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The United States and Cuba:  
A Study of the US's First Military Occupation and State Building Efforts

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A thesis  
presented to  
the faculty of the Department of History  
East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree  
Master of Arts in History

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by  
James D. Guillard II  
December 2020

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Keywords: Cuba, high modernism, state building

## ABSTRACT

The United States and Cuba:

A Study of the US's First Military Occupation and State Building Efforts

by

James D. Guillard II

This paper examines the US-Cuban relationship during the first military occupation of Cuba from 1898 to 1902, to show the role of high modernist state building in the occupation and the scope of Cuban participation in this endeavor. This is evidenced by heavily examining the annual reports of the US Military Governor General of Cuba and the US appointed civil secretaries of the Cuban government. This research differs from previous studies in the field by introducing James C. Scott's concepts of legibility and high modernist state building, as well as suggesting that the Cuban civil secretaries participated within a limited scope to help form an independent republic.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT..... 2

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION ..... 5

    High Modernism Defined ..... 7

    Historiography ..... 8

    Early US-Cuba Relations ..... 15

    War for Independence..... 18

    Condition of Cuban Provinces After the War..... 23

CHAPTER 2. AS HIGH AS IT CAN GO ..... 26

    Department of State and Government..... 28

    Department of Finance..... 31

    Department of Justice ..... 36

    Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries..... 39

    Department of Public Instruction..... 40

    Department of Public Works ..... 43

CHAPTER 3. EVERYONE GETS TO PARTICIPATE..... 47

    Participation in the Department of State and Government ..... 47

    Participation in the Department of Finance ..... 50

    Participation in the Department of Justice ..... 52

    Participation in the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries ..... 54

    Participation in the Department of Public Instruction ..... 56

    Participation in the Department of Public Works ..... 59

    The Numbers Do Not Lie ..... 61

CHAPTER 4. .... 65

    CONCLUSION..... 65

EPILOGUE..... 67

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 70

VITA..... 77

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The history of United States-Cuban relations is full of intricacies that have only been partially studied, leaving a large swath of history unexamined. In an effort to rectify this, this paper examines the United States-Cuban relationship during the US's first military occupation of Cuba from 1898 to 1902. Examining this relationship will show that the United States' state building efforts in Cuba between 1898 and 1902 reflected an effort to instill a high modernist agenda aimed at legibility and how the Cubans participated in the US's state building process within the framework of a limited republic. The Cuban civil secretaries' annual reports illustrate the US's high modernist state building efforts and Cuban participation in the process. Exploring these reports provides a perspective of the US's high modernist efforts on the ground level, which helps this research differ from previous studies.

High modernism is a strong belief in scientific and technological advancement, the ability to bolster production, meet people's needs, and conquer nature via the rational design of work and the social order according to scientific principles.<sup>1</sup> High modernism appropriates its legitimacy from science and technology, but it is not "science."<sup>2</sup> This ideology is uncritical and overly optimistic about the extensive planning of communities and production. High modernism produces the motivation and schemes for social engineering projects.

This work defines state building, in the Cuban case, as the deliberate effort by a foreign power to construct or install the institutions of a national government, according to a model that may be more familiar to the foreign power but is often considered foreign, and even

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<sup>1</sup> Robert L. Wears and Garth S. Hunte, "Seeing Patient Safety 'Like a State,'" *Safety Science* 67, no. 3 (August 2014): 50–57, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssci.2014.02.007>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

destabilizing.<sup>3</sup> State building operations are conducted via armed military forces and US-appointed civilian personnel to push reforms in a state's political and economic sectors.<sup>4</sup> State building occurs in the post-conflict phase of military operations and requires a variety of skills to create and maintain stability in the area of operations.<sup>5</sup>

The term high modernist state building comes from James C. Scott's work *Seeing Like a State*. This work has steadily made its way through academic circles, and its incorporation into the study of the US occupation of Cuba marks an exciting new chapter for the field. The scholarship in this paper generates excitement because even though Scott released *Seeing Like A State* in 1998, scholars have yet to include Scott's ideas in studying the US's military occupations of Cuba. By introducing these ideas to the field, this work will incorporate the ideas of authoritarian high modernism, which has been utilized in other fields of study for years.<sup>6</sup> Introducing these ideas will help bring the study of the US's occupation of Cuba into the current historical discussion on state building.

This paper begins by explaining James C. Scott's concept of high modernism. From here, the paper examines the historiography. Then it provides a brief history of the relationship between the US and Cuba before the Spanish-American War, establishing the connection that drew the US into the war for an independent Cuba and how events within the war helped to bring about the US occupation of Cuba from 1898 to 1902. This work then explores the US's first military occupation of Cuba by studying the Cuban civil secretaries' annual reports. These

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<sup>3</sup> LTC. Margaret Romero, United States Airforce, "Assessing Post Conflict State Building Efforts," United States Army War College, 2013. <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a590669.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Scott's concept of high modernist state building can be seen in articles on hospital administration, such as Robert L. Wears and Garth S. Hunte, "Seeing Patient Safety 'Like a State,'" *Safety Science* 67, no. 3 (August 2014): 50–57, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssci.2014.02.007>.

reports help show the US's high modernist state building efforts aimed at legibility and how the Cubans participated in the state building process within the framework of a limited republic, which differs from how most scholars have used these same reports.

### *High Modernism Defined*

In *Seeing Like a State*, James C. Scott writes that there are four elements that, when combined, make a state building project a failure. Upon examining the US's occupation of Cuba, two of these elements become readily apparent through analysis of the annual reports of the civil secretaries of Cuba. This is not to say that the occupation failed due to the inclusion of these two elements, but that the elements of legibility and high modernist ideologies played a large role in the US occupation. Scott's first element is the ordering of man and nature, better known as legibility. Scott defines legibility as a way "to arrange the population in ways that simplified the classic state functions of taxation, conscription, and prevention of rebellion."<sup>7</sup> Scott likens legibility to creating a map of the people; the map cannot accurately represent the activity of a given society, but it does provide the information the state is interested in, and when paired with the state's power, it allows for the state to restructure and reorganize society.<sup>8</sup> Cadastral maps provide one example of legibility. These maps present government with information about real property within a given area. Cadastral maps detail who owns the property, the boundaries of the property, and various land features. With the information provided by cadastral maps, the government increases its capability to tax its citizens, keep track of where people live, and gather vital statistics about the population.

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<sup>7</sup> James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale Agrarian Studies (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1998), 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

The second element is a high modernist ideology. To help readers understand the proponents of high modernism, Scott states that this group of people saw rational order in a visually geometric sense. He suggests that to them, a city that appears regimented and orderly in a geometrical sense was efficient and rationally organized.<sup>9</sup> This element compliments legibility.

The third element in Scott's theory consists of an authoritarian government willing to use its full force to bring high modernist ideologies to fruition. He suggests that the combination of elements only has the potential to become deadly when the first two elements combine with an authoritarian government willing to force its high modernist plans onto people with its entire might. This element holds close ties to the final element, a population that cannot resist the high modernist plans.

Legibility creates the capability to conduct social engineering projects, high modernism produces the motivation and the schemes, the authoritarian state furnishes the resolve to carry out the high modernist plans, and the prostrate society provides little resistance.<sup>10</sup> This examination of Cuba, finds legibility, a vital component of statecraft, and high modernist ideologies in the US's approach to establishing the Cuban government in a regimented and orderly fashion based on the US's beliefs on government structure.

### *Historiography*

Many historians have extensively documented the relationship between the United States and Cuba; however, only a limited number of studies focused on the US's first military occupation of Cuba. A substantial portion of these works focus on periods of Cuban history that

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<sup>9</sup> Scott, *Seeing like a State*, 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

occurred before or after the US's military occupation of Cuba from 1898 to 1902, only a limited number of studies focused on the occupation itself. As a result of this, the study of the US's military occupation of Cuba has remained stagnant with few significant developments in recent years.

The study of the United States' three military occupations of Cuba began in earnest in the 1930s with historians such as Russell H. Fitzgibbon. The study of these occupations continued and reached its peak from the 1960s to the early 1980s, with authors such as Allan R. Millett and Philip Foner contributing to the field. After the late 1970s and early 1980s, historians have largely neglected the US's occupations of Cuba in the early twentieth century. While there have been some journal articles and books written since then, none of these truly altered how historians discuss the occupations. Another issue in this field of study is the perspective from which historians examine the occupations. Most studies published from the 1960s to 1980s provided readers with an American-centric perspective of events and did not include a Cuban viewpoint. These issues severely hindered the study of the United States' occupation of Cuba and the broader fields of US state building and Cuban history.

Russell Fitzgibbon began writing during the infancy of the field of Cuban history. He helped establish the study of the United States' occupations of Cuba and contributed the tenth published work on Cuban history.<sup>11</sup> Fitzgibbon undertook this work with an Americanist perspective and aimed to fill in the gaps in knowledge surrounding the US's occupations of Cuba, create a comprehensive work that covered the politico-economic situation between the US and Cuba in the twentieth century, survey Cuban-American relations, and examine how the

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<sup>11</sup> David A. Lockmiller, review of *Cuba and the United States 1900-1935*, by Russell H. Fitzgibbon, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 18, no. 1 (1938): 81–83, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2507312>.

relationship fits into the US policy for the Caribbean.<sup>12</sup> Fitzgibbon looked at the strengthening of political and economic ties between the US and Cuba during the US's first occupation of Cuba. He specifically scrutinized the Platt Amendment and stated that it made Cuba an unofficial protectorate of the US once the occupation ended, allowing the US to intervene in Cuba in 1906 and 1917. He openly critiqued and praised both Cuban and American leadership. Fitzgibbon provided a comprehensive history of Cuba and the United States that scholars rarely produce in the current field of study.

Allan R. Millett also held a considerable amount of weight in the study of the US's occupations of Cuba as one of the prominent diplomatic historians of the 1960s. Although he wrote this work during the height of the field and it suffers from biases, it still holds value for scholars examining the US's second occupation of Cuba.<sup>13</sup> The work examined American civil/military relationships during the second occupation of Cuba and the use of US forces as a tool of national policy.<sup>14</sup> Many historians recommend this work for its insight into the American side of the occupation and its in-depth analysis of American politics and diplomacy.<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, Millett's work provided a clear explanation of the difference in policies between the US occupation force and that of the Cuban people, the occupation force and politicians in Washington D.C., and the effects of the conflicting policies on the occupation.<sup>16</sup> In addition to this, Millett's work introduced new sources into the field, and the format structure

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<sup>12</sup> Russell H. Fitzgibbon, *Cuba and the United States 1900-1935* (New York: Russell and Russell Inc., 1964), vii-viii.

<sup>13</sup> For historians similar to Allen R. Millett see H. Wayne Morgan, John D. Hicks, and David F. Healy.

<sup>14</sup> Alan R. Millett, *The Politics of Intervention: The Military Occupation of Cuba, 1906-1909* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1968), vii.

<sup>15</sup> David D. Burks, review of *The Politics of Intervention: The Military Occupation of Cuba, 1906-1909*, by Allan R. Millett, *The American Historical Review* 75, no. 3 (February 1970): 966-67, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1854682>.

<sup>16</sup> Kenneth J. Grieb, review of *The Politics of Intervention. The Military Occupation of Cuba, 1906-1909*, by Allan R. Millett, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 49, no. 3 (August 1969): 569, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2511830>.

helped create a precise analysis of US policy and occupation efforts. These contributions helped keep the study of the US's military occupations of Cuba alive and allowed them to progress. He argued that Theodore Roosevelt was unenthusiastic about the US's second intervention in Cuba and that the Cuban government and the opposition believed that they would profit from US intervention.<sup>17</sup>

Millett looked at the civil/military relationship during the second occupation of Cuba throughout his book, but also discussed the first occupation. During his examination of the first occupation, Millett discussed the relationship between the Cuban people and the US military government, stating that many Cubans felt partial towards the government and built a cooperative relationship with General John Brooke.<sup>18</sup> Millett also stated that the US had an authoritarian government in place because a state building project like the one Cuba underwent required it.<sup>19</sup> He supported these claims with letters and diaries from US military officers that functioned as government officials during the occupation.

Philip Foner's work helped fill in the gaps in knowledge surrounding events leading to the first occupation brought a perspective to the study of the Spanish-Cuban-American War and the ensuing occupation.<sup>20</sup> Foner's work provided readers with a revisionist history from a Marxist viewpoint seen as hypercritical of Americanist historians and their contributions to the study of the US's occupation of Cuba.

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<sup>17</sup> Dexter Perkins, review of *Review The Politics of Intervention: The Military Occupation of Cuba, 1906-1909*, by Allan Reed Millett, *The Journal of American History* 55, no. 4 (March 1969): 884, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1900190>.

<sup>18</sup> Millett, *Politics*, 30.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>20</sup> Philip Sheldon Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, 1895-1902*, vol. 1, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), vii.

The central tenets of Foner's work altered the study of Cuban-American relations and the US's military occupations of Cuba. Within this work, Foner addresses the willful ignorance of scholars that excluded foreign sources and, more importantly, excluded the Cuban perspective and only referred to the Cuban people in derogatory terms, thus taking away the Cuban people's agency.<sup>21</sup> In conjunction with critiquing other scholars, particularly Americanists, Foner also discussed the four biggest misconceptions that dominated the field at the time. Foner played a significant role in redirecting the field's shape and its later development by calling attention to these misconceptions.

Foner used his work to correct the largest misconceptions in the field. When Foner published *The Spanish-Cuban American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, 1895-1902*, many historians believed the following ideas: that the Cuban Revolutionary Army consisted of a ragtag group of individuals that just burned down plantations, that the declining price of sugar caused the war, that the Cubans were unable to win the war against Spain without the US, and that the Cubans begged for the US to intervene. Foner addressed these ideas by using sources from Spain and Cuba that provided evidence to the contrary and painted the Cuban Revolutionary Army as a capable guerilla force fighting against the tyranny of Spain, with leaders that did not beg for US intervention and, given more time, could have won without US assistance.

Foner's discussion of the military occupation thoroughly covered the fundamental aspects of the occupation. However, his discussion surrounding the Platt Amendment showed off his real academic strength. He followed the Platt Amendment's evolution and the US's struggle to force

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<sup>21</sup> Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War*, vii-viii.

the Cubans to accept it into the Cuban Constitution. Foner provided historians who came after him the opportunity to correct these ideas and move forward in the field.

One of the more prominent Latin-Americanists scholars of Cuba is Louis Pérez. The works produced by Pérez contributed significantly to the study of US relations with Cuba and altered the Latin-Americanist approach to the study of Cuba. Pérez's 1983 work *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902*, expanded scholars' understanding of how the US exploited the divisions within the ranks of Cuba's insurgent leadership to advance US interests in Cuba. The work also helped readers understand how US troops viewed the Cuban rebels after arriving in Cuba and the evolution of how the US military viewed Cuban troops, giving insight into why Pérez believed the relationship between Cuban and US troops became adversarial in nature.<sup>22</sup> Pérez referenced accounts from soldiers and reporters from both the US and Cuba to illustrate the relationship between the US and Cuban armies during and after the war. Pérez helped to advance the scholarship and understanding of the relationship between the US troops and the Cuban people, which began to explain where the distrust and resentment between them originated.<sup>23</sup> He also argued that the US's military occupation of Cuba meant to prepare Cuba for independence per the Teller Amendment, but the occupation also acted as a precursor to annexation.<sup>24</sup>

Pérez's work suggested that the US's intervention and occupation of Cuba delayed the Cuban dream of total independence until 1935. One of the broader reasons he believed this to be true is the Platt Amendment, which he described in detail and referred to throughout his book *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902*. In his work *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular*

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<sup>22</sup> Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902* (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983), 198-220.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, xviii.

*Intimacy*, Pérez discussed the cooperative efforts between the US and Cuba. He claimed that Cubans that cooperated with the US tended to hold political positions and get ahead financially. He also suggested that cooperation with the US became a pillar of Cuban political life as a way to get ahead.<sup>25</sup> The work also discussed how the US used US-educated Cubans with loyalties to both the US and Cuba to fill positions of power and act as intermediaries between the US military government and the separatists.<sup>26</sup>

Ada Ferrer, another scholar of US-Cuban relations, examined the way race factored into the Cuban insurgency. This idea that race played a role in the insurgency challenged the Americanist ideas of US imperialism as the dominant factor in the fight for Cuban freedom. Ferrer suggested that scholars needed to look beyond the standard Americanist views and examine how Spain's idea of Cuba being either Spanish or African during a time full of slave rebellions led to the various races of Cuba banding together to break away from Spain and become Cuban.<sup>27</sup> Ferrer's book critiqued multiple Americanist scholars' works, one of the more notable works being Foner's.

Few, if any of these historians went outside of the diplomatic approach, leaving the field of early US-Cuban relations stagnant with growth potential. This work in particular, incorporates James C. Scott's concept of high modernism to explore its role during US state building operations in Cuba.

Adding the concept of high modernism to the study of the occupations helps provide a new understanding of the US approach to state building in Cuba. Applying Scott's legibility

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<sup>25</sup> Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 116.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 115-116.

<sup>27</sup> Jules R. Benjamin, review of *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898*, by Ada Ferrer, *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 4 (March 2001): 1520-1521, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2674822>.

concept helps show how and why the government attempted to create a top-down, from the center view of the people. Bringing Scott's concept of legibility into the conversation, adds to the understanding of how the state functions and what it needs to function. Introducing Scott's concepts of high modernism and legibility, while suggesting that the cooperative relationship between the US and the Cuba civil secretaries allowed them to shape the US's state building efforts within the US's high modernist state building framework, holds the potential to shift the way historians approach the US occupation of Cuba.

### *Early US-Cuba Relations*

Early nineteenth-century US-Cuban relations reeked of US imperialist designs. As far back as President Thomas Jefferson, the US considered how to acquire Cuba from Spain. For much of the nineteenth-century, this thought continued to permeate US-Cuban relations. Letters from Thomas Jefferson to John Stuart in 1786 showed that some US politicians believed that purchasing Cuba from Spain potentially served the US's economic and military interests because the US could seize control over the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>28</sup> The US broke Europe's hold over the New World by issuing the Monroe Doctrine. This doctrine demanded separate spheres of influence for the Americas and Europe, an end to colonization, and non-intervention in the American sphere of influence, and positioned the US to become the predominate influencer and trading partner of former colonies in the Caribbean and Latin America.<sup>29</sup> In volumes six through twelve of John Quincy Adams's memoirs, multiple entries from his diaries indicated that the US intended to

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<sup>28</sup> Esteban Morales Dominguez and Gary Prevost, *United States-Cuba Relations: A Critical History* (New York: Lexington Books, 2008), 4.

<sup>29</sup> Office of the Historian, "Milestones: 1801–1829 - Monroe Doctrine, 1823," Government, Milestones: 1801–1829 - Office of the Historian, n.d., <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1801-1829/monroe>.

acquire Cuba, but the acquisition depended on timing and favorable conditions.<sup>30</sup> Sources such as these highlight the US's imperialist designs on Cuba from the late eighteenth-century through the first half of the nineteenth-century.

In the late 1840s and the 1850s, Cuba became the center of many discussions among members of the United States Senate. Prior to the US Civil War, many southerners saw Cuba as a solution to the debate over slavery. Some southern politicians, such as Albert Brown, wanted to add Cuba to the Union and use it as a place to send the South's black population once slavery ended.<sup>31</sup> Others saw Cuba as a potential slave state that could support their stance on the issues of slavery.<sup>32</sup> During the 1850s, the US government considered purchasing Cuba outright from Spain, but Spain refused. At the same time, US citizens funded expeditions headed by Narciso López to capture Cuba by force. López's crowd-funded expeditions continued until he died in 1851.<sup>33</sup> The US government condemned López's actions, threatened to arrest anyone involved with the attacks, and made it public knowledge that the US no longer viewed acquiring Cuba as a priority. However, by 1853 the Democratic party took control of the government and announced Cuba's annexation as a top priority.<sup>34</sup>

The US stance on expansion into Cuba shifted once again following the Civil War. Once slavery ended, and with it the need to add slave states, many southern politicians no longer desired to add Caribbean or Latin American countries to the Union, seeing the countries'

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<sup>30</sup> Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848*, vol. 6-12, 12 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1875), <https://books.google.com/books?id=KPQrq0LBvbYC&pg=PP9#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

<sup>31</sup> Lars Schoultz, *Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1998), 51.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>33</sup> Robert Granville Caldwell, *The Lopez Expeditions to Cuba, 1848-1851* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915), 54.

<sup>34</sup> Schoultz, *Beneath the United States*, 52.

inhabitants as lesser and unable to participate in a republic.<sup>35</sup> Historians also identify the visible shift in ideology during the Grant administration, 1869 to 1877, when the US refused to provide military support to a rebellion in Cuba and instead offered to negotiate with Spain for Cuban independence.<sup>36</sup>

Under the Grant administration, trade relations with Cuba improved considerably. Louis A. Pérez states, “By 1877, the United States accounted for 82 percent of Cuba’s total exports, followed by Spain (6 percent) and England (4 percent).”<sup>37</sup> The years of trade helped strengthen ties between the US and Cuba, which led to US politicians calling to expand the navy and increase coaling stations in the 1880s. This began reigniting imperialist ideas.<sup>38</sup> The close trade ties, expansion of naval assets, and resurging imperialist ideas converged and gave partial cause for the US to join the Cuban fight for independence.

As many historians mentioned in works related to the Spanish-Cuban-American War, the US had taken a keen interest in Cuban sugar production prior to the war. Scholars consistently cite US interest in Cuban sugar as one of the primary reasons the US joined the war against Spain. Cuban sugar production skyrocketed after the emancipation of slaves in Cuba.<sup>39</sup> In 1892, plantations produced around one million tons of sugar.<sup>40</sup> The US responded to the increased sugar production by providing favorable tariffs to Cuban sugar manufacturers, which increased US imports of Cuban sugar.<sup>41</sup> The War with Spain devastated the sugar industry: of the five

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<sup>35</sup> Schoultz, *Beneath the United States*, 78-79.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 79-80.

<sup>37</sup> Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 84.

<sup>38</sup> Schoultz, *Beneath the United States*, 85-90.

<sup>39</sup> Cesar J. Ayala, “Social and Economic Aspects of Sugar Production in Cuba, 1880-1930,” *Latin American Research Review* 30, no. 1 (1995), 1; For more information on the emancipation of slaves in Cuba see Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899*, New pbk. ed. (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985).

<sup>40</sup> Ayala, “Social and Economic Aspects,” 1.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

hundred seventy sugar mills in Cuba ere the war, only one hundred two functioned by the end of the war.<sup>42</sup> Some historians consider this blow to the import of sugar to the US as a catalyst for the US entering the war, while others suggest that the US invaded Cuba to protect American businessmen that invested in Cuban sugar production.<sup>43</sup> The National Congress of Cuban Historians of 1947 believed that Cuba became an economic colony of the US by 1895 due to the US's heavy involvement in sugar economics, which supports the claim that the US intervened in the Spanish-Cuban-American War due to sugar.<sup>44</sup> However, other historians such as Foner oppose the idea that sugar was the sole reason for US intervention. He pointed to a slew of other factors that seemed causation enough to go to war when combined with the issues that surrounded sugar.<sup>45</sup>

### *War for Independence*

From Cuba's discovery in the fifteenth century until the end of the Spanish-Cuban-American War in 1898, Spain held Cuba as a colony of the Spanish Empire. Spain officially granted Cuba independence on December 10, 1898, after the US and Spain signed a peace treaty that concluded the Spanish-Cuban-American War.<sup>46</sup> The Spanish-Cuban-American War had its roots in 1895 with the start of the Second Cuban Insurrection led by José Martí, Máximo Gómez, and Antonio Maceo.

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<sup>42</sup> Ayala, "Social and Economic Aspects," 2.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>44</sup> Dennis B. Wood, "The Long Revolution: Class Relations and Political Conflict in Cuba, 1868-1968," *Science & Society* 34, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 6, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40401461>.

<sup>45</sup> Robert Freeman Smith, review of *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, 1895-1902*, by Philip Foner, *The Hispanic American Review* 53, no. 4 (Nov. 1973): 697-699, doi:10.2307/2511925.

<sup>46</sup> *Treaty with Spain* (Hoboken, NJ: Generic NL Freebook Publisher, n.d.), <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip.shib&db=nlebk&AN=2008624&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

The Second Cuban Insurrection, another term for the War for Independence, was incredibly brutal. The Spanish occupiers created abhorrent conditions for the people of the island. They practiced forced population transfers, treated the citizens as sub-human, killed, raped, pillaged, starved people, and allowed for disease to become a severe threat to the island's population, among various other atrocities.

The Second Cuban Insurrection officially began on February 24, 1895, but its' roots go back to the Ten Years' War, 1868 to 1878, and the fight for Cuban independence from Spain. The Ten Years' War failed to bring independence to Cuba for several reasons, with an internal conflict between rebel leadership as one of the most frequently cited reasons.<sup>47</sup> Despite the failed attempt at autonomy, the Cuban rebels and the threat of US intervention forced Spain to agree to some changes in how they governed Cuba.<sup>48</sup> The changes Spain promised to make in Cuba never came about, which led some historians to view the time between these major events as an uneasy seventeen year-long ceasefire rather than a legitimate peace between the Spanish and Cuban rebels.<sup>49</sup> During this period, José Martí, Máximo Gómez, and Antonio Maceo, all veterans of the Ten Years' War, continued to discuss plans for achieving Cuban independence and what Cuba should look like after the war. Ideological disagreements between the three led Martí to break away from Gómez and Maceo in 1884 to pursue the independence movement according to his desires. However, by 1887 Martí, reunited with Gómez and Maceo and assumed political leadership of the movement.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Rex A. Hudson, *Cuba: A Country Study* (Washington D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 2002), 29, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002018893/>.

<sup>48</sup> Kenneth E. Hendrickson, *The Spanish-American War*, Greenwood Guides to Historic Events, 1500 - 1900 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2003), 6.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>50</sup> Hudson, *Cuba*, 29.

Throughout the 1880s and early 1890s, Martí garnered support from Cubans in both Cuba and the US and created the Cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC) based out of the US in 1892.<sup>51</sup> The PRC focused on removing the Spanish in a quick fight and creating an independent Cuba without US intervention.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately for Martí, his hopes for a swift victory for the PRC never happened and the US became involved in the war against Spain. José Martí died in battle on May 19, 1895, less than a month after the fighting began. After Martí's death, Maceo and Gómez assumed leadership of the rebellion and prepared to invade the western portion of Cuba.<sup>53</sup>

Between 1895 and mid-1896, the Cuban rebels pushed the Spanish troops back. This continued until General Valeriano Weyler assumed control of the Spanish forces. Under General Weyler's command, Spanish troops began conducting population transfer operations, called reconcentration, as part of his counterinsurgency efforts to regain control of the island.<sup>54</sup> Reconcentration efforts created deplorable living conditions for the people forced to move into towns held by Spanish troops, turned more of the population against Spain, and generated outrage in the US.<sup>55</sup> Part of Weyler's reconcentration program involved the extermination of the Cuban race through starvation.<sup>56</sup> These living conditions contributed to the list of reasons the US intervened in Cuba.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Hudson, *Cuba*, 29.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Hendrickson, *The Spanish-American War*, 7.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> For more information on the policies of General Weyler see Stephen Bonsal, *The Real Condition of Cuba To-Day* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1897), <https://archive.org/details/realconditioncu01bonsgoog/page/n12/mode/2up>; George C. Musgrave, *Under Three Flags in Cuba: A Personal Account of the Cuban Insurrection and the Spanish-American War* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1899).

<sup>57</sup> Horatio S. Rubens, *Liberty: The Story of Cuba*, 2nd ed. (New York: Ams Press, INC., 1970), 350.

In December of 1896, Antonio Maceo died in battle, leaving Máximo Gómez at the helm of the rebel forces.<sup>58</sup> As the leader of the Cuban rebels, Gómez fought the Spanish troops to a stalemate and rejected offers of peace and an autonomous Cuban government under Spanish rule.<sup>59</sup> Instead, he continued to fight for total independence and used guerilla tactics to hold the Spanish forces in a stalemate until the US joined the war in 1898.<sup>60</sup>

Once the US joined the Cuban war efforts, victory came quickly.<sup>61</sup> Over the course of a few months, US troops forced Spain into submission and made the Spanish sign a peace treaty in December of 1898. The treaty guaranteed Cuba's independence from Spain, but due to the Teller Amendment and the Platt Amendment, the Cubans still had years until they could consider themselves genuinely independent.

The Teller Amendment formed part of a joint resolution from congress issued to President McKinley on April 20, 1898. The first three resolutions declared the people of Cuba independent of Spain, demanded Spain relinquished control over Cuba, and gave President McKinley the authority to use the entirety of US land and naval forces to carry out the resolution. The fourth resolution, known as the Teller Amendment, stated that the US held no intention to exercise control or sovereignty over Cuba other than to pacify the island and establish a Cuban government. The Teller Amendment placed the US into a position to occupy Cuba, whereas the Platt Amendment, which dictated how Cuba and the US would interact after the US's military occupation of Cuba, allowed the US to leave Cuba.

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<sup>58</sup> Hendrickson, *The Spanish-American War*, 7.

<sup>59</sup> Hudson, *Cuba*, 30.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>61</sup> For information on how contemporary US media and entertainment outlets portrayed the Spanish-American War see Bonnie M. Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest: The Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish-American War of 1898* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011).

The Platt Amendment contained eight articles meant to dictate the US-Cuban relationship after the US's military occupation of Cuba ended. Accepting the Platt Amendment into the Cuban constitution was also part of the US's conditions for leaving Cuba. The majority of historians agree that the Platt Amendment turned Cuba into a protectorate that never gained true independence from the US until some years after President Franklin D. Roosevelt repealed the Platt Amendment in 1934.<sup>62</sup> The articles of the Platt Amendment prevented Cuba from entering into treaties with foreign governments that potentially impaired Cuba's ability to govern, forbade the government from contracting debt, and allowed the US to intervene in Cuba to preserve independence and protect life, property, and individual liberty. The amendment also protected the acts carried out by the US military government in Cuba to ensure their continuance. It additionally provided for the continuation of sanitation projects in cities, omitted the Isle of Pines from Cuban rule, forced Cuba to lease land to the US as a military base, and set the above-mentioned articles as part of a permanent treaty with Cuba.<sup>63</sup> While not pleased with the Platt Amendment, the members of Cuba's Constitutional Convention did accept the amendment as an appendix to the constitution by a vote of sixteen to eleven on June 12, 1901.<sup>64</sup>

Historians have produced multiple theories regarding the motivations behind the Platt Amendment. One of the better known, but less discussed, theories suggests that the US view of the Cuban people and racial biases motivated the Platt Amendment. The letters between US

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<sup>62</sup> David FitzGerald and David Cook-Martín, *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), 187. Some of these historians include Russell H. Fitzgibbon, Louis A. Pérez, Adam Burns, Lars Schoultz, and Ada Ferrer, among others.

<sup>63</sup> Cuba and United States, "Translation of the Proposed Constitution for Cuba, the Official Acceptance of the Platt Amendment, and the Electoral Law (1901)," trans. Alex Gonzalez (Government Printing Office, 1901), 23-24, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058890906>.

<sup>64</sup> "The Platt Amendment Is Accepted by Cuba.: This Country's Terms Formally Approved Without Condition. No Debate Preceded the Vote, Which Stood 16 for the Amendment and 11 Against It," *New York Times*, June 13, 1901, <http://ezproxy.fgcu.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/96116622?accountid=10919>.

Secretary of War Elihu Root and General Leonard Wood show part of the racial motivation behind the Platt Amendment. David Edelstein pointed out that in a letter to Secretary Root from General Wood, Wood discussed the need for a "better class of people" in the next municipal election. Edelstein also noted that in the same letter, Secretary Root stated that if the US failed to secure a "better class of people," then the US should give serious consideration to creating a central American republic or finding another way to maintain control.<sup>65</sup> Throughout the correspondence between Wood and Root, readers come to the understanding that the "better class of people" referred to consisted of wealthy white landowners that protected the US's interests in Cuba. The National Party of Cuba's victory in the municipal elections further exacerbated the US's perceived need for the Platt Amendment, despite the heavy voter eligibility restrictions enacted by the US.<sup>66</sup> Root and Wood were not the only ones who saw the Cubans as inferior to the white men of the US. Major George M. Barbour believed that under US tutelage, the people of Cuba could ". . . become a useful race. . ."<sup>67</sup> The US belief in social Darwinism manifests itself as glaringly evident in these letters and remains visible throughout the entirety of the US's involvement in the Spanish-Cuban-American War and the US's military occupation of Cuba. These racial biases and the desire to protect US interests from the "lesser class of people" helped fuel the Platt Amendment and turn Cuba into a protectorate of the United States.

#### *Condition of Cuban Provinces After the War*

The Spanish-Cuban-American War left the island of Cuba in a grim state. Brigadier General Leonard Wood penned an article which informed readers that diseases ran rampant in

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<sup>65</sup> David M. Edelstein, *Occupational Hazards: Success and Failure in Military Occupation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 99.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 96-97.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

the overcrowded cities, starvation affected many civilians, and filth lined the streets.<sup>68</sup> The economy stagnated in Santiago; with the protection afforded to the wealthy merchants and large plantation owners during the war, these groups generally maintained a profit throughout the war.<sup>69</sup> The Cubans found the same abysmal conditions throughout the island, but more so in the province of Santiago than anywhere else.

US occupation forces found conditions equally harsh in Puerto Principe; the people suffered daily from famine, disease, and a stagnant economy.<sup>70</sup> General Leonard Wood stated that “The towns all presented an appearance of greatest neglect, and showed everywhere entire disregard of every sanitary law.”<sup>71</sup> In some towns the people lacked enough clothing to wear; children ran around naked and adult women hid.<sup>72</sup> Much like the Santiago Province, Puerto Principe saw ruination at the hands of the Spanish during the war.

In the Matanzas and Santa Clara Provinces, the population suffered many of the same treacherous conditions found in Santiago. Hospitals lacked adequate space to serve the disease-ridden population properly, people died of starvation, waste covered the streets, and people desperately needed medicine, food, and clothing.<sup>73</sup> Spanish forces appointed pacificos and Autonomistic Party members to control the provincial government once Spanish administrators

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<sup>68</sup> Leonard Wood, “The Military Government of Cuba,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 21 (March 1903): 153, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1009912>.

<sup>69</sup> Brigadier General Leonard Wood, “Special Report of Brig. Gen Leonard Wood, U. S. V., Commanding the Department of Santiago and Puerto Principe,” in *Civil Report of Major-General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army*, by Major General John R. Brooke (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 367, [https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b47229](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b47229).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 366-369.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Brigadier General James H. Wilson, “Special Report of Brig. Gen. James H. Wilson, U. S. V., Commanding the Department of Matanzas and Santa Clara, on the Industrial, Economic, and Social Conditions Existing in the Department at the Date of American Occupation and at the Present Time.,” in *Civil Report of Major-General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army*, by Major General John R. Brooke (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 340, [https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b47229](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b47229).

stepped down.<sup>74</sup> According to Brigadier General James H. Wilson, these government officials prioritized maintaining order throughout their municipalities after the Spanish relinquished control.<sup>75</sup> The same report from General Wilson helps show that the conditions, while deplorable and gruesome, did not compare to those in Santiago.

In the provinces of Habana and Pinar Del Rio, people suffered from diseases, starvation, and a government in disarray. The Spanish burned down houses, ruined fields, destroyed crops, stole and slaughtered livestock, and increased crime significantly.<sup>76</sup> The province of Pinar Del Rio suffered great losses during the war. The Spanish Army razed five of the twenty-five municipalities in the region and massacred most of the inhabitants.<sup>77</sup> The province of Pinar Del Rio possessed two hospitals and thirteen schools, all of which desperately needed repairs and new educational materials.<sup>78</sup> Roadways and streets in both provinces suffered from neglect. In the province of Habana alone, almost 1300 kilometers of streets and roadways in fell into disrepair during the war, which impacted transportation and the economy.<sup>79</sup> The dismal state of affairs in these provinces could only improve.

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<sup>74</sup> Wilson, "Special Report," 329. Pacificos are people that did not participate in the war.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Brigadier General Fitzhugh Lee, "Special Report of Brig. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, U. S. V., Commanding Department of Province of Habana and Pinar Del Rio.," in *Civil Report of Major-General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army*, by Major General John R. Brooke (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 343, [https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b47229](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b47229).

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 342-343.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 345, 349-350.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 357.

## CHAPTER 2. AS HIGH AS IT CAN GO

Throughout the US's military occupation of Cuba, the US's high modernist state building agenda aimed at legibility manifested in several ways. Beginning with a brief overview of what the Cuban civil government looked like under each Military Governor and the changes it underwent, the following sections explore how the US's high modernist state building efforts aimed at legibility exhibited throughout the various departments of Cuba's civil government.

On January 11, 1899, The Headquarters Division of Cuba divided the civil government into four departments: the Department of State and Government, Department of Finance, Department of Justice and Public Instruction, and Department of Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, and Public Works.<sup>80</sup> US Military officers initially led these departments until the civil secretaries designated by General John R. Brooke assumed control.<sup>81</sup> In this case, the US actively determined the Cuban government's structural foundation based on the US's beliefs of what constituted a government.

In December of 1899, Brigadier General Leonard Wood assumed command of the Department of Cuba from General Brooke. During General Wood's time as the Military Governor of Cuba, the US's high modernist approach becomes highly visible. The President of the United States tasked General Wood with preparing the Cubans for self-governance and creating stable conditions that allowed for the creation of an independent Cuban republic likely

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<sup>80</sup> Major General John R. Brooke, *Civil Report of Major-General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 8, [https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b47229](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b47229); The Cuban Economic Research Project, *A Study on Cuba: The Colonial and Republican Periods, the Socialist Experiment, Economic Structure, Institutional Development, Socialism and Collectivization* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1965), 152.

<sup>81</sup> Charles M. Pepper, *To-Morrow in Cuba* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1899), 296-297.

to succeed.<sup>82</sup> General Wood rose to the challenge of this daunting task, despite his lack of prolonged experience in government administration.<sup>83</sup> In a 1903 journal article discussing his time as the Military Governor of Cuba, General Wood heavily critiqued the government created under General Brooke and stated that the laws regarding public works, education, municipal government, and more needed reform and the government as a whole needed adjusting.<sup>84</sup>

Once General Wood became the Military Governor of Cuba, he prioritized restructuring the civil government's departments and assigning new secretaries to head these departments.<sup>85</sup> Civil Order no. 1, 1900, provides evidence of the US's high modernist efforts. This civil order stated that Cuba's civil government would consist of six departments.<sup>86</sup> With this order, the Department of Justice and Public Instruction separated into two individual departments, so too did the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, Industries, and Public Works. To carry out his duty of preparing Cuba for an independent government, General Wood formed a committee consisting of prominent Cuban citizens, mostly affluent white landowners with conservative views that sympathized with the US, to nominate various candidates for the secretary position of each department.<sup>87</sup> This committee provided select Cubans citizens the opportunity to participate in the creation of their government, while still allowing General Wood control over who filled the position and to oversee all operations of these departments.

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<sup>82</sup> Wood, "Military Government," 153.

<sup>83</sup> Before becoming the Governor-General of Cuba, Leonard Wood's only experience with government oversight was as the military governor of the Santiago Province in Cuba from 1898 until December of 1899.

<sup>84</sup> Wood, "Military Government," 156.

<sup>85</sup> Leonard Wood, *Report of the Military Governor of Cuba on Civil Affairs [Dec. 20, 1899 - Dec. 31, 1900]*, vol. 1, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 5, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058898230>. Once General Wood assumed command of Cuba, he accepted the resignations of the four civil secretaries under General John R. Brooke.

<sup>86</sup> Wood, *Report 1900*, 261.

<sup>87</sup> James H. Hitchman, *Leonard Wood and Cuban Independence, 1898-1902* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971), 29.

Civil Order no. 1, 1900, altered Cuba's civil government's shape to reflect what General Wood considered an independent republic's ideal form. Per Civil Order no. 1, 1900, General Wood appointed six civil secretaries to the national government, but throughout the year, the secretary positions suffered from multiple turnovers, which made it difficult to focus on a single agenda.<sup>88</sup> By the end of 1900, the civil secretaries under General Wood consisted of Secretary of State and Government Diego Tamayo, Secretary of Finance Leopoldo Cancio, Secretary of Justice Miguel Gener y Rincon, Secretary of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries Perfecto Lacoste, Secretary of Public Instruction Enrique José Varona, and Secretary of Public Works José R. Villalón.<sup>89</sup> These six men, excluding Miguel Gener y Rincon, filled their roles under General Wood as civil secretaries for their respective departments until the end of the occupation in 1902.<sup>90</sup>

#### *Department of State and Government*

The US created the Department of State and Government as a tool to increase the legibility of Cuba's population. The annual reports of the two civil secretaries that headed the department, Secretary Domingo Mendez Capote in 1899, and Secretary Diego Tamayo from 1900 to 1902, provide evidence of a distinct push towards legibility of the population. Secretary Domingo Mendez Capote divided the department into three sections: the Section of State, the Section of General Government, and the Section of Government in 1899.<sup>91</sup> These three sections held responsibility for a litany of duties that increased the legibility of the population. According

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<sup>88</sup> Wood, *Report 1900*, 261.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, V-VI.

<sup>90</sup> Leonard Wood, *Civil Report of Brigadier General Leonard Wood, 1902*, vol. 1, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 202, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058897539>.

<sup>91</sup> Domingo Mendez Capote, "Report of the Department of State and Government, 1899," in *Civil Report of Major-General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army*, by Major General John R. Brooke (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 174, [https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b47229](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b47229).

to Mendez's report, the Section of State made foreign and traveling segments of the population legible to the Cuban government by verifying citizenship claims, legalizing documents, issuing passports, overseeing extradition, registering Spaniards living in Cuba, and registering foreigners, among other things.<sup>92</sup> The Section of General Government increased the legibility of all levels of the government throughout Cuba by managing several smaller bureaus.<sup>93</sup> The Section of Government used a series of bureaus to generate information about the general population on a local level.<sup>94</sup> Mendez summarized the department's push towards legibility with his quote ". . . new efforts have been made that will shortly give us an exact knowledge of the condition of affairs in all matters pertaining to local affairs. . ."<sup>95</sup>

Examining Diego Tamayo's first year as Secretary of the Department of State and Government, 1900, provides additional evidence of the US's high modernist agenda. The composition of the Department of State and Government shifted from its form under Domingo Mendez Capote to take on a new form that continued to carry out the same general functions while under Secretary Tamayo.<sup>96</sup> While Tamayo did make changes to the department's structure, General Wood required him to seek approval before enacting these changes, to prevent the department structure from diverging with the US's high modernist state building ideologies.

The concept of legibility repeatedly appears throughout Tamayo's 1900 report. One of the first legibility projects seen in the report is the registration of all Spaniards in Cuba who wished to maintain their Spanish citizenship after the war.<sup>97</sup> This effort came about as part of

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<sup>92</sup> Mendez Capote, "Report, 1899," 174.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 175.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 176.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 175.

<sup>96</sup> Diego Tamayo, "Report of the Secretary of State and Government, 1900" in *Report of the Military Governor of Cuba on Civil Affairs [Dec. 20, 1899-Dec. 31, 1900]*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 1, pt 2, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 2, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058898230>.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 2-4.

Civil Order no. 107 of 1899, which outlined the information to collect from each person, such as race, nationality, civil status, and occupation.<sup>98</sup> This information created a set of general statistics about the 66,917 Spaniards in the Cuban population.<sup>99</sup>

The push for legibility presents itself in several ways in Tamayo's 1901 report, with the most obvious being the census. Tamayo used the census to deem males of electoral age as eligible or ineligible to vote. The census shows that out of the 417,993 males of voting age in Cuba, Jim Crow voting laws deemed 290,367 of them ineligible to vote. This meant that these males fell into one or more of the following categories: they suffered from illiteracy to some degree, did not hold citizenship in Cuba, or did not register to vote.<sup>100</sup> The information on the voting population holds exceptional significance. In addition to providing legibility by showing the number of people able to vote and, by extension, some demographics on literacy rates and immigration, it also provides a prime example of the US's attempt to ensure its high modernist agenda succeeded at the polls.

The largest demonstration of the US's high modernist state building agenda in the Department of State and Government comes from Civil Order no. 23, 1902. This civil order suppressed forty-one municipalities and ayuntamientos throughout five of Cuba's six provinces and redistributed the land to larger municipalities.<sup>101</sup> It also provided political representation for the newly absorbed areas by assigning a set number of city officials to be elected from and by the

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<sup>98</sup> Tamayo, "Report, 1900," 2-3.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Diego Tamayo, "Department of State and Government, 1901," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1901*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 3, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 37, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924020385294?urlappend=%3Bseq=7>.

<sup>101</sup> Leonard Wood, "Civil Orders and Circulars Issued From January 1st, 1902, to May 20th, 1902," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1902*, vol. 2, (Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil & Co., Printers, 1903), 34-42, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044089393524?urlappend=%3Bseq=9>. Ayuntamientos is the general term for a city council.

people of the abolished territories.<sup>102</sup> By creating these positions, the US altered the political layout of the municipalities that gained territory. The US did not confiscate the land and homes of the people living in the suppressed municipalities and ayuntamientos but essentially rezoned the land to fall within a larger municipality's borders. Suppressing these municipalities and ayuntamientos helped eliminate areas that could not sustain themselves, and it financially benefitted the residents to live as part of the larger municipalities.<sup>103</sup> Civil Order no. 23, 1902, plays directly into the idea of high modernist state building; the US reorganized forty-one municipalities and ayuntamientos so that Cuba held a closer resemblance to the US's idea of what municipalities should look like from above, without regards for the possible cultural or socioeconomic differences between the merged areas. Civil Order no. 23, 1902, turned into one of the furthest reaching acts of the US's high modernist state building efforts. It affected several departments in the civil government and forced them to adjust for the suppressed municipalities. Examining the Department of State and Government shows that the US created a government entity to increase the legibility of Cuba's population. The US used the increased legibility to manipulate society and further its high modernist state building efforts.

### *Department of Finance*

When examining the Department of Finance by itself in 1899 under Secretary Pablo Desvernine as a means to look at the US's military occupation of Cuba as an attempt at high modernist state building, certain difficulties arise. In 1899, the department resembled Frankenstein's monster as the US removed various offices from the department and haphazardly

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<sup>102</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders 1902," 38-41.

<sup>103</sup> Diego Tamayo, "Report of the Secretary of State and Government of Cuba for the Period January 1 to May 20, 1902," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1902*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 3, (Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil & Co., Printers, 1903), 11, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044079423059?urlappend=%3Bseq=11>.

inserted others. The department's structure betrayed the high modernist idea of efficient design and legibility. However, studying the reason behind this betrayal of high modernist design and legibility on the departmental level, presents a case for high modernist state building on a larger scale.

The Department of Finance underwent various changes while under US control, the most important being that the US military government assumed control of the Office of Customs and the Central Treasury.<sup>104</sup> On paper, the Department of Finance tended to all of the island's financial needs in an organized and legible manner. In actuality, however, the Department of Finance possessed limited responsibility under General Brooke due to a litany of trust issues. According to famed journalist Charles Pepper, these trust issues stemmed from a history of corruption that plagued the Department of Finance while under Spain's control.<sup>105</sup> Additionally, the idea of the US managing the majority of the island's money did not promote a trustworthy image of the department among the Cubans.<sup>106</sup> In his role as an advisor, Desvernine recommended General Brooke increase the department's control over the rebuilding funds to develop trust with the Cuban people and, more importantly, the US.<sup>107</sup> However, by the time General Brooke positioned himself to give more autonomy to the Department of Finance, General Wood replaced him as Military Governor of Cuba.

In Desvernine's report, he noted that the department retained minimal control over the rebuilding funds.<sup>108</sup> The US controlled these funds and directed them towards the US's state

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<sup>104</sup> Pablo Desvernine, "Report of Mr. Pablo Desvernine, Secretary of Finance, Island of Cuba," in *Civil Report of Major-General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army*, by Major General John R. Brooke (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 230-232, [https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b47229](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b47229).

<sup>105</sup> Pepper, *To-Morrow*, 300-301.

<sup>106</sup> Desvernine, "Report, 1899," 229-247.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 237.

building efforts. The wording within Desvernine's report shows him as a figurehead for the department and a financial advisor to General Brooke.<sup>109</sup> Desvernine's quote, "As already pointed out, only \$637,000 of the public moneys have been paid out in connection with the Department of Finance, and yet I see in the American newspapers that \$5,552,000 has been the amount of public expenditures for the first six months of this year," provides the clearest example of the department's lack of control over the island's finances.<sup>110</sup>

Examining the Customs Bureau and the Treasury provides additional evidence of the US's control over Cuba's finances. Even though the Customs and Treasury departments functioned under the Department of Finance on paper, the Secretary of Finance's report suggests otherwise.<sup>111</sup> Desvernine's report explains that US military officers headed these departments and reported directly to the Military Governor, which kept the Department of Finance in the dark. As a result of this, Desvernine implored General Brooke to force Customs to send a monthly report so the Department of Finance possessed up to date information and could begin to reorganize around the Treasury in preparation for the end of the occupation.<sup>112</sup> On a larger scale, by directly controlling the Treasury and money generated from the Bureau of Customs, the US found it easier to fund its high modernist state building efforts and manage how the Cubans spent their money. When comparing US actions to Scott's legibility concept, it becomes apparent that US practices did not align with Scott's concept at this time, since the department responsible for tracking finances lacked any idea of how the island spent its money.

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<sup>109</sup> Desvernine, "Report, 1899," 232.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 237.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

A shift in the US's treatment of the Department of Finance becomes visible in 1900. Under Secretary Leopoldo Cancio, the Department of Finance took on a new shape and added responsibility. Cancio's recommendations restructured the department within the US's high modernist framework. Other than a change in the department's structure, the report also shows the US's high modernist state building efforts via the Office of Ordering Payments. This office managed all payments the state was obligated to make.<sup>113</sup> This office functioned peculiarly within the occupied government. The office depended on funding from the Treasury, which remained under US control, separate from the Department of Finance, until after the occupation. Any time the Office of Ordering Payments needed to make payments, they sent a request for money to a US military officer in the Treasury. The officer reviewed the request for approval, and finally, the money paid out to the various recipients.<sup>114</sup> Each transaction required a paper trail leading back to the Treasury Department and the officer that approved the funds.<sup>115</sup> The US military government's prominent role in directing Cuba's money towards projects the US approved provides a direct view of the US furthering its high modernist state building agenda.

Looking at Secretary of Finance Leopoldo Cancio's report from 1901 and his discussion of Civil Order no. 59, 1901, helps illuminate the US's high modernist agenda as well. This civil order restructured the Department of Finance to include control over the Department of Treasury, Department of Customs, and Quarantine and Immigration Services.<sup>116</sup> These changes began to align the Department of Finance's structure with the US's high modernist state building ideology

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<sup>113</sup> Leopoldo Cancio, "Report of Leopoldo Cancio, Secretary of Finance," in *Report of the Military Governor of Cuba on Civil Affairs [Dec. 20, 1899-Dec. 31, 1900]*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 1, pt 3, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 10, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058898255?urlappend=%3Bseq=19>.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> Leonard Wood, "Civil Orders and Circulars, 1901," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1901*, vol. 2, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 73, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924020385286>.

and the idea of efficiency in government by centralizing the most important financial aspects of the government in the Department of Finance. The US modeled the Department of Finance to reflect the US Treasury Department.<sup>117</sup>

The Department of Finance increased the legibility of Cuba's finances after Civil Order no. 59, 1901, restructured the department. Cancio's discussion of complaints filed against municipal governments for tax issues, financial discrepancies, or anything else related to the Department of Finance demonstrates the increased legibility. These complaints helped track what municipalities did and provided additional cause for inspectors from the Department of Finance to audit municipal finances.<sup>118</sup> With the increased reach of the new sections of the Department of Finance, the department investigated these complaints on a deeper level. Investigating these complaints allowed the Department of Finance to keep tabs on how municipalities increased revenue and how they spent funds. The investigations helped keep the municipalities legible for the Cuban state and honest for the Cuban people.

Cancio's discussion of Civil Order no. 133, 1902, and Civil Order no. 142, 1902, in his report for 1902 shows the US's high modernist state building efforts. These civil orders altered the Department of Finance's structure and granted the department official control over the Office of the Treasurer, Office of the Auditor, Department of Immigration, the Quarantine Service, and Customs Service.<sup>119</sup> By enacting these civil orders, the US transformed the Department of Finance to reflect the US's high modernist ideals.

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<sup>117</sup> Leonard Wood, "Report of General Leonard Wood," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1901*, vol. 1, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 29, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924020385278?urlappend=%3Bseq=11>.

<sup>118</sup> Leopoldo Cancio, "Report of the Secretary of Finance, 1901," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1901*, vol. 7, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 4, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101072338161?urlappend=%3Bseq=295>.

<sup>119</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1902," 103, 520.

Civil Order no. 42, 1902, provides further evidence of how the US carried out its high modernist agenda. General Wood issued the civil order to assist the Department of Finance in carrying out its part of Civil Order no. 23, 1902.<sup>120</sup> Civil Order no. 42, 1902, redistricted the island's fiscal zones and allayed budgetary concerns for the areas that absorbed the abolished municipalities and ayuntamientos. It also set out instructions on how to handle the treasuries of the abolished municipalities and ayuntamientos and submit their financial records.<sup>121</sup> The provisions in this order enhanced the legibility of finances in the abolished municipalities and the new fiscal zones.

### *Department of Justice*

General Brooke issued Civil Order no. 11, 1899, which created the Department of Justice and Public Instruction and inserted Secretary J. A. González Lanuza as the department head.<sup>122</sup> One year later, General Wood issued Civil Order no. 1, 1900, which separated the Department of Justice and the Department of Public Instruction and appointed Miguel Gener y Rincon as Secretary of the Department of Justice. As discussed previously in this paper, the creation and subsequent separation of the two departments provides an example of the US's high modernist state building efforts.<sup>123</sup>

González's report contributes evidence to the idea that the US military government shaped Cuba's justice system based on its own beliefs on the most efficient method to carry out

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<sup>120</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1902," 115-117.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Willis Fletcher Johnson, *The History of Cuba*, vol. 4 (New York: B. F. Buck & Company, INC., 1920), 146, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/33848/33848-h/33848-h.htm>.

<sup>123</sup> For an in-depth history and guide to Cuban law and the legal system, see Crawford M. Bishop and Anyda Marchant, *A Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti*, (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1944), <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00001333/00001/2x>.

justice.<sup>124</sup> Additional evidence within the report suggests that the US would assume control of a department to restore order if the Cubans found themselves unable to.<sup>125</sup> A careful study of the Supreme Court of Cuba provides supplemental evidence of the US's high modernist ideologies. The US believed that the creation of a Supreme Court in Cuba held precedence and made this one of the first tasks the Cubans undertook. The Cuban Supreme Court held many similarities to the Supreme Court of Spain, but before the US granted its approval, the US reviewed the structure and functionality of Cuba's proposed Supreme Court to ensure that it fell within the US's high modernist state building framework.<sup>126</sup>

In the Department of Justice and Public Instruction, the US's high modernist state building efforts aimed at legibility appear in the form of tracking data on criminal cases, marriage licenses, pardons, notaries, complaints against the courts, and more throughout the occupation.<sup>127</sup> This data provided crime statistics, census information, tracked issues within the court system, and other knowledge, which enabled the state to further its reach and its ability to manipulate the population.

The US's high modernist state building efforts presented themselves in the 1900 Department of Justice report by Miguel Gener y Rincon as legal reforms. Matthew C. Mirow, a

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<sup>124</sup> For information on the state of the Cuban justice system at the end of the war, see Charles M. Pepper, *To-Morrow in Cuba* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1899). For more information on the issues of the Cuban legal system at the end of the war see Leonard Wood, "The Military Government of Cuba," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 21 (March 1903): 153–82, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1009912>.

<sup>125</sup> J. A. Gonzalez Lanuza, "Report of Mr. J. A. Gonzalez Lanuza, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Island of Cuba," in *Civil Report of Major-General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army*, by Major General John R. Brooke (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 248, [https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b47229](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b47229).

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 253.

<sup>127</sup> Gonzalez Lanuza, "Report, 1899," 273. For more information on marriage in Cuba during the US's military occupation see Enid Lynette Logan, "The 1899 Cuban Marriage Law Controversy: Church, State and Empire in the Crucible of Nation.," *Journal of Social History* 42, no. 2 (2008): 469–94, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27696449>. For more information on Cuba's legal system in general see Crawford M. Bishop and Anyda Marchant, *A Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1944), <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00001333/00001/2x>.

prominent legal scholar, suggests that many of these reforms mirrored portions of the US legal system.<sup>128</sup> Gener briefly mentions some of the legal reforms, such as punishing litigants bringing wrongful suit, the dissolution of colleges of lawyers, and changes to notaries, among other minor things.<sup>129</sup> Civil Order no. 311, 1900, in which General Wood modified Civil Order no. 213, 1900, shows one of the more substantial reforms made in the department during the occupation. Issued upon the Secretary of Justice's recommendation, Civil Order no. 213, 1900, established a series of criminal courts and the criminal court procedures.<sup>130</sup> The modification to Civil Order no. 213, 1900, shows the US realigned the criminal justice system to fall in line with the US's beliefs of how court systems ideally functioned within an independent republic.

The US continued to mold Cuba's legal system throughout 1901 so that it reflected the US's high modernist ideologies. Civil Order no. 23, 1902, provides a notable instance of the US's high modernist state building efforts within the Department of Justice. This civil order dissolved the courts that resided in the abolished municipalities and ayuntamientos, which forced the department to restructure judicial districts.<sup>131</sup> In the civil order, General Wood listed out which judicial districts changed and the new areas they covered. Rezoning the judicial districts created a judicial map that aligned with the US's idea of how the court system should look from above to maximize legibility and efficiency.

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<sup>128</sup> Matthew C. Mirow, "Military Orders as Foreign Law in the Cuban Supreme Court 1899-1900," in *Ratio Decidendi: Guiding Principles of Judicial Decisions, Vol. 2: "Foreign" Law*, ed. Serge Dauchy, W. Hamilton Bryson, and Matthew C. Mirow, vol. 2 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2010), 217-28.

<sup>129</sup> Miguel Gener y Rincon, "Report of the Secretary of Justice," in *Report of the Military Governor of Cuba on Civil Affairs [Dec. 20, 1899-Dec. 31, 1900]*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 1, pt 3, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 337-339, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058898255?urlappend=%3Bseq=353>.

<sup>130</sup> Leonard Wood, "Civil Orders and Circulars, 1900," in *Report of the Military Governor of Cuba on Civil Affairs [Dec. 20, 1899 - Dec. 31, 1900]*, vol. 1 pt. 1, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 398-406, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058898230?urlappend=%3Bseq=357>.

<sup>131</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders 1902," 34-42.

*Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries*

The Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries initially formed in 1899 under General Brooke via Civil Order no. 11, 1899, and included the Department of Public Works. As part of Civil Order no. 1, 1900, General Leonard Wood separated the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries from the Department of Public Works.<sup>132</sup> Adolfo Sáenz Yáñez initially headed the department in 1899, but General Wood replaced him with Perfecto Lacoste in 1900.

Examining the work carried out by the department in the 1899 report of Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, Industries, Commerce, and Public Works by Adolfo Sáenz Yáñez helps illuminate the US's high modernist state building efforts aimed at legibility. The department conducted two significant works in 1899: the verification of state forests and reestablishment of deeds to the mines.<sup>133</sup> The Cuban government possessed inadequate records of the state-owned forests and lacked information on the types of flora the different forests contained. To remedy the situation, the state sent surveyors to validate state records and produce a coherent picture of state-owned forests and their value.<sup>134</sup>

The mines played a vital role in the production of natural resources, which made reopening them a top priority.<sup>135</sup> In Sáenz's report, he informed General Brooke that the Spanish lost or destroyed the archives that contained the information on the mining rights throughout the

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<sup>132</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1900," 261.

<sup>133</sup> Adolfo Sáenz Yáñez, "Report of Adolfo Sáenz Yáñez, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, Industries, Commerce, and Public Works," in *Civil Report of Major-General John R. Brooke, U.S. Army*, by Major General John R. Brooke (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 282-283, [https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b47229](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b47229); Pérez, *Reform and Revolution*, 190.

<sup>134</sup> Sáenz Yáñez, "Report, 1899," 282-283.

<sup>135</sup> Pérez, *Reform and Revolution*, 190.

island before they withdrew.<sup>136</sup> Reestablishing the deeds to the mines required US assistance due to the size and difficulty of the task. These projects heavily benefitted the state by allowing the state to see the potential profits from the sale of natural resources.

According to Perfecto Lacoste's report for 1900, the US reorganized the department and created inspectors of the forests and the amanuensis with Civil Order no. 60, 1900.<sup>137</sup>

Throughout 1900, 1901, and 1902, the US only made minor changes to the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries, and Secretary Lacoste typically suggested these changes. In Lacoste's annual reports for 1900 to 1902, he made various suggestions to change the department structure by adding new bureaus to handle things such as cattle imports, but General Wood denied these more extensive changes. General Wood's denial of these proposals supports the idea that the US wanted to maintain the department's shape, structure, and functionality by approving only the proposals that fell in line with the US's high modernist state building ideologies.

### *Department of Public Instruction*

The Department of Public Instruction originated as part of the Department of Justice in 1899, and it did not receive much attention from the US or Secretary J. A. González Lanuza, the civil secretary in charge of it until the two departments separated in 1900. The push for legibility stands out as the only significant thing to occur within the department in 1899.<sup>138</sup> The drive for legibility becomes visible when examining the department's efforts to grant teaching and

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<sup>136</sup> Sáenz Yáñez, "Report, 1899," 283.

<sup>137</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1900," 285. Amanuensis means a secretary.

<sup>138</sup> For more information on the state of Cuba's education system before and during the US's military occupation see Edward D. Fitch, "Primary Education in Colonial Cuba: Spanish Tool for Retaining 'La Isla Siempre Leal?,'" *Caribbean Studies* 14, no. 1 (April 1974): 105–20, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25612591>.

equivalency licenses to people with foreign degrees coming into Cuba.<sup>139</sup> These licenses tracked the origins of foreign degrees and provided a baseline of information on the quality and value of an education from a foreign country. Foreign professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and professors needed these licenses to determine their eligibility to practice or teach in Cuba.

Legibility efforts continued under Enrique José Varona after General Wood appointed him as the Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction in January of 1900.<sup>140</sup> The Department of Public Instruction's legibility efforts came in the form of a school census. This census determined the age range of students in the classrooms, their education level, the number of students enrolled in private and public schools, as well as the number of children not enrolled in any school, among other things.<sup>141</sup> The school census increased legibility, which allowed the Department of Public Instruction to manipulate the budget to better provide for those under its charge.

Varona's statement that the education reforms made by the US and Cuba together may help Cuba transition in its role from subjugated people to an independent republic illuminates the US's high modernist state building efforts.<sup>142</sup> The following quote shows that Varona believed the US and Cuba cooperated in the establishment of Cuba's educational system: ". . . step by step, the country may pass from its part as co-operant to that of guide of its system of popular instruction, the reform will have rendered all of its benefits. . ."<sup>143</sup> The quote also suggests that

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<sup>139</sup> González Lanuza, "Report, 1899," 269.

<sup>140</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1900," 261.

<sup>141</sup> Enrique Jose Varona, "Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for the 6 Months Ending June 30, 1901," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1901*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 9, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 9, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101072338146?urlappend=%3Bseq=15>.

<sup>142</sup> Varona, "Report, June 1901," 10.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

the US continued to prepare Cuba to assume responsibility for public instruction as the US incrementally ceded more power to the Department of Public Instruction.

Analyzing Civil Order no. 368, 1900, provides additional evidence of the US's high modernist agenda. This civil order outlined the rules for public schools throughout Cuba, determined the classifications of school districts, defined which municipalities fell within each municipal school district, standardized the forms used in the department, and laid out the roles and responsibilities of employees and elected officials in the school system.<sup>144</sup> This civil order underwent modification via the issuance of Civil Order no. 43, 1902. Varona claimed that the public service required the changes since Civil Order no. 23, 1902, abolished specific municipalities and ayuntamientos.<sup>145</sup> Examining the high modernist efforts in Civil Order no. 43, 1902, provides ample explanation as to why the school districts needed to change. Restructuring the school districts became necessary after Civil Order no. 23, 1902, eliminated 41 municipalities and ayuntamientos.<sup>146</sup> Civil Order no. 43, 1902, shows the wide-reaching effects of some of the US's high modernist state building efforts. Civil Order no. 23, 1902, restructured the municipalities and ayuntamientos to reflect the US's high modernist ideologies, which forced the school districts to restructure as well. The restructured school districts exhibited the idea of efficiency and held an aesthetic appeal best appreciated from the top-center looking down, which high modernism touts as essential.

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<sup>144</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1900," 568-592.

<sup>145</sup> Enrique José Varona, "Supplementary Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for the Four Months of January, February, March and April, 1902," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1902*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 1 pt. 2, (Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil & Co., Printers, 1903), 7, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn4ium?urlappend=%3Bseq=453>.

<sup>146</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders 1902," 34-42.

## *Department of Public Works*

Initially, the Department of Public Works fell under the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries, led by Adolfo Sáenz Yáñez. General Wood officially created the Department of Public Works in 1900 and placed José R. Villalón as the department's head via Civil Order no. 1, 1900.<sup>147</sup>

Examining the department's verification of state-owned buildings and properties in 1899 helps make the push for legibility apparent. This task took priority in the rebuilding efforts because government officials needed offices to work out of. For any government, having physical locations in which citizens can interact with government officials holds extreme importance because it allows people to participate on a deeper level than voting and provides people the opportunity to voice their concerns and feel reassured the government listened.<sup>148</sup>

The department's legibility push also presents itself in Villalón's discussion on roads in his annual report for 1900. His report provided information regarding the conditions of the roads, how the department chose projects, cost analysis to build versus repair roads, the length of each road, and the status of the projects.<sup>149</sup> Villalón also listed out the roadways that needed to take priority in each province and why the suggested roads held importance.<sup>150</sup> In most instances, Villalón deemed these roadways vital because they either eliminated the isolation of a town or they connected major cities, which Eugen Weber argued is a critical element of state

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<sup>147</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1900," 258.

<sup>148</sup> Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976), 241-277.

<sup>149</sup> José Villalón, "Report of the Secretary of Public Works for the Year Ending June 30, 1900," in *Report of the Military Governor of Cuba on Civil Affairs [Dec. 20, 1899-Dec. 31, 1900]*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 2, pt. 1, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 27-29, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058898271?urlappend=%3Bseq=17>.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

formation.<sup>151</sup> According to Scott, the role of legibility in the construction of roadways is to maximize access and facilitate central control, which becomes apparent when looking at the US's high modernist efforts aimed at legibility through the Department of Public Works.<sup>152</sup>

The US's high modernist efforts become visible by examining Sáenz Yáñez's annual report for 1899 and his discussion on the Foraker Law and General Kennedy's commission. Initially, the US charged General Robert P. Kennedy with heading a committee to advise the Office of Public Works on granting concessions to foreign businesses. According to historian Carlton Beals, the US intended for General Kennedy's advisory committee to prevent Cuba from being plundered by "American civilizers, burdened by their whiteness," and prevent foreign businesses from taking over Cuba via concessions.<sup>153</sup> This committee's creation suggests the US wanted to control the concessions given out by Cubans but wanted the Cubans to feel included in the decisions. General Kennedy's committee lasted only one month before the US passed the Foraker Law.<sup>154</sup> The Foraker Law prohibited the extension of any franchise or concession in Cuba while US forces occupied the island.<sup>155</sup> The US created the Foraker Law to prevent companies or foreign powers that obtained considerable influence via concessions from ruining the US's high modernist state building efforts in Cuba.

General Wood officially created the Department of Public Works in 1900 and appointed José R. Villalón as the department's secretary.<sup>156</sup> The US's high modernist state building efforts remain apparent through the examination of Civil Order no. 230, 1900, and Civil Order no. 249,

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<sup>151</sup> Villalón, "Public Works, June 1901," 27-29.; Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 195-203.

<sup>152</sup> Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 75.

<sup>153</sup> Carleton Beals, *The Crime of Cuba* (New York: Arno Press and then The New York Times, 1970), 170-171.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> Rubens, *Liberty*, 385.

<sup>156</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1900," 261.

1900, which revised the department's powers and governing doctrine outlined in Civil Order no. 220, 1900.<sup>157</sup> Civil Order no. 230, 1900, and Civil Order no. 249, 1900, show how the US altered the department to align with the US's high modernist state building ideologies.

The US's high modernist state building efforts also reveal themselves in the US's decisions regarding which infrastructure projects held priority. In 1901, the Department of Public Works created "the general plan," a detailed plan that listed the highways, roads, and bridges that Villalón believed held priority.<sup>158</sup> General Wood disapproved of the plan and instead created one that he believed better served Cuba as a whole.<sup>159</sup> General Wood's plan for the construction and repair of highways, bridges, and roads included a majority of the ones listed in the "general plan," but it also included many not on the list. The Department of Public Works carried out an impressive load of work and made a significant impact on the occupational government's projects. These projects allowed people to travel the country year-round despite the rainy season, and they connected the country differently than before.

The annual reports written by Cuba's civil secretaries show that the US implemented its high modernist state building agenda aimed at legibility to create a new independent republic in Cuba that reflected the US's ideologies and pleased viewers from above. The two US Military Governors of Cuba created the civil government in Cuba based on US beliefs of how an independent republic looked and functioned. The civil government and Cuba shifted forms multiple times throughout the US's military occupation to conform with the US's high modernist beliefs on state building. The changes made to Cuba under the banner of the US's high modernist

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<sup>157</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1900," 432, 440.

<sup>158</sup> José Villalón, "Report of the Secretary of Public Works for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1901," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1902*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 6, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 4, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.32000004979433?urlappend=%3Bseq=273>.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

state building consisted of more than just US ideas. Many of the changes made to Cuba came from proposals put forth by the Cubans themselves. According to Louis Pérez, the Cuban civil secretaries' participation in the US's high modernist agenda played a crucial role in making the changes palatable to the Cubans that held anti-American views.<sup>160</sup> The next section of this work provides an in-depth examination of Cuban participation in the US's high modernist state building efforts, showing that the Cuban civil secretaries played a pivotal role in the US's efforts.

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<sup>160</sup> Pérez, *Cuba and the United States*, 114-116.

### CHAPTER 3. EVERYONE GETS TO PARTICIPATE

The US's high modernist state building agenda limited Cuban participation in forming the independent Cuban republic, but Cuban participation still presents itself through the annual reports of Cuba's civil secretaries. Eugen Weber pushed the idea that civilian participation in government helps to unite the state, and James C. Scott suggests that listening to local common knowledge helps state building projects succeed.<sup>161</sup> The examples within these reports demonstrate how the Cuban civil secretaries participated in the Cuban state's formation. The following pages explore instances of Cuban participation in shaping the new government within the US's high modernist framework.

#### *Participation in the Department of State and Government*

The secretaries of the Department of State and Government actively participated in shaping the new Cuban government within the US's high modernist agenda. Secretary Mendez Capote's report of 1899 shows the limited scope of his participation in the Cuban state's formation. Examining Civil Order no. 14, 1899, shows how Secretary Domingo Mendez Capote participated in the state formation project and the significance of his participation. This civil order recommended that the US abolish the Office of the President of the Council of Secretaries and the Department of General Government, divide the Department of State and Government into the Section of State, the Section of General Government, and the Section of Government, transfer the records of the Council of Secretaries and the archives of the Department of Government to the Section of General Government. It also established which departments took over the abolished departments' business and determined that the laws in force on December 31,

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<sup>161</sup> Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 311-316.; Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 241-277.

1898, regulated the Department of State and Government until determined otherwise.<sup>162</sup> These changes signify a considerable alteration in the structure of the Department of State and Government as well as the civil government of Cuba.

The annual reports of Secretary of State and Government Diego Tamayo, 1900 to 1902, show additional instances of Cuban participation. In his 1900 report, Tamayo's discussion on the Bureau of General Affairs, a subsection of the Section of General Government, helps illuminate Cuban participation in the US's state building efforts. In the report, Tamayo mentions the proposals this bureau made to General Wood and separates them into three categories: proposals approved, proposals waiting for action, and proposals denied.<sup>163</sup> One of the proposals approved by General Wood gave the ayuntamientos the power to deal with military works created by the Spanish during the war.<sup>164</sup> Part of Tamayo's summary of the order dealing with the military works reads: ". . . empowering them to decide upon the destruction of said works with the purpose of applying the materials to the public use. . ."<sup>165</sup> This proposal reveals that multiple levels of the Cuban government participated in the US's high modernist state building efforts.

The creation of the General Vaccination Service in 1901 also provides evidence of Cuban participation in the US's high modernist state building efforts. Examining Civil Order no. 34, 1901, and Civil Order no. 165, 1901, shows how Cubans participated in creating the General Vaccination Service. Civil Order no. 34, 1901, created a five-person commission composed of two US Army surgeons and three Cuban doctors.<sup>166</sup> The commission revised the Law of 1887-

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<sup>162</sup> John R. Brooke, *Civil Orders and Circulars 1899*, vol. 1, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.35112203951688>.

<sup>163</sup> Tamayo, "Report, 1900," 5-6.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1901," 52-53.

1888 and submitted measures to vaccinate and revaccinate Cuba and prevent a smallpox outbreak.<sup>167</sup> General Wood issued Civil Order no. 165, 1901, based on the measures proposed by the commission and Secretary Tamayo's recommendation to carry out said measures. Civil Order no. 165, 1901, created the General Vaccination Service and outlined the regulations to vaccinate and revaccinate Cuba's population and report smallpox cases.<sup>168</sup>

Tamayo's 1902 report shows Cuban participation through his discussion of Civil Order no. 157, 1902, which helped redistrict and draw new boundaries for the areas that absorbed the ayuntamientos abolished in Civil Order no. 23, 1902.<sup>169</sup> This civil order also assigned the number of councilmen, assistant mayors, and municipal districts in these same areas.<sup>170</sup> Secretary Tamayo's report and Civil Order no. 157, 1902, confer the idea that the US required his assistance to reconfigure the municipal governments to represent the absorbed municipalities' people. The aforementioned civil order demonstrates the significant role that the civil secretaries played in the US's high modernist state building efforts.

The annual reports written by the various Civil Secretaries of the Department of State and Government show their active participation in the US's high modernist state building efforts throughout the US's military occupation of Cuba. Participation came in several shapes, predominantly as proposed civil orders for the military governor to issue. As discussed in the preceding paragraphs, these civil orders covered various subjects, demonstrating the range and depth of Cuban participation in the US's high modernist agenda.

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<sup>167</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1901," 52-53.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 299-303.

<sup>169</sup> Tamayo, "Report, 1902," 9-11.; Wood, "Civil Orders, 1902," 580-587.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

## *Participation in the Department of Finance*

Examining the annual reports of the Department of Finance's civil secretaries shows how these civil secretaries aided in the US's high modernist state building efforts. In Secretary Pablo Desvernine's discussion of the Cuban legal system in his annual report from 1899, and Civil Order no. 28, 1899, help show Cuban participation in the US's high modernist agenda.<sup>171</sup> General Wood issued Civil Order no. 28, 1899, based on the recommendations of Secretary Desvernine.<sup>172</sup> This civil order impacted people of all socioeconomic strata because it made significant changes to taxable items and tax regulations.<sup>173</sup> In Desvernine's discussion on the Cuban legal system, he suggested that the restoration of Spanish laws modified through the legislative process held a crucial spot as one of the first steps toward self-government.<sup>174</sup> Desvernine saw the legislative process as a way to modify the laws, increase Cuban acceptance of the laws, and "remove all causes of friction between the two countries and to inspire the Cubans with confidence in the ability and in the well-meaning purposes of the United States."<sup>175</sup> In his book, *To-Morrow in Cuba* (1899), Charles Pepper, a journalist at the time, agreed with Desvernine's sentiments and stated that Cubans should make the reforms to the legal system by placing the correct judges on the bench to interpret the laws justly.<sup>176</sup> Desvernine's report suggests that he actively participated in the US's high modernist state building efforts by making changes to the government via Civil Order no. 28, 1899, and advising General Brooke on several subjects.

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<sup>171</sup> For a more in-depth look at Pablo Desvernine's views on the theory of law see Pablo Desvernine y Gladós, *Fundamental Studies of Law* (Havana, Cuba: Atenea Library, 1928).

<sup>172</sup> Brooke, *Civil Orders 1899*, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.35112203951688?urlappend=%3Bseq=75>.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Desvernine, "Report, 1899" 238.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Pepper, *To-Morrow*, 301.

Examining Secretary of Finance Leopoldo Cancio's annual report for 1900 shows that Cuban participation in the US's high modernist state building efforts continued under the department's new leadership. The 1900 report shows Cuban participation through Cancio's discussion of a select committee assembled to create a series of tax reforms that gave birth to a system of financially independent municipalities.<sup>177</sup> These decisions primarily focused on three areas: what to tax as part of the consumption tax, limiting tax rates imposed by local and provincial governments, and using taxes to help municipalities to become self-sufficient.<sup>178</sup> These alterations to the tax system played a significant function in furthering the US's high modernist state building efforts. The tax system allowed the municipalities to become self-sufficient and less of a burden to the Treasury. These changes embodied the US's beliefs of what a tax system needed to resemble in an independent republic.

Cancio's participation in the US's high modernist state building efforts continued throughout 1901, through the tax reforms found in Civil Order no. 141, 1901. This civil order allowed ayuntamientos that possessed a completed record of urban estates to solicit taxes from the owners of said estates.<sup>179</sup> The same civil order also allowed for ayuntamientos with incomplete records of urban estates to solicit taxes at a lower rate based on the territorial tax regulations for urban estates.<sup>180</sup> Secretary Cancio's recommendation to issue the civil order directly helped to create self-sufficient municipalities, which furthered the US's high modernist state building efforts.

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<sup>177</sup> Cancio, "Report, 1900," 17-24.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Leopoldo Cancio, "Report of the Secretary of Finance, for the Period of Six Months Ending December 31, 1901," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1901*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 7, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 6, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101072338161?urlappend=%3Bseq=359>; Wood, "Civil Orders, 1901," 258-259.

<sup>180</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1901," 258-259.

The active participation of Pablo Desvernine and Leopoldo Cancio, predominantly in the form of tax reforms, helped further the US's efforts and reshaped the Cuban state's financial system to reflect the US's high modernist ideologies. Their participation in tax reform led to many municipalities throughout Cuba becoming self-sufficient.

### *Participation in the Department of Justice*

The Department of Justice participated in the US's high modernist state building efforts more than any other department. Exploring the Supreme Court of Cuba's creation helps provide evidence of Cuban participation in the US's high modernist agenda. As previously stated, Cubans created the Supreme Court of Cuba and shaped it to resemble the Supreme Court of Spain. In February of 1899, Secretary J.A. Gonzales Lanuza of the Department of Justice and Public Instruction, in conjunction with the US military government, began work on the Supreme Court of Cuba's structure and powers.<sup>181</sup> The fruits of their labors resulted in General Brooke issuing Civil Order no. 41, 1899.<sup>182</sup> Gonzales Lanuza heavily participated in creating the Supreme Court of Cuba, evidenced by his discussion of the process and the difficulties they encountered in his report.

The 1900 report of Secretary of Justice Miguel Gener y Rincon provides additional support to the idea of Cuban participation in the US's high modernist state building efforts. This report provides an account of the advice that Gener y Rincon gave to General Wood regarding changes to Cuba's legal system. Gener y Rincon advised that the legal system changed at the same rate as the political system, so they stayed in sync with one another as Hispano-American countries began to take their own form after escaping from Spanish colonialism.<sup>183</sup> He stated that

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<sup>181</sup> Gonzalez Lanuza, "Report, 1899," 253.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Gener y Rincon, "Report, 1900," 330.

changing Cuba's laws after the war with Spain would advance the island's social progress and help create an atmosphere more reflective of Cuba's sovereignty.<sup>184</sup> Spain created laws to suppress the people in colonial Cuba; by changing these laws, the Cubans erased the tools of oppression and created a freer Cuba. As he discussed the importance of throwing away the tools of oppression, he stated that the possibility of anarchy forced the US to function as the Cuban government until such a time that the Cuban government stood on its own.<sup>185</sup>

Throughout the report for 1900, Gener y Rincon discussed the many changes to the Cuban legal system and the Cuban influence in its formation. Examining the civil orders issued upon his recommendation explains how Gener y Rincon participated and what that meant for Cuba. Many of the civil orders that Gener y Rincon recommended dealt with the appointment of various judges, law clerks, and other legal system employees. These appointments allowed the Cubans to participate in molding the legal system on all levels, which provided them access to the tools needed to cast off the yoke of Spanish oppression and become the independent republic they fought to attain.

Furthermore, the reports shows Secretary of Justice José Varela participated in the separation of civil and criminal courts in the city of Havana in 1901, via Civil Order no. 192, 1901.<sup>186</sup> Additionally, he recommended Civil Order no. 523, 1900, which removed the court recorders and other officials in the Courts of First Instance and listed the new positions that replaced them.<sup>187</sup> Civil Order no. 25, 1901, expanded the number and types of positions available, listed the requirements for employment in these courts, and made the wording of Civil

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<sup>184</sup> Gener y Rincon, "Report, 1900," 330-331.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> José Varela, "Report of the Secretary of Justice for the Six Months Ending December 31, 1901," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1901*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 11, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924020385377?urlappend=%3Bseq=7>.

<sup>187</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1900," 667-669.

Order no. 523, 1900, more concise.<sup>188</sup> Participation in this fashion allowed Secretary Varela to help shape the Cuban legal system within the US's high modernist framework.

The reports of the men that filled the role of Secretary of Justice and the civil orders issued during the US's military occupation of Cuba shows the large role they played in shaping Cuba's legal system. The civil orders and the annual reports show that the civil secretaries appointed and removed judges and law clerks as needed, reformed court procedures, and pardoned convicts, which set legal precedent for future court cases.

#### *Participation in the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries*

The annual report from the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries provide additional evidence of Cuban participation in the US's high modernist state building efforts. The report of Adolfo Sáenz Yáñez, the first secretary of the department, reveals Cuban involvement when examining Sáenz Yáñez's staff, which only consisted of qualified Cubans.<sup>189</sup> He also organized the department in a manner that he felt served Cuba's needs, remained legible, and stayed within the US's high modernist framework.<sup>190</sup> Sáenz Yáñez's efforts to organize the department signals that he participated in the US's high modernist state building efforts to a rather significant degree. Sáenz Yáñez's successor, Perfecto Lacoste, continued the trend of participation in the US's efforts until the end of the occupation.

Analysis of Perfecto Lacoste's 1900 report shows Cuban participation in propelling the US's high modernist state building efforts via his discussion of fishing regulations. On July 8, 1899, General Brooke issued Civil Order no. 102, 1899, which created sponge fishing

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<sup>188</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1901," 39-40.

<sup>189</sup> Sáenz Yáñez, "Report, 1899," 277-328.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 279-281.

regulations.<sup>191</sup> The regulations provided details on locations, time of year, size, and gear used, and it outlined the punishments for disregarding the regulations.<sup>192</sup> In some areas of Cuba, specifically in Caibarien, the sponges did not grow to the minimum sizes required by the regulations, which adversely affected the local fishing industry.<sup>193</sup> In response to the size restrictions, the mayor and various residents of Caibarien successfully petitioned for a change in size restriction for the fishing belt in their locality.<sup>194</sup> Additionally, various fishing companies that harvested sponges put forth petitions asking for changes to the restricted fishing months because sponges in different areas bred at different times.<sup>195</sup> General Wood consulted Cuban and American experts and Lacoste's department to verify these claims; and created a new set of regulations on harvesting sponges, which he announced in Civil Order no. 95, March 2, 1900.<sup>196</sup> This shows two highly significant things; first and foremost, the civil secretary championed the people's demands and worked to change the US policy. Second, the occupying government listened to the indigenous population. Both of these hold extreme importance in the state building process. Eugen Weber pushed the idea that civilian participation in government helps unite the state, and James C. Scott suggested that incorporating metis, the local common knowledge, helps state building projects succeed.<sup>197</sup>

Examining Civil Order no. 214, 1901, and Civil Order no. 18, 1902, provides examples of Lacoste's participation in the US's high modernist agenda. General Wood issued these civil

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<sup>191</sup> Perfecto Lacoste, "Report of the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry," in *Report of the Military Governor of Cuba on Civil Affairs [Dec. 20, 1899-Dec. 31, 1900]*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 1, pt 4, 2 vols. (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 13-14, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058898263?urlappend=%3Bseq=17>.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Lacoste, "Report, 1900," 14.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 13-15.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

<sup>197</sup> Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 311-316.; Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 241-277

orders based upon Lacoste's recommendations. These civil orders regulated the agriculture industry in a manner that protected the producers. Civil Order no. 214, 1901, regulated the sale of fertilizers for use by tobacco farmers to ensure that the fertilizers remained unadulterated and did not deceive the farmers or injure their crops.<sup>198</sup> This civil order illustrates how the department regulated the agriculture industry to protect the producers of one of Cuba's major cash crops.<sup>199</sup> Civil Order no. 18, 1902, created the position of coconut tree inspector. This position required an expert to inspect coconut trees for infection and remove the infected trees to protect the healthy ones.<sup>200</sup> These acts provide evidence that Secretary Lacoste remained active in the US's state building efforts to help shape Cuba's agricultural system so that it protected Cuba's agricultural producers, which according to Fitzhugh Lee, made up the backbone of the Cuban economy.<sup>201</sup>

### *Participation in the Department of Public Instruction*

Under Secretary J. A. González Lanuza, the Department of Public Instruction received very little of his attention because revisions to the school system would take another year before they went into effect.<sup>202</sup> However, despite González Lanuza's views on the urgency of establishing educational reforms, the report still shows his participation in the education system's

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<sup>198</sup> Perfecto Lacoste, "Report of the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries, for the Six Months Ending December 31, 1901," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1901*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 12, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 5, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924020385385?urlappend=%3Bseq=297>.

<sup>199</sup> Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, *Cuba's Struggle Against Spain with the Causes of American Intervention and a Full Account of the Spanish-American War: Including Final Peace Negotiations* (New York: The American Historical Press, 1899), 70-71, <https://archive.org/details/cubasstruggleaga00leef/page/n3/mode/2up>.

<sup>200</sup> Perfecto Lacoste, "Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries for the Period of January 1 to April 30, 1902," in *Civil Report of the Military Governor, 1902*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 1 pt. 2, 6 vols. (Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil & Co., Printers, 1903), 3, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn4ium?urlappend=%3Bseq=379>.

<sup>201</sup> Lee and Wheeler, *Cuba's Struggle*, 70-71.

<sup>202</sup> Gonzalez Lanuza, "Report, 1899," 267.

formation. For example, González Lanuza rallied against the exclusionary examination practices that prohibited foreign lawyers from using translators on licensing exams to practice law in Cuba.<sup>203</sup> Civil Order no. 90, 1899, silenced González Lanuza's cries for foreign lawyers to use a translator and reinforced the ruling that foreign lawyers take the equivalency exams in Spanish.<sup>204</sup>

Cuban participation in Cuba's educational system drastically increased in 1900 after the Department of Public Instruction's formation with Secretary Enrique José Varona at the helm. Analyzing the civil orders issued in the year 1900 demonstrates Cuban participation in organizing the education system. General Wood issued Civil Orders no. 47, 1900, Civil Order no. 52, 1900, and Civil Order no. 65, 1900, upon Varona's recommendation, which suggests his active participation in reviving the education system. These civil orders reestablished the institutes at Pinar del Rio, Santa Clara, Puerto Principe, and Santiago de Cuba, and gave Secretary Varona the power to appoint professors and assistant professors to the institutes.<sup>205</sup> Varona's participation also helped revive trade schools with Civil Order no. 101, 1900.<sup>206</sup> The US actively demonstrated the desire to advance the Cuban people's education to prepare them for the workforce, and Varona's recommendations on which institutions to reopen seemingly held considerable weight in the US's decision. In his report from 1900, Varona discussed how he continued to push for the advancement of education, evidenced by Civil Order no. 107, 1900, in which the US created free stenography and typewriting classes at the institute in Havana at

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<sup>203</sup> Gonzalez Lanuza, "Report, 1899," 269-271.

<sup>204</sup> Brooke, *Civil Orders*, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.35112203951688>.

<sup>205</sup> Enrique Jose Varona, "Report of Enrique Jose Varona, Secretary of Public Instruction," in *Report of the Military Governor of Cuba on Civil Affairs [Dec. 20, 1899-Dec. 31, 1900]*, by Leonard Wood, vol. 1, pt 4, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 59-60, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044058898230>.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

Varona's behest.<sup>207</sup> Throughout the year, the department added various programs and classes to the universities and trade schools to increase the number of students and the variety of jobs that people received training for, to bolster the number of people in the workforce.<sup>208</sup>

Varona's annual reports for 1901 and 1902 show his continued participation in the US's state building efforts through the end of the occupation. The resolutions Varona issued to regulate colleges throughout 1901 provide another example of his contributions to the US's efforts. One such resolution required all laboratories at educational institutes that sought to acquire new materials and expand to do so through bids.<sup>209</sup> Another resolution put the internal regulations of universities in line with changes introduced to their organic laws.<sup>210</sup> Civil Order no. 104, 1901, also demonstrates Varona's participation in the US efforts. This civil order temporarily postponed the election of school board officials because Varona and General Wood both viewed the sitting members of the school board as too efficient to replace.<sup>211</sup> Examining Civil Order no. 104, 1901, shows that Varona's participation in the US's high modernist state building efforts encompassed more than appointing professors and ensuring universities went through the proper channels for funding.

In 1902, Varona helped further the US's high modernist state building efforts via Civil Order no. 29, 1902, which changed the text of Civil Order no. 475, 1900, and restructured the regulations surrounding the number of summer normal schools throughout Cuba, attendance requirements, and funds.<sup>212</sup> Varona made these changes to increase the number and quality of

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<sup>207</sup> Varona, "Report, 1900," 60.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>209</sup> Varona, "Report to June 1901," 17.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1901," 161.

<sup>212</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1902," 48-51. Normal schools were educational institutes used for training high school graduates to become teachers.

teachers in Cuba that staffed the public school system. The participation of the civil secretaries that presided over the Department of Public Instruction simultaneously helped advance the US's high modernist agenda and provided Cubans with a voice in the state building process.

### *Participation in the Department of Public Works*

Prior to becoming its own department in 1900, the Department of Public Works fell under the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries, led by Secretary Adolfo Sáenz Yáñez. During this time, Cuban participation in the US's high modernist state building efforts seems limited. The US issued all civil orders relating to public works projects, such as constructing or inspecting roads, bridges, and railroads, and the Cubans carried out the work. The only hint of Cuban participation in Sáenz Yáñez's report comes from his suggestion to General Brooke that the US should prioritize repairs to the major roads, highways, and bridges ruined by the war and assemble a team of technical experts to maintain them. He argued that repairing the existing infrastructure did not cost as much as installing new infrastructure and repairs took less time, which allowed Cubans to send products from the interior of the island to the shipping ports.<sup>213</sup>

Evidence that Secretary José R. Villalón participated in the US's high modernist state building efforts appears in many ways, such as Civil Order no. 220, 1900, which General Wood issued upon Villalón's recommendation. As previously discussed, this civil order outlined the Department of Public Works' structure, functions, and powers.<sup>214</sup> Villalón also participated in other ways, such as his recommendation to issue Civil Order no. 356, 1900, which regulated the

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<sup>213</sup> Sáenz Yáñez, "Report, 1899," 293.

<sup>214</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1900," 409.

size of tires on carts and wagons to protect public roads.<sup>215</sup> Villalón's participation in the US's efforts helped shape the department and Cuba's infrastructure as a whole.

Additional evidence of Villalón's participation comes from within his report for 1901 when examining his discussion of public works projects and their status. This discussion provided a series of updates on the various projects carried out in each province and Villalón's recommendations to General Wood about the projects. For example, as Villalón wrote about the improvements to the Manicaragua road in the province of Santa Clara, he informed General Wood that the seasonal weather prohibited workers from conducting work on the project and suggested resuming the work after the rainy season.<sup>216</sup>

Studying the projects that Villalón deemed a high priority for Cuba's good provides a different means of viewing how he participated. In 1901, Villalón's budget left him with two choices: either construct a series of new roads that connected some portions of Cuba's interior to the coast, or connect all of Cuba's interior to the coast by constructing bridges, drainage systems, and culverts to make the existing roads passable during the rainy season.<sup>217</sup> His choice to prioritize the bridges, drainage systems, and culverts to connect all of Cuba suggests that he actively participated in the US's efforts to install a high modernist infrastructure that connected all of Cuba.

In addition to Secretary Villalón's annual report, the civil orders issued in 1902, especially those related to railroads, illustrate how the civil secretary participated in the US's efforts. The Secretary of Public Works played a large role in the administration of railroad laws

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<sup>215</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1900," 558-560.

<sup>216</sup> Villalón, "Public Works, June 1901," 7.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

and freight rates per Civil Order no. 34, 1902, which appointed said secretary as the chief executive officer of the Railroad Commission and outlined his powers, duties, the role of the commission, and the laws that applied to railroad companies.<sup>218</sup> While this civil order does not give Villalón credit for its creation, he still played a monumental role in enforcing the railroad laws set in place in the civil order and ensuring that the US's efforts did not go to waste.

### *The Numbers Do Not Lie*

Looking at the annual reports of the six departments of the civil government individually helps create an understanding of how the civil secretaries participated in the US's high modernist state building efforts. The following paragraphs examine the number of civil orders issued based on the various civil secretaries' recommendations each year to show a rise in participation via percentages.

Comparing the number of civil orders issued based on the civil secretaries' recommendations to the number issued without their recommendations shows increased Cuban participation through civil orders. To determine the number of civil orders issued upon the recommendation of the secretaries and those issued without their recommendations, every civil order issued from 1899 through 1902 underwent an examination to find the orders that met a stringent set of criteria for the civil order to count as recommended by a civil secretary. In order to consider the civil order as recommended by one or more of the civil secretaries, the civil order must explicitly state “. . . upon the recommendation of the Secretary of . . .,” at some point in its text. This requirement helps create a more accurate representation of how much the civil

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<sup>218</sup> Wood, “Civil Orders, 1902,” 55-110.

secretaries participated and rules out any civil orders in which Cuban participation seems questionable.

This work looks at the number of civil orders issued based on the civil secretaries' recommendations in three ways; first, by showing the number of recommended civil orders issued versus the total number of civil orders issued for a given year. Second, as a percentage of the total number of civil orders issued for a given year. Third, as a percentage of the total civil orders issued throughout the entirety of the occupation.

Out of the 252 civil orders issued by General Brooke in 1899, a paltry 13 of those civil orders held the recommendation of one or more of Cuba's four civil secretaries. This fraction translates to a measly 5% of the civil orders issued for that year. Looking at the civil orders issued by General Brooke on a departmental level, he issued 4 civil orders based on the recommendation of the Department of State and Government, 7 from the Department of Justice and Public Instruction, 1 from the Department of Finance, and 0 from the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries and Public Works.<sup>219</sup> In the first year of the US's military occupation of Cuba, the civil secretaries participated in a limited scope in the creation of the Cuban state under General Brooke. The following sections show that Cuban participation drastically increased under General Wood from 1900 to 1902.

Out of the 526 civil orders issued in 1900, General Wood issued 353 based on the recommendations of Cuba's civil secretaries. This number shows a massive uptick in Cuban participation under General Wood. This translates to 67%, which shows a drastic increase in participation and inclusion of ideas from Cuba's civil secretaries. The number of civil orders

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<sup>219</sup> Brooke, *Civil Orders, 1899*.

issued based on the recommendation of each department comes as follows: 62 by the Department of State and Government, 20 by the Department of Finance, 183 by the Department of Justice, 13 by the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries, 68 by the Department of Public Instruction, 4 by the Department of Public Works, and 3 by multiple secretaries.<sup>220</sup>

In 1901, the military government of Cuba issued 261 civil orders, of which 154 came with the recommendation of a civil secretary. This comes out to nearly 59% and while this does show a decreased percentage from the previous year, over half of the civil orders issued held the recommendations of the civil secretaries. The breakdown of civil orders issued based on the recommendations of the civil secretary of each department comes as follows: 17 by the Department of State and Government, 4 by the Department of Finance, 101 by the Department of Justice, 7 by the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries, 22 by the Department of Public Instruction, 2 by the Department of Public Works, and 1 by multiple secretaries.<sup>221</sup>

Between January 1, 1902, and May 20, 1902, the end of the US's military occupation of Cuba, the civil secretaries recommended 88 of the 180 civil orders issued by the US. Even though this ratio comes out to about 49% and shows less participation than the previous two years, it still shows a significant level of participation from the civil secretaries, especially when compared to 1899. The number of civil orders issued based on the recommendations of each department's civil secretary comes as follows: 9 by the Department of State and Government, 6 by the Department of Finance, 48 by the Department of Justice, 8 by the Department of

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<sup>220</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1900," 261–699.

<sup>221</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1901."

Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries, 14 by the Department of Public Instruction, 3 by the Department of Public Works, and 0 joint recommendations.<sup>222</sup>

Throughout the entirety of the occupation, the civil secretaries recommended 608 of the 1219 civil orders issued by the US Military Government of Cuba or 49.88%. This number accounts only for the civil orders issued upon the civil secretaries' recommendations and excludes the civil orders issued by the military governors that created various advisory committees comprised of Cubans and Americans. While these committees do show Cuban participation, determining the effect of these groups presents a significant challenge as they rarely received credit for their work in the civil orders subsequent to the creation of the committee. Additionally, the inclusion of Cubans in these groups precipitated a different variety of Cuban participation that, due to minimal documentation of their contributions in the primary sources generated by the US Military Government of Cuba, appears behind the proverbial scenes. However, factoring in the orders that created the various commissions and committees shows Cuban participation accounts for over half of the total civil orders issued throughout the US's military occupation of Cuba. The number of civil orders issued upon the civil secretaries' recommendations makes Cuban participation in the US's high modernist state building efforts challenging to refute and highlights the importance of the civil secretaries in the US's high modernist state building efforts.

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<sup>222</sup> Wood, "Civil Orders, 1902."

## CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSION

On May 20, 1902, the US officially relinquished control of Cuba to the new Cuban government, thus ending the US's first occupation of Cuba. The transfer of control saw Tomas Estrada Palma assume power as the first elected president of the newly formed independent republic. This transfer of power also saw the withdrawal of US forces from Cuba, as promised by the US government. The end of the occupation left a peculiar form of government in Cuba. While Cuba was declared an independent republic, created by the US and shaped to a degree by the Cubans, some scholars disagree with this notion citing the Platt Amendment and the two other instances of the US military occupying Cuba, to suggest that the US created a protectorate instead of an independent republic. These scholars heavily critique the US for not preparing the Cubans to self-govern and instead setting up the Cuban government to protect the US's interests.

The reports that this work examined show the US's high modernist state building efforts aimed at legibility, in action as the US created what it believed to be the ideal form of government. Evidence of the US's drive to create a government based on its high modernist beliefs permeated the civil secretaries' reports. These reports show the various ways that the US altered Cuba to fit within the US's high modernist ideology, such as enacting laws based on US beliefs, determining the structure of Cuba's civil government, and restructuring municipalities and ayuntamientos so that the provinces of Cuba became more aesthetically pleasing to observe from above, to name a few. The same reports also show that as the US pushed its high modernist ideologies onto the Cuban government, they also pushed to increase legibility, which goes hand in hand with implementing high modernist ideology, according to James C. Scott.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 4.

While the US's high modernist agenda and the push for legibility comprise two of Scott's four elements for a catastrophic failure in state building projects, the latter two elements are also constantly at play. The third element, an authoritarian government willing to use its full force to bring its high modernist ideology to fruition, is exhibited by the US's military presence in Cuba. This military occupation affected the power dynamic of all interactions between the US and the Cubans, especially the civil secretaries, and contextualizes how the final word, in regard to policy and governance, always went to the US. This leads to the fourth element: a population unable to resist the high modernist plans. The US appointed Cuba's civil secretaries to work for the US; meaning that while the civil secretaries held Cuban citizenship, their employment status obliged them to promote US ideals wherever possible. The US allowed the civil secretaries and the Cuban people to collaborate to a certain extent in matters of governance and policy, but if the Cubans pushed too aggressively or strayed too far from the US's desires, then the Cuban state would not survive or succeed if the US retaliated with force. Although the US did not hold a gun to the heads of the Cuban people, it remained clearly visible in the holster. Aligning with Scott's principles, the US efforts to create a lasting and successful independent republic in Cuba failed rather quickly and required the US to intervene a second and third time in 1906 and 1916, citing the Platt Amendment to justify intervention and stop the civil unrest. The need for additional US intervention suggests that the US failed to create a stable independent republic and that the US's high modernist state building ideologies did not suit Cuba. Though the US may have painted an outline and provided the color palette for the Cuban people to choose from, relying heavily on top-down from the center approach ironically prevented the US from ever seeing the full picture.

## EPILOGUE

In the years after the US's first military occupation of Cuba, 1899 to 1902, the US occupied Cuba two more times, once from 1906 to 1909 and again from 1917 to 1922. The US's second military occupation of Cuba occurred in 1906 after civil unrest broke out over the reelection of Tomás Estrada Palma. Many Cubans, especially those in the Liberal Party, saw Estrada Palma's reelection as highly controversial because Estrada conducted political purges to remove Liberal-leaning people from the government and conducted fraudulent elections.<sup>224</sup> The fraudulent elections sparked the civil uprisings that led the US to demand that the Cuban government prioritize protecting foreign interests, especially those of the US. Both sides of the conflict in Cuba made multiple requests for a US military intervention in Cuba.<sup>225</sup> President Theodore Roosevelt begrudgingly sent troops to intervene in Cuba and quell the unrest, but only after sending Secretary of War William Taft and Assistant Secretary of State Robert Bacon to investigate and attempt negotiations.<sup>226</sup> The failed negotiations and the Moderate Party's unwillingness to cooperate with the US after negotiations did not favor them. This led to Taft declaring the creation of a provisional government and naming himself as the Provisional Governor of Cuba in September of 1906, until Charles Magoon assumed command in mid-October of 1906.<sup>227</sup> The US military forces sent to Cuba as part of the intervention amounted to less than seven-thousand, but their presence served to encourage stability and cooperation with the provisional government.<sup>228</sup> The US tasked the intervention forces with keeping the peace,

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<sup>224</sup> Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba Under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934*, Pitt Latin American Series (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), 92-93, <https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735057896189>.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 94-95.

<sup>226</sup> Fitzgibbon, *Cuba*, 118-119.; Pérez, *Cuba Under Platt*, 94-95.

<sup>227</sup> Pérez, *Cuba Under Platt*, 105-107.

<sup>228</sup> Anthony R. Pisani Jr. and Allen Wells, "Army of Cuban Pacification," in *The War of 1898 and U.S. Interventions, 1898-1934: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Benjamin R. Beede (New York: Garland, 1994), 28-30.

holding free elections, and withdrawing in a timely manner.<sup>229</sup> US forces withdrew from Cuba in 1909 after restoring order and inserting new Cuban leadership.<sup>230</sup>

The third US military intervention in Cuba, also known as the Sugar Intervention, began in 1917 and lasted until 1922. After the reelection of Cuban President Mario García Menocal in 1916, members of the Liberal Party questioned the circumstances surrounding his victory. Much like 1906, civil unrest broke out in 1916 due to claims of a fraudulent election.<sup>231</sup> President Woodrow Wilson felt that the US needed to intervene in Cuba to preserve US sugar interests at least until the end of World War I.<sup>232</sup> To prevent further civil unrest and anti-American sentiment caused by another US intervention, Cuba's government invited US Marines to Cuba under the guise of training in warm weather during the winter.<sup>233</sup> During the third intervention, the US Marines stationed in Cuba established camps throughout eastern Cuba's sugar-producing areas.. According to Louis A. Pérez, these camps allowed the US forces to surveil the eastern part of Cuba and periodically patrol the major sugar-producing areas, transport depots, and cities all under the guise of training.<sup>234</sup> Labor strikes in Cuba's urban areas became the largest threat to sugar production in 1918 and 1919, affecting not only sugar but all other sectors of the economy.<sup>235</sup> The effects of the labor strikes held dire consequences for Cuba's economy and the US's economic interests, to the point that the US considered full-scale intervention justified by the Platt Amendment.<sup>236</sup> Under the guise of military training exercises, the patrols conducted by

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<sup>229</sup> Pisani Jr. and Wells, "Army," 28–30.

<sup>230</sup> Pérez, *Cuba Under Platt*, 109-112.

<sup>231</sup> Adam D. Burns, *American Imperialism: The Territorial Expansion of the United States, 1783-2013*, BAAS Paperbacks (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 138.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>233</sup> Leo J. Meyer, "The United States and the Cuban Revolution of 1917," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 10, no. 2 (May 1930): 163, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2506522>.

<sup>234</sup> Pérez, *Cuba Under Platt*, 93.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 98-99.

<sup>236</sup> Pérez, *Cuba Under Platt*, 99-103.

US forces in Cuba helped quell the rebellions. The US conducted a census and assisted in election planning to prevent fraud and anarchy.<sup>237</sup> The majority of US forces withdrew from Cuba in 1922, except for those stationed in Guantánamo Bay, after a peaceful election in which Alfredo Zayas y Alfonso became president.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Alan L. McPherson, *A Short History of U.S. Interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley/Blackwell, 2016), 51-53.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*

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