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HIDDEN MARKERS, OPEN SECRETS: ON NAMING, RACE-MARKING, AND RACE-MAKING IN CUBA

In general, all records are secret.
(Ruiz Gomez 1874:xxii)

THINKING ABOUT SLAVERY AND RACE IN ATLANTIC HISTORY

In one of his recent articles Thomas C. Holt (1995:7) writes: “the everyday acts of name calling and petty exclusions are minor links in a larger historical chain of events, structures, and transformations anchored in slavery and the slave trade.” At the start of this chain, at the very beginning of race-marking in American slave societies, particularly in Cuba, there are many signs of and ideas about slavery and race. There is also a wave of new works about the idea of race in the Americas and in world history.¹ But what are the real beginnings of race-marking and race-making in a society other than that of the much-studied United States?²

There are generally – as I see it, and somewhat hypothetically – three main stages of race-marking in the “big picture” of slavery (Davis 2000).³ The first general stage stretches from 1440 to 1650. It reaches from the

1. Wright 1990; Winant 1994; Hannaford 1996; Wade 1997; Naranjo Orovio & Puig-Samper 1998:12-13.

2. All quotations have been translated from Spanish to English by Ulrike Bock. I wish to acknowledge my appreciation to Rebecca J. Scott (University of Michigan) and Hanneke Teunissen (KITLV Leiden) for their close readings and valuable criticisms, to Matias Röhrig Assunção (University of Essex) and Javier Laviña (University of Barcelona) for their suggestions based on the reading of an earlier draft of this paper. I would also like to thank Orlando García Martínez (Archivo Provincial de Cienfuegos), Fernando Martínez Heredia (Centro Juan Marinello, Havana), and Esther Pérez Pérez (Centro Martin Luther King, Havana). All citations maintain the orthography of the original.

3. A strong counter-position to my view of slavery and racism can be found in Sweet 1997.

initial links between slavery and blackness,⁴ the very beginnings of the Atlantic slave trade in the 1440s, and the first nuclei of mixed slavery in the Atlantic islands to the emergence of Africans as rural slaves in the Americas. The point of no return in the relationship between “African” ethnicity, slavery as a labor system, and constructed blackness seems to have come in the English, Dutch, and Danish Caribbean at the end of the first half of the sixteenth century; eighty years earlier in Brazil; and somewhat later in North America, the French Caribbean, and the Spanish Caribbean.

The second general stage reaches from the end of this period to the end of slavery, through the first wave of abolition after the revolution in Saint Domingue, British emancipation, and the end of slavery in the various new Latin American republics (ca. 1650 to ca. 1850). An overlapping third stage of expanding slavery begins with the Haitian Revolution and lasts until the last New World abolitions in the southern United States in 1865, Cuba in 1886, and Brazil in 1888.

Upon closer examination, it is clear that slavery itself, and above all, the so-called “second slavery” (Tomich 1988, 1990, 1991) in the third period, in daily, face-to-face relations on and near the plantations, does not necessarily need extensive race-marking. Slaves were brought to the Americas to perform labor, and the work they did marked them (Berlin 1998:1-14; Zeuske 2002c). Working in the fields in crop production, they could be readily discerned as bound residents of the plantations. Moreover, after between one to three hundred years of African enslavement in the main American sugar, cocoa, and rice-producing regions, slavery was mostly by definition a question of race. In most of the plantation zones until the end of slavery, the class of field workers was overwhelmingly black. Therefore, the work they did was “black.” In the main “second slavery” regions, like the U.S. South, Brazil, and Cuba in the nineteenth century, there was always the danger that members of the colored populations be identified as “blacks” with the status of a slave (Röhrig Assunção & Zeuske 1998).⁵

Cuba in the nineteenth century is one of the three great examples of modernization in slavery (together with Brazil and the southern United States). After about one hundred years of slavery in the Cuba of large plantations, sugar production, and mass slavery, in the zone that Juan Pérez de la Riva (1997) called Cuba’s “A-region,” the field slaves formed what was widely referred to as the *clase negra*.

Francisco de Arango y Parreño, the great Cuban economist of slavery and friend of Alexander von Humboldt (Zeuske 2000a, 2001a), demanded

4. Consider the *scavus nigrus* in Sicily in 1430, which, in this culture and at that time, meant “black Slav” (Verlinden 1942, 1977:999-1010; Phillips 1989:85; Heers 1995).

5. On race markers in studies which use the same types of sources, see Rosal 1996; Naveda Chávez-Hita 2001.

clearly, at the very beginnings of mass slavery in Cuba, the economic integration but political exclusion of this *clase negra*. In 1811, he also demanded that they and their descendants be kept from integrating socially, and even culturally, forever:

the cultured nations persist in their opinion that for political advantages the liberated *bozal* as well as the lively *cuarterón* should be considered as equal even though he might be the son or grandson of very commendable people – the concept of one drop of Negro blood infecting the white [blood] to the most remote member even if our senses and our memory do not discover it, we must recall the testimonial of the dead kept in tradition or parchment covered with dust – it seems to be obvious that with the exclusion of any identification with us, the doors to civil liberties should also be closed. (Arango y Parreño 1973:230f)

Arango marked the economic group of field slaves as *negra* and tried to keep their descendants in the cultural prison of socially stigmatized blackness by invoking the notion of a stain that would infect the offspring through the generations. The liberal constitution of Cádiz of 1812 accepted the demands of Arango (not without mighty pressures from the planters of Havana and of the Captain General of Cuba). The constitution did not give voting rights to the *castas pardas* (colored castes).⁶ This ideological position was strongly different from the paternal position of Nicolás Joseph de Ribera, some fifty years earlier: “It matters very little to the state whether the inhabitants of Cuba are whites or blacks, as long as they are working hard to stay loyal to it” (Ribera 1973:165).

There were very small differences between individual members of this *clase negra*, especially in the eyes of the surrounding society and the masters themselves, and these differences resulted from the individual’s origin: *esclavo bozal* or *esclavo criollo*, “born in Africa” or “born in Cuba,” and *esclavo moreno* or *esclavo pardo*, “black slave” or “mulatto slave.” Nevertheless, there was a hierarchy within the slave *dotación* (community of slaves on one plantation), about which we have very little knowledge (García 1996:7-40). For Cuban slave society in general, they were simply *los esclavos negros*, as Fernando Ortiz’s famous title reads (1906, 1916; Knight 1970). Therefore, visible and readable race-marking and race-making in the times of slavery in Cuba had their greatest significance not for slaves, but for *libertos*, the various groups of *morenos* and *pardos libres* (Deschamps Chapeaux & Pérez de la Riva 1974; Röhrig Assunção & Zeuske 1998), and the free men

6. Open race and color measures, like the exclusion of the *castas pardas* in Spanish Cuba, for example, served as an example to form a body of constitutional criteria for the Spanish empire that restricted citizenship for these *castas pardas* in the first liberal constitution (Cádiz 1812); see Fradera 1999:51-69; for aftereffects relating to the Spanish-American movements and wars of independence 1812-30, see Múnera:173-215.

– and women – of color in urban spaces (Martínez-Alier 1974; Heumann 1981; Stolcke 1992).

In seeking the beginnings of new forms of race-marking and race-making in Cuban society *without* slavery at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of postemancipation society, one finds first the process by which the old markers from the times of slavery are extinguished, both on the part of the Spanish colonial state (with the extension of limited civil rights, Scott 1985:274-75; Hevia Lanier 1996; Zeuske & Zeuske 1998:399-400) and within the Cuban nationalist movement. The nationalist variant of equal rights clearly contained a much stronger set of egalitarian claims under the rubric of race-blindness. As several authors have recently noted, this concept served both to open and, at times, to close possibilities for antiracist policies and practices (Helg 1995; Ferrer 1998:228-49, 1999a, 1999b).

On the level of the nation, there is relatively little open race-marking during the conflict over national independence, aside from Spanish war propaganda and the nationalists' private and semi-official texts, and the ideology of color-blindness militated strongly against the color terms being recorded in official documents. But in the realm of ideas, interspersed with ideas about race,⁷ ideologies of race-blindness and the celebration of *mestizaje*, it is certain that notions of race permeated nationalist thinking. My focus here, however, is on the daily practices of race-marking, and to discern these, I will shift the focus away from both practice and ideology on the national level to microhistory. With research on the local level and into microhistory, complemented by the more actor-centered *life histories*, it is possible to find the very beginnings of the postemancipation variant of race-marking and race-making (Zeuske 2002; Scott 2003 forthcoming).

NAMING: SURNAMES, ABSENT SURNAMES, AND *SIN OTRO* *APELLIDO* AS RACE MARKERS

While reading through judicial and notarial sources⁸ from the early twentieth century, I was puzzled to find many names recorded with the little addendum *s.o.a.* or *s.s.a.*, abbreviations for *sin otro apellido* (without any other surname) or *sin segundo apellido* (without second surname) (Zeuske 2001b). This "marker," in Cuba, turns out to be crucial to any approach for studying race that uses life histories as a basis.

7. Pruna & García González 1989; Naranjo Orovio & García González 1996; Naranjo Orovio & Puig-Samper 1998; García González 1999; Fuente 2001.

8. Other uses of this type of source can be found in the analysis of manumission. See Díaz Díaz 1996; Harth-Terre 1973; Schwartz 1974; Johnson 1979; Aguirre 1992.

What exactly does marking – to use Holt’s term again – people in documents with this addendum, *s.o.a.*, mean? What does that addendum mark: a low social status or, specifically, the status of former slave? Does it indicate illegitimacy (Ortmayr 1996)? Does it denote a low social status shared by former slaves and free, poor whites, or does it mean, specifically and only, race? Does it imply both, a combination of, or all of these things?

The meaning of this marker may, in fact, have its roots in the marker used to indicate slave and African descent. It may also have been used to indicate legal status. Legal status was transmitted through the female line and is recognizable in the use of only the mother’s surname for slave-children.⁹ In fact, one of the prime indicators of slave or semi-slave status has long been the use of the mother’s surname or the absence of a surname altogether. In the days of slavery in Cuba, and also in the first years of postemancipation society, young men and women with a close relationship to slavery were often presented as the *hijo de* (son of) or *hija de* (daughter of), followed by the first name of the mother: María, Bárbara, Francisca, or a similar name. Naming a person in such a way represented a continuation of the manner in which administrators on plantations registered the labor force, and even after the granting of legal freedom, this manner of referencing was updated only marginally.

To understand how names entered notarial records, it is important to understand the general forms of naming in Castilian Cuban culture. In this culture, everyone with legally married parents has two *apellidos* or two surnames: for example, Juan Martínez García is the son of the couple Pedro Martínez Pérez and María García Jiménez. Juan’s two surnames are composed of his father Pedro’s first surname (*primer apellido*), Martínez – as Juan’s first surname – and his mother María’s first surname, García – as Juan’s second surname (*segundo apellido*). These two surnames, Martínez García, are thus the *apellidos*. In daily interactions, however, Juan Martínez García would often be called only Juan Martínez. To confuse matters further, even women were sometimes known by their second surname in daily life. A woman’s second surname was her mother’s surname, as in Señora Ramos Maceda, known as Maceda or la Señorita D^a Ysabel Martinez y Valdés, known as D^a Ysabel Valdés.¹⁰ But in either legal transactions or official documents which required for legal status to be indicated, the two *apellidos*,

9. As concerns naming and marginalization, I have been influenced by Bering 1987.

10. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Villa Clara (AHPVC), Protocolos Calixto María Casals y Valdés, Sagua la Grande, 1886, t. 2, fols. 716r-718r, escritura no. 177 “Venta de finca urbana,” Sagua, July 5, 1886.

as the official form of the name, were used as a sign of full juridical personality and legitimate birth.¹¹

The rules for using surnames in Cuba were formalized in the 1889 Spanish Civil Code, carried over into independent Cuba, and modified only twice, once in 1927 and once in the 1940 constitution (Pérez Lobo 1944:46-49).¹² A notary was prohibited from attributing a father's surname to a child born out of wedlock, unless the father had recognized the child legally (Pérez Lobo 1944:46).

But some male former slaves and Chinese laborers – all men of low social status and with the main goal of elevating the social status of their children – had already tried to resolve this problem by the 1880s, with the juridical instrument of *reconocimiento de hijo natural*. This judicial step produced notarial records with a clause explicitly giving the children the possibility of using the father's and the mother's *apellidos*, meaning that they could use two surnames. However, in daily life, only the mother's name would appear behind the child's Christian name.

WHO ARE THOSE “WITHOUT OTHER SURNAME?”

During my research, I noted first that naming, that is to say, the process of giving civil names to former slaves by adopting one surname of the last, or one of the last, owner's families, was widespread in the period around 1886. In contrast, notarial records from the 1870s often show only the given name of the slave (from the rich source of Biblical names) with the color term

11. As regards foreigners with high social status who did not use the second surname in the Castilian Cuban manner, the notaries, in the years near the end of slavery, began to note explicitly that some of them voluntarily relinquished the use of the mother's *apellido* and that some others did not. For example: “appeared on the one hand Mr. James Mac-Lean, without second surname for not using one, citizen of the municipal capital [*término municipal*] Macagua, married, adult and administrator of the *ingenio* Occitania, and on the other hand Don Juan Mac-Cullock y Marshall, citizen of the municipal capital Amaro, single, adult and administrator of the *ingenio* Unidad” (AVHPC, Protocolos Calixto María Casals y Valdés, Sagua la Grande, 1886, t. 2, fols. 833r-858r, escritura no. 217 “Recibo y cancelacion parcial de hipoteca,” Sagua la Grande, August 10, 1886).

12. Article 134, chapter IV, “De los hijos ilegítimos” states: “The acknowledged illegitimate son has the right: First to bear the surname of the one who acknowledged him.” In 1927, this was modified: “In the registration of illegitimate sons is stated – in accordance with the principle of the first section of this art. – *the complete paternal and maternal surname of the person who acknowledges him* thus preventing the aforesaid sons from revealing ostensibly the illegitimacy of their origin (Resolut. Dep. of Justice, July 15, 1927). See art. 44 Const.” About the modifications in the constitution of 1940, see also Álvarez Tabio 1941.

moreno/a or *pardo/a* in front of it, often linked to a cultural, ethnic, or corporal marker after it, like *criollo/a* (creole), *congo/a*, *lucumí*, or *delgado* (thin), always written in lowercase letters. This demonstrates that the terms were open markers, not names. For freemen or -women, the standard term had, for centuries, been the racially marked *moreno libre*, *morena libre* (free black), or *parda*, *pardo libre* (free brown). The abolition of slavery in October of 1886 caused the disappearance of the political marker *libre* in the records, since all were now free. Under the *patronato* (1880-86), the new markers *sin segundo apellido*, or *sin más apellido*, and *sin otro apellido* first began to appear. The last has gradually been more generally used since the beginning of the twentieth century.

To examine these patterns, I first reviewed some 15,000 notarial records and inheritance cases concerning veterans from the 1895-98 war. The records were from the Lajas-Cruces region in the Cienfuegos hinterland, and the cases dated from 1903 to 1905. Thereafter I perused some two thousand notarial records from Cienfuegos and Sagua la Grande, two main sugar regions in Cuba at the end of the nineteenth century, from San Juan de Remedios, a region with few slaves, and from Santiago de Cuba, a town with many slaves and many freedmen from the earlier years of 1870 to 1890.

Naming practices were, in many instances, the only indications by which to recognize former slaves in the late years of slavery, during the process of gradual emancipation, and in the early years of postemancipation. These were also the last years of Spanish colonial rule in Cuba. But in the first twenty-five years of the young Cuban republic, the question of naming practices shifted, as the resolution of the secretary of justice and the constitution of 1940 show.

From the actors themselves we have only the individual voices of those who moved into urban areas and learned to write, like Ricardo Batrell (1921) and José Isabel Herrera (1948) or, to be used with even greater caution, the "memories from the future," such as the life histories of Esteban Montejo (Barnet 1967) and Reyita, or María de los Reyes Castillo Bueno, 1902-97 (Rubiera Castillo 1997).¹³

In biographies of members of the Cuban workers' movement, we also find hidden histories of shame about and rebellion against the social degradation of illegitimacy (Cabrera 1985:7-10). But the majority of former slaves remained in the countryside and left no such narrative life histories. Notarial records thus provide an unequaled glimpse into their lives.

The entire process of naming in Cuba was a very complicated one, being situated between choice and imposition. Reyita's memoir represents one of the few written examples of how experience with the insurgents could give rise to a heightened sense of right to a surname and to a claim to have one's

13. Ibarra Cuesta 1994; Zeuske 2000b.

choice recognized (Rubiera Castillo 1997:18, n. 173).¹⁴ In some instances, I have the impression that the sons of slave mothers who were given slave surnames were “playing” with the surnames. This seems to be a logical conclusion, given that the question of naming was always linked to problems with the status of an unmarried mother. The official baptismal record, for example, reads *padre no conocido* (father not known). But in most cases, the identity of the father is well known. Therefore, the words *conocido por* (known as) often appear in the documents, as in these examples: “Estanislao Alvarez, known as Blanco;”¹⁵ or “D^a Vicenta Armenteros, without second surname, citizen of Lajas, native of Africa, single, adult, manages her own household [*trabajo casa*], grants power to D. Eduardo Guzmán to obtain from the Treasury Department (Secretaria de Hacienda) the certificate of the funds that had been paid to her illegitimate son Don Juan Moré, known as Armenteros, killed as a soldier of the Cuban Liberation Army;”¹⁶ and one well-known man, “Ricardo Batrell, known as Ricardo Oviedo” (Martínez Heredia 2001:300, n. 10). Another example from an urban setting is that of the worker Alfredo López, born of an extramarital relationship between the Spaniard Luis Felipe López and the *mestiza* Julia Arencibia. López always used his father’s surname, though officially the identity of his father was *no conocido* (unknown) (Cabrera 1985:7-10).

When, in 1902, the year of the founding of the republic, on the outskirts of Santa Clara, a new citizen appeared before a notary, the writer made reference to various competing elements that composed his new name: color, “civic” master’s surname, explicitly “without other surname,” “known as,” and African descent. “In the town of Calabazar ... [appears] on the one hand the *moreno* Luis Rodriguez without other surname, native of Africa, generally known as Luis Lucumí, citizen of this neighborhood, single, eighty years of age and landowner.”¹⁷

The use of the master’s name as “slave name,” in some cases, may not have had its roots in the identity of a young man. The group we know best is are the so-called *muchachones*, young men born between 1868 and 1880 (the generation of emancipation), who fought in the anticolonial war of 1895-98,

14. We also know relatively little about the relationship between individual naming as a mass process, and the social categories *campesino*, “rural proletariat,” *agricultor*, *de profesión campo*, *jornalero*, and more complicated yet, the multifaceted term *guajiro*. For Puerto Rico see Scarano 1999; see also Arrom 1980; Carr 1998; Naranjo Orovio 2001.

15. Archivo Provincial de Cienfuegos (APC), leg. 14, exp. 654, no. 845 (1904).

16. APC, Protocolos Domingo Valdés Losada, Cruces, t. 13 (Agosto/Septiembre 1904), escritura no. 943 “Poder,” fols. 3004r-3005r.

17. APHVC, Protocolos Eduardo Domínguez Consuegra, t. 2, 1902 (Marzo 29-Diciembre 29, 1902), Término Municipal de Calabazar partido judicial de la ciudad de Santa Clara, no. 96, “Venta de finca urbana,” Calabazar, December 12, 1902, fols. 427r-475r. Luis does not know how to sign.

and obtained the status of *mambises* and later, *libertadores*, or veterans (Zeuske 2001b:207-8). They developed enough self-confidence and status, perhaps, to refer explicitly to their notionally unknown father. But it is also possible that many men did so because the people in their little town, who knew them very well, called them by the surname of the man who was officially only a *padre desconocido* (unknown father). This was the situation in the following example from 1904, when many relatives, so that they might claim an inheritance, had to explain the various surnames (or nicknames) that a deceased veteran had used:

The investigations carried out by Dona Eusebia de la Caridad Perez [*"parda* Eusebia de la Caridad Perez without other surname"], in this Court of Assizes [Juzgado de primera Instancia] in order to prove that her brother Don Juan Ysabel Perez is the same who figured as Juan Ysabel Serrano Perez in the lists of the Liberation Army [Annex: "To the Court of Assizes"] Eusebia de la Caridad Perez ... states ... her named brother was known as Juan Ysabel Serrano y Perez ... Under that name he was known, for everyone in the place knew that even without being acknowledged he was the son of Dn Bonifacio Serrano.¹⁸

The brother and sister in question had legal right to the name Pérez only – it was presumably their mother's name, or that of a previous owner – but the deceased soldier brother had also laid claim to Serrano, the name of his father, "known in the neighborhood," but never recognized before the law.

Reading some of the few surviving wills of former slaves, it also seems there was a type of cultural resistance to the use of *conocido por* (known as), because the bearers may have chosen the surname they preferred, even if, officially, a former slave was to take the first surname of the last master. At the same time, in official transcripts, some were trying to introduce their own oral and unwritten (male) genealogy. This genealogy was to act as a counterweight to the overwhelming pressures of the Castilian genealogies with two surnames. Thus, we read in the *testamento* (will) of "*moreno* Elias Mena known as Elias Ribalta," who declared in 1888 "that he did not know his parents nor what their names were when he arrived from Africa. For this reason he uses and has used the surname of his first owners and thus he does not know whether they [his parents] are dead or alive."¹⁹ Elias and his companion Josefa were slaves of Tomás Ribalta, also the first master of the better-known

18. APHVC, Protocolos Pelayo Garcia y Santiago, t. 4, 1904 (April 1904), no. 487, "Protocolación," Santa Clara, April 17, 1904, fols. 2200r-2203v. Eusebia does not know how to sign.

19. APHVC, Protocolos Calixto María Casals y Valdés, Sagua la Grande, 1888, t. 2 (Julio-Dic.), fols. 1476r-1477v, escritura no. 365 "Testamento," Sagua la Grande, October 26, 1888.

Esteban Montejó, and like him, they were sometimes known as Mena (or Mera) (Zeuske 1997b, 1999b).

With an even stronger sense of cultural resistance, and of his African roots, Antonio Pérez declared in 1885 that Julio Domingo was his *hijo natural* (natural son):

The *moreno* Antonio Pérez, without second surname, native of the town of Yisá, of the Lucumí nation in Africa, single, fifty-one years of age, field worker and from this place, ... the neighborhood Pueblo Nuevo ... says: in consequence of the relationship which he had with one of his class, *morena libre* Regina Pared, native and citizen of this city, single, adult and already deceased, the latter gave birth the twentieth of December in eighteen-hundred seventy-eight [1878] to a child that is her son and that of an unknown father and was baptized ... with the name of Julio Domingo the thirtieth of the following month of January [1879] specifying that his grandmother was Ascension Pared of the same origin ... Concerning this child, the *moreno* Antonio Pérez ... arranges [for it]: that he declares and acknowledges as his illegitimate son the named Julio Domingo ... who therefore gains the right to alimony and education and to follow him as his heir before the law ... empowering him to use his surname [the boy could use two surnames, thus Julio Domingo Pérez Pared]; wishing to record for the proposed opportunity that the grandparents of the acknowledged child were Yícocun Hova and Fá Chipe, both native of the aforementioned town of Yisá and already deceased, and that the person appearing was baptized about the year eighteen-hundred and fifty [at the age of 16] in the parish church of the hamlet of Guaracabuya, as belonging to the *dotación* of the stockyard [*portrero*] called “El Platanal.”²⁰

Here, in effect, an African-born father introduces into the official record not only his recognition of a child born out of wedlock, but also his own birth-place in Africa and the names of his parents – the child’s African grandparents – left behind some thirty-five years earlier.

Diana Franco, a former slave woman, was placed in the jail in Sagua la Grande in 1890, because of problems with the Banco Español de la Isla de Cuba. She seems to have played with her name for practical purposes, to disguise herself and perhaps also because of the difficulties with the pronunciation of the English name “Drake”: “the *morena* Adriana Dregue, known as Diana Drake, which is her legitimate name, and even as Diana Franco, this being the surname of the last owner of the *ingenio* Jucaro to which *dotación* she belonged in the time when slavery existed.”²¹ As was

20. APC, Protocolos José Rafael de Villafuerte y Castellanos, 1885, t. 1 (Enero-Abril), fols. 164r-166v, escritura no. 27 “Acta de reconocimiento de hijo natural por el Meno [Moreno] Antonio Pérez,” Cienfuegos, February 28, 1885.

21. AHPVC, Protocolos Esteban Tomé y Martínez, Sagua la Grande, 1890, t. 1 (Enero-Agosto), fols. 462r-463v, escritura no. 107 “Poder,” Sagua la Grande, June 20, 1890.

usual for the time, she had two given names and three surnames at her disposal each time she identified herself.

In my research, there have been only very few examples of the use of *sin segundo apellido* for white Cubans, for example: "Appeared ... Dn Desiderio Valdes, without other surname, native and citizen of this municipal capital, single, twenty-six years of age and employed in agriculture."²² Here, Desiderio's honorific title *don* suggests that he was viewed as "white," and the marker *sin más apellido* shows his status as *hijo natural*. This unusual use of the *sin más apellido* seems to be specific to this documentary source, and to 1890, an ambiguous time, when the title *don* was still confined to whites, but increasingly claimed by Afro-Cuban activists who felt free men of color had a right to it too. In the notarial records, men like the white, poor Cuban, Desiderio Valdés, were recognizable as white because of the title *don*, and probably as poor because of the small size of their land, and the modest amount being paid for it. In one of the following records, Doña Dolores Acosta y Portela names him as the guardian of her minor daughter: "D^a Dolores Acosta y Portela ... with regard to her mentioned daughter D^a Altagracia being a minor, names Dn Desiderio Valdes as her guardian."²³

Another record demonstrates how a white Cuban woman can be an *s.o.a.* through her explicit association with two generations of illegitimacy: "D^a Micaela Alfonso, without second surname, manages own household, twenty-seven years of age, single, native and citizen of this town is the illegitimate daughter of D^a Josefa Alfonso de Armas of the same neighborhood."²⁴ Micaela was the *hija natural* of Josefa Alfonso, who only later became the wife of a man with the surname "Armas." Micaela also has two *hijos naturales*, "with an equally unmarried man and without impediment to marriage" (the note that there was no impediment to marriage was relevant, because it made the children eligible for later *reconocimiento* by the father, according to the terms of the Civil Code of 1889).²⁵ Joining the marker of respectability, *doña*, with *s.o.a.*, the stigma of illegitimacy, in 1890, anticipated a pattern that

22. APHVC, Protocolos Esteban Tomé y Martínez, Sagua la Grande, 1890, t. I (Enero-Agosto), fols. 170r-173r, escritura no. 40 "Venta de finca rústica," Sagua la Grande, March 6, 1890. Desiderio knows how to sign, but with difficulty; Dolores Acosta y Portela does not.

23. APHVC, Protocolos Esteban Tomé y Martínez, Sagua la Grande, 1890, t. I (Enero-Agosto), fols. 178r-183v, escritura no. 42 "Testamento," Quemado de Güines, March 6, 1890. For a long time, the surname "Valdés" was used in Cuba as a single surname for orphans.

24. APHVC, Protocolos Esteban Tomé y Martínez, Sagua la Grande, 1890, t. I (Enero-Agosto), fols. 287r-299r, escritura no. 70, "Testamento," Sagua la Grande, April 9, 1890.

25. APHVC, Protocolos Esteban Tomé y Martínez, Sagua la Grande, 1890, t. I (Enero-Agosto), fol. 298r, escritura no. 70, "Testamento," Sagua la Grande, April 9, 1890.

would re-emerge in the later republic to mark women of color entering into property transactions.

OWNERS' SURNAMES – SLAVES' SURNAMES

The single greatest methodological obstacle to research on the situation of former slaves in Cuba has long been the difficulty of tracing them through records that, for a variety of reasons, make no reference to their status of freed people. Researchers face many and long lists of plantations workers', small-town residents', and municipal inhabitants' names, or censuses and electoral lists, etc., but they bear very few indications of color or slave parentage. At the same time, the periods of late slavery and emancipation and the first years of postemancipation society were still dominated by the big structures of sugar centrals (Iglesias 1999). Therefore, we do know the names of the owners. We also know that the slaves, in the process of individual emancipation,²⁶ received the first surname of their last (or in some cases, next-to-last) owner as their own surname. One aid in the search for the invisible ex-slaves is thus the *grandes apellidos esclavos* – major slave surnames, that is, the surnames of large-scale slave-owners used by persons other than these owners.²⁷

Starting with a list of all slaves of the Lajas region in 1875,²⁸ one can see that of a total of 1,852 slaves, there were 1,331 rural slaves (Scott 1985) and the rest were house-slaves or slaves in forms of production other than sugar. These rural slaves were under the control of a group of owners composed of twenty-eight natural persons, three societies of owners, and thirteen slave-hirers (who owned one to five slaves). The owners with the largest plantation workforces were Moré, Goytizolo, Terry, Abreu, Hidalgo, Gándara y Lomba, Villegas, García Mora, Palacios, Mora, Pasalodos, and López del Campillo. After 1886, these surnames were also those of the majority of the formers slaves in the Lajas-Cruces region in central Cuba. By 1875 and according to the same list, the Venezuelan, Terry, had 156 slaves, the Colombian, Conde Moré, had 327 slaves, and the Catalan, Goytizolo, 110 slaves; their numbers were still growing despite the general decline in slavery.

26. With very few exceptions, like the Atkins slaves; see Atkins 1980.

27. The methodology was developed by Zeuske (1997a). We are unable to exclude what might be termed the "slaves-in-the-family-problem" (see Ball 1999). That is, how can one distinguish between those who take the master's name as a sign of previous ownership and those who may take it as a result of unofficial recognition of parentage. This problem is addressed in micro-regional studies, like that of Ball.

28. Archivo Nacional de Cuba (ANC), Havana, Miscelánea de Expedientes, leg. 3748, exp. B, Captianía Pdánea de Santa Isabel de las Lajas, no. 3, "Padrón general de esclavos, 1875."

Thus, the biggest groups of “slave surnames” in this region would logically be Terry, Moré, Goytizolo, and so forth. In the colonial electoral lists of Lajas for 1898,²⁹ there are 1,426 persons who voted (men over the age of 25).³⁰ Of these, 172 had one of the region’s “big” slave surnames.³¹ Therefore, using these “big” slave surnames, we had one instrument to search for the otherwise invisible former slaves, and we could identify their partial access to citizenship and the vote in the last years of the colony.

The voices of the former slaves themselves, like that of Faustino Jimenez Favelo of Cienfuegos, also explain the use of slave surnames: “the *moreno* Faustino Jimenez Favelo, formerly known as Miranda, and later as Nimes, after the owners of the *ingenio* to which *dotación* he belonged, called for some time “Caridad de Miranda” and afterwards “Altamira,” native of Africa, sixty-four years of age, married, occupation in the countryside.” Or consider that of Juana Beronda of Sagua la Grande: “the *morena* Juana Beronda, without second surname, native of Gangá, in Africa, single, eighty years of age and from the countryside ... declares that she is from Africa and that her parents, whom she did not know and whose names she did not remember, died; therefore [she] bears the surname of one of her owners, as it is the custom to do.”³²

But when no master is explicitly mentioned, this mode of identifying former slaves remains, by itself, oblique and inferential. Without compiling individual biographies one cannot be absolutely sure of slave ancestry, and it is easy to miss former slaves who assumed some other surname or surnames.

29. “Lista por orden alfabético de apellidos y con numeración correlativa, de todos los vecinos mayores de veinte y cinco años que constan en el censo jeneral de población con expression de la edad, domicilio, profesión y si saben leer y escribir,” in APC, Fondo Ayuntamiento de Lajas (FAL), leg. 3, exp. 161, inv. 1 (28 Enero-2 Marzo 1898), “Expediente que contiene lista de vecinos mayores de 25 años que constan en el censo general de población,” fols. 2r-26r.

30. APC, FAL, Document without classification or foliation (“lista II 1898”). About electoral legislation, see Torre 1998:82 and Roldán de Montaud 1999.

31. Terry: 41, Mora: 24, Moré: 20, Hidalgo: 18, Madrazo: 15, Cruz: 15, Avilés: 10, Palacios: 8, Barroso: 7, Abreu: 6, Goytizolo: 4, Pasalodos: 4. See, for example, “lista de número de patrocinados por propietario” (Octubre 1883), in APC, FAL, no. 111, leg. 2, exp. 78, inv. 1, fols. 18r-19r.

32. APC, Protocolos Verdaguer 1883, escritura no. 14, “Venta de finca urbana por Da. Lucia Moreira Valero, viuda de Gomez, a favor de las menores morenas Manuela y Francisca Nimes,” Cienfuegos, January 15, 1883, fols. 83r - 99r; AHPVC, Protocolos Calixto María Casals y Valdés, Sagua la Grande, 1889 (Enero-Dic.), fols. 1076r-1077v, escritura no. 300 “Testamento,” Sagua la Grande, November 22, 1889.

The other limitation is that notarial records reflect only a small percentage of the population. In the future, therefore, we must also examine prisoners' records³³ and court cases, and the use and importance of *s.o.a.* for complainants, defendants, and witnesses.

EXTINGUISHING OLD MARKERS IN THE FIGHT FOR AND AGAINST NATIONAL LIBERATION

The Spanish tradition of identifying individuals with the long-standing color/status marker terms, like *moreno/a* or *pardo/a*, next to the name in written documents continued for some time after emancipation. Spanish Cubans of any social status were marked by the honorific title *don* or *doña*. But this distinction, as we pointed out, was formally eliminated by the Spanish colonial state in 1891 and 1893, and the title *don* was made available to all. Before the outbreak of the last war of independence (1895-98), in the fight for the loyalties of Cuba's black population, the Spanish state tried to cut one link of the chain by which this part of the population was associated with slavery. In official state papers, the entire population of Cuba was given the status of *Españoles* (Spaniards). "Cubans," from the standpoint of the Spanish government, were mainly white Creoles who fought against Spain. Spain gave full and official citizen's rights to all males of twenty-five years and over in 1891, although it refrained from extending to Cubans the universal manhood suffrage recently instituted in European Spain (*voto universal*, Róldan de Montaud 1999:286-87). In 1893, pressure from the colored civil rights movement led by Juan Gualberto Gómez, caused the elimination of the old difference markers, *moreno/a* and *pardo/a*, from the times of slavery and extended to the entire population of Spanish Cuba the right to use the

33. From my own research, in 1994, on this type of source, like APC, Juzgado Municipal de Cienfuegos, Actos de Conciliación, different *cuadernos*, with some five dozen cases (1883-92); APC, Juzgado Municipal de Cienfuegos, Papeletas para demandas de conciliación (1883, 1885, and 1891); APC, Juzgado Municipal de Cienfuegos, demandas para juicios verbales (1883, 1884, 1889); APC, Juzgado Municipal de Cienfuegos, juicios de falta (1891-95), I have the impression that the writers of these documents do not use *s.o.a.* in writing, but until 1893, and, in some instances, thereafter, they use the open racial markers *moreno/a* and *pardo/a* for black and colored individuals, and *don* or *doña* for individuals with the status of "white;" see APC, Juzgado Municipal, juicio de faltas. Amenazas (Jan. 8, 1896): "Parda Pia Nodal contra Magin Torres." In the whole record, in which Magin Torres's many crimes are recorded, I found only the old color marker *moreno*. About prisoners and conditions in Cuban prisons, see Urrutia y Blanco 1882; Naranjo Orovio & Puig-Samper 1998.

honorific title of *don* or *doña* (Hevia Lanier 1996), titles which were, until now, reserved to distinguish the “whites.”³⁴

Ada Ferrer (1998, 1999a, 1999b) has traced the competing and more far-reaching ideology of transracial or “race-blind” nationality developed by Cuban nationalists in the fight against Spanish colonialism. In Cuban separatist military sources in time of war, often only the first surname, together with the tag *ciudadano cubano* (Cuban citizen) and the use of military rank, are used for *all* men to mark differences.

Therefore, the two instruments that we have to recognize former slaves largely cease to function if we apply them to official documents and discourses from the period of 1893-95 until the end of the war in 1898 by both the Spanish and the Cuban separatists. But in the official list of the so-called *Indice de Roloff*, on which military status was indicated, produced directly after the war in 1899 and 1900 under the control of the U.S. administration, a distinction in naming reappears: some soldiers had two surnames following the official Castilian form of the two *apellidos*, while other men had only one, and many of these men also had “big” slave surnames. In the lists of the *Indice*, these men often appear with the note “mother only” marked in the column pertaining to parents (*Yndice Alfabético* 1901).

RACE-MARKING ON THE GROUND

There is, however, another level: that of everyday life. It is distinct from the political and ideological fight for loyalties and from formal ideologies in general, although it is linked to both. This final mode of naming and race-marking emerged only from the research process itself – it seems never to have been an object of written debate, unlike the question of the title *don*. We were only able to see it in local archives like the Archivo Provincial de Cienfuegos, the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Santiago de Cuba, the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Villa Clara, and the Archivo Histórico Municipal de Remedios, and in the notarial records collected there. It surfaced when we began applying the methods of microhistory in the Italian style and to conduct historical research on the property rights and access to land of ex-slaves.

I began re-reading the information from very individualized sources, like notarial records of veterans’ back pay from the war in 1895-98, the payment taking place in 1904-05 and records of former slaves who bought land or borrowed money to do so. I analyzed three main bodies of sources: first, the

34. See also Schmidt-Nowara 2000. A closer look at the sources reveals that not all elites followed the wishes of the state; see Año de 1898, Censo electoral provincia de Santa Clara 15/03/1898, Provincia de Santa Clara, Ayuntamiento de Sagua la Grande.

notarial records and inheritance cases concerning the back pay for those who fought in the anticolonial war of 1895-98 (dating from the years of 1904-05); second, the notarial records of land purchases by ex-slaves; and third, annual series of notarial records which I searched for *sin otro apellido* (Zeuske 2001b; Scott & Zeuske forthcoming). In these documents, the phenomenon of marking through naming appears in all the forms described above: the use of one surname, the use of slave surnames, and, until the 1890s, with a direct marker of constructed color, *moreno/a* or *pardo/a*. But in nearly all these cases, and primarily in the notarial records dealing with property or financial transactions, the written addendum *sin segundo apellido* or *sin otro apellido (s.o.a.)* appears. The explicit notation of *s.o.a.* seems mostly to be linked to individuals who appear to have one of the “big” slave surnames of their respective region as a single *apellido*.³⁵ These are surnames that link them to their previous state of possession, of being owned. For us, this explicit written *s.o.a.* (in unofficial notaries records) is thus a hidden marker, and suggests that *s.o.a.* is a point of entry in the search for the open secrets of race in Cuba.

The first time I came across *s.o.a.*, after having copied thousands of names from the records of back pay without understanding what importance this addendum might have, it was linked to the *apellido* Fortún, in a record of the purchase of land in the country town of Lajas located in the Cienfuegos hinterland: “the *morenos libres* Leon and Natalia Fortún, without second surnames, who are from Africa.”³⁶ This mention of *s.o.a.* appears six years after 1878, when purchases of small houses in Lajas by former slaves became common.³⁷ Later, I found many records of sales of this type in Sagua la Grande, Cienfuegos, Santiago de Cuba, and Remedios, but none in Havana.³⁸

The majority of notarial records in which men and many women “without other surname” appear as actors, are, however, those dealing with the purchase of land plots (*fincas rústicas*, *terrenos*, *sitios de labor*) for urban houses, or for the houses themselves (*fincas urbanas*), with the last

35. For Cienfuegos: Acea, Tellería, Sarría; for Lajas: Moré, Terry, Apezteguía; for Sagua: Ribalta, Moré, Beronda; etc.

36. APC, Protocolos D. José Rafael Villafuerte y Castellanos 1883 (Enero-Dic.), fols. 418r-421r, escritura no. 98 “Venta de solares yermos,” Cienfuegos, June 14, 1883.

37. APC, Protocolos D. José Rafael Villafuerte y Castellanos 1878 (Enero-Dic.), fols. 387r-388v, escritura no. 149 “Venta de solares,” Cienfuegos, Julio 13, 1878.

38. This is linked to the specificity of this type of source and the business of notaries in the capital. In notarial records from Havana that I saw, apparently only a small percentage of the whole population is visible. The business of a sort of economic elite overshadows the kind of small transactions carried out by former slaves that are more prevalent in the countryside. Somewhere in the Havana notarial records, with further research, small transactions can be found.

representing the largest part. Only very few records deal with testaments, the recognition of *hijos naturales* (natural children), or giving *poder* (power of attorney) to lawyers.

But what exactly were the sense and the function of this tag, *s.o.a.*, from 1878 onward and continuing into the early years of the republic? Cuba's ex-slaves became citizens very quickly, in only sixteen years, between 1886 and 1902, but many of them were citizens "without other surname," meaning that they were stigmatized citizens. In fact, the long tradition of using this addendum even yielded a rare second surname in Cuba, borne by individuals such as Julio González Soa.³⁹

THE PRACTICAL AND PRAGMATIC SENSE OF *S.O.A.*

S.o.a. as a marker seems first to have had a very practical and pragmatic meaning. On the one hand, it is part of the answer to the question: "where did they go after slavery, and how can we know?" On the other hand, it is linked to the problem of the municipalities, one of the crucial points in Spanish and Cuban history of the nineteenth century. The methods of microhistory allow us to make a link between life histories, administrative history as political history, and social history, because it allows us to zoom in on different levels of history.

The Spanish state, seeking to end the Ten Years War in Cuba (1868-78), initiated profound transformations in its politics. At the end of the 1870s, it started a type of resettlement program (*reconstrucción*). Small plots of land in closely supervised settlements, most of them on land near the railroads, were given to Cubans to reinforce (or buy) their loyalty to Spain (Balboa Navarro 1998, 2000:49ff; Ferrer 1999b:73, 100-4; Scott & Zeuske forthcoming).

In the 1870s there were also changes in the structure of the provinces and municipalities as the state introduced new *términos municipales* (municipalities) that had the right to manage a part of their own tax income. This linked state interests of the Spanish empire to the interests of the Cuban *vecino* elite of rural towns with a population of about 8,000 people. The Spanish constitution of 1876 defined towns with 8,000 inhabitants or more as *términos municipales*, the lowest level in the state structure. When in 1884 the government in Madrid declared its intention take away the status of *términos municipales* away from all towns with fewer than 8,000 inhabitants, the local government of Lajas, the *ayuntamiento*, felt "threatened with death." The sec-

39. After half-a-century of silence, the problem of *s.o.a.* appeared in the national discourse of writers and artists; see Vallhonrat Villalonga 1948. In 1951, a film with the title *Sin otro apellido*, was produced in Santiago de Cuba; see also Sommer 1999.

retary of the *ayuntamiento*, Agustín Cruz y Cruz, wrote, on December 31, 1883, that Lajas had 7,548 inhabitants. In the following year, 1884, there was a strong increase in the number of inhabitants until December 31, with 828 persons through birth and immigration, the latter being of special interest. With a total of just 191 deaths and emigrations, the net increase for Lajas was 637 inhabitants. Thus, Lajas had acquired a population of 8,185 persons by 1884.⁴⁰ Nearly all of the individuals who formed this net increase were persons appearing on the *vecino* lists, with open race markers like *moreno/a* and *pardo/a* before their names (99 percent have only one surname).⁴¹ In effect, those who held the power in the town stood to benefit from an influx of former slaves, who were leaving the plantations, that could push their population to over 8,000.

How new neighborhoods were shaped in these conditions is suggested by a notarial record from Sagua la Grande in 1888. A physician, *licenciado* Don Manuel Vicente Yglesias y de la Coba and his brothers were owners of an old *sitio rústico* (small rural farm) named La Veguita, on a piece of land very near the extreme south of the town of Sagua la Grande. When former slaves began to search for land, Yglesias y de la Coba divided the two *caballerías* (about 67 acres) into 247 *solares* (portions of land), each of them with an area of 1,000 square meters. They sold a part of a solar to Don Manuel López y Fernández. To the north, the *solar* of the *moreno* Eusebio Perez neighbored it, to the south, it bordered the “calle de Brito,” and to the west, the land of “*morenos* Elías Ribalta y Felipa Larrondo” was its neighbor.⁴² The mention of the bordering lands in the notarial records shows us that neighborhoods with many black or colored *vecinos* were forming.

Like the examples above, Santo Domingo was also a village fighting to be recognized as a *término municipal*.⁴³ A parallel process seems to have occurred in the *barrio* Pueblo Nuevo in Cienfuegos, which, while it was still a neighborhood of white and colored poor at the end of the 1840s, was trans-

40. APC, FAL leg. 2, exp. 108, no. 111, inv. 1, fols. 7r-8r. In 1846, Lajas had only 147 inhabitants, nearly all of Galician or Canarian descent (Zeuske & Zeuske 1998:392-96).

41. APC, FAL leg. 2, no. 111, exp. 132, inv. 1 (14 Dic. 1884-2 Enero 1885): “Rectificación del pordon vicinal del año 1884;” APC, FAL leg. 2, no. 111, exp. 133, inv. 1: Expediente que contiene documentos relativos a la rectificación del pordon vicinal del año 1885 (31 Dic.-20 Enero 1886); “Estado de las altas y bajas en el Registro de vecinos en este barrio desde 10 de Enero á 31 Diciembre de 1885,” APC, FAL leg. 2, no. 111, exp. 132, inv. 1 (14 Dic. 1884-2 Enero 1885), fols. 6r-21r.

42. AHPVC, Protocolos Calixto María Casals y Valdés, 1888, t. 2 (Julio-Dic.), fols. 1047r-1050r, escritura no. 244 “Venta de dominio directo,” Sagua la Grande, July 2, 1888.

43. AHPVC, Protocolos Calixto María Casals y Valdés, 1889 (Enero-Dic.), fols. 1142r-1143v, escritura “Venta de solar,” Sagua, December 10, 1889.

formed into a neighborhood of black and mulatto families after 1878.⁴⁴ The new *barrios* also often formed near railroad tracks.

Some of these new inhabitants, who were much sought after by the *vecino* elite, appear in the notarial records as having purchased land. The majority of those who bought land were women (Zeuske forthcoming b), and they were very welcome new clients for the notaries or those selling land. Later, in 1893, they were a target of the new linguistic discretion of the late colonial state which suppressed the old marker for ex-slaves (*libre*) and the old race markers *moreno/a* and *pardo/a*. Thereafter they simply bore the discreet *s.o.a.*

S.O.A. AS A RACE MARKER AND A RACE-MAKER

For the notaries, all clients were equal, at least formally:⁴⁵ each individual was an *otorgante* (or a *compareciente*), or client. If former slaves went to the notary and had money, they were seen as *otorgantes* and land buyers like others. We do not know exactly why, in spite of that formal equality, notaries began to use the addendum *s.o.a.* in about 1880. Was it only because of the increased number of clients? Until the end of the 1880s, transactions related to slavery, such as buying and selling slaves, manumission – different forms of individual emancipation – and slaves as part of an inheritance, formed some 30 percent or more of notarial records.⁴⁶ In fact, it is possible to say that the greater part of a notary's business derived from mass slavery. The centers of slavery, Cienfuegos, Sagua, and Santiago, always had three or more notary's offices, whereas Santa Clara, a provincial capital since 1878, but a city surrounded by small-scale agriculture, tobacco farms, and cattle ranching, had only one until the beginning of the twentieth century. In Remedios, which is one of the seven colonial cities that was founded first, but which had only a weak sugar boom, we found only two notaries at the end of the nineteenth century (Venegas Delgado 1982). But Cruces, a small village with about 6,500 inhabitants in 1887 and a neighbor of Lajas, was surrounded by some of the world's largest sugarmills and had its own notary's office.

As ex-slaves and Chinese indentured servants began to appear as subjects, as *otorgante* – and no longer overwhelmingly as objects, as most were

44. We can find the same process taking place in the *barrio* El Seborucal at Abreus, where many persons with the "big" slave surnames like Acea, Apezteguia, and Terry – and even simply Abreus – settled. I would like to thank Orlando García Martínez for sharing this information with me.

45. On notaries imposing a greater precision on the identity of some, see Lefebvre-Teillard 1990.

46. This 30 percent represented a great deal of money. The percentage therefore does not reflect the real importance of the slavery business to notaries.

until 1880 – the record texts seem to reflect some uncertainty about whether a person with only one surname can be considered a full juridical personality (based on the pejorative sense of illegitimacy in Iberian culture, Schmieder 2002).⁴⁷ It is thus that we read in the following notarial records from 1881, these being amongst the first in using *s.o.a.*: “appeared the Asian Ricardo Robau, without second surname, citizen of the aforementioned [town], single, forty-two years of age and practicing trade.”⁴⁸ Or, “appeared the *parda libre* Paula Guevara, without second surname, citizen of this town, single, thirty-two years of age and by profession laundress ... owner of an urban lot with a one-storied wooden house with tiled roof ... having arranged the sale of the urban lot which is referred to with D. Antonio Someillan y Lamartere at a price of four-hundred gold.”⁴⁹ They operate as juridical persons, but they are simultaneously being marked as illegitimate.

The notarial *protocolos* (Ruiz Gomez 1874:xx-xv) are documents about the individual much more than the official census lists or other public documents are. From 1893 onward, notaries appear to have been reluctant to continue marking their new clients openly with the old and familiar race markers. After the gains of the civil rights movement, using distinguishing color labels was seen as impermissible, and at this time, notaries had already introduced the less visible and less offensive *sin segundo apellido*. Perhaps *s.o.a.* first emerged to give the notaries a substitute term so that there would be no blank space replacing the social and color markers.⁵⁰ *S.o.a.* began as a hidden marker. In

47. In Cuba, which had a white population of 1,052,397 persons in 1889 (U.S. War Department 1900:194, Table VI), the number of illegitimate persons in this group was 58,940 – the rate was thus ca. 5.6 percent for the whole island (U.S. War Department 1900:345, Table XVIII). In the province of Santa Clara, with 244,768 white persons (U.S. War Department 1900:194, Table VI), 8,985 children were counted as being illegitimate – the rate was thus ca. 3.7 percent.

48. AHPVC, Protocolos Antonio Palma Espinoza, Sagua la Grande, 1881, t. I (Enero-Marzo), fols. 362r-362v, escritura no. 119 “Fianza personal,” Sagua, March 3, 1881.

49. AHPVC, Protocolos Antonio Palma Espinoza, Sagua la Grande, 1881, t. I (Enero-Marzo), fols. 584r-585r, escritura no. 179 “Venta de finca urbana con censo,” Sagua, March 30, 1881. The *protocolos* in this and the previous footnote are two of the first in which *sin segundo apellido* is used (in previous records, like those from 1878, *s.o.a.* does not appear; see APC, Protocolos José Rafael Villafuerte y Castellanos, 1878 [Enero-Diciembre], fols. 387r-388v, escritura no. 149 “Venta de solares yermos,” Cienfuegos, July 13, 1878): Julian Romero sold a *solar* “to the *morena libre* Filomena Viera, native of Africa.” Although the provincial archive is in Santa Clara today, the notaries, like Palma Espinoza, had their offices in Sagua la Grande.

50. The law of the *Notariado* [notarial law] of 1873 does not define the term of *otorgante*. In the prescribed models, it only defines an *orden que se indica* [order of instruction] in relation to the two surnames. Thus the notaries could use this *orden* to fill the gap which the second surname was supposed to occupy with the written *sin otro apellido*; see Ruiz Gomez 1874:321.

the 1880s it started to acquire connotations of race, illegitimacy, and dishonor. We can only infer from the individualized sources like the *protocolos* and *testamentos*, taking into account individual, social, and political history, what exactly these connotations were at any given moment.

The basis of this mix of illegitimacy, race, and dishonor was the fact that race acquired a new meaning after the abolition of slavery in the years between 1886 and 1895. In the documents about the back pay of veterans of the 1895-98 war, we find a new stage, and a peak, in the racial connotations borne by the new marker, as in this example:

appeared ... Sra D^a Serafina Lozano without other surname, citizen of Lajas, single, forty-five years of age, runs own household ... Her illegitimate son D. Rafael Silvestre Lozano, citizen of Lajas, native of Camarones, nineteen years of age, single and *agricultor* [farmer], having died in this municipality the nineteenth of May, 1896 as a soldier of the Cuban Liberation Army ... [she] wishes to obtain the judicial declaration of the hereditary title to the payment that is due to him as a soldier of the Cuban Liberation Army, which amounts to about two hundred pesos.⁵¹

This source is a record not only of a request for money by a very modest woman of color, but also the demand for the status of *libertador* for her illegitimate son.

The claims for back pay date from shortly after the founding of the new republic in 1903-05. Part of the new Cuban republican elite, foremost among them were the high-ranking officers, believed it necessary to avoid the influx, both real and symbolic, of black and colored *libertadores* and their families to the centers of the towns (Zeuske 2001b).⁵² The formula of a written *s.o.a.* had the advantage of making the constructed racial identity of the *otorgantes* visible even when they were not present. Every reference to the notarial record would recall this stigma.

In racially mixed groups with a large percentage of people of color, I have found that *s.o.a.* is not used persistently as it is in the notarial records. There are even whole groups of individuals who refuse to use the addendum. The “Libro de identificación del gremio mutuo de Estibadores Cienfuegos,”⁵³ kept between 1904 and 1917, for example, is a membership list of 119 men to

51. APC, Protocolo Domingo Valdés Losada, 1904, t. 1 (Enero-Febrero), fols. 55r-57v: “acta notarial de información,” no number, Cruces, October 15, 1903.

52. See also Zeuske 1999a. In the twentieth century, there were periods in which the possibilities of getting an official second surname, by means that circumvented the law, and in that way avoiding the *s.o.a.* marker, were very restricted. In other periods, when for political reasons the elites needed the support of the bearers of *s.o.a.*, the possibilities were more numerous; for example, the years 1906-08, 1924-25, and 1940: see Scott & Zeuske manuscript.

53. APC, Libro de identificación del gremio mutuo de Estibadores de Cienfuegos (Mayo de 1904-Diciembre de 1917).

a union of *stevedores*, most of them men of color. Members came from all over the province of Santa Clara. In the “Libro de identificación” their *gremio* (union) was listed as being composed of three races, the *raza negra*, the *raza mestiza*, and the *raza blanca*. We do not have information about the racial categories of six of the members, but we have everyone’s name. Of the 119 members, 93 have only one surname, this being 76 percent. Although color markers are used, *s.o.a.* is not used even once. Of the 93 men with one surname, 48 are classified as *raza negra*, 5 as *raza blanca*, and 34 as *raza mestiza*. Of the men with two surnames, 6 are classified as *raza blanca* and 7 as *raza mestiza*. Finally, 12 persons classified as *raza negra* have two surnames.⁵⁴

Here there are indications of another phase in the new race-consciousness in republican Cuba. The *gremio* members did not use hidden markers but open racial concepts, perhaps because the use of these had spread in Cuban society of the early republic. The other explanation may be that the members themselves used color categories as a means of differentiation within the group. Legitimacy or illegitimacy, the status ostensibly marked by *s.o.a.*, was less important to union members than it was to notaries.

In the 1880s when notaries began to use *s.o.a.*, the marker probably enabled them to avoid conflicts between the newcomers to the towns and the longer-established *vecinos*. Although the *vecino* elite and the white population of towns and villages in the sugar areas needed more inhabitants, they showed no eagerness to integrate this population into the centers of towns. This is where the new marker *s.o.a.* demonstrates clearly its function: people marked with it lived – from the perspective of the longer-established *vecinos* in the center of the town of Lajas, for instance – behind a clearly visible and discernable frontier (the railroad and a part of a street) that functioned effectively as a “color line.” But both the railroad tracks and the *s.o.a.* were nominally color-blind and conveyed the stigma without openly invoking color.

In all the rural hinterland of Cienfuegos and in urban areas of the municipality of Cienfuegos, during the last years of slavery and the first years of the postemancipation period, new neighborhoods with a black and colored population emerged. A good example is the sugar town of Santa Isabel de las Lajas. In Lajas, this new neighborhood (*barrio* or *barriada*) formed a part of the official neighborhood called Centro. The railroad tracks separated this new neighborhood from the older houses of the Centro. The semi-official name of the new neighborhood was “La calle del ferrocarril” (railroad street),

54. Juan Oviedo y Moya, Ramón Sarriá Álvarez, Leoncio Campos y Castillo, Emeterio Abreus y Abreus, Carlos Fortunato Corderón y Sarriá, Jesús Erices y Almeydas, Fernando Borell y Suárez, Marcelino Abreus y Abreus, Francisco Álvarez Villegas, Ernesto Stuart y Stuart, Tomás Ferrer Roque, and Juan Romero Ruiz.

as it is called in the official documents which mention the color-blind frontier, including the census of 1907. The former slaves' settlement took on a surprisingly formal and durable character very early on, and the *barriada* came to be seen as a "black" settlement (García Herrera 1972; Dumoulin 1974:19; Valdés Acosta 1974). The families in this neighborhood often had the "big" slave surnames Terry or Moré. In notarial records documenting sales and purchases, they appear with the addendum *s.o.a.* From this point on, we seem to see a new construction of race. The settlement on which they bought land soon came to be known as La Guinea, and it was also referred to as "land of [belonging to] the Congos." A U.S. Military Intelligence Division report from 1907 refers to "this part of town known as 'Little Africa.'"⁵⁵ Residents apparently referred to the back of La Guinea using terminology that echoed racist labeling of the time: "La Cueva de los Monos" or "monkey cave" (García Herrera 1972:145-46; Zeuske 1994, 2001b).⁵⁶ To scholars in the 1970s who explored its origins, this neighborhood seemed to be the result of reformist, paternalistic gifts of land to ex-slaves, which were designed to assure a labor force in the nearby Caracas sugarmill, one of the world's largest sugar centrals, by the grand planter Emilio Terry (García Herrera 1972). In the archives, a more complex picture emerges.⁵⁷ Some of the residents of La Guinea held legal title to urban plots measuring some 1,000 *varas* (a little less than 700 square meters). Tracing these titles back through the notaries' records held in the Archivo Provincial de Cienfuegos, I found documentation not of gifts, but of the *purchase* of land by former slaves. The sellers were people like Bárbara González Mesa, daughter of one of the major cane farmers of Lajas, who in turn was the former owner of the *ingenio* Santa

55. United States National Archives (USNA), Washington DC, Record Group (RG) 395, Records of the United States Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, series 1008, Army of Cuban Pacification, General Correspondence of the Military Intelligence Division, file 75, item 89, February 17, 1908, Lajas.

56. On earlier use of the term "Guinea," see Tomich 1993. I am only able to discuss and present the data from my sources here. The developing community displays forms of external political cohesion clientelism, in addition to the cohesion that is inherent to the existing households and neighborhoods of black or colored people. Internal factors contributing to social cohesion, such as kinship, religion, and language, did not appear in this type of source (or only in the few instances that we were also able to analyze the life histories of the witnesses appearing in the *protocolos*).

57. Interview by Orlando García, Félix Tellería, and Michael Zeuske with Cándido Terry y Terry and Zenaida Armenteros Bejerano, March 5, 2000. Terry and Armenteros generously showed us their property title, which is a copy of the original located in APC, Protocolos José Rafael Villafuerte y Castellanos (1883), fols. 418r-421r, escritura no. 98 "Venta de solares yermos," Cienfuegos, June 14, 1883; see also Scott & Zeuske forthcoming.

Sabina (later Caracas). These landowners conveyed the title as a sale, at the price of 50 pesos for a vacant lot. Later, in June of 1883, Don Julian Romero sold similarly empty land to “the *morenas libres* Mónica and Victoria de la Torre ... who are from Africa.”⁵⁸ They were identified as being without profession, single, aged thirty and forty-four years, one a resident of Lajas, the other of Sagua la Grande. The seller, Romero, was born in Santa Clara, worked in the country, and had lived in Lajas. The land itself came from property that had previously belonged to Bárbara González, and it bordered the lot belonging to “la *morena* Antonia Terry.”⁵⁹ León and Natalia Fortún bought from the same Julian Romero a housing lot on which their descendants still live. The buyers were listed as being “the *morenos libres* Leon and Natalia Fortun, without second surnames, who are from Africa, single, forty and thirty-four years of age, dedicated to farm work, residents of the neighborhood of the Second District of Sagua la Grande.”⁶⁰ In these documents we see the full range of markers, from a famous “big” slave surname like Terry and explicit colonial color terms like *morenos libres*, to intimations of illegitimacy and former slave status in the phrase *sin segundos apellidos*.

Combining an analysis of rural Cuba’s microhistory with one of individual life histories illuminates the development of a new society and the shaping of a new racism that, in spite of the hidden nature of its emergence, forms part of the open secrets in Cuban history of the twentieth century. It was a racism that was voiced openly in the realm of culture, in the events of incarceration and death, including burial and pathology,⁶¹ and the institution of public health, as the research of recent scholars has shown (Helg 1995; Bronfman 2000). But the fiction of a race-blind republic was maintained within the civil and judicial spheres. In reality, however, to enter attain a status within the judicial world of this “race-blind” republic, former slaves would have to accept a new and different marker, the stigmatizing *s.o.a.*,

58. APC, Protocolos D. José Rafael Villafuerte y Castellanos, 1883, fols. 412r-415v, escritura no. 97 “Venta de terreno yermo,” Cienfuegos, June 14, 1883.

59. APC, Protocolos D. José Rafael Villafuerte y Castellanos, 1883, fols. 412r-415v, escritura no. 97 “Venta de terreno yermo,” Cienfuegos, June 14, 1883.

60. APC, Protocolos D. José Rafael Villafuerte y Castellanos, 1883, fols. 418r-421r, escritura no. 98 “Venta de solares yermos,” Cienfuegos, June 14, 1883.

61. See APC, Libro de Autopsías, Cienfuegos 1899-1922; APC Libro de Entierros, Cienfuegos 1898-1902.

designed to identify their names as incomplete⁶² and label their parentage as dishonorable. The words of Esteban Montejo (Barnet 1967:18)⁶³ clearly reflect the sentiment that could be evoked by such naming, and the resulting individual rebellion against this type of stigma: "Since I wanted to have two names like everybody else, so I wouldn't be called 'jungle baby,' I took that one [Mesa], and there it was."

62. This stigma developed in colonial times and turned into one of the most widespread signs of everyday racism and membership to the underclass in the Cuban republic between 1902 and 1959. The following commentary by Esther Pérez y Pérez (personal communication) about the end of this period is illustrative of the deep-rooted nature of the association: "Your comment on your *s.o.a.* [I had written to her that all Germans are 'without second surname.' If not, my full name in Castilian culture would be 'Michael Zeuske Ludwig.'] reminded me of something in my adolescence. As I had a very protected childhood of the Protestant middle class of Havana, as a girl I never got in contact with the *s.o.a.s.* But when I was nine the revolution triumphed and when I was eleven all private schools were closed, so I began to get in contact with everything. It was then that for the first time I was told by one of my classmates what that was, and what *s.o.a.* meant. And since it was a time of transgressions I started to tell everybody that I bore my mother's surname (which was technically true because my mother as well as my father are Pérez) hoping that I would be considered an illegitimate child which in my distorted adolescent imagination compensated for the comfortable life I had led and that was a terrible burden to me when I compared it with that of my new friends."

63. On individual naming processes (Montejo, Benny Moré) see Zeuske 2003.

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Yndice Alfabético y Defunciones del Ejército Libertador de Cuba. Datos compilados y ordenados por el Ynspector General del Ejército Libertador Mayor General Carlos Roloff y Mialofsky, ayudado del Jefe del Despacho, Comandante de Estado Mayor Gerardo Forrest, Editado oficialmente por disposición del General Leonard Wood, Gobernador Militar de Cuba, 1901. Havana: Ymprenta de Rambla y Bouza.

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