



M. Zeuske

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MICHAEL ZEUSKE

THE *CIMARRÓN* IN THE ARCHIVES: A RE-READING OF
MIGUEL BARNET'S BIOGRAPHY OF ESTEBAN MONTEJO

Aunque por supuesto nuestro trabajo no es histórico (Miguel Barnet)

Apart from Manuel Moreno Friginals's *El ingenio*, there is hardly any other book in Cuban historiography that has met with such wide circulation as *Biografía de un cimarrón* by Miguel Barnet.¹ It is, in spite of a series of contradictions, the classic in *testimonio* literature for contemporary studies on slavery as well as for the genre of historical slave narratives extending far beyond Cuba. In particular the various new editions and translations, such as the English versions that have been published under the titles *Autobiography of a Runaway Slave* (Barnet 1968), *Autobiography of a Runaway Slave* (Esteban Montejo & Miguel Barnet 1993) or *Biography of a Runaway Slave* (Barnet 1994) and the discussion that Barnet's book stimulated bear witness to this position.²

Both *El ingenio* (1964) and *Cimarrón* (1966) were first published in the mid-1960s, and were followed by a rapid succession of new editions. They are, in a way, unequal twins of Cuban revolutionary historiography – they were both born early and quickly acquired standing and fame. Moreno had written a coherent Marxist analysis of the structural and social history of the core complex of sugar production under conditions of slavery in nineteenth-century Cuba whereas Barnet's *Cimarrón* was a literary history. Both Montejo's narrative and its literary adaptation by Barnet succeeded in grasping an individual's inside view of this oppressive form of society. This insight was given, not from the viewpoint of a plantation slave, but from the perspective of the *cimarrón* himself, the runaway slave (La Rosa Corzo 1988). A narrative of extremely oppressive structures and the irrepressible urge for freedom of an Afro-Cuban as told

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by a one hundred-year-old former slave: what better symbol for the two master-narratives in early Cuban historiography after 1959 could one wish for? Today, one third of a century later, *El ingenio* and *Cimarrón* have reached the age of a historical generation. Although some of his interpretations have been challenged by subsequent research and in spite of covering “only” the period of slavery as such, Moreno’s opus magnum is still considered a classic in structural analysis. Nonetheless, the heroic perspectives of Cuban history as portrayed in the 1960s and 1970s have in the meantime been overtaken by disillusionment and revision.

Why attempt a re-reading of *Cimarrón*? In spite of being a classic and compulsory reading for schools and introductory seminars at universities, the book, in the course of its life on paper, has frequently been the object of criticism stemming for the most part from historians. Objections to Barnet and his *Cimarrón* pertained to either his methodology or to the content as well as to the self-representation of the narrator. Scholars have, for example, not only criticized the methods of this form of “oral history” as mimesis of a black narrator on the part of a white writer, but also Barnet’s principles of questioning and selecting material. They have criticized his portrayal of the official Cuba of the early 1960s and its effect on his account. Barnet, as well as the narrator, have been faulted for their hero-worship, anti-imperialism and indeed also for Montejo’s sexualization of freedom. Montejo is depicted as a free spirit, without any social ties or organizational affiliation. They came under heavy criticism from the “guild” of historians (Fleischmann 1994:125-41).

At this point I should like to present the reader with a short recapitulation of my own experience of reading Montejo’s biography. In 1970 *Cimarrón* was published in East Berlin (Barnet 1970). It was under licence to the Frankfurt am Main based Insel Publishing Company and – from today’s point of view – contained a poor foreword and a faulty apparatus criticus. Despite these flaws, however, the willing reader was carried off to such mystic places as Sagua la Grande, Cruces, Lajas, and Palmira, where he could take a seat in the rocking chair next to the centenarian narrator, or follow him on his escape to the mountains and rise with him against the Spaniards and slaveholders. While the pages of the historical textbooks of the time were filled with diagrams, structures, classes and other amorphous demons, this apparently simple *testimonio*-text presented a free individual in tropical climes abounding with mighty African gods alongside real men and women. Montejo gave an account of everyday life: working, eating and drinking, playing cards, sexuality and revolution, the War of Independence of 1895. But above all the book afforded the reader insight into the will to self-assertion, the worldly wisdom and astuteness, and the

original perspectives of a former slave in a society which typecast him and many of his equals as "savages." In short: one felt overwhelming enthusiasm! It was as if the powerful orishas were reaching out to the reader from the imaginary spaces of the text to spirit him away to the worlds of Esteban Montejo.

But then came exams that called for other gods. During a visit to Leipzig in 1986, Magnus Mörner warned his audience of the traps of "oral history", as described above, and the book ended up on the book-shelf of the historian-to-be in its "beautiful fiction" section. The *Cimarrón* seemed to have died. But "habent sua fata libelli" is still valid today, as is the old saying that people said to be dead live longer still. I was soon to find out that nobody really wanted to do without this book – which is what I also experienced while conducting research in Cuba in 1987 and 1988. Even the harshest of critics used it whenever they were dealing with Cuban society of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They used it to criticize it anew or to be inspired by it, or simply to inform themselves about Montejo's viewpoint on certain events.

Between 1993 and 1996, in the course of a research project in Cienfuegos vast numbers of sources were unearthed and scrutinized.³ In the process *Cimarrón* was used as interesting additional reading. After all, there are none or at least hardly any subjective testimonies of former slaves from which we can gain another possible view of that particular area during that period (1886-1920). Thus Esteban Montejo's statements in *Cimarrón* turned out to be quite interesting with respect to the debate on the central issue of who fought the Wars of Independence, or more specifically, the percentage of former slaves and Afro-Cubans among the *libertadores*? Montejo himself declared in a tone of utter conviction: "I know that ninety-five percent of the blacks had fought in the war" (Barnet 1994:194).

At first, reading *Cimarrón* seemed to offer clues to rural working conditions and distribution of property in the countryside. Montejo appears as the classic example of a former slave who later became a *cimarrón*, as well as a veteran who had been deprived of the fruits of his efforts in the War of Independence by the Americans. After 1898 he had to eke out an existence as a black agricultural worker and sugar-cane cutter. However, reading this book was only considered an aid, serving as literary background. In the course of analysis of contemporary sources the investigators were confronted with archaic language that very often was not easy to understand. In *Cimarrón* this form of language often seems to become comprehensible after all, although it is not clear to what extent the discourse of the literary figure Montejo was corrupted either by sub-

sequent experiences or by Barnet's adaptation. *Cimarrón* was attributed very little scholarly value, if any at all. Some Cuban specialists even suspected that Barnet had more or less invented Montejo and that a real historical figure of this name had perhaps never existed at all.⁴

Thus so much the greater was our excitement when we repeatedly encountered the names "Esteban Montejo y Mera" and "Esteban Montejo" both in notarial records in the Archive of the Province of Cienfuegos and in the press of the time. Though at first somewhat sceptical we took up the trail and found very convincing historical data, namely primary sources which prove the existence of a man called "Esteban Montejo y Mera" in the Cruces, Lajas, Palmira, and Cienfuegos area in the years between 1904 and 1912.

The literary figure Montejo introduces himself in *Cimarrón* as follows:

My family name is Montejo, for my mother, who was a slave of French origin. My middle name is Mera ... My real middle name is Mesa. What happened was that they put it down wrong in the records, and I left it that way. Since I wanted to have two names like everybody else, so I wouldn't be called "jungle baby," I took that one (Barnet 1994:18).⁵

After some thinking and searching for other forms or bearers of the name "Montejo" in the 1900-list of the former fighters (*mambises*) of the Ejército Libertador Cubano (ELC)⁶ and in the payrolls of the veterans of the ELC in the *Gaceta Oficial de la República*⁷ of 1903, we were convinced that we were dealing with the real, historical Esteban Montejo.

Let us first discuss the most important documents: payrolls of veterans and newspapers. The first set of sources in which Esteban Montejo is mentioned consists of the payrolls of veterans of the War of Independence from 1903, which record their respective rights to be paid for their service.⁸ This set of sources also includes loan contracts including the sum that was to be paid out in 1904. The *Gaceta Oficial de la República de Cuba* states succinctly: "Montejo Mera, Estéban ... Soldado ... 982.00".⁹ Montejo acknowledges this amount in his narrative (Barnet 1994:155). The loan contract from the Archive of the Province of Cienfuegos states that Montejo, at the end of February 1904, received 106 pesos from Don Andrés María González y Mora¹⁰ with a certain Eduardo Guzmán y Macías acting as a middleman.¹¹

In March and April 1904 Esteban Montejo appears twice more in the notarial records. In both instances, former witness Eduardo Guzmán y Macías lent him relatively small amounts of money which nevertheless must have been great sums to a cane cutter:

In the town of Santa Isabel de las Lajas ... D[on]. Esteban Montejo y Mera, resident of Cruces, born in Sagua, single, of age and farmer [*agricultor*] ... 100 pesos in American money.¹²

Another loan contract for the sum of 224 pesos dates from April 1904. This time Montejo was a *vecino* (resident) of Lajas:

In the town of Santa Isabel de las Lajas ... D[on]. Esteban Montejo y Mera, resident of Lajas, born in Sagua, single, of age and farmer ... again receives a loan from Sr. Guzmán y Macías this time the cash sum of 224 pesos in American money.¹³

Guzmán, from 1902 until 1904 *alcalde* (mayor) of Lajas, appears in the first contract quoted above as a witness and the underwriter for Montejo, and in the other two contracts as money-lender. This suggests that Guzmán was in a special position of trust and perhaps patron to the former *mambí* Montejo. Such contracts not only testify to financial relations, but also to client-patron networks.

The second body of sources comprises newspaper reports from 1912. While investigating the participation of blacks in the *guerra de razas* in 1912, we twice came across the name of Estéban Montejo among insurgents listed in *La Correspondencia*, the newspaper from Cienfuegos.¹⁴ All the insurgents – five in the first report, nineteen in the second – were blacks or mulattos, many of them former officers or soldiers of the ELC.

None of these references to Esteban Montejo figure in the biography by Barnet, which raises the question as to why on earth they are missing. Montejo, as Barnet claims in the prologue of *Cimarrón*, was approximately one hundred years old when he was questioned by Barnet in the early 1960s. Hence he would have been about forty in 1900. He would then have lived over a third of his life in the nineteenth century, and sixty years in the twentieth century. Still, Barnet's narrative only covers the events until 1900, and gives rather brief accounts which can be dated up to 1906. Thus Barnet virtually erased about sixty years of Montejo's life, or at least chose not to adapt them for his literary life and for posterity. This begs the question why Barnet, or even Montejo himself, did not consider this part of Montejo's biography to be relevant and why Barnet simply deleted this period from the narrative of the former *cimarrón*?

A closer look at *Cimarrón* makes it clear that the text does contain general statements by Montejo on the time after 1900, particularly on racial problems. The most important passage of the text in this respect is in Montejo's description of the participation of blacks in the struggle for independence, and of the treatment of black veterans after 1899 (Barnet

1994:194-200). The adaptation by Barnet, however, has avoided almost any reference to particular or identifiable events, particularly the “guerra de razas.”¹⁵

This bias becomes especially obvious with respect to actual historical protagonists and the corresponding footnotes. The passage of the text covering the time after 1899 mentions Martín Morúa Delgado and Generoso Campos Marquetti as well as Antonio Maceo and Máximo Gómez. The text states that Montejo had some disagreement with the latter, the most important white *criollo* general, in and after 1899. But it is only the mulatto officer Campos Marquetti for whom a footnote is made. The note contains two statements which are out of context in Montejo’s narrative. They almost seem to be secret messages on the activities of Campos Marquetti during the events of 1912, when Cuban troops under the command of José de Jesús Monteagudo – who like many of the “rebels” mentioned in *La Correspondencia* was a former *mambí*-fighter – massacred many blacks in the mountains of Oriente. The footnote reads:

Generoso Campos Marquetti, Liberal Party representative in the House in 1912. He seconded Martín Morúa Delgado’s resolution to ban racist political parties in Cuba. (Barnet 1994:212)

The head of the Liberal Party in 1912 was José Miguel Gómez, who at the same time was president of Cuba. The law mentioned here is the so-called “Enmienda Morúa”, i.e. the legal basis for the prohibition of the Afro-Cuban Partido Independiente de Color (PIC, Independent Party of Color). Montejo in the text, however, praises both Morúa and Campos Marquetti, mentioning that they were the only people who had undertaken to give “some government jobs to blacks” after the war, thus taking a stand against the general tendency to exclude the black *libertadores* from a share in the fruits of victory. Barnet’s adaptation thus tends towards the ideology of the Cuban Revolution after 1959 which chose to erase this tradition from memory and portrayed blacks as excluded from the “neo-colonial” republic (1902-59).

Let us now attempt to formulate an answer to the question of who the “real” Montejo is by looking at a short and very limited analysis of the documents presented above. The contracts of Esteban Montejo were made in connection with the so-called *haberes* (share, pay, debt) of the ELC. When the U.S. forces occupied the country in 1898-99, their first task was to disarm the approximately 40,000 *mambí*-fighters and dissolve the ELC. With the help of General Máximo Gómez and the promise of payment in recognition of their service for the country, the U.S. authorities

attained their goal. First of all the *mambises* received a small sum of money when they handed in their arms (*licenciamiento*). The main pay, the so-called *paga del Ejército Libertador*, was turned into a national debt (*haberes*) under the administration of the first president of the Republic of Cuba, Tomás Estrada Palma. Not only was the payment a long time in coming, but the topic itself was highly politicized and the criteria for payment remained uncertain for quite a while. In the meantime, the former *mambises*, now veterans, were desperately in need of money as subsistence agriculture had been destroyed. Many declined to work as simple sugar workers but preferred instead to buy a small plot of land.

Soon several companies came into existence and bought these legal titles at prices far below their actual value. A wave of speculation stirred Cuba (Martínez Ortíz 1929, II:54). Military leaders, particularly higher officers of the former ELC and local strongmen, such as merchants of Spanish descent and former *autonomista*-politicians, often speculated by buying the rights to payment from the former subordinates of the officers. The regional *coroneles*, because of their patron-like relation to the veterans, played the major role in these transactions.

Montejo, as an ex-soldier with a long period of service, was entitled to an official payment of 982 *pesos* of *haberes*. On the basis of this sum he took out a loan of 430 *pesos* because he needed the money urgently and was unable to go to Havana to fetch it. The contract mentioned above suggests that in 1904 he was no longer a simple cane cutter, a *labrador* but that he may have been attempting to cultivate a plot of land of his own as an *agricultor* (farmer); in other words, he was trying to become a smallholder, even though he had only received about half of the amount of money he nominally had a right to. Nonetheless, the Cuban historian Diana Iznaga Beira (1986:130) writes about Montejo: "At first a slave, he became an agricultural worker because of the abolition, an occupation which he kept all his life." The period of subsistence or market farming is thus omitted.

The contracts in the notarial records reveal that Montejo had received these loans only through a recommendation by Eduardo Guzmán y Macías, or rather through the loan society the latter had founded together with the longstanding secretary of the *Ayuntamiento* of Lajas and former *autonomista*, Agustín Cruz y Cruz.¹⁶

During the first years of the new Republic, Eduardo Guzmán was a landowner and a famous *cacique político* in the Lajas-Cruces region: his "personal history" in the reports of the Military Intelligence Division under the second U.S. occupation of Cuba states that he "organized and led insurgents in this vicinity ... A dangerous man in case of trouble."¹⁷

Moreover, Guzmán had close connections to the circle of political figures centered around Major General José Miguel Gómez. It was from this circle of Liberals that some of the most influential Cuban politicians later emerged. José Miguel, as he was called by his *amigos*, became the second president of Cuba (1909-13) and Alfredo Zayas was president from 1921 until 1925. Both were leaders of the Liberal Party during the first years of the republic. Gerardo Machado, later to become president and dictator (1925-33), likewise belonged to this group. They all started their political careers in the early years of the twentieth century. In 1906, in the office of general, Guzmán led the revolt of these Liberals in the Lajas-Cruces region against the conservative administration of Tomás Estrada Palma (*guerrita de agosto*).

It is very likely that in 1904 Esteban Montejo maintained a patron-client relationship with Eduardo Gúzman, which, in effect, meant that he had an important link to a powerful *compadre*. Thus, to return to the historical view of *Cimarrón* and Barnett's method of selection, Montejo had befriended those destined to be local politicians, and he was also linked to José Miguel Gómez, Alfredo Zayas, and Gerardo Machado through his patron Don Eduardo. After 1959, the official Cuban historiography would judge these individuals very harshly.

A similar problem of selection concerns the second set of sources in which Montejo is mentioned, namely newspaper articles from 1912. That year's *guerra de razas* constitutes a dramatic and traumatic political event in recent Cuban history, one that has not been studied in great detail (Helg 1995; Bronfman 1997). The Cuban *independistas* around José Martí and Antonio Maceo had outlined a program of a Cuba *para todos y con todos* (for all and with all). Equality of the "races" was one, if not the essential social focus of this program. After 1902, Cuban blacks demanded that this program be implemented. In 1908 the first "black" party in the history of the Americas, the abovementioned Partido Independiente de Color, was founded under the leadership of black veterans of the War of Independence. Its goal was to fight for racial equality in the political arena. Founding parties "on the basis of race" was forbidden in 1910 by the "Morúa Amendment", which thus also applied to the PIC. In 1912, an election year, the leaders of this "forbidden" party, Evaristo Estenoz and Pedro Ivonet, in an effort to exert political pressure to enforce the recognition of their party, incited a revolt in the Eastern province of Oriente, in the tradition of the fights for independence. Across the country supporters of the PIC followed the call. In the other provinces they were few in number, and the *alzamientos* in the Cienfuegos area were quickly suppressed (Bronfman 1997). Montejo and his chief, the famous Simeon

Armenteros, were sent to prison. In Oriente, the armed forces under General José de Jesús Monteagudo, another man from the circle around José Miguel Gómez – who was at that time president of the Republic – took vigorous repressive action against “negroes.” In the course of the unequal battles several thousand black Cubans (and some Haitians) were literally slaughtered in the mountains (Orum 1975; Pérez 1986:509-39 and 1989; Helg 1995:193-226).

What do these events and the possible participation of Montejo mean with respect to the historical discourse of the early 1960s in Cuba in which Barnett takes part? The Cuban Revolution of 1959 had, even more radically than the Wars of Independence of 1895-98, taken up the cause of equality of the “races.” From the official viewpoint of fraternity of all men, the *guerra de razas* of 1912 was interpreted as a brutal atavism committed by a number of officers and veterans of the Wars of Independence, who saw themselves as “white,” and as an inexplicable outburst of bloodthirstiness on the part of Cubans in general. The majority of Cuban scholars implicitly accepted this line of interpretation. Another interpretation, however, characterized the apparent deviation of the leaders of PIC away from the program of equality by taking an integrationalist stance as “racism.” This view was in line with the tenor of much of Cuban mass media at that time (Helg 1995:228-48).

From this point of view, it is difficult to imagine the heroic and revolutionary Montejo, as Barnett’s adaptation depicts him in the 1960s, supporting the uprising of the PIC. It was perhaps easier to bypass the entire episode altogether, erasing it from the record. Perhaps this memory was too distressing even for Montejo himself. Either way, there are no references to his participation in the revolt. In the narrative, the events of 1912 appear only in connection with Martín Morúa Delgado, situating the *guerra de razas* in Oriente: “he ... provoked the rebellion of the blacks in Alto Songo” (Barnet 1994:187).¹⁸

While awaiting the discovery of further materials on Montejo in the course of the Cienfuegos project, what provisional conclusions can the historian draw? First, one can suggest that sixty years of “silence” and omissions in the life history of the *Cimarrón* is definitely too long a period. Second, those events or structures of clientelism in which Montejo evidently participated, and which seem to have been omitted – either in his own memory or by Barnett – shed an interesting light on the problem of “race” in Cuba.

Doubts about Barnett’s methodological approach as a historian – not as a writer! – are thus confirmed, and to some extent intensified. Yet the power and strength of the historical discourse in the context of which

Barnet compiled the biography is a point in favor of forgiving him. It is perhaps too easy for historians who are working and investigating this period under better conditions and from a different perspective to denounce the alleged "errors" of an earlier generation. Thus Barnet's main achievement, which consists in making the problem of former slaves in Cuba known to a worldwide literary audience and raising its consciousness on the topic, is undiminished. But perhaps Barnet would consider writing a new epilogue for the next edition or translation of *Cimarrón*, or perhaps publishing the long announced second volume about Montejo, so that the discussion can move forward.

Third, and this seems to be the most important result of the present article, several of Montejo's statements in the narrative itself have been enhanced by the new findings described here. The next step might be to explore some of the newer discoveries. We do not know whether some of Montejo's recollections concerning the events that have been confirmed by the documents quoted above are recorded on the tapes of interviews with Barnet. If copies of those tapes were to be deposited in public archives, the research community would benefit immensely. Montejo experienced much more than the events of the forty years of the nineteenth century which Barnet adapted for his book. Exploring and understanding his trajectory in the twentieth century (Zeuske 1997) will help to bring him even more fully to life.

Both the biography and the conduct of Montejo are in line with the pattern of the lives of the several hundred black or colored former *mambises* who have been examined in the course of the Cienfuegos project. Ever since the middle of the nineteenth century the area around Lajas, Palmira, and Cruces had boasted a booming sugar industry. It drew former slaves, both male and female, as well as many agricultural workers, craftsmen, and smallholders. The notarial records in the Archive of the Province of Cienfuegos list for the communities from Lajas-Cruces alone, nearly four hundred black citizens who were trying to make money out of their legal titles to *haberes*. They mainly invested the money in agricultural production. Some 196 veterans of these 371 citizens were not born in the Lajas-Cruces region, nor had they been long-term residents there. They came from the jurisdiction of Cienfuegos or from the town of Cienfuegos itself, from the province of Las Villas and from the provinces of Matanzas, La Habana, Oriente, or Pinar del Río. They had mostly settled in Cruces, Lajas, or Palmira after 1899, just like Esteban Montejo, trying to start a new life. Again like Montejo, they often entered into clientage with white or black *caciques políticos* of the area. And after a short time, they too were disappointed with the politics of the Liberals around José Miguel Gómez,

just as Montejo was disappointed with them, when José Miguel became president in 1908. Not only were they disappointed with respect to the lack of equality of the races, but also with respect to the lack of support for smallholders and the harsh treatment they received when they demanded improved living conditions for workers in the sugar industry or other production areas (Scott, forthcoming).

In 1912, in the jurisdiction of Cienfuegos alone, one hundred black and mulatto men, many of them veterans, (and most) agricultural workers, peasants, and some young urban people, seem to have, like Esteban Montejo,¹⁹ participated in armed protest in support of the PIC. As in other Cuban provinces outside of Oriente, this protest was more or less marginal (Bronfman 1997). Montejo and some of his black friends were quickly sent to jail but were also quickly set free again via an amnesty that the Liberals hastily granted.²⁰

NOTES

1. In Germany the book was published in its seventh edition in 1995 under the title: *Der Cimarrón. Lebensgeschichte eines entflohenen Negerklaven aus Cuba, von ihm selbst erzählt*. I am grateful to the "Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft" whose financial assistance made it possible to undertake this research and to Orlando García Martínez, director of the Archivo Provincial de Cienfuegos, for generously sharing with me unpublished materials, ideas, and for his help and support. I owe the idea for this article to Rebecca Scott, and the colleagues at the colloquium on "Race and Politics at the Turn of the Century: Cuba 1895-1917" at New York University, Ada Ferrer and Alejandro de la Fuente. My sincere thanks go to Rebecca Scott for sharing ideas and information, Martin Franzbach, Karin Schüller, Matthias Perl, Ulrich Fleischmann, and Barbara Potthast-Jutkeit for their helpful criticism, suggestions, comments, and remarks on a draft of this article. For translations of this text I am grateful to Delia González-Afonso and Eithne Carlin.

2. Moreno Friginals 1967; Tardieu 1984; Luis 1989, 1990; Fleischmann 1990; Walter 1992b; Hennessy 1993; Wentzlaff-Eggebert 1993; Franzbach 1994; Graden 1996.

3. A comparative research project on the integration of former slaves into the political culture of the post-slavery period in Brazil, Cuba, and Venezuela, funded by the German Scientific Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) commenced in 1993. Neither Barnet nor his book were in any way the reason for choosing the area in Cuba which happens to be Esteban Montejo's field of activities, the hinterland of Cienfuegos. This classic sugar region which at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century boasted the largest sugar factories (*centrales*) attracted many free black agricultural workers after the abolition of slavery and after the War of Independence against Spain.

4. Barnett (1983a:27; 1983b:52) himself had seemed at times to substantiate this supposition writing that the principal character of the *Cimarrón* was “the language.”
5. Barnett (1996:30) has written that in Montejo’s Baptism certificate “Gincong” and “Susana Lucumí” appear as the parents. In the narrative Montejo presents them as his godparents. It is doubtful that Esteban Montejo appears in this certificate with the two names “Esteban y Mera,” as Barnett maintains on the same page.
6. This is known as *Yndice*, recording the names of about 74,000 veterans. This official list contains only two bearers of the surname (*primer apellido*) “Montejo” who served in units in which also our *cimarrón* did his service. Neither of those has “Mera” as second surname (*segundo apellido*). In the Second Brigade of the Second Division (“Brigada de Cienfuegos”) one can find under the number 41463 the name “Morejón Mesa, Estéban ... [padres] Alfredo, Emilia ... soldado 3-12-1895.” Rebecca Scott, who informed me about this name, Orlando García Martínez, and the present author, are inclined to think this refers to Montejo; see *Yndice* 1901:589.
7. In which “Esteban Montejo y Mera” and two other bearers of a first surname “Montejo” with other second surnames are mentioned: “Montejo Basulto, José ... De sol. á capitán ... 2,649.33” and “Montejo González, Pedro ... De sol. á cabo ... 741.33.” *Gaceta Oficial de la República de Cuba*, Apéndice al N-42, La Habana, martes 18 de agosto de 1903, pp. 314-15.
8. We have analyzed 816 notarial records of former soldiers of the ELC in the Lajas-Cruces region; 371 of them were Afro-Cubans.
9. *Gaceta Oficial de la República de Cuba*. Apéndice al N-42, La Habana, martes 18 de agosto de 1903, p. 312.
10. Andrés María González y Mora, from July 1, 1900 to June 1901 *Primer Teniente Alcalde* (mayor) of Lajas. He was a merchant of Spanish descent.
11. Archivo Provincial de Cienfuegos (APC), Protocolo Domingo Váldez Losada, tomo 8 (enero y febrero de 1904), Escritura 148, 27 de febrero de 1904, folio 555r-56v.
12. APC, Protocolo Domingo Váldez Losada, tomo 9 (marzo de 1904), 3 de marzo de 1904, folio 683-84v.
13. APC, Protocolo Domingo Váldez Losada, tomo 10 (abril-mayo de 1904), Escritura 437, 16 de abril de 1904, folio 1304r-05v.
14. “Yesterday the following insurgents were condemned as rebels and sent to jail: Estéban Montejo, Domingo Mora, Saturnino Benítez, Cándido Martínez and Benito Canutillo.”... “[t]he complete list of the individuals who have been declared rebels ...: Simeón Armenteros, Juan Morales, Manuel Labrado (a) Lico; Arcadio and Tomás Benítez; Alejandro Pérez; Felipe Acea (a) Caoba; Secundino and Doroteo Acea; Estéban Torriente; Luis Campos; Máximo Montalvo; Manuel Madruga; Ricardo Cabrera; Estéban Montejo; Domingo Mora; Saturnino Benítez; Candido Martínez; Benito Canutillo.” (*La Correspondencia*, May 27, 1912:5)

15. Graden (1996:6); referring to Luis (1990), has argued that "Barnet understood that an analysis of the Race War ... would not be acceptable to the Cuban revolutionary government."
16. APC, Protocolo Domingo V. Losada ,tomo 12, julio de 1904, folio 2439r-2442r. Eduardo Guzmán was a captain of the former liberation army in the division under the command of José de Jesús Monteagudo who formed part of the group around Major General José Miguel Gómez.
17. United States National Archives, Record Group 395, Records of U.S. Army Overseas Operation and Commands, 1898-1942, Army of Cuban Pacification, Military Intelligence Division, Entry 1008, File 79, Item 30.
18. Montejo (1970b:58-60) defends the program of the Independientes de Color in the novel *La canción de Rachel* (Luis 1990:214-15).
19. Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Secretaría de la Presidencia, leg. 110, N-2, Expediente referente a los alzamientos de negros, dirigidos por el partido independiente de color, encabezados por Evaristo Estenoz y Pedro Ivonet; fecha: Habana, Santiago de Cuba, Pinar del Río, Guanajay, 17 de junio a 9 de septiembre de 1912, 2 vols.
20. There are good reasons for the supposition of Aline Helg (1995:202 and n. 41, n. 43) that there at first was an "agreement" between the leaders of the PIC, first of all Pedro Ivonet, and the president José Miguel Gómez. This "agreement" was intended to ensure the re-election of José Miguel Gómez. But the agreement did not work; see Archivo del Museo de la Ciudad, La Habana, legajo 68, expediente 39, número del documento 397,001, letter from Pedro Ivonet to José Miguel Gómez, Santiago de Cuba, February 2, 1910.

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MICHAEL ZEUSKE
Iberische und Lateinamerikanische Abteilung des Historischen Seminars
Universität zu Köln
D-50923 Köln, Germany