistente inmigración de negros de las pequeñas Antillas han ido creando condiciones que, sin mejorar en nada nuestra tradicional cultura, de no ser corregidas a tiempo por una corriente de inmigración blanca acabarían por apartar a la población dominicana de sus originales vinculaciones hispanas. Y ese proceso de adulteración no puede ser indiferente a un pueblo cuya independencia está condicionada al mantenimiento de las barreras que lo defienden de la invasión material y espiritual de los pueblos de origen puramente africano que lo rodean*
>
> [European immigration, or more precisely, the immigration of men and women of Caucasian origin, of the same culture and nucleus around which the Dominican population has formed and which, despite all of its ethnological adulterations, has bequeathed its ideology and its traditions; this is a national need that cannot be deferred. The progression of the population growth rate of the Africans brought to our soil by the Spanish and those who came later, is much faster than that of the Europeans. The successive wave of Haitians, who came as bellicose invaders or passive infiltrators and the persistent immigration of blacks from the Minor Antilles are creating conditions that, without improving in any way our traditional culture and if not soon corrected by a white immigration current, will end up in removing the Dominican population from its original Spanish ties. And a people whose independence is conditioned on maintaining the barriers that defend them against the material and spiritual invasion from people of pure African descent who surround them

> cannot be indifferent to this process of adulteration] ("Capacity of the Dominican Republic to Absorb Refugees." Statement from the Commission named by the Executive Power for a Brookings Institution study on "The Colonization of Refugees in the Dominican Republic." P. 33. Montalvo Publishing. Ciudad Trujillo, Dom. Rep. 1945).

Historical questions aside, it is important to examine a much more current topic– the so-called "denationalization process as a result of Haitian immigration."

In the past ten years alone, there have been nearly fifty texts with essays on this topic, written by supposed "specialists".

The topic of Dominican denationalization, as a result of Haitian immigration, is not a new concept. For more than a century, the national intelligentsia has been writing prolifically on the topic. What are new, are arguments that immigration will be the decline of the Dominican nation.

There is no statistical registrar that provides any information, not even the most recent censuses, on the growth of the Haitian population residing (legally or illegally) in the Dominican Republic, much less the number of persons of Haitian descent in the Dominican territory.

Nevertheless, spokespersons within the anti-Haitian sectors declare that the number of illegal Haitians is closer to two million. However, since there is no official data available, it is logical to conclude that there is little interest in knowing what the actual number is with any exactitude.

In the Dominican Republic, there exists a powerful business sector comprised of agriculture, industrial and building magnates interested in maintaining the illegal situation of Haitian workers who, because of the oppressive poverty in their own country, are forced to leave and seek better livelihoods elsewhere.

I equate the above as the deciding factor for mostly all of the illegal immigration currently, including the thousands of Dominicans who, year

after year, leave home on unsafe vessels and sail to Puerto Rico – the first stop to their final destination: the United States.

This powerful group of industrialists from the building and agriculture sectors have not only stimulated this illegal immigration, but have organized it through their private agents, Dominican and Haitian "scouts," who operate on both sides of the border, using false promises to attract farm workers and the destitute from the impoverished country. They get them to cross over the Dominican border, thus putting permanent pressure on the Dominican labor market and causing a decline in wages for Dominican farm, industry and construction workers, while also debilitating organized labor in the country.

Haitian workers – fearful of losing their jobs, possibly getting arrested and then deported by "public orders" – work for extremely low wages and have no labor rights, protection or social security. They are reluctant to demand higher pay or seek help from labor organizations. This situation is the reason that profits and earnings among construction companies, landowners and industrialists have skyrocketed.

Having arrived at this point, it is important to point out that illegal trafficking of Haitian workers has gone on with the complicity of many of our elected governments, and has included both traditional political parties, corrupt officials in the armed forces and border officials from the immigration department. The latter, over the course of many years, have created an efficient apparatus to facilitate the trafficking of illegal immigrant workers – a very lucrative business for all.

Other schemes are also being used to permanently maintain this illegal immigration, which is essentially the creation of a reserve army of cheap labor that has destroyed the salary levels of our workers. An example of this process involves the corrupt lawyers who have recently gotten involved in the scam by coming up with new interpretations of Dominican constitutional law.

Nearly all the constitutions of the Dominican Republic, up until the most recent one promulgated in 2010, have duly established that:

"Son dominicanos, todas las personas que nacieren en el territorio de la República Dominicana, con excepción de los hijos de los extranjeros residentes en el país en representación diplomática o los que estén en tránsito en él." ["Dominican citizens are all persons born on the national soil of the Dominican Republic, with the exception of the legitimate offspring of foreign diplomats or the offspring of persons in transit."]

On August 15, 2004, a new Immigration Law was promulgated, based on the "interpretation" of the above-mentioned legal constitutional Article. The new interpretation violates the Magna Carta, apparently to satisfy Dominican "nationalist" groups, but in the end protects the merciless exploitation of illegal workers for the large landowners, agri-business and construction companies.

According to this Immigration Law, which also compromises female *"extranjeras no residentes que durante su estancia en el país den a luz a un niño(a), deben conducirse al consulado de su nacionalidad a los fines de registrar allí a su hijo(a)"* ["foreign female non-residents who, while in the country give birth to a child must go to the consulate of her government in order to register her newborn child there"], thus denying the child the nationality to which he or she corresponds, essentially regarding such children as foreigners.

The conduct of the Dominican legislators who drew up this new Immigration Law, in violation of the 1994 Constitution, was not only grotesque, but laughable because to achieve their goal, it would have been necessary to change the dictionary of the Spanish language in order to make sense of one of the paragraphs which stated: *"los no residentes, para los fines de esa ley, son considerados personas en tránsito;"* ["these non-residents, for the purpose of this law, are considered to be persons in transit"]. Following this modification of the Spanish dictionary, undertaken by our legislators, illegal immigration is now synonymous with "in transit," an unusual interpretation, indeed.

The promulgation of this law, put forth by a small group of anti-Haitian, racist Dominican legislators, provoked protest from the organized,

healthier sectors of civil society and dozens of respected lawmakers and intellectuals who signed a petition and presented it to the Supreme Court of Justice soliciting that this "law" be declared unconstitutional and invalid.

Another document then followed, that supported the new law. The document was signed by dozens of leaders of Balaguer's political party, a small group of naive "nationalists," a large group of lawyers working with big business and twenty former generals from the armed forces.

On December 14, 2005, the Supreme Court of Justice, upheld this law as constitutional, in a monstrous miscarriage of justice. It not only confirmed and codified the validity of Immigration Law No. 285-4, but also attributed to Congress, in a flagrant violation of the Constitution of the Republic, when it affirmed:

> *Considerando, que el hecho de ser la Constitución la norma suprema de un Estado no lo hace insusceptible de interpretación, como aducen los impetrantes, admitiéndose modernamente, por el contrario, no solo la interpretación de la doctrina y la jurisprudencia, sino la que se hace por vía de la llamada interpretación legislativa, que es aquella en que el Congreso sanciona una nueva ley para fijar el verdadero sentido y alcance de otra, que es lo que en parte ha hecho la Ley General de Migración, núm. 285-04.*
>
> [Considering that the supreme norms of the Constitution of the State are not unsusceptible to interpretation as argued by the petitioners, and on the contrary, recognizing the modern legitimacy, not only of the interpretation of legal doctrine and jurisprudence, but also that carried out by means of what is known as legislative interpretation, which is what occurs when Congress promulgates a new law for the purpose of establishing the true meaning and application of another, which is in part what has been done with the General Law on Migration No. 285-04.]

The Supreme Court of Justice determined that undocumented Haitian workers residing in the country were persons in transit to justify its ruling that children born of Haitian mothers in Dominican territory could not obtain Dominican nationality. As a result, the Court was obliged, in seeking

some way to justify its peculiar finding, to engage in an incredible feat of legalistic acrobatics by also affirming that these working Haitian mothers, as illegal immigrants, are to be treated as being in transit, but also: *"… han sido de algún modo autorizadas a entrar y permanecer por un determinado tiempo en el país"* [". . . have been in some way authorized to enter and remain in the country for a determined period of time"]. Nonetheless, the court went on to rule that *"que si en estas circunstancias, evidentemente legitimada (como en tránsito) una extranjera alumbra en el territorio nacional, su hijo(a) por mandando de la misma constitución, no nace dominicano"* ["in these circumstances, obviously legitimate [for being in transit], the child of a foreign woman who gives birth in the national territory, by order of the same constitution, is not born a Dominican citizen"].

Discussions on legal interpretation might seem to some to be a simple question of comprehension of the organization of logical thought, but in this case, it is not: there is something much more serious going on. This is truly a tragedy.

In our country, there are tens of thousands of children and teens condemned to live in legal limbo in terms of their identity and nationality. They were born and raised in our country, making them Dominican, although born to those for whom the State is denying the right to citizenship. This constitutes a flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as a dozen international agreements signed by our nation.

All this to benefit a small group of business people, with rural and urban interests, who need to maintain a reserve army of cheap labor, in this case undocumented Haitian laborers and their children, to work on their farms and in their factories with no rights, miserable wages and no possibility to complain or take legal action. They function in the worst possible hygienic working conditions and have absolutely no access to medical, labor or legal protections or services.

On January 26, 2010, a new constitution was enacted in the Dominican Republic following a Constitutional reform process. This constitution is the 38th since independence in 1844.

This reform was established by the Congress of the Republic acting as a Revision Assembly, rather than through a Constituent Assembly. One of the most controversial points in public opinion was precisely the question of nationality. The Revision Assembly codified the criteria, which racist groups had pressured for and now achieved: tens of thousands of children born to Haitians in the Dominican Republic will not be granted the right to Dominican nationality.

As a consequence of the new Dominican Constitution in reference to the issue of nationality by birth right, an exception was introduced (in keeping with the tone of above-stated equitable resolution of the Supreme Court), to placate big agri-business, the construction sector and their racist intellectual groups, *"que se hallen en tránsito o residan ilegalmente en territorio dominicano"* [[foreigners] who are in transit or who illegally reside in Dominican territory] (Chapter V, Section I, Paragraph 3).

It is clear that this exception was inserted with the obvious intention of keeping tens of thousands of workers in the countryside, as well as the children of Haitian workers who have lived in our country for decades, in a state of legal limbo without any right to a national identity and therefore no protection under our labor laws.

More clearly stated, the new Dominican Magna Carta definitively consecrates, eternally the maintenance of the "reserve army" of Haitian laborers who are currently working in the countryside and the cities, without identity and nationality. At the same time it is keeping the wages of Dominican workers permanently depressed, while increasing the exploitation of the work forces in the country to unimaginable levels. The elegant and solemn "constitutional" formula of increasing business profits to infinity.

There is, nevertheless, an important element that, in the near future, will surely present some serious problems to the Dominican legal system, and may even reach the level of international conflict. This recently approved Dominican constitution, in violation of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which we are signatories, establishes that *"Toda persona tiene derecho a una nacionalidad" [*"Everyone has the right

to a nationality"], and that *"todo ser humano tiene derecho en todas partes, al reconocimiento de su personalidad jurídica"* ["Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law"].

Add to this the universal sacred principle of non-retroactive application of laws. In this case, the right to nationality for thousands of children born from illegal residents in the country who formerly enjoyed protection under the 1994 constitution cannot be reversed by applying a law drawn up in a new constitution enacted in 2010 … much less the interpreted constitutional resolution declared by of the Supreme Court of Justice on August 15, 2004.

The lawmakers who drew up this new constitutional revision, following the guidelines of the most backward of the Dominican industrial and agri-business sectors and the racist, extreme right, anti-Haitian proponents in society, have, without realizing it, introduced a legal predicament for our country that will soon have bitter repercussions in the area of universal human rights, recognized today by all international organizations.

"Political Changüí: Race, Political Culture, and Black Civic Activism in the Early Cuban Republic"

by Melina Pappademos

In mid-January 1901, the polemical Havana daily, *La Lucha*, ran an editorial derisively titled, "Changüí Político," that ridiculed leaders of the Republican Federal Party. Republican Federalists were an integrated political party of mostly Liberation Army officers and their supporters that emerged following Cuban independence from Spain in 1898. The "Changüí" editorial is notable for its coinciding with a suffrage rights debate then underway on the floor of the now independent Cuba's first constitutional convention (1900-1901). It even anticipated that debate's outcome. That is, shortly after the "Changüí" editorial was published the constitutional convention voted for the egalitarian measure of universal male suffrage. Lifting old voter restrictions, based on property, literacy, age, and military service had the added effect of darkening the island's voting population, increasing the number of black voters from about twenty to thirty-six percent of all males eligible to vote[1]. Moreover, universalizing the vote made possible, at least in theory, a reworking of old and unequal colonial relations so that Cuban men of all colors and classes could install collectively a new political order. And so, in late December, on the eve of a new year and a new republic, Cubans headed to the polls to elect their first president and vice president, inaugural congress, and six provincial administrations.

Yet it was precisely this political openness that provoked such anxiety among Cuban elites and North American occupation officials, who feared Cuban autonomy. As travel correspondent Herbert Williams stated in 1899, Cuba's "…half-barbarous rabble in a [popular] vote would request us to leave the island." [2,3] The island's first U.S. occupation Governor General, William Ludlow, had stated boldly that Cubans were "…wholly unaccustomed to manage their own affairs..." and would when excited "resort to violence."[4] And U.S. military physician Wilford Nelson had averred in more apocalyptic and pointedly racial terms that black empowerment would be a "veritable hell upon earth, a blot on Christian civilization."[5] For their part, elite Cubans reassured themselves that although armed with the vote,

the island's popular classes would not subvert traditional racial and class hierarchies.[6] The war had heightened anxiety among traditional Cuban elites because many of them (mostly land and estate owners) saw their once prosperous industries and businesses brought to ruins by the war's destruction. They responded by snatching up a disproportionate amount of resources in the nascent socioeconomic order and, in the process, reinstalled old colonial class and color imbalances of power. As the black veteran Ricardo Batrell bitterly recounted, "The war ended and the empire or kingdom of Spain in Cuba was defeated, and with sadness I witnessed the rise of a cunning and unjust monopoly. In Matanzas province, where only men of color had waged war, following the Armistice those few white officers, who without fighting had skulked around [*majasiando*] in the background of the revolution, began to come out from their hiding places. The appointments that corresponded to us [blacks], we who had battled relentlessly, were given to those loafers…"[7] The scramble for power even led prominent white leaders, such as the popularly-supported presidential candidate Bartolomé Maso, to reject subaltern political potential based on the winsome notion that blacks were "too humble and tranquil" to mobilize against the powers that be.[8]

As it turns out, the ostensibly "humble and tranquil" black population agitated for decades in the political sphere, though with various intents and purposes. Perhaps the Havana daily *Diario de la Marina* had called it best in 1901 by arguing that blacks' demographic presence would place them at the center of all future political contests. Indeed, after the 1901 promulgation of universal male suffrage, political candidates *needed* black voters, who averaged one third of the Cuban electorate throughout the republican period. Black activists adopted a variety of strategies to participate in the republic's lucrative political sphere, and these tactics merit close examination for the questions they raise about racial ideas in the republic and the political strategies that blacks engaged on behalf of socioeconomic advancement. This paper builds on and advances the current republican race historiography, which conceptualizes black activism primarily according to nationalist and/or racial consciousness. It excavates the social and political communities that blacks created in order to show the political sphere's complex machinations, which in turn gave rise to complex strategies for socioeconomic advancement among black

activists. It seeks to show that blacks were not solely racially-conscious activists, but were historically-grounded actors in a pervasive struggle over republican resources and therefore operated at the center of Cuban political processes, not beyond their pale.

Returning to the "Changüí Político" editorial, we can begin to discern at least partially, why *La Lucha*—an elitist and annexationist press—cast the Republican Federal Party rally organizers in so negative a light. For one, the word Changüí refers to a music genre historically associated with plantations and Arará African ethnic slaves, and the predominantly black, eastern city of Guantánamo.[9] Other uses of the word "Changüí" ("throng," "public squabble," "rabble") invoke behaviors that Cuban elites and intellectuals then believed incompatible with "modern" Cuban political culture. The editorial was especially contemptuous of the black Republican Federal Party organizers, who had, apparently, displayed such undistinguished cultural sophistication that *La Lucha* was moved to burlesque.[10] One black speaker was accused of being so dark-skinned that he was "blond," another of blathering delusions of grandeur, and a third black politician, of circling his arms over the head of a fellow white party member in an African ethnic ritual cleansing ("*Aquello parecía un simbolismo del Ecorio Efó*").[11] In essence, *La Lucha* intimated that based on their phenotype, warped sense of entitlements, and Africanist cultural tendencies, the black men corrupted Cuban politics and, by extension, impeded the very forward march of Cuban progress.[12]

Such a denigrating ball of fire leveled at the black politicians might, today, easily be shrugged off as one careless writer's racist zeal, a person mired in the presumably fading hierarchies of Cuba's colonial past. Yet to invent such a dupe would leave unexplained the island's political transition from colony to republic and leave unexamined the many layers of the moment's union. For one, Cuba was poised to enter the global "family of nations," just as North American officials expressed significant doubt about the Cuban capability for self rule, a belief that stemmed from U.S. involvement in the very process of Cuban decolonization.[13] That is, Cuban independence had been brokered not by the anti-colonial insurgency's principal, Cuban protagonists, but by North American and Spanish officials, who without benefit of Cuban participation gathered in Paris in

early October of 1898 to negotiate an end to their imperial conflict. By the terms of the Paris Peace Treaty, the U.S. laid outright claim to Puerto Rico and Guam, purchased the Philippine islands, and brought Cubans under U.S. tutelage first, informally, and later, officially, according to the terms of the notorious Platt Amendment rider to the 1901 Cuban constitution.[14] Already in 1898, North American officials had appointed many of the island's very first Cuban administrators, imposed racial segregation in certain instances, and ordered house-to-house sweeps to "disinfect" Havana households. North American troops built schools; planted crops; repaired buildings, roads, sewers, and streets; while also transgressing social customs and boundaries and frequenting local brothels.[15] The Paris Peace Treaty, in fact, inaugurated an era of twentieth-century U.S. imperial expansion in Dutch St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John, Samoa, Hawaii, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Panama, and Trinidad, that later was crowned "the American Century." For the region's denizens not swayed by protectorate or annexationist arguments, the sea of change of 1898 brought the welcome death of Spain's American empire and the spectral birth of U.S. regional dominance, that in the mist of 1898 must have appeared before them as a fast approaching, many-headed hydra.

Elite visions of Cuban political modernity (such as democratic elections, civil institutions, and decentralized government) drew on assumptions similar to those guiding the policies of U.S. occupation for Cuban education, sanitation, and social order and control. Yet prominent Cuban nationalists struggled also to assert a new political identity in opposition to both the archaic practices of Spanish colonialism and, specifically, the subordinating control of U.S. intervention—what many Cubans called a "civilizing invasion."[16,17] Cuba's first postcolonial president, Tomás Estrada Palma, warned that progressive governance depended on demonstrating—presumably to external political players such as foreign investors and Washington—Cuban preparedness for autonomous leadership through "tact," "skill," and "prudence" in political life.[18] And Cuban elites identified public order, sanitation, urbanization, and eugenics as cornerstones of modern Cuban society. Similarly, the prominent lawyer and highly prolific nationalist intellectual, Francisco Carrera y Justiz, theorized that "advanced" political organization and the "new science of local government," which emphasized decentralization and strong municipal government reversed

the island's colonial legacy of poor representation and administrative centralization. Spencerian notions of "social fitness" were also inherent to his idea of the modern Cuban nation. As he hypothesized: "There are two races of illustrious history," "the Anglo-Saxon and Latin races." As members of the "Latin Race" Cubans were in "…sustained struggle" with the "Anglo Race." They risked annihilation by foreign powers unless they built dynamic, micro-level political systems. Further, he stated that "… the struggle of the races is the basis of civilization…," and a necessary act of "human progress." "Races that do not struggle, such as the Indian and the Black, exist in Asia, Africa, and America as an immutable stagnation, fighting against civilization."[19]

Yet in both form and function, the vestiges of foreign interests were evident in Cuba's burgeoning political system, which was modeled on the U.S. bicameral system. Simultaneously, however, it retained some colonial traditions of governance—including the use of public office for individual gain.[20] Elected officials had access to public budgets; they pocketed revenues or used their budgets to attract and maintain political support through political appointments and other favors. Consequently, government bureaucracy expanded rapidly after 1902. To illustrate, in the first years of the republic, only one percent (less than 10,000) Cubans held civil service jobs. By 1919, there were some 26,000 public employees and by the end of the 1920s, there were 51,000 public employees. Given their political and economic importance, then, elections unleashed struggles to obtain an elected office and the public treasuries associated with those offices, more than to assert ideological commitments. Compared to the colony, the early republic had a vastly expanded popular electorate with which to elect representative leadership; yet voters cast ballots more to engage patronage relations than political ideals.

As Alejandro de la Fuente has argued previously, all politicians depended on black votes to win; they did not dare express publicly anti-black sentiments for fear of alienating black voters.[21] Still, the elusive question remained of how blacks might best enter the political arena, not simply as voters but as political players. Blacks struggled to access resources through public office and for some the cost of black political participation was as dear as life itself. When in May 1912, several hundred

blacks in the Independent Party of Color (*el Partido Independiente de Color*) rose in rebellion, demanding access to civil service posts and public offices, they –along with thousands of black civilians– were killed by the Cuban army, white civilians, and U.S. forces.[22] These impressive efforts to discourage black participation in the political sphere had some success yet, paradoxically, the island's early political structure also facilitated black participation. Republican politics relied increasingly on political sociability (civic and cultural institutions that pursued political agendas) as an important mechanism to build local political support. To demonstrate, an example of "political sociability" occurred in 1901, when political hopefuls spoke during a three-hour outdoor celeb*rati*on of the San Lázaro Neighborhood Committee of the Cuban National Party in Havana. The police band played, fireworks crackled, and streamers flapped at the wind. All were invited, "without distinctions of any type," to enjoy the festivities and listen to speakers.[23]

Although such social and political institutions were often racially integrated, blacks also founded organizations of their own. Black organizations provided politicians with a captive audience and a direct line of communication with respected, local black leaders. They were frequented by campaigning politicians and the site of political debate and collabo*rati*on with public officials at all levels. In 1903, Cuban President Tomás Estrada Palma visited eastern, Oriente province to stifle black rumblings there over the lack of black civil service opportunities. In Guantánamo, Estrada Palma dined at the home of the black war general, Jesus Rabí, and visited the city's most prestigious black club, El Siglo XX. He also met with the black Pedro Ivonnet, president of the Veterans' Council for the city of La Maya.[24]

A year later, in 1904, the black politician Rafael Serra won a congressional seat after campaigning at black, white, and Spanish civic organizations in Santiago.[25] The clubs had organized a rally on Serra's behalf, together with local carpenters, tobacco workers, dockworkers, and farm workers unions. Labeling him the "right hand" of the martyred revolutionary intellectual, José Martí, supporters of all colors called Serra their candidate of choice because they believed he fought for "Cuba" and not for "races," shouting, "Serra lives in the People! Vote unanimously for him!"[26] Serra won his

1904 congressional bid.[27] Thus, black civic participation was an important mechanism of black inclusion in the republican political sphere.

For all Cubans, socioeconomic advancement depended on participation in patron-client relations. Across the spectrum of black activism, most activists conciliated to the machinations of the political sphere rather than mobilize on behalf of a mass, racial-consciousness movement. This sort of black activism did not preclude racial consciousness, calls for racial equality, or the formation of black alliances to improve black access to national resources. And it is important to note that while some blacks were incorporated into the republic's early political party system this did not translate into across-the-board benefits for all blacks or legislative change in favor of a more equitable distribution of government resources. Rather, black political activism was generally sustained by a class of black brokers, who obtained a measure of power in the political system but offered only a promise of resources for masses of blacks in return for black support. In fact, the racialist ideology undergirding the "Political Changüí" editorial is a testament to ongoing early republican power and resource inequities. Throughout the republican period and compared to both native and foreign-born whites, black Cubans, to a greater degree, held poorly remunerated jobs, were unemployed, had limited access to healthcare and quality schools, and as professionals expected poor placements (such as rural posts) and low salaries. Tremendous energy was deployed to delegitimize black participation in the political sphere and to make outspoken racial unity or instances of race-conscious activism tantamount to treason against the Cuban nation and the ideology of Cuban racelessness encapsulated in José Martí's famous remarks that Cubans were, more than white, more than mulatto, more than black, Cuban. Returning to *La Lucha*'s particular vision of black political participation, the importance of inventing and sustaining myths about the African-descended, in order to sharpen the definition of Cuban modernity, is now in greater relief. The tensions and burdens of crafting a "modern" national identity in the face of foreign intervention, calls for egalitarian relations, and a sustained push to maintain historic hierarchies helped fuel racialist attacks against black political empowerment. Reporters and scientists, for example, invariably advanced biologic social theories, accusing black civic activists and political leaders of a feigned, outward display of social and cultural propriety while

masking innate Africanist tendencies. What I have discussed here in brief is that notwithstanding anti-black political discourses, black activists responded to inequalities in the new republic with multiple motivations and strategies. And they did so for reasons more complex than simply black [racial] consciousness or even nationalist egalitarianism. They neither acted on behalf of a primarily racial agenda nor presumed that nationalist egalitarianism could address social disparities.

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1. De la Fuente, A Nation for All, 58.

2. Louis A. Pérez, Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1997), 101.

3. For an excellent discussion of annexation and U.S. attitudes regarding Cuban self government see, Louis A, Pérez, Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902 (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983), the chapter, "The Electoral Imperative," 303-314.

4. Quoted in Louis A. Pérez, Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 100. This book provides an excellent overview of the general tenor of North American officials' turn-of-the-century perceptions of Cubans.

5. For Nelson's comments see Pérez, Cuba in the American Imagination, 100.

6. See Orum, "The Politics of Color," 66 and 69.

7. Batrell, Para la historia,170-1. The original text reads: Se acabó la Guerra y se derrocó el imperio ó reinado de España en Cuba: y con tristeza ví surgir un monopolio con amaños é injusticia: --en la provincia de Matanzas, donde solo hicimos la guerra los hombres de color, tan pronto hubo el Armisticio empezaron á salir de sus escondites los pocos oficiales blanco que sin combatir y majasiando se mantuvieron en el campo de la revolución; los escalafones que nos correspondía, á los que combatimos sin tregua, se les fueron dando, á esos (majases).

8. Ibid., 65.

9. Changüí, a style of Cuban music which originated in the early nineteenth century in eastern Cuba, emerged among rural slave communities. Early forms combined Spanish guitar and song with African rhythms and percussion instruments of the Arará in central-western Africa.

10. La Lucha's director, Antonio de San Miguel, was a conservative annexationist, famous for running sarcastic prognostications regarding Cubans' capacity for autonomous rule. See Jorge Ibarra, Cuba: 1898-1921, partidos políticos y clases sociales (Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1992), 223.

11. "Changüí Político," La Lucha, January 14, 1901.

12. Cuban elections were bitter contests due to officials' access to government budgets, and they were fragmented. Further, a sample of the 1901 municipal elections results suggests that a party's electoral support was highly localized and in general parties shared control of political jurisdictions, rather than dominating them. For example, in the capital city area, the Republican Federal Party took the mayoralty for the town of Regla (later that same year the interventionist Governor Leonard Wood assigned Regla to the jurisdiction of La Habana, making it a barrio of the capital city) and the Cuban National Party won La Habana city. In Cuba's central region, Republican Federalist Gonzalo García Vieta was elected in the Cienfuegos mayoralty while in Sancti-Spíritus Indalecio Salas, who ran on both the Republican Federal and Union Democratic tickets beat the local, National Party candidate. In eastern, Santiago de Cuba, the National Party candidate, Emilio Barcardí won. Electoral sweeps across jurisdictions were less likely because candidates organized to win support in neighborhood by neighborhood and city by city campaigns. Several early political parties (such as Republican Federal regional parties in Oriente and Santa Clara provinces) competed only at the municipal or regional levels and weren't necessarily affiliated with the island's other, provincial "Republican Federal" parties. See Mario Riera Hernández, Cuba Política, 1899-1955 (La Habana: Impresora Modelo, 1955), 32-35.

13. In 1902, United States occupation officials passed legislation to prohibit Chinese immigration to Cuba and restricted that of nonwhites. In 1906, Cubans passed the Law

of Immigration and Colonization, which promoted the settlement of families from the Canary Islands and other parts of Europe. It also encouraged immigration among day laborers from Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and northern Italy. See Aline Helg, "Race in Argentina and Cuba, 1880-1930," in Richard Graham, The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 54.

14. The Platt Amendment's infamous article III states: That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

15. Ibid., 189-203.

16. For discussion of Latin American postcolonial identity, modernity, nationalist identities, and before and following 1898, see Iris Zavala, Colonialism and Culture: Hispanic Modernisms and the Social Imaginary (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 1-5.

17. Francisco Carrera y Justiz, El municipio y la cuestión de razas (Habana: Librería é Imprenta "La Moderna Poesía", 1904), 20.

18. Letter from Tomás Estrada Palma to Mayor General Juan Ríus Rivera, September 7, 1901, in Hortensia Pichardo, Documentos para la historia de Cuba vol. 2 (La Habana, Cuba: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1976), 204.

19. Carrera y Justiz, El municipio y la cuestión de razas, 9-10.

20. For discussion of the multiple forms of corruption prevalent in the Spanish colonial administration in Cuba and how corrupt administrators gave precedence to their local, individual interests rather than elite business and economic expansion interests, see Alfonso Quiroz, "Implicit Costs of Empire: Bureaucratic Corruption in Nineteenth-Century Cuba," The Journal of Latin American Studies, 35 (2003): 473-511 and Sergio Díaz-Briquets and Jorge F. Pérez-López, Corruption in Cuba: Castro and Beyond (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006). Quiroz defines corruption as "…the unlawful rent-extraction by those with privileged access to public office for personal or group gain inimical to public interest…" Díaz-Briquets and Pérez-López argue that the republic contended with its colonial past and when founded in 1902 was already "…burdened with a deeply-ingrained tradition of corruption that rested on governance practices instituted by colonial administrations that placed a premium on the extraction of rents from public office, a management approach that encouraged the sale of official positions, nepotism, and poorly compensated officials…" Díaz-Briquets and Pérez-López, Corruption in Cuba, 85.

21. De la Fuente, A Nation for All, 58.

22. The Morúa Law, passed in May 1910, was drafted and introduced to congress by the mulatto senator, Martín Morúa Delgado. It prohibited race-based political organizing. Morúa argued that black Cubans were citizens and, since racial privileges had been eliminated by the constitution, a race-based party was unconstitutional and unpatriotic.

23. "Fiestas en San Lázaro," Diario de la Marina, October 8, 1901.

24. Orum, 99.

25. Societies visited include Club Aponte, Luz de Oriente, Casino Cubano, El Tivolí, and Club Juan de Góngora, La Unión, La Estrella de Oriente, Altopino, and Club Unión Cubana. See El Nuevo Criollo: Seminaro Político Moderado, October 15, 1904. See also Orum, "The Politics of Color," 102.

26. El Nuevo Criollo, October 15, 1904.

27. Riera Hernández, Cuba política, 1899-1955, 81.

Biographies

Celsa Albert Batista

Celsa Albert Batista is a Professor, Dominican Historian, and Doctor of Latin American Studies, with over forty years' experience in academia.

Dr. Batista's career covers three focus areas: social sciences and education; culture with a specialization in the history of Latin America; and the Caribbean and Afro-American Studies. She has carried out work in these disciplines for the past four decades. This has included a focus on woman-to-woman work among females of African origin. She places extreme importance on education as a core commitment, along with history and culture, while also emphasizing knowledge, identity and historic transformation necessary to strengthen historic memory.

Professor Batista has also contributed to the development of cultural institutions, and was one of the founding teachers at the Escuela Nuestra Señora de Altagracia in 1964 in La Romana, the province where she was born. Since 1990, she served as President and Executive Director of the "Sebastián Lemba" Dominican School of African and Asian Studies. She is also the Coordinator of the Caribbean Studies Center at the Universidad Católica Santo Domingo. She coordinated the creation of the graphic museum pavilion of "Africa in America" in 1997.

Patrick Bellegarde-Smith

Professor Patrick Bellegarde-Smith has retired recently as a Professor Emeritus of Africology, from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He holds a Ph.D. in international studies, comparative politics, and history from The American University. He presently works, researches and writes in the areas of African and neo-African religions, and African diasporic social thought and philosophy. Dr. Bellegarde-Smith has produced landmark books on culture and religion, notably, "In the Shadow of Powers: Dantes Bellegarde in Haitian Social Thought," (1985), now translated into French (2011), and "Haiti: The Breached Citadel," (2004 [1990]), translated into Spanish as "La Cuidadela vulnerada," (2004), soon to see a Portuguese translation. With Professor Claudine Michel, he edited, "Haitian Vodou," (2006), translated into Portuguese, and "Invisible Powers: Vodou in Haitian Life and Culture," (2006). His edited book, "Fragments of Bone: Neo-African Religions in a New World," (2005), has garnered a worldwide audience.

Dr. Bellegarde-Smith has taught courses on African-American society, the U.S. Civil Rights movement, cultures and history of the Caribbean and Latin America, on African religions, and on Black feminism.

Delia Blanco

Delia Blanco holds a Ph.D. in Literature from the Sorbonne in Paris and a degree from the Ceila Centre D'Etudes Ibériques et Latino Americaines, with a specialty in ethnography and anthropology. She specialized in cultural and social convergence and divergence in Caribbean societies, with a specific research focus on Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Her research is on literature and visual creation in discourses on the problematic of codes and signs necessary for knowledge and research.

She participated in Oxford University's launch of a series of studies on *cimarronaje* in Toronto in 1997. In 1998, along with the *Ritos* multidisciplinary project, she was the General Commissioner and Creator of the La Villette Paris artistic commemoration, held in remembrance of the abolition of slavery. In 1999, she co-authored the anthology, *Les chaines de l escavage.* She has been living in the Dominican Republic since 2000, where she teaches an M.A. program in French at the Escuela Diplomática and the Alianza Francesa. Between 1990 and 2000, she served as Cultural Advisor and Assistant to the ACP-CEE Cultural Foundation. She is currently the appointed Francophone Ambassador to the Ministry of Foreign Relations of the Dominican Republic and is the French Language Cultural Collaborator of FUNGLODE.

Lipe Collado

As a recipient of the National Journalism Prize, the former Professor at the Universidad Autonoma de Santo Domingo (UASD), UCE and other universities, Lipe Collado has published thirty-five books and essays. His essays include: "El Tíguere Dominicano -Hacia una aproximación de cómo es el dominicano," "El Papel de la Suegra en la Sociedad," "Cinco Ensayos de Comunicación," "El Foro Público en la Era de Trujillo," "Radio Caribe en la Era de Trujillo" and "Cómo Escribir Artículos."

He has authored dozens of articles on the characteristics of Dominican society, including Dominican behavior in the face of rain, oral and behavioral ambivalence, subconscious racial overlapping in terms of their mixed race demographics, and societal discourse elevated to the level of State.

Recent works of Collado include: "Picardía, política, amor y poesía en las penas y alegrías de la letra del Merengue" and "Las Imágenes Proyectadas por Trujillo a Través del Tiempo."

Franklin J. Franco

Sociologist, Dominican Historian and Professor for nearly thirty years at the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo, Franklin J. Franco has written more than twenty books on national and international topics. His most widely viewed publications, with nearly ten editions printed yearly, include: *Historia del Pueblo Dominicano; Historia Económica y Financiera de la República Dominicana; Los Negros, los Mulatos y la Nación Dominicana y República Dominicana: Clases, Crisis y Comandos,* which was awarded the Casa de las Américas Prize in Havana, Cuba.

Jean Ghasmann Bissainthe

Professor of Modern Languages at Seton Hall University and Essex County College in New Jersey since 1999, Jean Ghasmann Bissainthe has also taught classes in Latin American and Caribbean History at Bloomfield College in the United States. In 2009 and 2010, he was a guest professor at the General Archive of the Nation in Santo Domingo, where he taught an advanced course on the History of the Haitian People. He is also a collaborator at the Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo (INTEC).

Bissainthe holds a Ph.D. in History and Civilization at the School of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS) in Paris, France. He went on to earn an M.A. in Diplomacy and International Relations, an M.A. in Public Administration and a post-graduate degree in Judeo-Christian studies from Seton Hall University.

Born in Limbé, northern Haiti, he graduated with a degree in philosophy from the Pontificia Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra (PUCMM). He also carried out studies in Diplomacy and International Services at the Universidad Católica Santo Domingo. For nearly seven years, he was a member of Haiti's diplomatic mission. Bissainthe has written the following books: *Perfil de dos Naciones en la Española* (1998), *Paradigma de la Migración Haitiana en la República Dominicana* (2002), *El Futuro de la Nación Dominicana* (2004), *Los Judíos en el Destino de Quisqueya* (2006) and various monographs on issues related to immigration.

José G. Guerrero

He holds a B.A. in History from the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo (UASD), a M.A. in Education from the Getulio Vargas Foundation in Brazil and a degree in African and Latin American Studies from Alcalá de Henares – UCSD, among other academic achievements. Guerrero was the Deputy Dean of the Humanities Department of the UASD, and Sub-Director of the Museum of the Dominican Man. He is currently the Director of the Instituto Dominicano de Estudios Antropológicos (INDIA-UASD). He has published various books and essays, including: *Cultura y folklore en la obra de Fradique Lizardo*; *Carnaval, Cuaresma y Fechas Patrias;* and *Cotuí: villa, cofradía, fiesta y palos*.

Rafael Jarvis Luis

Dominican economist and historian, Rafael Enrique Jarvis Luis was born in La Romana. In 1995, he earned a degree in Economics from the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (UASD). In 1995-1996, he completed a post-graduate course in Political Sciences at the UASD. Between 2001-2002, he completed another post-grad degree in Afro-Latin American Studies at the Catholic University of Santo Domingo (UCSD), under the auspices of Spain's Alcalá de Henares University. He was a Professor of 20th Century Caribbean History at the UCSD and the Madre y Maestra Pontifical Catholic University (PUCMM). His publications include "El Sindicato Unido de La Romana. Caso límite de la lucha obrera en los años 60" (1995 and 2001) [The United Labor Syndicate of La Romana. Cases of Labor Struggle in the 1960s] with Roberto Cassá Bernaldo de Quirós; "La Romana; Origen y Fundación" (1999) [La Romana: Origin and Founding] and "Incidencia de la Etnia Haitiana en San Pedro de Macorís" (2000) [Haitian Ethnicity in San Pedro de Macorís].

Mateo Morrison

Mateo Morrison is the first Dominican to graduate in the field of Cultural Administration. He studied at the Centro Latinoamericano y del Caribe para el Desarrollo Cultural in Venezuela. He holds a degree in Law, graduating Magna Cum Laude, with a specialty in Authors Rights and Intellectual Property, and another in International Business Law.

During his prolific career, Morrison has held many positions including high school teacher and university professor; founding President of Cultural Spaces; founder of the Dominican Writers Union; creator of *Extensión*, the official magazine of the UASD; and Director of the Department of Culture at the UASD for twenty-two years, for which he received five different awards for various projects, such as the University Worker's Award. Morrison also served as Director of the cultural publication, *Aquí*. He currently serves as the Director General of Training and Education for the Ministry of Culture, the Executive Secretary of the National Council on Culture, and Cultural Advisor to the Minister and Deputy Minister of Culture. Morrison is also the Founder and former Coordinator of the Pablo Neruda International Writers Conference, as well as the National Meeting of Popular Cultural Organizations.

In May 30, 2009, he was bestowed a Doctorate Honoris Causa by the International Writers and Artists Association of Ohio, and in February 2010, he received the National Prize for Literature, the highest distinction awarded to a living Dominican writer. He has received more than thirty corresponding titles in various literary genres.

Melina Pappademos

Melina Pappademos earned a B.A. from Cornell University, her M.A. from the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, and her Ph.D. in history from New York University. Professor Pappademos' research and teaching interests focus on the social and cultural history of race, social and political mobilizations, and nationalisms, particularly of people of African descent in the Caribbean and Latin America. Her current research, funded by a University of Connecticut Research Foundation Large Grant and a National Academy of Sciences Ford Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship, examines racial symbolism during the island's turbulent 1930s and 1940s.

Dr. Pappademos is the author of several publications including: *Black Political Activism and the Cuban Republic* (Envisioning Cuba series, Louis A. Pérez editor) (University of North Carolina Press, September 2011); "'Political Changüí": Race, Political Culture, and Black Civic Activism in the Early Cuban Republic." (Winter 2011), Journal of African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal (Routledge Press); "From Cabildos to Continuadora Societies: Political Community in the Black Cuban Imaginary," Negritud: Revista de Estudios Afrolatino-americanos, Vol. II, no. 2 (Winter 2009); "Romancing the Stone: Academe's Illusive Template for African Diaspora Studies." In Issue: Journal of Opinion, Conceptualizing the African Diaspora, 35, no. 2 (1996) and co-editor of *Reconceptualizations* of the African Diaspora (Duke University Press) Special Issue 103, Radical History Review (Winter 2009).

Odalís G. Pérez

Odalís G. Pérez is well-known for his research and studies in the field of Humanities, as well as for his poetic and artistic work. He holds a Ph.D. in Philology and Semiotics from the University of Bucharest, Romania.

Pérez has published more than one hundred articles and essays on the historical, intellectual and cultural aspects of the Dominican Republic, the Caribbean and Latin America, focusing specifically on the areas of oral and narrative poetics, oral culture, alternative culture of the Caribbean, art, literature and thought. His publications include: *Las ideas literarias en la República Dominicana* (1993); *Semiótica de la Prensa* (1999); *La Ideología Rota* (2002); *Nacionalismo y Cultura en República Dominicana* (2003); *La Identidad Negada* (2003); *El mito político de las palabras* (2004); *Literatura Dominicana y memoria cultural* (2005); *Principios de Estética y Educación Artística* (2005); *El Espacio de los signos* (2005); *Socrates Barinas Coiscou; El tiempo de la poesía y la memoria* (2007);*Víctor Villegas: La voz, la memoria, los tiempos del lenguaje* (2008); *Arte Identidad y Cultura en República Dominicana* (2009).

Geo Ripley

Geo Ripley was born in Caracas, Venezuela to Dominican parents exiled during the Trujillo dictatorship, and from a small age demonstrated great interest and exceptional ability in painting and drawing. He is a pioneer of Installation and Performance Art in the Caribbean. In 1972, he realized the first installation in Santiago de los Caballeros with music, incense and paintings on the floors and walls.

Mr. Ripley has participated in many expositions and shows in the Dominican Republic, Bogota, Ibiza, Madrid, Barcelona, Roma, Sao Paulo, Cagnes-Sur-Mer, Caracas, San Salvador, Lisbon, Buenos Aires, New York, Bonn, Amman, Havana, Puerto Rico, Tel Aviv, London, Ukraine, Mexico, India, Japan, Sweden and Switzerland, representing Dominican art. He has traveled, and continues to travel the world with his drums, paintings, magic, ceremonies and rituals.

His work, *Meditación en la Vida a través de la Muerte* (*Meditation in Life through Death*), was considered one of the most important pieces presented during the Seventh International Festival of Painting in Cagnes-Sur-Mer in 1975. In 1980, he broke all the formal schemes of the Paris Biannual, creating and recreating a magic environment based on Dominican Vodou. In 1981, during the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the MOMA in New York, he presented his work PIJAO, a video realized in Colombia. To date, he is the only Dominican artist to present at the MOMA. In 1989, he realized the exposition "Magic Calligraphy Writing of God."

José Luis Sáez (S.J.)

Born in Valencia, Spain on September 21, 1937, José Luis Sáez moved to the Dominican Republic in 1954. After finishing high school in 1956, he attended the School of Economics and Finance at the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo (UASD). In 1958, he entered the Order of Jesuits and was ordained on June 9, 1970 at the Cathedral of Santo Domingo. Since 1979, he has been a professor at the School of Social Communication at the UASD. He has since published seven treatises on social communication and twenty-five scholarly works in the discipline of history, including the following: *Los Jesuitas en la República Dominicana* I-II (1988-1990), *La Iglesia y el negro esclavo en Santo Domingo* (1994), *Documentos inéditos de Fernando A. de Meriño* (2007), *Documentos inéditos del arzobispo Adolfo Alejando Nouel* I-III (2008), and *La sumisión bien pagada: La Iglesia dominicana bajo la Era de Trujillo* I-II (2008).

He has been a member of the Dominican Academy of History since 1999 and is currently a member of the board. Since 2003, he has been the Director of the History Archives of the Archdiocese of Santo Domingo.

Avelino Stanley

Avelino Stanley was born in 1959 in La Romana, Dominican Republic. He spent part of his childhood in Ingenio Consuelo, San Pedro de Macorís, then later returned to his place of birth in La Romana. These two places left their mark on Stanley´s life, influencing the path he would take as he moved between these sugar plantation towns, taking in the smells of the sugarcane and clamor of the chimney as he watched his father boiling the sugar cane. He would remember the social upheavals against the bosses of the sugar refineries. Stanley went on to earn a B.A. in Economics, an M.A. in Linguistics and a Ph.D. in Afro-Latin American History.

His book, *Tiempo muerto* (1998), about the development of the Dominican sugar cane industry during the early 20th century, won the National Award for the best novel in 1997. In 2001, the World Association of Special Education awarded him the International Without Borders Award for his novel *Equis* (1986) in Madrid, Spain. In 2005, he won the Viareggio City Award, organized by the Italian Il Molo publishers, for his book of short stories *Piel acosada*.

Dario Solano

A promoter of Dominican culture and sociology researcher, Dario Solano is currently the Director of the Afrocimarrón Foundation and a member of the Sub-Commission of Culture of the Dominican National Commission for UNESCO.

He is a member of the Committee for Civil Society, which organized the 2011 commemoration, *International Year of African Ancestry*. He also served as the Caribbean Regional coordinator for the Continental Congress on the People of African Ancestry of the Americas.

Roger Toumson

A native of Guadalupe, Roger Toumson holds a Ph.D. in Ancient Literature. He is a Professor of Modern Literature at the University of Antilles in Guyana, where he teaches French Literature and Comparative French Literature. He is the Director of the Department of Literature and Human Sciences at the university. He is also the director of the magazine, *Portulan,* and co-author of numerous analytical treatises on comparative literature. He is a writer, poet and well-known expert on the work of Césaire, whom he spent a great deal of time with during his last years.

GFDD

GFDD is a non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to the advancement of global collaboration and exchange relevant to Dominican professionals, general audiences and institutions in the homeland and abroad by implementing projects that conduct research, enhance public understanding, design public policies, devise strategies, and offer capacity building in areas crucial to social, economic, democratic and cultural sustainable development.

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