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Contesting Circuits of Empire: Afro-Caribbean Migrant Labor in Cuba, 1899-1958

Samuel Finesurrey

In December 1914, New York Financier and unofficial U.S. consul to Haiti Roger L. Farnham, helped convince Secretary of State Williams Jennings Bryan to send U.S. Marines into Haiti's Banque Nationale. Farnham made off with the modern equivalent of \$2.66 million dollars, which he deposited in National City Bank of New York where he served as Vice President. ⁱ Predictably, Haiti defaulted on its debt payments, which became part of the justification for the U.S. occupation of the nation lasted from 1915-1934.

The island that had been independent since the ousting of the French in a slave revolt over 100 years earlier, was now occupied by the United States. U.S. officials imposed upon Haitians a puppet President, the liquidation of their self-governing apparatus and a U.S. trained and managed police force. Haiti's infrastructure projects were built largely for foreign capital, under U.S. military or corporate supervision, and by exploited Haitian labor. The nation's roads were built by Haitians conscripted to work for U.S. army engineers and paid literally nothing.ⁱⁱ In Senate testimony Farnham revealed that occasionally Haitians conscripted to infrastructure projects were shot for attempting to escape. A few minutes later the bank executive lamented the difficulty he encountered in overcoming trust issues between Haitians and their U.S. occupiers. Farnham explained that Haitians worried that under the U.S. occupation "they would be made slaves. That is the fear that is uppermost in the minds of Haitians, as ignorant as they are."ⁱⁱⁱ

Farnham also served as President of the National Railroad of Haiti, an unusable and unfinished network of rail; he forced the Haitian government to pay him for the useless rail lines.^{iv} The railroad was designed to connect ports to coal deposits and agricultural regions deemed by Farnham to have potential for commercial enterprise.^v To be clear, these tracks were

not designed to connect a nation of people, but laid to capitalize on the extraction of resources. In the era of dollar diplomacy, Wall Street bankers like Farnham saw the Caribbean Basin as an open investment opportunity where the accumulation of capital would not be curbed by national borders, national sovereignty or the dignity of Caribbean workers.^{vi}

During Cuba's Republican Era, Anglo-American executives in Cuba exploited the networks of formal and informal empire to transport and employ workers from Haiti, as well as those from the Spanish and English-speaking Caribbean. The imperial appropriation of labor in pursuit of capital throughout the Caribbean altered the demographics, politics and culture of the region.^{vii} Mostly U.S. corporations brought Afro-Caribbean workers to Cuba to advance their corporate and geopolitical ambitions, with deeply racialized consequences. Afro-Caribbean migrants, unlike their Anglo-American bosses, faced reprisals from the Cuban government in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s when tens of thousands were deported back to their respective homelands due to the perception that they were competing with Cuban workers and lowering Cuban wages. This paper traces how U.S. corporations exploited U.S. and British empire in the Caribbean to consolidate influence and augment profits in Cuba. Through oral histories, archival research and a review of the existing scholarship this paper unveils the construction and contestation of Cuba's ethnonational hierarchies.

The Caribbean Comes to Cuba: The Long Arm of U.S. Imperialism

While Cuba certainly was not the only destination for Afro-Caribbean migrants in the early 20th century, it attracted a significant number of Afro-Caribbean workers due to the island's deep political and economic entanglements with the United States. After 1899 wealthy Cubans partnered with Anglo-American investors in pursuit of capital.^{viii} Out of self-interest, Cuban political leaders including Presidents José Miguel Gómez (1909-1913), Mario García Menocal

(1913-1921), Gerardo Machado (1925-1933), and Carlos Mendieta (1934-35) encouraged the consolidation of a sugar economy in part because they all worked as owners or high-ranking employees of Cuban or U.S. sugar mills in Cuba.^{ix}

Anglo-American and Cuban executives on the island profited by keeping their workforce divided along ethnonational lines and the legal status of their workers tenuous. Cuban politicians lined their own pockets and those of U.S. sugar corporations by sanctioning the migration of Afro-Caribbean labor. Hundreds of thousands of Afro-Caribbean workers arrived through private ports owned by companies including the Cuban-American Sugar Company and the United Fruit and Sugar Company. Many Cuban officials pursued a policy of plausible deniability by granting foreign companies control over how many people entered the country, where they lived and worked, and how many remained (legally or illegally) in Cuba.^x This made Afro-Caribbean labor in Cuba extremely vulnerable to the whims of their employers.

Many of the hundreds of thousands of British Caribbean workers who arrived in Cuba, through both private and public ports in the first decades of the 20th century, were seasonal workers, laboring through the sugar harvest and then returning home. After the abolition of slavery in the British Caribbean, Indian and Chinese workers came to their islands as contract labor to continue a tradition of exploited cane-cutters on large plantations. ^{xi} With U.S. capital in search of English-speaking labor at the turn of the 20th century, these British Afro-Caribbean workers found substantial opportunities outside of their islands of birth. After the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914, many West Indians resettled with large U.S. companies like the United Fruit and Sugar Company in Central America and Cuba.^{xii}

West Indians who arrived through public ports were technically secured a relatively protected status as British Subjects, but when in need, West Indians often found the British

authorities unresponsive to their plight.^{xiii} In August 1941, John Sawyer, a concerned North American lawyer, wrote the British Foreign Office about the desperate situation of West Indians at the Cuban American Sugar Company mill town of Delicias. Trying to draw attention to the crisis from those in the Foreign Office, Sawyer wrote, “England has hundreds of Subjects housed in Central Delicias [SIC] in an old fallen down Barracks in a very poor condition with very bad sanitary conditions, a great many on the verge of starvation, and many others just slowly starving to death.”^{xiv} Looking into the matter H.A. Hobson of the British Colonial Office admitted the situation was “deplorable,” but determined nothing could be done.^{xv} Despite hundreds of years of colonization, and over a century after the abolition of slavery, in the eyes of their British colonizers, West Indians remained expendable, even as these Afro-Caribbean workers faced harassment from Cubans and Haitians who accused them of ‘British arrogance.’^{xvi}

The U.S. occupation of Haiti (1915-1934) set the context for the population of largely uneducated Haitian laborers to serve foreign and domestic sugar corporations in Cuba. Haiti’s proximity to eastern Cuba, and the oppressive influence of the United States, made Haitian workers both accessible and vulnerable to the exploitative tactics of U.S. employers working less than 60 miles away in Cuba. In the early 1900s, U.S. contracting agents recruited Haitian labor for work in the cane-fields of Cuba.^{xvii} The United Fruit and Sugar Company and other large sugar companies paid contractors to find for them Haitian *braceros*. Placing a middle man between themselves and their workers, sugar corporations could wash their hands of the suffering these migrants endured.^{xviii}

Haitian migrants generally occupied the bottom rung of rural Cuban society. Lack of literacy combined with an inability to communicate with U.S. executives and their fellow Cubans. With often tenuous legal status Haitians were extremely vulnerable to exploitation and

wage theft. Locked in their roles as cane-cutters and denied paths toward social mobility, their vulnerability made them prized employees for U.S. executives in Cuba.^{xix}

In the 1920s, a labor shortage developed in Haiti. This was a decade in which close to 100,000 Haitians immigrated to Cuba.^{xx} Despite frequent mistreatment in Cuba, the work on the island to the northwest proved preferable to many Haitians than their lives under the U.S. occupation in their home nation.

Afro-Caribbean Hierarchies in Cuba

Cuban leaders who profited from Anglo-American influence typically looked the other way as foreign laborers were brought in to meet the needs of U.S. corporations. Even worse, Cuban powerbrokers would, as needed, scapegoat migrant labor to manage potential unrest among Cuban workers who were suffering. Declared a threat to Cuban workers, Afro-Caribbean labor became particularly vulnerable to the anti-immigrant nationalist purges of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.^{xxi} Drawn to Cuba by foreign and domestic executives and forced to mold to local conditions to fit corporate needs, these same workers were vilified and sacrificed by Cuban powerbrokers when the Cuban economy weakened.

Afro-Caribbean migrants, and especially Haitians *braceros* faced significant persecution in Cuba after the collapse of the sugar economy in the 1920s and the global depression in the 1930s. In 1928 over 15,000 *antillanos* were deported, the majority of whom came from Haiti. In October 1933, the revolutionary government of President Ramón Grau San Martín issued Decree 2232, declaring all destitute foreigners deportable. Grau's Decree 2583 mandated that all corporate enterprises must have at least a 50% Cuban workforce.^{xxii} These two decrees preceded the deportation of 8,000 Haitians during Grau's short rule between 1933-1934.^{xxiii} Thus, even before the U.S. occupation of Haiti ended in 1934, Haitians in Cuba became targets of anti-

immigrant campaigns. Their U.S. occupiers did next to nothing to protect them. While Haitians remained the prime target of this anti-immigrant legislation, these decrees undermined working-class and transnational solidarity by pitting desperate peoples against each other. Destitute Cuban laborers, including black Cubans, often accused Afro-Caribbean migrants of undermining both wages and job security.

While both West Indians and Haitians suffered under the anti-immigrant policies of the 20s, 30s and 40s, the two groups faced distinct legal challenges in Cuba. Though they were often inadequate, the efforts to secure decency for British West Indians in Cuba by the British Government could not be fully ignored by Cuban authorities. Afro-Caribbean populations from Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, and St. Lucia remained British Subjects until those islands achieved independence in the 1960s, after the Cuban Revolution took power. By contrast, the Cuban government significantly and publicly disrespected Haiti's diplomats; the delegation was not even informed of a new Cuban policy of deportation in 1937, which targeted Haitian migrants in Cuba.^{xxiv} The status of British Caribbean Subjects, while still precarious, proved far more secure than the status of the Haitian migrants in Cuba.

West Indian familiarity with British customs and an English-language education provided greater opportunities for their social mobility in Cuba than immigrants from Haiti or the Spanish Caribbean including Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and even, at times, Cubans. West Indians easily and comfortably communicated with British and U.S. executives. While a large percentage worked as cane-cutters, West Indians were commonly offered more secure positions as domestic servants, interpreters, nurses, mill workers, or ministers. These positions proved more lucrative and less physically demanding than cane-cutting.^{xxv}

A wide gap in literacy rates separated the Haitians from the British West Indian migrant population. The vast majority of Haitians arriving in Cuba in the 1910s and 1920s were illiterate.^{xxvi} By contrast just 9.3 percent of all British West Indians in Cuba were unable to read or write, rendering them more literate than the Cuban population.^{xxvii} Anglo-American agricultural executive George Harper explained, “Of all the nationalities the Haitians were the least educated...The Jamaicans were the most educated, to such an extent that they usually quit after a few days.”^{xxviii} These trends continued over time: the children of Haitians in Cuba were generally unable to attend school while British West Indians often found schools for their children through the Anglo-American dominated Episcopal Church in Cuba.

British colonialism augmented the desirability and availability of West Indian laborers for Anglo-American employers. This advantage paid dividends for migrants from the British Caribbean at Guantanamo Naval Base. In the 1920s and 1930s Puerto Ricans, who were U.S. citizens, expressed frustration that they had more trouble securing positions at the GTMO than West Indians who spoke English as their first language.^{xxix} The Haitian community surrounding the base faced even greater obstacles securing positions to service U.S. Naval personnel, even during the U.S. occupation of Haiti. Both Puerto Ricans and Haitians learned painfully that the ability to accommodate white U.S. citizens trumped their political and legal status as non-white and non-English-speaking U.S. citizens or subjects.

British Caribbean workers were often preferred as domestic servants for Anglo-American executives and diplomats throughout the island who did not speak Spanish. Margaret Benson came to Cuba when Esso Oil Company moved the family down in the mid-1950s. Esso was an English-speaking business environment. Margaret explained: “The reasons we hired the Jamaican was because they spoke English and Spanish.... It was easier for mom.”^{xxx} Many

privileged Anglo-American residents in Cuba lived in segregated settings, never learned Spanish and depended on their British West Indian servants to communicate with the outside world.^{xxx}

West Indians' ability to accommodate Anglo-American executives and their families created opportunities for limited social mobility, as well as some personal protections. Charles Ray, originally from St. Lucia, was fluent in English and therefore able to communicate effectively with Anglo-American management at the Cuban American Sugar Company. Hired originally as a cart driver in the mill town of Chaparra earning \$1.25 a day, after his father spoke to the mill manager, English-speaking Ray was placed in the lab. Ray remembers his own promotion from the lab when he encountered a U.S. chemist who did not speak Spanish. Ray explains, "He chose me to work with them there, as an interpreter." This very same North American chemist helped Ray forge his birth certificate to prevent deportation during the anti-Afro-Cuban purges of the late 1920s and 1930s. The altered document claimed Ray was Cuban so that he could maintain employment at the mill.^{xxxii} Within a highly stratified social hierarchy, British Caribbean Subjects were afforded privileges that non-British-subject Caribbean laborers in Cuba were not.

The Afro-Caribbean Diaspora Contests Empire

Despite their distinct colonial biographies and treatment within Cuba, both Haitian and West Indian immigrants confronted severe exploitation and hostility in Cuba, from the Cuban government, corporate executives and from other workers.^{xxxiii} A wave of anti-immigration laws criminalized large swaths of this community as Cubans themselves struggled in times of hardship. In response, Afro-Caribbean workers mobilized, resisted and contested harsh conditions in a number of ways.

The racialized experience of West Indian veterans in Europe who fought alongside the English during the World Wars left these men suspicious of the British government. Many no longer placed their faith in a continued relationship with England. Decrying the condition of British West Indian workers in Cuba, in 1938 WWI veteran Theophilus Samms from Central Victoria in Santa Clara wrote to the Colonial Secretary in London,

We have always been obedient to you and at any time of your distress. Many of our boys had been to your rescue in the world's war. Some of whom were slain in that battle. Others have returned to us and among them many are here [in Cuba] suffering the unconstitutional laws of the land. Why should our Emperor which is mighty not only in army and navy but a government that has billions of Pounds allow us to be here under these ferocious [illegible]. Why should you continue to purchase such a vast amount of Cuban Product? ^{xxxiv}

Frustrated with English inaction, Samms warned, "Remember Russia in the World War." ^{xxxv}

West Indians in Cuba began to question the value of their continued colonial ties with England.

Eventually—and inadequately—British officials responded to the conditions exposed by advocates like Samms. In a 1943 report issued by Sir Frank Stockdale, the British government laid out plans to relieve the West Indians in Cuba. Implemented over the course of two decades, 10,000 pounds annually would finance agricultural projects, as well as subsidize welfare for the elderly and those without work. ^{xxxvi} By the 1950s some of this money would be funneled through the Anglo-American Welfare Foundation of Havana to support a burial center for "colored nationals." ^{xxxvii} Another sign of disrespect to the Afro-Caribbean community in Cuba, white U.S., British and Canadian residents who were unaffiliated with the British Embassy became the legitimate, entrusted authorities who could allocate funds for the West Indian community.

Segregation by sugar companies strategically separated workers by ethnicity, language and country of origin, in terms of where they lived and worked, making it difficult for workers to unite in cross-cultural opposition to the policies of respective corporations. And yet there is

evidence of transnational organizing by Afro-Caribbean laborers in Eastern Cuba. British West Indian and Haitian *braceros* participated in strikes and seizures in late 1933 at a number of sugar mills, including the United Fruit and Sugar Company mills at Boston and Preston. Haitian laborers on Oriente's coffee estates ceased work as well. The nationalist purges of the Grau government in 1933 effectively undermined this transnational working-class solidarity.^{.xxxviii} Still, organizing continued in a variety of forms among Afro-Caribbean workers.

The status of West Indians in Cuba remained precarious both legally and economically. In response, British Caribbean workers sought to organize themselves. Fifty-two branches of Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Associations (UNIA) were started in Cuba, with one of the world's largest and longest lasting chapter established in Banes, Oriente on United Fruit and Sugar Company property.^{.xxxix} The pan-Africanist movement developed through UNIA and cultivated support networks by pooling the resources of the British Afro-Caribbean community to provide limited comfort for colonized subjects away from home. British Caribbean Subjects further organized the distribution of foreign residency cards, a sick fund, educational funds and worked to secure the legal status of their fellow West Indians in Cuba. They worked with the Salvation Army and the British Government to secure temporary cost-free room and board for West Indian migrants in need.^{.xl}

More than any other Afro-Caribbean group in Cuba, Haitians faced severe challenges throughout the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. In response Haitians developed networks through which they exchanged information to secure safety, better wages and fairer treatment in Cuba. Haitian contractors, at times, informed cane-cutters about opportunities for higher pay scales and better working conditions on other plantations.^{.xli} During immigrant crackdowns Haitians took refuge in rural communities, outside the reach of Cuban authorities.^{.xlii}

Conclusions

Despite being abused by the networks of formal and informal empire and sacrificed by Cuban politicians, Afro-Caribbean immigrants to Cuba carved a space for themselves, altering the island and the Caribbean basin in the process. With the threat of deportation diminishing throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the Afro-Caribbean population survived on the island. More than 27,000 people of Haitian descent remained in Cuba in 1953.^{xliii} Most of the nearly 15,000 people in Cuba from British Commonwealth in the 1953 census were Afro-Caribbean British Subjects.^{xliv} Exploited by the Cuban government, U.S. corporations and discriminated against by fellow workers, these Afro-Caribbean laborers organized and resisted, helping to destabilize Cuban social and economic arrangements, contributing to the rise of revolutionary socio-economic and political changes after 1959.

i Thomas M. Leonard, "Roger Farnham," *Encyclopedia of U.S.-Latin American Relations*. At: <http://sk.sagepub.com/cqpress/encyclopedia-of-us-latin-american-relations/n312.xml>

ii Senate Hearings, "Statement of Mr. Roger L Farnham, Inquiry Into Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo," US Select Committee on Haiti and Santo Domingo. S. Res. 112, October 4, 1921. 114.

iii Ibid.

iv Thomas M. Leonard, ed. *Encyclopedia of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, Found at: <http://sk.sagepub.com/cqpress/encyclopedia-of-us-latin-american-relations/n312.xml>

v Senate Hearings, "Statement of Mr. Roger L Farnham, Inquiry Into Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo," US Select Committee on Haiti and Santo Domingo. S. Res. 112, October 4, 1921. 105-125

vi Peter James Hudson, *Bankers and Empire: How Wall Street Colonized the Caribbean* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

vii Oscar Zanetti and Alejandro García, *United Fruit Company: un caso del dominio imperialista en Cuba* (La Habana, Cuba: Ciencias Sociales, 1976); Robert Whitney and Graciela Chailloux Laffita, *Subjects or Citizens: British Caribbean Workers in Cuba, 1900-1960* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2013); Zanetti, *Sugar and Railroads*; José Vega Suñol, *Norteamericanos en Cuba*; Rachel M. Hynson, "Profile of José Vega Suñol: Las claves del diálogo están en la independencia," *Cuban Studies* 40 (2009): 104-111, 206; Thomas R. Winpenny, "Milton S. Hershey Ventures into Cuban Sugar," *Pennsylvania History* 62, no. 4 (October 1995): 491-502; Hobart A. Spalding Jr., *Organized Labor in Latin America*, (New York, NY: Harper Torchbooks, 1977).

viii Vega Suñol, *Norteamericanos en Cuba*; López-Fresquet, *My Fourteen Months with Castro*, 38.

ix Imiley Balboa Navarro, "Steeds, Cocks, and Guayaberas: The Social Impact of Agrarian Reorganization in the Republic," in *State of Ambiguity, Civil Life and Culture in Cuba's First Republic* ed. Steven Palmer, José Antonio Piqueras, and Amparo Sánchez Cobos (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015): 216-223.

x Whitney, 117

xi Tracey E. Graham, "Jamaican migration to Cuba, 1912-1940" Unpublished Dissertation, (The University of Chicago, 2013), 13-14

- xii A few months after the massacres of Afro-Cubans in 1912, the Cuban Government allowed the importation of West Indian contract workers into Cuba by The United Fruit and Sugar Company. Graham, 13-14
- xiii Robert Whitney and Graciela Chailoux Laffita explain, "Over the years, huge enterprises such as the Cuban-American Sugar Company or United Fruit Company imported hundreds of thousands of foreign workers through private ports, and the Cuban government had little if any control over or information about how many people entered the country, where they lived and worked, and how many remained (legally or illegally) in the country." Arriving through these means generally meant sacrificing protections typically available to British subjects. Whitney, *Subjects or Citizens*, 63, 117.
- xiv John C. Sawyer to Anthony Eden, Secretary of the Foreign Office, London, August 30, 1941, British National Archives, Colonial Office, quoted in Whitney, *Subjects or Citizens*, 67-68.
- xv H.A. Hobson, dispatch no. 32, to Anthony Eden, December 3, 1941, British National Archives, Colonial Office, 318/453/14/119685, quoted in Whitney, *Subjects or Citizens*, 67-78.
- xvi *Ibid.*, 84-85.
- xvii Zanetti, *Sugar and Railroads*, 243-245.
- xviii Oscar Zanetti Lecuona, "La United Fruit Company en Cuba: Organización del trabajo y resistencia obrera" *Clío América*, Universidad del Magdalena. 245
- xix Casey points out that many Haitians were able to climb out of these roles taking jobs as recruiters, ox-drivers, mill-workers, and domestic servants, although the vast majority cut cane. Casey, "Haitians' Labor and Leisure on Cuban Sugar Plantations: The Limits of Company Control," 9, 13.
- xx John H. Russell to Secretary of State, February 29, 1928, 837.5538/4; Sommers, "The U.S. Power Elite and the Political Economy of Haiti's Occupation: Investment, Race, and World Order," 62; *Inmigración y movimiento de pasajeros año de 1929 y comparaciones con el año de 1928* (La Habana, Cuba: Secretaría de hacienda seccion de estadística, 1930).
- xxi Marc C. McLeod "Undesirable Aliens: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism in the Comparison of Haitian and British West Indian Immigrant Workers in Cuba, 1912-1939; Whitney, *Subjects or Citizens*, 60-61.
- xxii Doctor Enrique Gay Calbó and Dr. Herminio Rodríguez Con Sobotker, "A Statement of Cuban Law In Matters Affecting Business in it Various Aspects and Activities" Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Development Commission, 1946. University of Miami, Cuban Heritage Collection. 71-72
- xxiii Marc C. McLeod "Undesirable Aliens: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism in the Comparison of Haitian and British West Indian Immigrant Workers in Cuba, 1912-1939. 602
- xxiv McLeod, 612
- xxv Whitney, *Subjects or Citizens*, 58, 162.
- xxvi *Inmigración y movimiento de pasajeros año de 1912* (La Habana, Cuba: Secretaría de hacienda seccion de estadística, 1913); *Inmigración y movimiento de pasajeros año de 1913* (La Habana, Cuba: Secretaría de hacienda seccion de estadística, 1914); *Inmigración y movimiento de pasajeros año de 1914* (La Habana, Cuba: Secretaría de hacienda seccion de estadística, 1915); *Inmigración y movimiento de pasajeros año de 1915* (La Habana, Cuba: Secretaría de hacienda seccion de estadística, 1916); *Inmigración y movimiento de pasajeros año de 1916* (La Habana, Cuba: Secretaría de hacienda seccion de estadística, 1917); *Inmigración y movimiento de pasajeros año de 1917* (La Habana, Cuba: Secretaría de hacienda seccion de estadística, 1918); *Inmigración y movimiento de pasajeros año de 1918* (La Habana, Cuba: Secretaría de hacienda seccion de estadística, 1919); *Inmigración y movimiento de pasajeros año de 1919* (La Habana, Cuba: Secretaría de hacienda seccion de estadística, 1920); *Inmigración y movimiento de pasajeros año de 1920* (La Habana, Cuba: Secretaría de hacienda seccion de estadística, 1921).
- xxvii McLeod, Pérez-Stable, *The Cuban Revolution*, 27-28.
- xxviii Memoir of George Harper, From George "Rocky" Harper
- xxix Whitney, *Subjects or Citizens*, 40-50.
- xxx Jim and Margaret Benson, interview by author, September 12, 2016, Fuquay-Varina, NC.
- xxxi Cathy Brown Crescioni, interview by author, August 22, 2016, Champlin, MN.
- xxxii Whitney, *Subjects or Citizens*, 135-136.
- xxxiii It was taken as fact in many circles that these migrants practiced witchcraft, brought diseases and their promiscuity was undermining Cuban society. There was a fear that the presence of these black workers could lead to revolt like the one experienced in Haiti. Black arrivals in the 1910s and 1920s were often subjected to a period of quarantine by Cuban authorities. Marc C. McLeod "Undesirable Aliens: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism in the Comparison of Haitian and British West Indian Immigrant Workers in Cuba, 1912-1939. 601.
- xxxiv Theophilus Samms to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, April 29, 1938, British National Archives, Foreign Office, 371/21449, quoted in Whitney, *Subjects or Citizens*, 79-80.

- xxxv Theophilus Samms to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, April 29, 1938, British National Archives, Foreign Office, 371/21449, quoted in Whitney, *Subjects or Citizens*, 79-80.
- xxxvi Sir Frank Stockdale, "Report on the Present Conditions of the British West Indian Community in Cuba," July 21, 1943, Kew National Archives, London, England, CO 318/453/14.
- xxxvii "Make No Mistake," *Times of Havana*, March 31, 1958, 6; "Welfare Activities of AAC Community," *Times of Havana*, April 14, 1958, 9.
- xxxviii Zanetti, *Sugar and Railroads*, 248-250; McLeod, 604
- xxxix Whitney, *Subjects or Citizens*, 10.
- xl Whitney 168-185
- xli Casey, "Haitians' Labor and Leisure on Cuban Sugar Plantations," 19.
- xlili McLeod, 613-614
- xliv Oficina Nacional de los Censos Demográfico y Electoral, *Censos de población, viviendas y electoral* (La Habana, Cuba: Tribunal Superior Electoral, 1953), 81.