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economía", en *El sector mixto*, comp. Ramón Sánchez Noda, González Gutiérrez, "Modelos económicos", y Centro de Estudios de la Economía Cubana, *Cuba. Estrategia para el cambio* (La Habana, 1995).

14. Tampoco puede desconocerse que durante más de veinte años no se impartieron programas de macroeconomía en nuestras universidades.

15. Lamentablemente los resultados de tal esfuerzo nunca fueron publicados y es poco probable que aún existan.

16. John M. Keynes, *La teoría general de la ocupación, el interés y el dinero* (La Habana: Editorial Pueblo y Educación, 1976), 367.

MARIFELLI PÉREZ-STABLE

Estrada Palma's Civic March: From Oriente to Havana, April 20–May 11, 1902

Much bloodshed, widespread devastation, and a four-year U.S. occupation were the midwives of Cuban independence. The republic's inauguration was bittersweet, as the Platt Amendment postponed the longed-for, unfettered sovereignty. The first republic (1902–1934) deeply disappointed national expectations; a Cuba in the hands of politicians, generals, and foreigners contravened the nineteenth-century dreams forged in the *manigua* and in the diaspora. But in 1902 disillusionment had not yet set in and, *pace* the new relationship with Washington, Cubans genuinely rejoiced at the realization that the republic would, finally, come to pass. In the 1901 uncontested presidential race, the citizenry elected Tomás Estrada Palma—a naturalized U.S. citizen and sometime annexationist who had succeeded José Martí at the helm of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano (PRC); anti-Platt Amendment candidate Bartolomé Masó, a *mambí* general and former president of "la República en Armas," had withdrawn from the contest charging that the electoral commission was stacked with Estrada Palma advocates. The certain outcome notwithstanding, male citizens turned out en masse on election day to second Don Tomás's mandate; months before, the nascent political class, prodded by the venerable *generalísimo* Máximo Gómez, had overwhelmingly endorsed Estrada Palma. Though bitterly divided over the disbandment of the Ejército Libertador, the Platt Amendment, and other issues during the U.S. occupation, the Cuba Libre community largely closed ranks behind Martí's successor. Once elected, Don Tomás renounced his U.S. citizenship and prepared to return to Cuba after an absence of nearly twenty-five years. Prior to taking the oath of office on May 20, 1902, he spent three weeks reencountering his homeland and his people in a slow, impassioned trek from Oriente to Havana.

Historians barely mention Don Tomás Estrada Palma's journey.¹ His westward passage is a treasure trove of symbols, memories, expectations, and actions that harked back to the struggle for Cuba Libre and anticipated the *rependentista* Havana daily, are particularly revealing: The newspaper had opposed the Platt Amendment and supported Bartolomé Masó, yet there was not a hint of the outrage and animosity that had steeped its pages during 1901. The republic was on the way, and Estrada Palma had, after all, suffered imprisonment, endured exile, and labored incessantly to free Cuba from Spanish colo-

nialism. For twenty-one days, Cubans of all classes, races, and regions welcomed the *maestro* from Bayamo and Central Valley in a national expression of joy comparable only to the outpouring that greeted the downfall of Fulgencio Batista. Not long thereafter, the republic would become a source of bitterness and disillusionment, a fact that no doubt helped to blur the memory of Don Tomás's "verdadera marcha triunfal."⁷ Nonetheless, this pre-inaugural celebration deserves to be revived and incorporated into Cuba's historical reservoir.

First, an overview of the civic march. On April 17, 1902, Estrada Palma boarded the *Admiral Farragut* in New York City and sailed toward Gibara, Oriente, where he landed three days later to begin his foundational voyage. Over the next three weeks his entourage visited Gibara, Holguín, Bayamo, Manzanillo, Santiago de Cuba, Santa Cruz del Sur, Sagua La Grande, Cienfuegos, Santa Clara, Cárdenas, and Matanzas before arriving in Havana on May 11. Everywhere Don Tomás was received by "el pueblo en masa compacta," who showered him with flowers, Cuban flags, and ¡Vivas!⁸ Rafael Martínez Ortiz, a prominent member of the Liberal Party during the early republic, poignantly captured the moment: "No había un cubano que no quisiera adquirir, por sus propios ojos, la certeza de que viajaba, para tomar posesión de su cargo, el Presidente de la República. ¡Se había acariciado por tantos años ese ensueño! ¡Se habían sufrido tantos dolores para lograrlo!"⁹

At the major stops, Estrada Palma followed a similar schedule. Under arcs of triumph, crowds welcomed him with "sinceras ovaciones y vítores entusiastas."¹⁰ Teachers and students were in the front lines everywhere, "el pueblo todo escoltando al Presidente."¹¹ He met with officers of the Ejército Libertador, civilian dignitaries of Cuba Libre, European and Latin American consuls (Spain's were always present), and representatives of the *corporaciones económicas* and the *colonia española*. Invariably, there were social events at the local *liceo* and the *círculo de artesanos*. Frequently, Don Tomás ambled through the multitudes, shaking hands "al estilo americano."¹² Though perhaps only for lunch, to hear a group of children sing the national anthem, or an overnight stay, the president-elect also stopped at Cantimplora, Arroyo Blanco, Aguas Claras, Combas, Jandíngua, Aurás, San Pedro de Cacocum, Babiney, Jicotea, Santo Domingo, Manacas, San Pedro de Mayabón, Macagua, Colón, Palmira, Horniguero, Camarones, Cruces, Ranchuelo, La Esperanza, Guareiras, Güevitas, Isabel, Corral, Falso, Navajas, Güira, Bolondrón, Unión de Reyes, Sabanilla, Cidra, and Guanábana. Often a "genio inmenso" slowed down Estrada Palma's train before it arrived at these secondary stops (some of which were actually unplanned), where he was lavished with wreaths, flower tapestries, and baskets of local fruits ("verdaderamente deliciosas").¹³ Local bands played patriotic and popular tunes.

The civic march previewed a republic that would never live up to these joyous expressions. After four rather successful initial years, Cuba's fledgling

institutions and nationhood would suffer irreparable damage brought on by Estrada Palma's own obstinate and misguided choices in the 1905-1906 succession crisis.¹⁴ Yet, the civic march constituted a truly national and foundational performance that signaled not only the "alegría inefable después de tanto sacrificio, tanta sangre derramada, tantos hogares destruidos," but also the essentially modern challenges the young republic faced.¹⁵ The journey itself was possible only because sugar had already laid an infrastructure that joined remote places like the secondary stops listed above with the major urban centers. *La Lucha* reported daily on Don Tomás's passage thanks to the telegraph, then the most instant means of communication; in Santa Cruz del Sur, the president-elect promised a telegraph station in every village and hamlet.¹⁶ The march's geographical extension underscored the truly national character of the independence struggle. War had mobilized Cubans in unprecedented ways, whether in the ranks of the Ejército Libertador or by the policy of *reconcentración*; the republic could only make a similarly national appeal. The march itself—the parades, the luncheons, the banquets, the fundraising to pay for the welcoming homage—testified to the still impressive organizational capabilities of the institutional remnants of Cuba Libre.¹⁷

Indeed, the westward cavalcade assembled the symbols of *la patria*. Girls dressed as Cuban flags and boys as *mambises* almost always welcomed Don Tomás. In Combas, one thousand *mambises* on horses accompanied the cannons the Ejército Libertador had used in the assault of Las Tunas.¹⁸ When Estrada Palma crossed the Cauto River on horseback, a group of *mambí* officers carrying "históricas banderas surcadas por las balas de cien combates" awaited him on the other side.¹⁹ In Manzanillo, Don Tomás visited the cemetery to honor the numerous independence heroes buried there; in Santiago, he laid wreaths at the tombs of Carlos Manuel de Céspedes ("Ya tienes patria") and José Martí ("Los cubanos te bendicen").²⁰ Three thousand people escorted Estrada Palma to San Juan Hill where, near the Tree of Peace, the U.S. flag was taken down and the Cuban one raised.²¹ In Santa Cruz del Sur, the parade included twenty floats, representing significant events in Cuban history; there Estrada Palma laid the first stone of a monument in memory of Ignacio Agramonte.²² In Bayamo, "la Nunciación de Cuba" and Don Tomás's birthplace, the popular reception reached unbridled heights of patriotism:

El pueblo todo salió a recibir a su hijo, orgulloso de ser Bayamo la tierra en que nacieron Céspedes, el primer Presidente de la República en Armas, y Estrada Palma, el Presidente de la República naciente. Se electrizaron las fibras de todos y como movidos por mágicos resortes, hombres, mujeres y niños no cesaban de dar vivas a Cuba independiente y a Tomás Estrada Palma, a los mártires de la Patria.²³

At the same time, the march harped on themes of unity and reconciliation. Most prominent was the display of unity between the civilian Estrada Palma and

the *mambises*. In Holguín, one of Calixto García's sisters, a teacher, presided over the welcoming ceremonies, and the president visited the general's mother, Lucía Iníiguez.¹⁹ At every stop, contingents of *mambises* warmly greeted Don Tomás. In Yara, Estrada Palma met with Bartolomé Masó. On the site where Carlos Manuel de Céspedes first sounded the cry for Cuba Libre, Masó handed Estrada Palma the flag used by the "campeones bayameses" in the defense of their city against the Spanish army; both old revolutionaries became visibly moved.²⁰ The president-elect stayed at Masó's home, where all of Oriente's *mambí* officers gathered to pay their respects.²¹ The end of what was in effect a thirty-year struggle against Spain and the subsequent U.S. occupation now also required gestures of reconciliation. Cuban, U.S., and Spanish flags often hung from public buildings and were waved by the cheering crowds. In Havana's Plaza de Armas, "los vivas a la República, al Presidente y a los Estados Unidos se confundieron en un solo grito."²² In Santiago, Estrada Palma addressed the *colonia española*: "En el amplio camino que nos abre la República debemos entrar todos sin distinción alguna, descartando divisiones políticas y odios personales para salvar la Patria. Ustedes son factores más que importantes, imprescindibles, en este orden de cosas y de ahora en adelante no hay aquí ni cubanos ni españoles."²³

"Con todos y para el bien de todos" Martí had once enjoined, and Tomás Estrada Palma signaled that so would it be in the republic, though symbols often spoke louder than words. The rubble of the famed Spanish naval squadron in Santiago Bay — a reminder of the battle that had been the turning point in the Spanish-American War — was sold to a U.S. contractor for \$30,000, and the sum was deposited in the public treasury. The squadron's remnants had been visible in the bay for nearly four years, a pointed emblem of Spain's defeat; now their proceeds benefited the republic via an American purchaser, a not-so-subtle sign of Cuba's interimperial status. Unity and reconciliation were republican imperatives to avoid the invocation of the Platt Amendment and safeguard national sovereignty. If the "política de unión y concordia" unveiled during Estrada Palma's trip guided the new Cuba, then the amendment that had divided the *independentista* ranks might be revised or even abolished.²⁴ Cuba, Don Tomás said repeatedly, would not be like certain Latin American republics where caudillos ran rampant; Cuba's would be a *república civilista*.

Themes of social and racial inclusiveness were likewise sounded during the three-week pilgrimage. Everywhere Estrada Palma visited *círculos de artesanos*. At Holguín's, he stated: "Mi título más honrado es el haber sido obrero."²⁵ In Bayamo, Don Tomás proclaimed: "El apoyo del pueblo trabajador y honrado es la base de nuestra futura felicidad."²⁶ In Cienfuegos, workers treated Don Tomás to the best spread yet: "El menú no podía ser más criollo: ajíaco, carne de puerco, arroz blanco, plátanos chatinos y nuevos frios del país." Sitting at his table on the docks, surrounded by Cubans of humble

origins, the music of the municipal band, and the spectacular views of the bay, Estrada Palma reiterated: "Yo también soy obrero."²⁷ Less prominent but significant enough were the allusions to race. "Tres caballeros de la raza de color" accompanied Don Tomás as part of his inner circle from the moment he left Central Valley.²⁸ In Bayamo, as he walked through the Plaza de la Revolución and talked to the street vendors, Estrada Palma stopped in front of the stand of "la negra Ma Ramona" and bought a glass of a famed local punch he had not drunk since his childhood. Now, he said, he would always associate the punch with her and his return to his native city.²⁹ On the train between Matanzas and Havana, "un correctísimo caballero de color" was forced to give up his seat, a situation that "produjo muy mala impresión."³⁰

Estrada Palma's stay in Santiago de Cuba is noteworthy for the elements of discord that surfaced amid the exhilaration. "Santiagueros" certainly welcomed the president with "la alegría más completa y el entusiasmo más grande." When Don Tomás stepped onto the docks, "el pueblo heroico de Oriente, en ovación sublime, lo recogió en sus brazos y con delirante y frenético entusiasmo lo aclamó sin cesar." Nearly 40,000 *orientales* crowded the streets of Santiago.³¹ Yet, there were obvious rents in the criollo fabric. "La culla sociedad santiaguera" sought to set itself apart from "la irrupción de la turba multa que pretende invadirla todo." What *La Lucha* called "los populacheros" were not on speaking terms with those who had relations with the upper classes. Estrada Palma's closeness to Joaquín and Demetrio Castillo Duany was particularly galling to "el elemento patriótico"; though distinguished and courageous officers in the Ejército Libertador, the brothers were sterling members of Santiago's "crema y nata." Reported *La Lucha*: "Aquí hablar de unión resulta irrisión. La división es hondísima, más social que política. Los que no han podido codearse con la buena sociedad ni traspasar los umbrales del Club San Carlos, centro legendario de la aristocracia santiaguera, sienten contra ese elemento un odio africano. Jamás habrá concordia hasta no terminar esa guerra de castas y de razas."³² The phrase "*odio africano*" connoted more than a figure of speech: non-white Cubans were almost certainly a majority among the *populacheros* and the *turba multa* that perturbed the *culla sociedad santiaguera* and even *La Lucha's* reporter. Threats to social peace were grave enough that five hundred pounds of meat were distributed to poor *santiagueros* to ensure their celebration of the president's stay "con estomágo lleno y corazón contento."³³ Nowhere else along the march was there mention of an analogous "bread-and-circus" measure.

On the day Estrada Palma set sail for Cuba, *La Lucha* characterized the ambience on the island with the phrase *jacobinismo dominante*.³⁴ Overt class and racial tensions in Santiago underscored the underlying populist and egalitarian currents of the struggle for Cuba Libre during the 1890s. The Constitution of 1901 recognized universal male suffrage, a clear signal of modernity; an

inclusive male electorate in a new nation coming out of the mobilizational experience of the independence war undoubtedly gave pause to the *clases vivas* and to all those like Don Tomás who were more comfortable with noblesse oblige than radical populism. U.S. misgivings aside, the criollo elite had their own reasons to doubt Cuba's capacity for self-government under such inclusive terms. Indeed, in 1906, Estrada Palma preferred to turn over the reins of government to a reticent United States rather than to what he deemed the demagogues of the Liberal Party.

What about Estrada Palma the man and the politician? His triumphal march was also an intense personal experience. Traveling through his native Oriente must have been particularly emotional for Don Tomás. He finally gave his mother the proper funeral he was not able to at her passing, as he was in exile. In Holguín he slept in the same room of the Spanish fort where he had been held prisoner; he returned to Cuba through Gibara, the place from where the colonial government had expelled him in 1877. Estrada Palma certainly had a self-righteous, stubborn streak, which ultimately predominated in the critical juncture of 1905-1906 when his refusal to compromise with the Liberals forced the second U.S. occupation. No one disputes his personal decency; most question his political sense. Yet, he did succeed Martí at the helm of the PRC, and though he took the party in a direction his predecessor might not have approved, Don Tomás presided over an impressive lobbying and public relations effort in the United States on behalf of Cuba Libre. Along the route to Havana, he often behaved like a modern politician, "enterándose minuciosamente de las necesidades de cada localidad para repararlas en su oportunidad."³⁵ In Holguín, a Doña Emilia Gómez, who had no money to donate, handed over two white hens to the fund-raising commission, asking only that "Tomásito" himself eat them; he did, with gusto, amid the applause of the *holguineros* gathered in the central plaza.³⁶ His familiarity with each locale impressed everyone; Don Tomás had "notables conocimientos y potentísima facultad de retención."³⁷ While he showed little political acumen during his tenure, Estrada Palma had exercised considerable political skills in the United States, and he began to put them on display on Cuban ground during the civic march. All the more reason why his presidency and the disastrous dénouement of 1906 require a fresh look.

On May 11, 1902, Tomás Estrada Palma entered Havana harbor on the ship *Julia*, the first to fly the Cuban flag. Since four o'clock in the morning, *habaneros* — perhaps more than 70,000 — took to the streets, the docks, and the bay.³⁸ Dozens of tugboats and vessels congregated to await the *Julia*; the bigger boats carried local bands from all over the island; not a few *lanchas* were *artísticamente empavesadas* to evoke patriotic themes. The remnants of the *Maine* were dressed with a huge U.S. flag; U.S. warships stood by to welcome Cuba's first president. A twenty-one-gun salute in Cojímar announced the approach of the

presidential ship. As the Cuban flag was raised over Morro Castle, the notes of the national anthem and the sounds of a thousand horns hailed the *Julia* into Havana's harbor. "¡Más buque alguno entró en nuestro puerto con más solemnidad ni mayor gloria," wrote *La Lucha's* reporter. At 9:40 in the morning, Don Tomás stepped off the *Julia*. Wearing a pair of shoes made in the only Cuban-owned shop on the island, he was received by "aclamaciones delirantes y aplausos prolongados." The civic march — a thoroughly civilian affair — had concluded.³⁹

NOTES

1. I "discovered" Estrada Palma's civic march in Rafael Martínez Ortiz's *Cuba: Los primeros años de independencia (La intervención y el establecimiento del gobierno de Don Tomás Estrada Palma)* (Paris: Editorial "Le Livre Libre," 1929), 387-403. A quick review reveals passing mentions of the journey in the following: Charles E. Chapman, *A History of the Cuban Republic* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1927), 146; Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez et al., *Historia de la nación cubana*, vol. 7 (Havana: Editorial Historia de la Nación Cubana, 1952), 142; José Duarte Oropesa, *Historiología cubana: Desde 1894 hasta 1944*, vol. 2 (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1974), 116; and José M. Hernández, *Cuba and the United States: Intervention and Militarism, 1868-1933* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 102. Neither Hugh Thomas in *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971) nor Louis A. Pérez Jr. in *Cuba: Reform and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) alludes to the civic march.

2. *La Lucha*, May 8, 1902, 2. After 1905, the Liberal Party mounted a relentless campaign against Estrada Palma. Before he died in 1908, Liberal politicians encouraged squatters to settle on his property. Don Tomás was already in dire financial straits. Had he passed away a year later, under José Miguel Gómez's administration, his family might not have been granted the pension the U.S. occupation government granted them. Under Gómez, no stamps were ever issued with Estrada Palma's visage; the first president's portrait was taken down from official buildings. On the first anniversary of his death, November 4, 1909, a group of students petitioned an audience with President Gómez to request the flag be flown at half mast. Orestes Ferrara met with them instead, not only declining their request but also lambasting Estrada Palma (Chapman, *A History of the Cuban Republic*, 223-224).

3. *La Lucha*, April 22, 1902, 2, for the quote; April 17-May 13, 1902, for the daily reportage of the presidential journey.

4. Martínez Ortiz, *Cuba*, 402-403.

5. *La Lucha*, April 24, 1902, 2.

6. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1902, 2.

7. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1902, 2.

8. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1902, 2.

9. In 1905, Estrada Palma decided to seek reelection. Having served his first term without party affiliation, the president joined the Moderate ranks in his second bid. He condoned the actions of his cabinet, known as the *gabinete de combate*, directed at securing a Moderate (later Conservative) Party victory at all costs. Liberals were purged from the electoral registers and fired from government jobs throughout the island. José Miguel Gómez, the Liberal presidential candidate, withdrew from the contest. On election day, some 150,000 fictitious citizens voted. Throughout 1906, Liberals engaged in mounting protests over the flagrant fraud; in August, they took up arms against the government, and the rebellion quickly mobilized some 8,000 men. Mario García Menocal (Moderate) and Alfredo Zayas (Liberal) headed up negotiations aimed at settling the

conflict; they reached an agreement based on the resignation of most officials elected in 1905 (not the president and vice president), the convocation of new elections, and the deposition of Liberal arms. Initially accepting, Estrada Palma ultimately rejected the compromise, for the Liberals would almost certainly have won a round of fair elections. President Teddy Roosevelt sent William H. Taft and Robert Bacon to Havana to find a peaceful resolution; otherwise, the Platt Amendment would dictate a U.S. intervention, a step Roosevelt wanted to avoid. Menocal, Zayas, and others involved in the negotiations were keenly aware of the urgency of putting the Cuban house in order prior to Taft's and Bacon's arrival. At the end of September, Estrada Palma resigned, leaving Cuba without a government and forcing Roosevelt's hand. The 1905-1906 crisis constitutes a critical juncture of inordinate importance: a pact between Liberals and Moderates might have directed republican development along different tracks, even in the face of the Platt Amendment, and established an early precedent for the peaceful transfer of power between government and opposition. For an exhaustive report, see "Cuban Pacification: Report of William H. Taft, Secretary of War, and Robert Bacon, Assistant Secretary of State, of What Was Done Under the Instructions of the President in Restoring Peace in Cuba," Washington, D.C., December 11, 1906.

10. *La Lucha*, April 24, 1902, 2. The quotes are Don Tomás's words from his address at Holguín's *liceo* on April 23.

11. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1902, 2.

12. In 1899, the PRC and the Ejército Libertador were both dissolved: the PRC in the aftermath of the confrontation between civilians and *mambises* over the terms of the army's disbandment; the *mambí* army as a consequence of the agreement reached between Calixto García and the McKinley administration. Yet, in the civic march, the organizational capabilities of Cuba Libre were everywhere in evidence, not the least of which was the impressive presence of *mambises* (officers and troops) and a significant number of weapons that had supposedly been turned over to the U.S. occupation army.

13. *La Lucha*, April 22, 1902, 2.

14. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1902, 2.

15. *Ibid.*, May 1 and 2, 1902, 2. In Santiago, Don Tomás also visited the tombs of the Virginus martyrs and of the "noble Spaniard" Federico Capdevila.

16. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1902, 2.

17. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1902, 2.

18. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1902, 2.

19. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1902, 2.

20. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1902, 2. According to the journalist: "hmedecidéndose los ojos de ambos viejos revolucionarios."

21. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1902, 2.

22. *Ibid.*, May 12, 1902, 2.

23. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1902, 2.

24. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1902, 2.

25. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1902, 2.

26. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1902, 2.

27. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1902, 2.

28. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1902, 8.

29. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1902, 2.

30. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1902, 2.

31. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1902, 2. Santiago had a population of 43,090 in 1899 (*Informe sobre el censo de Cuba, 1899* [Washington, D.C.: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1900], 200). While the journalist probably miscalculated the total number, people from the surrounding areas did travel to Santiago for the occasion.

32. *La Lucha*, May 3, 1902, 2. For Don Tomás's stay in Santiago, see *Ibid.*, May 1-3, 1902, 2.

33. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1902, 2.

34. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1902, 8.

35. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1902, 2.

36. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1902, 2.

37. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1902, 2.

38. *Ibid.*, May 12, 1902, 2-3, for the Havana reportage. In 1899, Havana had a total population of 235,981 (*Informe sobre el censo de Cuba, 1899*, 200).

39. Entering Havana occupies a mythical place in Cuban history. During both wars of independence, the *mambises* aimed—and failed—to spread the insurgency throughout the island, a military feat that would have allowed them to ride victorious into the capital, the bastion of Spanish colonialism. In 1899, Máximo Gómez, who had camped out in Las Villas at the end of the war awaiting the terms for disbanding the Ejército Libertador, rekked peacefully to Havana with his troops, to the delight of thousands of Cubans along the way. Wryly, Gómez noted: "Si toda esta gente hubiera estado con nosotros a la hora de la pelea, hubiéramos derrotado a España a sombrerozos" (Duarte Oropesa, *Historiología cubana*, 52); Estrada Palma's forgotten march is the civilian counterpart to Fidel Castro's triumphal journey during the first week of January 1959.