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Cover Illustration: Club San Carlos, inaugurate on November 11, 1871, was the flagship institution of the Key West Cuban exile community. <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org>. The image is from Guillermo de Zéndegui, "Ambito de Marti," published in Cuba in 1954.

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Cuban Exiles in Key West during the Ten Years' War, 1868-1878

by Antonio Rafael de la Cova

The upheaval of the Cuban Ten Years' War (10 October 1868-10 February 1878) prompted the largest number of refugees fleeing the island to settle ninety miles away in Key West, Florida, the southernmost point of the United States. Although the expatriates transformed the physical landscape of the coral and limestone reef and modified its social, economic, and political order, there has been no demographic study or precise statistics on the Cubans in Key West during that decade. Likewise, accurate statistical data is lacking for Cubans in the United States throughout the nineteenth century. In 1870, Key West had the second largest Cuban émigré community. A decade later, the city was the capital of the Cuban exiles and the conspiratorial center for their independence movement. This essay fills the gap in our knowledge on the status of Cubans in Key West during that era by examining statistical evidence enumerated in the United States federal census of 1870 and 1880, according to place of birth, race, age, gender, parentage, marital status, occupation, education, wealth, health, and residence.¹

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1. 1870 and 1880 Florida Federal Census, Monroe County, RG 29, National Archives and Records Administration (NA), Washington, DC. The census data was analyzed using the SPSS 17.0 Data Editor. Copies of the complete census records used in this study are on the author's website at <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/key-west.htm>.

Cubans, like everyone else listed in the U.S. census, were racially classified according to the enumerator's observation or information provided by boarding house keepers, hotel registries, and hospital and prison records. The individual was neither asked nor informed how their race would be recorded. Not surprisingly, racial designations were somewhat fluid, with the same individuals categorized differently from one enumeration to the next. An example of the discrepancy in assessing the color of Cubans appeared in the 1850 census, when place of birth was first enumerated, after the brothers Alphonse and Joseph Bazanac were listed as mulattos residing in New Orleans. In the 1851 New Orleans city directory, the Bazanacs do not appear as free persons of color, implying that they were white. Likewise, Cuban cigar maker F. Bucheri and "capitalist" B. Rey are classified as mulatto in the same census but not so in the 1851 city directory. G. Simeon Esnard, a Cuban shoemaker, is enumerated with his children as mulattos in the 1850 and 1860 New Orleans federal census, but he is not listed as a free man of color in the 1851 city directory. In the 1860 federal census Félix Sánchez, a Cuban mulatto in the New York City jail, was enumerated as white. A decade later, the federal census listed him as black. Alcide Alex, an eight-year-old Cuban, his Spanish father and German mother, and his brother, appear as white in the New Orleans Seventh Ward census on June 2, 1860. Three months later, after they moved to the Ninth Ward, a different enumerator racially classified the entire family as mulatto. Dr. Augusto Arango, his New Yorker wife and their offspring, residing in Manhattan's Fifteenth Ward, are enumerated as white in 1860. Ten years later, the physician and his two children appear as mulatto in the census. The doctor and his brother, Agustín Anibal Arango, a graduate of Columbia College medical school in 1846, were considered white by judicial authorities when they became naturalized American citizens in 1853 (The 1790 Naturalization Act restricted citizenship to whites). Agustín is described in an 1856 U.S. passport application as having a "sallow" complexion. If Augusto also had such a yellowish hue, the 1870 census erroneously classified him as mulatto. Given the fluidity of racial designations, for uniformity and statistical purposes, I will abide by the census racial classifications instead of those in the city directories or other documentation.²

2. In 1950, the U.S. Census Bureau for the first time issued standardized racial descriptions in its *Urban & Rural Enumerator's Reference Manual* (Washington,

The statistics of Cubans in the 1870 and 1880 Key West federal census are more precise than those of their compatriots enumerated in other U.S. cities during those decades. In 1870, Key West had only one enumerator, Assistant Marshal William S. Allen, who spent two months listing the 5,016 people in his district in 126 census pages. The forty-seven-year-old Allen, a Connecticut native, had been elected Key West mayor in 1868 and owned a local boarding house and a farm on Sanibel Island. He knew many of the local citizens and probably spoke Spanish, since he correctly spelled all Hispanic names. However, Allen mistakenly classified twenty-nine-year-old Cuban cigar maker Sisto Fernández as female when recopying the census record. By 1880, Key West had doubled its population to 10,000 residents and was divided into five precincts, each with an individual census enumerator: native Floridians Robert Gabriel and Alfred J. Kemp; Cuban Enrique Villareal; Italian Peter La Comare; and Georgian M. J. Whitehurst. Most Spanish names were spelled correctly and accent marks were sometimes used on names like José. A slight error occurred when Kemp phonetically spelled the surname Muñoz as Munyos.³

Reference to the Cuban population in the United States during the Ten Years' War first appeared when Spanish chronicler Justo Zaragoza cited an 1872 Spanish proclamation indicating that more than 50,000 Cuban natives resided in the United States. In 1888, Cuban exile Juan Bellido de Luna wrote that Key West had 25,000 residents and that Cubans outnumbered the locals by four to one, totaling 20,000 expatriates. In 1950, Cuban historian

DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950). 1850 Louisiana Federal Census, New Orleans, 1st Ward, 28, 54, 3rd Ward, 67, 72; 1860 Louisiana Federal Census New Orleans, 7th Ward, 298; *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory of 1851* (New Orleans, LA: Daily Delta, 1851), 11, 25, 63; 1860 New York Federal Census, New York City, 6th Ward, 255; 1870 New York Federal Census, New York City, 19th Ward, 334; 1860 Louisiana Federal Census, New Orleans, 7th Ward, 321, 9th Ward, 843; 1860 New York Federal Census, New York City, 15th Ward, 323; 1870 New York Federal Census, New York City, 21st Ward, 502; College of Physicians and Surgeons, Medical Department of Columbia College in the City of New York, *Catalogue of the Alumni, Officers, and Fellows: 1807-1880* (New York: Bradstreet Press, 1880), 75, 147; Augusto Arango, certificate of naturalization, 25 August 1853, in Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, 6 January 1854, NA; and Augustin A. Arango, U. S. passport application, 15 October 1856, U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925, M-1372, RG 59, NA.

3. William S. Allen was reelected mayor 1873-74. 1870 Florida Federal Census, Northward and Eastward Monroe County, 379, Key West, Monroe County, 22; 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, 286; and Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and The New* (St. Augustine, FL: Record Company, 1912), 56.

Fernando Portuondo claimed, without citations, that by 1869, there were more than 100,000 Cubans in exile, mostly in the United States. In contrast, Cuban history Professor Diana Abad noted in 1984 that by the end of October 1869, there were "between 2,500 and 2,800 Cubans in Key West." In 1989, historian Gerald E. Poyo erroneously estimated that by the mid-1870s there were "12,000 émigrés" from Cuba in America. These figures have been repeated by other writers, and the latest book on nineteenth-century Key West omits the exact number of Cuban residents and their socioeconomic status between 1870 and 1880.⁴

The history of Key West is a multi-ethnic account that reflects the international diplomacy and economic development of the nineteenth century. Key West was ceded to Juan Pablo Salas on August 26, 1815, as a land grant for services rendered to the Spanish governor of Florida. Salas had been an artillery officer, the St. Augustine postmaster, and the governor's secretary. The Spaniards called the island *Cayo Hueso* (Bone Key) because of the "innumerable human remains" found there. Four years later, Florida was passed to the United States under the terms of the Adams-Onís Treaty. In 1821, Mobile merchant John W. Simonton purchased Key West from Salas for two thousand dollars. The following year, a custom house was established and the U.S. Navy built a post on the island to operate against Caribbean pirates and to protect the trade with Cuba and the Gulf of Mexico. At the time of its incorporation on January 8, 1828, Key West was home to a few hundred inhabitants, mainly wreckers, fishermen, and sponge-gatherers.⁵

Key West first experienced the political problems of colonial Cuba on May 20, 1850, when the expeditionary steamer *Creole* entered its port at full speed, bypassing the quarantine station. The

4. Justo Zaragoza, *Las Insurrecciones en Cuba* (Madrid, ES: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernandez, 1872), 2, 823 n. 39; Juan Bellido de Luna, *La Anexión de Cuba a los Estados Unidos* (New York: Hernandez's Printing and Translating, 1888), 11; Fernando Portuondo, *Historia de Cuba hasta 1898* (Havana: Editorial Nacional de Cuba, 1950), 434; Diana Abad, "Las emigraciones cubanas en la Guerra de los Diez Años: Apuntes," *Santiago* 53 (1984): 159; Gerald E. Poyo, "With All, and for the Good of All": *The Emergence of Popular Nationalism in the Cuban Communities of the United States, 1848-1898* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989), 42-43; and Consuelo E. Stebbins, *City of Intrigue, Nest of Revolution: A Documentary History of Key West in the Nineteenth Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007), 84.

5. American vessels traveling to and from Key West to Havana and Matanzas averaged about fifty a week in 1823. Browne, *Key West*, 7, 50, 70-71, 73, 99; Gerardo Castellanos G., *Motivos de Cayo Hueso (Contribución a la historia de las*

boat struck the wharf as the Spanish warship *Pizarro*, giving chase, passed within 100 yards with its ports raised at battle stations. The five hundred filibusters aboard the *Creole* almost swamped the steamer while scrambling for shore. The men, led by General Narciso López, had arrived from Cárdenas, Cuba, after a failed invasion to free the island from Spanish despotism. After sacking the grocery stores of Spaniards Albert Arnau and Antonio Cintas, the filibusters left Key West, although a few of those wounded at Cárdenas remained on the island for months. The 1850 Federal census indicates that when the filibusters arrived, there were 1,943 residents in Key West, including six Cubans and twenty Spaniards. A decade later, the local population had grown to 2,397, including twenty-six Cubans and thirty Spaniards, making it the second largest city in Florida.⁶

During the American Civil War, Florida was a Confederate state but Key West and Fort Taylor remained under Union control. The brick and granite fortification commanded the large and deep harbor protected by reefs. Some Cubans and Spaniards served in the Union army on the island. Charles Stewart, an eighteen-year-old druggist born in Havana, joined the 90th New York Volunteer Infantry regiment in Brooklyn on September 30, 1861, for three years. He was the drummer for Company G when his regiment

emigraciones revolucionarias cubanas en los Estados Unidos) (Havana, CU: Ucar, García y Cía, 1935), 53, 65-66, 86; Manuel Deulofeu, *La Emigración: Notas Históricas* (Cienfuegos, CU: Imp. De M. Mestre, 1904), 10-11; Maureen Ogle, *Key West: History of an Island of Dreams* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 4-5, 15, 24; J. Wills Burke, *The Streets of Key West: A History Through Street Names* (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 2004), 2-3, 131; "The Florida Keys," *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, December 1856, 568; "Wrecking on the Florida Keys," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, April 1859, 577; "Key West," *New York Times*, 11 January 1874; "Afloat With a Florida Sponger," *The Living Age*, 25 July 1885, 249; and Kirk Munroe, "Sponge and Spongers of the Florida Reef," *Scribner's Magazine*, November 1892, 639.

6. The Cubans residing in Key West in 1850 were forty-two-year-old teacher J. J. de la Cruz and his teenage son; thirty-two-year-old merchant Joseph Vigil; thirty-year-old illiterate mariner Joseph Cordova; twenty-six-year-old cigar maker Osa Toscaus; and twenty-seven-year-old María Presas, married to a Spanish confectioner. 1850 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County; Richardson Hardy, *The History and Adventures of the Cuban Expedition* (Cincinnati, OH: Lorenzo Straton, 1850), 48-49; O.D.D.O. [J. C. Davis], *The History of the Late Expedition to Cuba* (New Orleans, LA: Daily Delta, 1850), 81; Browne, *Key West*, 115-16; *New Orleans Evening Picayune*, 28 June 1850; Ambrosio Gonzales, "On to Cuba," *New Orleans Times Democrat*, 30 March 1884; Antonio Rafael de la Cova, *Cuban Confederate Colonel: The Life of Ambrosio José Gonzales* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 68-69; Raoul Alpizar Poyo, *Cayo Hueso y Jose Dolores Poyo* (Havana, CU: Imp. P. Fernández y Cía., 1947), 14; and 1860 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County.

departed for Key West on January 5, 1862. Eight months later he died of typhoid fever and was interred in grave 115 at the military cemetery behind the army barracks. Emanuel Cruso, an eighteen-year-old Spanish sailor residing in Havana, joined the 90th New York Regiment on November 7, 1862, at Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas. Rafael Pérez, a sixteen-year-old Cuban residing in Key West with his cigar-maker father, signed up as a private at the local recruiting depot of the 47th Pennsylvania Infantry on May 20, 1863. The regiment had been on garrison duty at Fort Taylor since the previous year.⁷

After the conflict ended, new communication and transportation links strengthened the ties between Key West and Havana. In 1867, a telegraph cable linked the two cities and three steamer lines provided passage to New York, New Orleans, and Cedar Key, Florida. The outbreak of the Ten Years' War the following year contributed to the expansion of local commerce, trade, and manufactures to accommodate the war's refugees.

The influx of Cubans quickly followed the actions of Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, a wealthy planter and lawyer in Oriente province: he freed his slaves and initiated an independence uprising on October 10, 1868. During the first two years, the insurrection quickly spread through the eastern half of Cuba, destroying sugar plantations and encouraging slaves to revolt. This prompted cruelties and atrocities from Spanish loyalists against suspected or imagined separatists throughout the island. As a result, the first Cuban exiles reached Key West on December 18, 1868; Luis and Manuel Cepeda, Vicente Cervantes, and José Valdés arrived in a schooner voyage from Havana. Newspapers afterward reported that Key West "is at present, literally overrun with Cuban refugees, and every vessel, steamer, yacht or smack arriving from Havannah [sic], is generally crowded with them." The exiles were met at the dock by compatriots who greeted them with shouts of "Viva Cuba Libre!"⁸

The Key West Cuban community quickly moved from refugee status to organize as revolutionaries. A Philadelphia newspaper

7. Ogle, *Key West*, 57, 61-62; Burke, *The Streets of Key West*, 131-35; Charles Stewart and Emanuel Cruso, 90th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Compiled Military Service Record, RG 94, NA; Raphael Perez, 47th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Compiled Military Service Record, RG 94, NA; and 1860 Florida Federal Census, Key West, 34.

8. Walter C. Maloney, *A Sketch of the History of Key West, Florida* (Newark, NJ: Advertiser Printing House, 1876), 30; Browne, *Key West*, 103; Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, José M. Pérez Cabrera, Juan J. Remos, Emeterio S. Santovenia, *Historia de la Nación Cubana* (Havana: Editorial Historia de la Nación Cubana,

informed on January 28, 1869 that many Cuban exiles had just landed at Key West and that "more are on the way hither." Three weeks later, 137 Cubans reached the island, which was further being "overrun with refugees." On March 12, forty-two expatriates, organized into the *Rifleros de La Habana*, departed Key West on a filibuster expedition on the vessel *El Salvador* that landed in Camagüey, Cuba. Shortly thereafter, Vicente Martínez Ybor, a fifty-year-old Spaniard residing in Havana with an estate worth \$100,000, moved his cigar factory *El Príncipe de Gales* to Key West after rumors regarding his suspected disloyalty led to an attack on his property. He was accompanied by his twenty-four-year-old second wife Mercedes and his five children. The oldest son, nineteen-year-old Eduardo, was a clerk in his cigar factory. At that time, there were five cigar factories in Key West employing "one thousand men in the manufacture of genuine Havana cigars (Table 2)."⁹

Table 1. Cuban male cigar makers in Key West represented in the 1870 census.

Race	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total	χ^2	Sig.
White	249 (51.9)	231 (48.1)	480	1.038	.595
Mulatto	4 (36.4)	7 (63.6)	11		
Black	13 (52.0)	12 (48.0)	25		

1952), 5: 10, 65; Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, *Guerra de los Diez Años 1868-1878* (Havana, CU: Cultural, S.A., 1950), 1: 34-44; Castellanos, *Motivos*, 130; Rolando Alvarez Estévez, *La emigración cubana en Estados Unidos 1868-1878* (Havana, CU: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1986), 39; Deulofeu, *La Emigración*, 11; C. C. Andrews, "Our Commerce with Cuba, Porto Rico, and Mexico," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July 1879, 87; *Macon Weekly Georgia Telegraph*, March 26, 1869; *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier* (Maine), 26 March 1869; and Juan Pérez Rolo, *Mis recuerdos* (s.l.: s.n., 192?), 9, 27.

9. The 5,016 residents in Key West included 76 soldiers stationed in the U.S. Army barracks and eleven sailors on a revenue cutter. Prominent Cubans who arrived in Key West by 1870 included thirty-six-year-old grocer Jacinto Borroto and his brother, twenty-five-year-old cigar maker Francisco Borroto; thirty-seven-year-old cigar manufacturer J. J. Navarro; thirty-six-year-old grocer Francisco Barranco; sixty-year-old retiree Esteban Parodi; and forty-four-year-old cigar manufacturer Fernando Valdéz. "Cuban Refugees at Key West," *Philadelphia North American And United States Gazette*, 28 January 1869, 2; "Cuban Refugees," *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, 19 February 1869; Pérez Rolo, *Mis recuerdos*, 9, 27; Browne, *Key West*, 117, 125; 1870 Federal Census, Monroe County, Key West, 24; Mercedes R. Martinez, 5 November 1875 and 18 October 1879, Passport Applications, 1795-1905, M1372, RG 59, NA; Alpizar, *Cayo Hueso*, 15; L. Glenn Westfall, *Key West: Cigar City U.S.A.* (Key West: The Historic Key West Preservation Board, 1984), 22-23; Deulofeu, *La Emigración*, 13-14; Castellanos, *Motivos*, 181.

The 1870 Key West census listed 5,016 residents, including 1,047 Cubans (20.8 percent), 874 Bahamians (17.4 percent), and only seventeen Spaniards. The Cuban émigrés were overwhelmingly white (976) in contrast to seventy-one Afro-Cubans. In comparison, the 1870 census of Cuba totaled 1,399,811 people, with 763,176 classified white (54.5 percent), 238,927 free colored (17.1 percent), 363,288 slaves (25.9 percent), and 34,420 Asians (2.5 percent). Cuba had been receiving contraband African slaves until 1866 and the bondsmen had little opportunity to escape abroad. However, a chi-squared test indicated that there were no significant differences in frequencies regarding Cuban race or gender in the 1870 Key West census (Table 2).¹⁰

Table 2. Cuban race and gender in Key West represented in the 1870 census.

Race	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total	χ^2	Sig.
White	480 (49.2)	496 (50.8)	976	.095	.954
Mulatto	11 (52.4)	10 (47.6)	21		
Black	25 (50.0)	25 (50.0)	50		

The 1870 Federal census enumerated 6,688 Cuban-born residents in the United States. For more than half a century, Cubans had been attracted to New York City for schooling and business opportunities, or while in transit to other cities or summer resorts such as Saratoga Springs. In 1870, there were 2,832 Cubans in the greater New York City area. Another 1,014 exiles were in New Orleans, some of whom had ties to the community since its Spanish colonial era of 1763-1800. The émigrés settling in New York included wealthy planters, eminent lawyers, and professionals, who were the social, political, and cultural representation of Cuban society. Many of them had previously visited the metropolis, maintained entrepreneurial ties, and enjoyed the museums, libraries, parks, and social life available there. In contrast, the Key West exile community was comprised largely of the working class. One-third of the Cubans enumerated in the 1870 Key West census were between the ages of sixteen and thirty. A chi-squared test

10. 1870 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County; U.S. Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Transmitted to Congress with the Annual Message of the President, December 2, 1872* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1873), 586-87.

showed that there were significantly more female refugees under the age of thirty (Table 3).¹¹

Table 3. Age cohorts of Cubans in Key West represented in the 1870 census

Gender	0-15	16-30	31-45	46-60	61-90	Total	χ^2	Sig.
Male	169 (32.8)	164 (31.8)	133 (25.8)	42 (8.1)	8 (1.6)	516	9.705	.046
Female	205 (38.6)	173 (32.6)	101 (19.0)	38 (7.2)	14 (2.6)	531		

A Northern visitor to Key West described it as being “shorn of its beauties” and presenting “a dreary aspect.” The island was five miles long and one mile at its greatest width. The settlement, called Conch town, was laid out on the western end of the island. The sandy streets were “broad, and for the most part, laid out rectangularly.” Some were paved with inverted ale bottles packed close together. Key West had an adjacent 340-acre salt pond and the island was “well wooded with a strong growth of shrubs and small timber.” Pelicans and frigate birds fluttered about and a myriad of terrestrial shellfish crawled everywhere. The flora contained “a dense chaparral, thickly studded with cactus of several varieties,” the most abundant being the prickly pear cactus. Key West lacked artesian wells or springs and fresh water had to be imported, distilled, or caught in rooftop cisterns.¹²

The Key West inhabitants were described by a *New York Times* correspondent as “an odd lot—drifts from all quarters of the globe, the mass however being negroes, Cuban refugees, and the mixed descendants of the old buccaneers who, afore time, dominated these keys and all the adjacent waters.” Hardly any crime or robbery was reported on the island. The local police usually arrested drunks, brawlers, and navy sailors. In July 1870, there were only two prisoners in the Monroe County jail, neither of them Cuban. Four years later, Monroe County officials publicly praised the

11. Other port cities with major Cuban immigration populations were Philadelphia, 305; Baltimore, 214; Boston, 65; Jacksonville, FL, 65; Charleston, SC, 59. Juan J. E. Casasús, *La emigración cubana y la independencia de la patria* (Havana, CU: Editorial Lex, 1953), 66, 70.

12. J. B. Holder, “Along the Florida Reef,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, April 1871, 708, 713; “Key West,” *New York Times*, 11 January 1874; Castellanos, *Motivos*, 88; Deulofeu, *La Emigración*, 15; and “A Queer Town,” *New York Times*, 2 January 1874.

Cuban work ethic and stated that there was no need to augment the Key West constabulary, in spite of the large influx of refugees.¹³

The growing number of exiles prompted hundreds of new dwellings to spread beyond the city limits by 1870. The houses were built with candlewood, except the brick government buildings and the Western Union Telegraph office. While most abodes were small, low, and lacked chimneys, there were "several fine residences, and a number of neat cottages." They contained "fragile doors and glass and lattice windows," broad verandas with wicker seats, lounges, and hammocks. Fine grapes grew across garden frames. Every home was "shaded and embowered in tropical trees and shrubbery," including tall coconut palms, banana, orange and guava trees. The importation of building materials raised the price of homes to \$10,000, more than double the amount nationwide. This construction boom benefitted the thirteen Cuban carpenters who assisted in altering the island's physical landscape.¹⁴

By February 1874, after the Ten Years' War had been contained to Oriente province and Céspedes and many other rebel leaders were dead or in exile, there were "About one thousand Cuban refugees" at Key West, providing "most of the workmen in the cigar factories." The war ended in stalemate in 1878 due to various military and political reasons: The rebels on the island and in exile were ideologically divided; filibuster expeditions ended in May 1873; the Liberation Army had decreased to 4,000 soldiers due to deaths and desertions; and the United States government refused to recognize the patriots as belligerents. It is estimated that 50,000 Cubans died during the war and the national economic loss was reckoned at \$300 million. The Zanjón peace accord did not abolish slavery but sixteen thousand slaves who joined the rebellion received their freedom and some went into exile.¹⁵

13. "A Queer Town"; 1870 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, 109; Gerald Poyo, "Key West and the Cuban Ten Years War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (January 1979), 299; and Castellanos, *Motivos*, 90.

14. The 1880 Florida Federal census classified the four Cuban house carpenters as racially white. There were also nine other Cuban regular carpenters, five were white, three were mulatto, and one was black. Browne, *Key West*, 117; Burke, *The Streets of Key West*, 153; Castellanos, *Motivos*, 90; Alpizar, *Cayo Hueso*, 13; "A Queer Town"; "Along the Florida Reef," 709; "Key West," *New York Times*, 11 January 1874; and 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County.

15. *Galveston Daily News* (Houston, Texas), 6 February 1874; Fernando Figueredo, *La Revolución de Yara* (Havana, CU: M. Pulido, 1902), 254-58; Hugh Thomas,

Meanwhile, the Cuban population of Key West remained fluid as the port operated as a transit point to other cities and supported a growing circular migration from their homeland. The 1880 Florida Federal Census enumerated exactly 10,000 residents of Key West, among them 2,388 Cubans (23.88 percent). These included 1,228 males (51.4 percent) and 1,162 females (48.6 percent). The civil status of the males was 596 single, 557 married, 65 widowed, four divorced, and no data for six. The civil status of the females was 528 married, 493 single, 136 widowed, four divorced, and no data for one. The overwhelming majority of Cubans had established their own residence. The census classified only 138 (0.05 percent) as boarders in the homes of other Cubans. The ages ranged from a newborn baby to an eighty-four-year-old white Cuban male tinsmith. As in the earlier census a chi-squared analysis indicated that significantly more youthful Cubans, especially females under thirty years of age, resided in Key West in 1880. These included 134 females ten years old or less. This same pattern was reflected in the 1870 census (Table 4).¹⁶

Table 4. Age cohorts of Cubans in Key West represented in the 1880 census

Gender	0-15	16-30	31-45	46-60	61-84	Total	χ^2	Sig.
Male	275 (22.4)	406 (33.1)	370 (30.2)	145 (11.5)	30 (2.4)	1226	11.812	.019
Female	317 (27.3)	389 (33.5)	295 (25.4)	126 (10.8)	35 (3.0)	1162		

The 1880 Florida Federal Census racially enumerated the Cubans as 1,878 whites, 314 mulattos, and 198 blacks. The males comprised 967 whites, 167 mulattos, and 94 blacks. The females were classified as 911 whites, 147 mulattos, and 104 blacks. Seventy-one Cubans had one or both parents of foreign birth. Thirty-one of these had a father born in Spain or the Canary Islands. Twelve of the Afro-Cubans, equally divided between males and females, were the offspring of African-born slaves. Another two Cubans had a Spanish father and an African mother. Two young Cuban males were the sons of a Chinese father and an Afro Cuban mother. Two

Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 264-70; and Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 16.

16. 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, analyzed with SPSS 17.0.

other Cubans had an American father and a Cuban mother. A chi-squared test determined that there were no significant differences between the Cuban exiles when examined by race and gender (Table 5). The results indicate that comparable frequencies of Cuban male and female whites, mulattos, and blacks resided in Key West.¹⁷

Table 5. Cuban race and gender in Key West represented in the 1880 census.

Race	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total	χ^2	Sig.
White	965 (51.4)	911 (48.6)	1876	1.6197	.445
Mulatto	167 (53.2)	147 (46.8)	314		
Black	94 (47.5)	104 (52.5)	198		

There was little foreign intermarriage among the expatriates. There were 556 married males between the ages of nineteen and sixty-eight. Sixteen had married women born in the Bahamas and a dozen had spouses from Florida. Four had wives born in New York and three had spouses from Louisiana. There were 527 married females between the ages of fourteen and eighty-one. Only one was wed to an American. Four were married to Chinese who had migrated to Cuba as indentured servants. Three other women were espoused to Spaniards and one each to men from the Canary Islands, Mexico, and South America.¹⁸

Cubans lived on thirty-one streets in Key West in 1880. Twenty-one of them were racially integrated, in contrast to the segregation practiced in other Florida cities. One hundred thirty-one (.07 percent) white Cubans resided on the other ten streets, in the northern part of town. The largest group of non-integrated white Cubans, sixty-eight equally split between men and women, lived on William Street. Fourteen of them (20.5 percent), also evenly divided between men and women, were illiterate. Twenty-seven of these white men were cigar makers, while sixteen of the women were homemakers and another seven were cigar factory workers. Thomas Street residents were almost evenly divided between Afro-Cubans and their white countrymen. It contained the largest nucleus of blacks, sixty-four (32.3 percent), along with twenty-seven (8.6 percent) mulattos, and 102 (5.4) whites. The largest

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

number of Cuban mulattos, forty-nine (15.6 percent), lived on Southard Street, which was also home to thirty-three (16.7 percent) of their black compatriots and 133 (7.1 percent) whites. The greatest Cuban integration was on Duval Street, residence to 285 (15.2 percent) of the whites, thirty-eight (12.1 percent) of the mulattos, and thirty-six (18.2 percent) of the blacks. Whitehead Street was home to 303 (16.1 percent) of the whites, 39 (12.4 percent) of the mulattos, and twelve (6.1 percent) of the blacks. A chi-squared test indicated that these observed differences were statistically significant (Table 6). Southard Street ran in a north-south direction and was traversed in subsequent order by Duval, Whitehead, and Thomas streets. *Barrio de Gato* village, which included Duval and Whitehead streets, encompassed the cigar factory of Eduardo Hidalgo Gato. Cigar manufacturers built clusters of cottage "colonies" around their factories which they sold or rented to employees through payroll deductions.¹⁹

Table 6. Cuban integrated streets in Key West represented in the 1880 census.

Race	Duval	Southard	Thomas	Whitehead	Total	χ^2	Sig.
White	284 (34.6)	133 (16.2)	102 (12.4)	302 (36.8)	821	130.102	.000
Mulatto	38 (24.8)	49 (32.1)	27 (17.6)	39 (25.5)	153		
Black	36 (24.8)	33 (22.8)	64 (44.1)	12 (8.3)	145		

The exiles modified most street names by designating them with Spanish identifiers. Simonton was called *Tablas* because boards covered a ditch; Eaton became *Iglesias* due to its various churches; Southard was dubbed *Cuarteles* in reference to the U.S. Army barracks on one end and the entrance to Ft. Zachary Taylor on the other; Front became *Remates* for its public auction blocks; Duval was *Bandera*, because of a flagpole by the dock where a ban-

19. The 1870 Federal census for Key West omitted street data, in contrast to the 1880 census. Cubans clustered in their own neighborhoods, appearing in the 1870 census mostly in pages 17-24, 61-64, 81-84, and 97-107. The integrated streets that Cubans lived on were Angela, Ann, Bahama, Caroline, Division, Duval, Eaton, Elizabeth, Emma, Fitzpatrick, Fleming, Front, Greene, New, Olivia, Petrona, Simonton, Southard, Thomas, Wall, Watson, and Whitehead. The nonintegrated streets were Charles, E. Fleming, Frances, Garden, Grinnell, Margaret, Watson, William, Windsor Lane, and Smith's Alley. Ann L. Henderson and Gary R. Mormino, eds., *Spanish Pathways in Florida/Caminos Españoles en la Florida* (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 1991), 286; and 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, analyzed with SPSS 17.0.

ner was raised to announce the arrival of a ship from Cuba; Ann was referred to as *Callejón de San Carlos* for the initial location of that exile club; Charles was the *Callejón de los Muertos*, for the funeral home of William W. Warren; Emma was *Hospital* in reference to the Marine Hospital; Thomas was called *Fambá* because of its largest number of black inhabitants; Whitehead was *Farola* for the location of the lighthouse; Elizabeth was renamed *Esponjas* alluding to the sponge warehouse of John Lowe; Bahama was the *Callejón de Poyo*, identifying the residence of José D. Poyo Estenoz; and Center became *Callejón de la Ceiba* due to the presence of a large silk-cotton tree. López Lane, off Margaret Street, was named after the filibuster general.²⁰

The Cubans labored at forty-two occupations, besides the predominant cigar industry, which employed 767 exiles (32 percent) in various tasks. These included the cigar maker, assorter, manufacturer, factory worker, foreman, clerk, and lector. The cigar rollers paid the lector to read newspapers, classical works like *Don Quixote*, and poetry, while they worked. The assorter selected the tobacco leaf according to color and quality. The factory workers included the strippers who removed the stems from the leaf before it went to those rolling the product. The cigar rollers incessantly worked while frequently sipping coffee. They earned "from forty to fifty dollars per week," and the cigar packers made "as high as sixty dollars per week."²¹

20. Alpizar, *Cayo Hueso*, 13; Pérez Rolo, *Mis recuerdos*, 11-13, 30; and Burke, *The Streets of Key West*, 24, 50, 58, 103.

21. Other occupations held by Cuban exiles in 1880 were for males: baker, 2; barber, 5; bookkeeper, 2; brick mason, 1; butcher, 1; carpenter, 5; house carpenter, 4; cigar factory foreman, 1; cigar factory worker, 39; cigar maker, 699; cigar maker apprentice, 8; cigar manufacturer, 8; clerk in cigar factory, 3; clerk in Custom House, 2; clerk in grocery store, 7; clerk in store, 7; coffee roaster, 3; confectioner, 1; Consul of Peru, 1; cook, 13; copyist, 1; dentist, 1; drayman, 1; druggist clerk, 1; dry goods merchant, 4; minister, 2; farmer, 2; grocer, 30; huckster, 2; jeweler, 3; justice of the peace, 1; laborer, 18; lawyer, 1; liquor dealer, 1; mechanic, 1; merchant, 4; musician, 2; pharmacist, 1; photographer, 1; physician, 6; printer, 2; restaurant keeper, 7; school teacher, 2; seaman, 9; servant, 6; shoe maker, 4; tailor, 5; tinsmith, 1; wheelwright, 1; no occupation, 148; at home, 80; attending school, 49; retired merchant, 3; gentleman, 1. Female occupations were: cigar factory worker, 59; cigar maker, 10; cook, 3; grocer, 3; homemaker, 279; laborer, 2; laundress, 11; school teacher, 2; seamstress, 2; servant, 6; no occupation, 378; at home, 362; attending school, 45. 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, analyzed with SPSS 17.0; Castellanos, *Motivos*, 140, 202-03; and Maloney, *Sketch*, 26.

Cigar factory employees obtained their meals at home or at any of the seven Cuban restaurants offering traditional cuisine of chicken and rice, black beans, *yuca*, and other specialties transplanted to Key West. Gerardo Castellanos remembered that the cost of life was very cheap. A home rented for one dollar per week. Imported meat was ten cents a pound. A meal of sardines and grunt cost five cents. Seafood was obtained by fishing from the docks. The émigrés also created food cooperatives. Due to the short distances on the island, there were no transportation expenses. In marked contrast, Cuban historian Rolando Alvarez Estévez alleged, without citations, that the Cuban emigration "was nuanced, in general, by poverty."²²

The cigar industry had blossomed since 1831, when a fifty-man factory owned by William H. Wall, a shipwrecked Englishman, began exporting cigars to New York. Four decades later, Cuban tobacco and sugar were the main import items, generating customs receipts from \$20,000 to \$35,000 monthly. The sugar was shipped in boxes, weighing an average of 405 pounds, that arrived in small boats and were forwarded north in larger vessels. The tobacco was mostly consigned to the local cigar factories. Business steadily increased and by the end of December 1872, "350,000 cigars, valued at \$25,200 were shipped to New York." A year later, there were some fifteen cigar factories, large and small, with some 1,200 employees, producing an average of one million cigars monthly. Key West cigars were advertised for sale across the United States during the 1870s in Boston, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Little Rock, and Denver. Chicago had the United States Key West Cigar Agency on Madison Street.²³

In 1874, twenty-nine-year-old Eduardo Hidalgo Gato was the first Cuban to establish a major cigar factory in Key West. He had fled Cuba in 1869 to New York City, where two years later he founded a cigar enterprise. The profits allowed him to expand his

22. Castellanos, *Motivos*, 139-40, 159; and Alvarez, *La emigración cubana*, 41.

23. The total amount of duties received by the customs house in 1874 was \$222,371.35. Browne, *Key West*, 101; "Key West," *New York Times*, 11 January 1874; Maloney, *Sketch*, 25; *Pomeroy's Democrat* (Chicago), 4 January 1873; "Key West Cigar Factories," *Macon Georgia Weekly Telegraph*, 23 December 1873; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 12 May 1876; *The Indianapolis Sentinel*, 29 July 1872; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 8 June 1879; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, 23 March 1870; *Little Rock Daily Arkansas Gazette*, 13 December 1874; *Denver Daily Rocky Mountain News*, 13 August 1874; and *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 11 May 1877.

business to Key West. Other cigar manufacturers from New York and Havana also extended or moved their entire operation to Key West, especially after Cuban and Spanish cigar makers in New York went on strike in April 1875, when their rates were reduced two dollars per thousand. However, New York continued to be the center for the distribution of the imported leaf and the finished product to world markets.²⁴

By 1876, there were twenty-nine cigar factories in Key West, employing 2,100 men, women, and children. They produced some 171,000 cigars daily, or 62,415,000 annually. The three biggest factories were: *La Rosa Española*, owned by German immigrant Samuel Seidenberg, with more than six hundred workers; *Príncipe de Gales*, of Vicente Martínez Ybor, employing more than four hundred people; and the *Club de Yate*, of McFall and Lawson, with one hundred laborers. The following year, Wolfe & Co. tobacco factory was employing seven hundred Cubans. These enterprises imported their skilled workers and high quality tobacco wrappers and fillers from Cuba. The best Cuban tobacco was grown in the western Vuelta Abajo region of Pinar del Río province. The climate and soil conditions produced a light-colored and aromatic tobacco leaf with a mild flavor that was unique in the world. The "clear Havana" cigar had an international reputation and was expensive. A *New York Times* correspondent complained that the cigars manufactured in Key West were inferior to those made in Cuba because "the sea air

24. Eduardo Hidalgo Gato (6 October 1845-1926) was born in Santiago de las Vegas, Cuba. He joined a separatist conspiracy in Bejucal, which led to his exile in New York in 1869. There, Hidalgo Gato joined the filibuster expedition on the steamer *Catherine Whiting* that was disbanded by the U.S. Navy on 27 June 1869. The following year he was working for a cigar maker in Boston, before returning to New York. Hidalgo Gato became a naturalized American citizen on 28 November 1872. In 1892, Hidalgo Gato was a millionaire entrepreneur in Key West when he became one of the founders of José Martí's Cuban Revolutionary Party and assisted the independence cause with his wealth. After the Cuban republic was founded in 1902, Hidalgo Gato traveled yearly with his wife and some of their six siblings between his homes in Key West and Havana. Westfall, *Key West*, 21, 24-25; Browne, *Key West*, 117; Burke, *The Streets of Key West*, 151; Castellanos, *Motivos*, 185-90; Deulofeu, *La Emigración*, 20-21; María Luisa García Moreno, *Diccionario enciclopédico de historia militar de Cuba*, III (Havana, CU: Ediciones Verde Olivo, 2004), 27; 1870 Massachusetts Federal Census, Boston, 1st Ward, 61; Eduardo Hidalgo Gato passports, 12 February 1877, 24 June 1879, 23 January 1885, 12 May 1894, 7 August 1917, 30 May 1919, and 25 January 1921, U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925, M1372, RG 59, NA; 1900 Florida Federal Census, Key West, 1st Ward, 31; and "The Cigar Makers' Strike," *Daily Constitution* (Middleton, CT), 6 April 1875.

deteriorates the tobacco, or that it undergoes an injurious sweat in the passage." The price of the product was also two-thirds cheaper than those made in Cuba, which had a high import tax. In contrast, duties on the Cuban tobacco leaf were low.²⁵

In 1880, there were fifty-seven cigar manufacturers in Key West, nearly double the number from 1875. The 1880 Federal Census indicates that there were 835 Cubans working in the cigar industry, comprising 766 males and sixty-nine females. The men dominated the cigar maker trade, with women comprising only 1.4 percent of the force. In contrast, women constituted a majority of 60.2 percent of the ninety-eight cigar factory workers. The female labor force was "more reliable, worked longer hours and were paid a lower salary than their male counterparts." In June 1880, there were 282 cigar makers, including five women, who were unemployed from one to twelve months, with the largest number, seventy-three, out of work for four months. Likewise, twenty cigar factory workers, eleven of them females, had been jobless during the previous two to eight months. Seven white male cigar assorters, including four Torres family members, had been workless between two and six months. A chi-square analysis showed that there were significant differences between the Cuban white, mulatto, and black male cigar workers. Whites had the highest rates of employees in the cigar industry and blacks had the lowest numbers (Table 7).²⁶

Table 7. Cuban male cigar workers in Key West represented in the 1880 census.

Race	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total	χ^2	Sig.
White	625 (83.3)	125 (16.7)	750	29.123	.000
Mulatto	97 (78.2)	27 (21.8)	124		
Black	44 (57.9)	32 (42.1)	76		

Afro-Cuban males, comprising blacks and mulattos, labored at seventeen different occupations. Their largest number, 141 (54 percent) worked in the cigar industry, with a majority of 130 being skilled cigar makers. Cuban males of color, in contrast to their

25. "A Queer Town"; Westfall, *Key West*, 8, 26; Ogle, *Key West*, 85-87; "Key West," *New York Times*, 11 January 1874; "Travels in South Florida and Cuba," *Macon Georgia Weekly Telegraph and Journal*, 19 June 1877; and Maloney, *Sketch*, 25-26.
26. Westfall, *Key West*, 15, 29; and 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, analyzed with SPSS 17.0.

white compatriots, were the majority in the trades of barber (three), laborer (twelve), servant (seven), and tailor (four), while exclusively occupying the professions of brick mason, confectioner, cook, grocery store clerk, and wheelwright. Sixty-six Afro-Cuban females (26 percent) were home makers. In comparison to Cuban white women, they comprised half of the seamstresses (one), dominated the trade of laundress, and monopolized the female professions of cook, laborer, and servant.²⁷

The 1880 Florida Federal Census indicates that of the 1,162 Cuban women in Key West, 378 (32.5 percent) had no occupation, 362 (31.1 percent) were listed as "at home," another 279 (24 percent) appeared as "home maker," forty-five girls (3.8 percent) were "at school," and only ninety-eight females (8.4 percent) were in the work force. The homemakers, between the ages of fourteen and eighty-one, included 246 married women, twenty-eight widows, three single and two divorced females. Those enumerated as "at home" were 170 whose ages ranged from babies to nineteen and 192 between the ages of twenty and seventy. As table 8 shows, there were no significant differences in the likelihood of women who worked as homemakers or as employees in the paid occupations open to them among the Cuban white, mulatto, and black women. These statistics indicate that Alvarez Estévez grossly erred when generalizing that in the "struggle for subsistence, the Cuban woman shared the work table with the man, becoming, the same as he, a salaried worker."²⁸

Table 8. Cuban women in Key West represented in the 1880 census.

Race	Homemaker (%)	Workforce (%)	Total	χ^2	Sig.
White	213 (75.0)	71 (25.0)	284	.727	.695
Mulatto	34 (69.4)	15 (30.6)	49		
Black	32 (72.7)	12 (27.3)	44		

Only fifty-nine Cuban women, between the ages of twelve and sixty, were cigar factory workers. They comprised sixty percent of all the female workers. Fifty-two were racially classified as white, six were mulatto, and one was black. Thirty-seven were single, thirteen were married, and nine were widowed. Ten women between the ages of

nineteen and eighty-one were skilled cigar makers. Nine were white and one was black. Five of them were married, three were widowed, and two were single. Eleven females between the ages of nineteen and fifty-eight were laundresses. Four were racially classified as white, four as mulatto, and three as blacks. The youngest was a married mulatto residing in a boarding house. The other washwomen were six unwed and four widows. Six women, four teenagers and two in their forties, worked as servants. They were racially classified as four blacks and two mulattos, and only the eldest was illiterate. Three females between the ages of thirty-nine and forty-five were grocers, two were widowed and one married, and all three were racially classified as white. Three illiterate women, two black and one mulatto, between the ages of thirty-four and forty-three, were cooks. One was married, one was single, and one was divorced. Two other women, a married black thirty-year-old and a white forty-four-year-old widow, were seamstresses. The Valdés sisters, ages thirty-eight and forty-four, unmarried and white, were school teachers. The Villavicencio sisters, ages fifteen and twenty, single and mulatto, were laborers.²⁹

Cuban refugees were highly mobile, with many families having sought opportunities in other major Cuban enclaves in New Orleans or New York prior to their migration to Key West. The census data on place of birth captured the transitory nature of refugee life. Some expatriate women who arrived in Key West with their spouses and children had further offspring in the United States. Other émigrés started families in their adopted homeland. In 1880, the exiles in Key West had 439 children born in Florida, seventeen in Louisiana, fifteen in New York, three in the Bahamas, and one each in Georgia, South Carolina, and Venezuela. Fifty-year-old liquor dealer Miguel Valdéz had a son in New York in 1871, a daughter in Louisiana two years later, another son in Cuba in 1875, and two more sons born in Key West in 1876 and 1878. Thirty-five-year-old bookkeeper Carlo Uhrbach, whose parents were German, had three children born in New York during 1870, 1872, and 1875, a son born in Venezuela the following year, another son born in New York in 1877, and a daughter born in Key West in April 1880.³⁰

The census listed seven Cuban children between the ages of four and seventeen who had been adopted. This group consisted of

27. 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, analyzed with SPSS 17.0.

28. *Ibid.*; and Alvarez, *La emigración cubana*, 41.

29. 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, analyzed with SPSS 17.0.

30. *Ibid.*

three white boys and one white girl, and three Afro-Cuban girls. A forty-three-year-old white Cuban cigar maker and his wife had raised two white Cuban boys ages nine and five. Another forty-three-year-old white Cuban cigar maker and his wife fostered a twelve-year-old white Cuban boy and a four-year-old white Cuban girl. Christina Hovsta, an eight-year-old black girl attending school, had been adopted by an illiterate forty-six-year-old black Cuban female servant. Regla Sorrilla, a seventeen-year-old mulatto female had been fostered by a mulatto couple headed by a cigar maker. Elizabeth Williams, an eight-year-old black Cuban girl, had been raised by an elderly African couple who had been enslaved in Cuba.³¹

Forty Cuban white boys between the ages of eight and sixteen and twenty-nine white girls between the ages of six and sixteen attended school. Likewise, nine Afro-Cuban boys, between the ages of seven and twelve, were in school, as were sixteen Afro-Cuban girls between the ages of seven and nineteen. Thirty-eight Cubans (.02 percent), between the ages of ten and forty-six, could read but could not write. Another 280 Cubans (12.8 percent), between the ages of ten and eighty-four, were enumerated illiterate, although it is not stated if this refers to the English or Spanish language. A chi-squared analysis indicated that there were no significant differences in the frequencies of white and Afro-Cuban children attending school (Table 9).³²

Table 9. Cubans attending school in Key West represented in the 1880 census.

Race	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total	χ^2	Sig.
White Male	111 (11.5)	854 (88.5)	965	6.394	.094
Afro Cuban Male	32 (12.3)	229 (87.7)	261		
White Female	106 (11.6)	805 (88.4)	911		
Afro Cuban Female	43 (17.1)	208 (82.9)	251		

31. Ibid.

32. The 1880 Florida Federal Census classified as "at home" fifty Cuban white boys between the ages of seven and sixteen and thirteen Afro Cuban boys between the ages of nine and thirteen. There were 108 Cuban white girls "at home" between the ages of seven and eighteen and thirty-two Afro-Cuban girls between the ages of six and eighteen. The same census has no data for the status of 62 white Cuban boys between the ages of six and sixteen, and twenty-five Afro-Cuban boys between the ages of six and fifteen. Likewise, there is no information on the status of 128 white Cuban girls between the ages of six and eighteen and twenty-nine Afro-Cuban girls in the same age range. 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, analyzed with SPSS 17.0.

The exiles were generally in good health. There were six Cuban physicians, all of whom were enumerated as white. The most renowned doctor, Manuel R. Moreno, landed at Key West in 1868, after completing four years of medical studies at Havana. He graduated from the Medical College of South Carolina in 1878 and the following year was awarded another medical degree from the University of New York. The 1880 Florida Federal census indicates that only twenty-three expatriates had long-term or debilitating ailments. Two male cigar makers were "deaf or dumb" as were a thirteen-year-old mulatto boy and a twelve-year-old white girl. Two adult white females and a four-year-old white girl had rheumatism. A seventy-four-year-old white female was blind. Two female homemakers in their thirties, one white and the other mulatto, were afflicted with consumption. A cigar maker and a homemaker, both Afro-Cuban adults, had dropsy. Two adult cigar makers, one white and the other mulatto, were handicapped. A cigar maker and a homemaker, both white adults, had a heart ailment. A twenty-one-year-old white male cigar maker had epilepsy. A twenty-three-year-old white female, married to a Canary Islander grocery merchant, had a childbirth infection for more than a year. Mental illness affected three adult females, two white and one black, and two adult males, one white and the other mulatto.³³

33. Manuel R. Moreno (6 January 1840-19 June 1912) became a naturalized American citizen on 21 March 1875. He represented Monroe County in the Florida State legislature in 1889. The following year, Moreno worked for the U.S. government as a yellow fever expert doing research in Mexico, Costa Rica, and Colombia. In 1893-94 he served as sanitary inspector in the port of Cienfuegos, Cuba, for the U.S. Treasury Department, and published various reports on yellow fever. In 1895, Moreno settled in Tampa, Florida, where he continued his medical practice, specializing in children's diseases. He was appointed City Health Officer of West Tampa City. In 1911 Moreno chartered two Masonic lodges in Tampa, Ybor Lodge No. 179 in 1909 and Universal Lodge No. 178. Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, II (Atlanta, GA: The Southern Historical Association, 1902), 629-30; Office of the Clerk, Florida House of Representatives, *The People of Lawmaking in Florida, 1822-1995* (Tallahassee: Florida House of Representatives, 1995), 82; Manuel R. Moreno to Ambrosio José Gonzales, 3 November 5, June and 29 August 1890, 1 and 7 November 1891, 14 May and 2 July 1892, Gonzales Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; Manuel R. de Moreno passport, 13 April 1875, U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1905, M1372, Roll 207, RG 59, NA; J. Roy Crowther, *The Lodges*, vol. 1 of *The Grand Lodge of Florida Free and Accepted Masons History, 1830-1988* (Jacksonville, FL: The Drummond Press, 1988), 303-04; and 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, analyzed with SPSS 17.0.

The Cubans at Key West modified the cultural landscape by attending religious services in the two Episcopal churches, two Methodist churches, a Baptist church, and the Roman Catholic Church of St. Mary, Star of the Sea, whose pastor and assistant were French priests. The latter, built in 1852, was repaired and enlarged in 1870 to accommodate the influx of Cuban refugees. Priests from Havana sometimes assisted in the services. Gerardo Castellanos wrote that for Cuban exiles, "The patriotic and political problem, created resentment toward the religion that Spain officially imposed," the Catholic faith. The Methodists were the first to convert the Cuban refugees. In 1874, Dr. Charles Allen Fulwood became the new pastor of the local Southern Methodist Episcopal Church. A few months later, eighteen-year-old Enrique Benito Someillán, who had attended a Tennessee evangelical institution, arrived in Key West. He was afterward ordained minister and given charge of the Methodist Cuban Mission. In December 1875, it was reported that the Southern Methodists were conducting services in Spanish "among 4,000 Cuban refugees who are living at Key West." Two years later, the Cuban Methodists founded their own church on the corner of Duval and Angela streets. A mission school attracted an average attendance of thirty-five pupils and the Sunday school had "a Cuban department with three teachers and thirty-five scholars." The mission lost many of its seventy-five members after the Ten Years' War ended.³⁴

34. Enrique Benito Someillán Ruedo (3 April 1856-1926) was born in Caibarién, Cuba. His father Pedro Someillán, a grocer, was arrested in February 1869 and deported the following month to Fernando Poo with 250 suspected separatists. The American consul Isaac Stone, a seventy-three-year-old retired merchant, took Enrique and his younger brother Eduardo to his home in St. Augustine, Florida, on 15 September 1869. Enrique was afterward enrolled in an evangelical academy in Tennessee before he moved to Key West in 1874. He briefly returned to Havana with Andrés Silveira in August 1883 and established the first Methodist chapel in a room in the Saratoga Hotel. Someillán then ministered in Jacksonville, Florida, for a few years, before returning to Key West. Burke, *The Streets of Key West*, 144-45; Deulofeu, *La emigración*, 34-37; 1870 Florida Federal Census, St. Augustine, 8; Henry B. Someillán passport, 9 March 1891, U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1905, M1372, Roll 364, RG 59, NA; Schedules of the Florida State Census of 1885, Duval County, M845, roll 2, 837, NA; Sterling A. Neblett, *Methodism's First Fifty Years in Cuba* (Wilmore, KY.: Asbury Press, 1976), 3; A. W. Wilson, *Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Nashville, TN: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1882), 54-56; Marcos Antonio Ramos, *Panorama del Protestantismo en Cuba* (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Caribe, 1986), 97; Castellanos, *Motivos*, 246, 248; "Religious," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 31 December 1875; Maloney, *Sketch*, 37; and Luis Martínez-Fernández, *Protestantism and Political Conflict in the Nineteenth-Century Hispanic Caribbean* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 136.

The Cubans attending St. Paul's Episcopal Church in 1875 included thirty-five-year-old Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, a clerk in the Custom House and son of the Cuban patriot, twenty-year-old grocer Teodoro Pérez, Joaquín León, Alejandro Rodríguez, and thirty-five-year-old Juan Bautista Báez. They petitioned the bishop of Florida to organize an Episcopal church with Spanish-language services. Báez was appointed lay reader for the new St. John's Episcopal Church on January 1, 1876. He became deacon on March 20, 1877, and was ordained minister two years later. Báez also served as rector of St. Paul's until 1880. The new church had some two hundred members but it gradually disbanded after Báez passed away. Data on Cuban Baptists is scarce because the records for the Key West church during 1852-1890 have been lost.³⁵

35. Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y de Céspedes (15 April 1840-30 November 1915) born in Bayamo, Cuba, joined his father in the independence uprising of 10 October 1868. He served in the Liberation Army as colonel until his appointment as provost general on 4 April 1870. In February 1871, Céspedes became chief of staff to Brig. Gen. Luis Figueredo, commanding the Bayamo Division. In August 1872, he was secretary of his father's presidential cabinet. After the patriarch was killed on 27 February 1874, Céspedes went into exile, arriving in New York City on 3 July 1874, on the steamship *Etna* from Jamaica. He resided at 138 E. 15 St. and worked as a merchant in Manhattan, where he became a naturalized American citizen on 19 June 1875. Céspedes moved to Key West shortly thereafter and was elected mayor of the city in 1876. On 7 May 1880, Céspedes received a U.S. passport to travel abroad with his wife Francisca and their six children, four of whom had been born in Key West. Céspedes was back in Manhattan in September 1883, where with Luis Coopat and Julio Barroto they established the commission merchant firm Coopat, Céspedes & Co., at 181 Pearl St. The enterprise purchased cut tobacco that was shipped to Key West. Céspedes left the business after three months. He renewed his U.S. passport on 23 July 1885 and 9 December 1891. In 1896, the widowed Céspedes married Victoria Sariol Cruz, and returned to Cuba after independence. During a 1909 trip to New Orleans, Céspedes listed his occupation as proprietor. He passed away in Havana and was interred in Colón Cemetery. The Rev. Juan Bautista Báez occupied the St. Paul's pulpit again from February to June 1886. "Key West," *New York Times*, 11 January 1874; Maloney, *Sketch*, 34; Browne, *Key West*, 22-24, 29-31, 34-35, 42, 44; Edgar L. Pennington, "The Episcopal Church in Florida," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 56 (March 1938); Castellanos, *Motivos*, 245, 247; Felipa Suárez Ramos, ed., *Diccionario enciclopédico de historia militar de Cuba*, I (Havana, CU: Ediciones Verde Olivo, 2004), 90; Carlos M. de Céspedes, 19 June 1875, Soundex Index to Petitions for Naturalization filed in Federal, State, and Local Courts located in New York City, 1792-1989, NA; 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, 28; Carlos M. de Céspedes passports, 7 May 1880, 23 July 1885, and 9 December 1891, U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1905, M1372, Rolls 234 and 382, RG 59, NA; Coopat, Céspedes & Co., New York City, Vol. 431, p. 600 A/12, R. G. Dun & Co., Baker Library, Harvard University, Boston; and S.S. Excelsior, 4 June 1909, Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1903-1945, T905, Roll 25, RG 36, NA.

Seven Canadian nuns of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary opened a school in 1868 in a former army barracks across from the lighthouse on the corner of Whitehead and Division streets. The curriculum included the sciences, arts and letters for primary and secondary education for white girls. In July 1870, the school had five female students, including two Cubans, twelve-year-old Julia Ponce de León and fourteen-year-old Mary E. Núñez. Three years later, the nuns started a bilingual school for Cuban girls. A Catholic parochial school for white boys was created in 1869. The first public school was founded in 1870 with four teachers and two hundred students. Classes were held in the Masonic temple on Simonton Street.³⁶

The exiles further modified the Key West social order by creating their own institutions to educate their children in Cuban culture and patriotic ideology. An academy was established in the Club San Carlos, which opened its doors on November 11, 1871, in a two-story wooden structure on Ann Street. The building was formerly occupied by the Seidenberg Cigar Co. under the management of Samuel Wolfe and Bernardino Díaz de la Rosa. The splendid inauguration party included patriotic speeches, songs, a play, and comedy acts. The association offered medical assistance to its members and was maintained with individual \$2.50 monthly quotas and other funds gathered through events, raffles, and bazaars. The school for boys, whose first teacher was Alejandro Menéndez, was named Carlos Manuel de Céspedes in honor of the rebel leader. It was one of America's first bilingual and integrated schools. Some one hundred boys attended classes in the daytime and in the evenings separatists gathered in this sanctuary to discuss and assist their cause. Cigar makers also met there to deliberate labor issues.³⁷

36. 1870 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, 124; "Key West," *New York Times*, 11 January 1874; Browne, *Key West*, 22-24; Burke, *The Streets of Key West*, 144; and Maloney, *Sketch*, 40-41.

37. The Club San Carlos was first presided over by Luis Someillán; vice president, Benito Alfonso; secretary, Juan M. Azpeitia, a forty-one-year-old merchant; treasurer, José Romero, a thirty-four-year-old mulatto grocer. Its board of directors included José Chacón, a thirty-one-year-old cigar maker; José González Mendoza, a twenty-eight-year-old cigar maker; Fernando de Armas; Ramón Perdomo, a thirty-one-year-old cigar maker; Eduardo Paredes, a black thirty-nine-year-old cigar maker; José de la Rosa; and Lorenzo Muñoz, a forty-two-year-old cigar maker. The school inspectors were Juan María Reyes, a forty-two-year-old cigar maker; and José Medina Naranjo, a twenty-three-year-old carpenter. Castellanos, *Motivos*, 113-14, 141, 154; Deulofeu, *La Emigración*, 12; Pérez Rolo, *Mis recuerdos*, 12-13; Westfall, *Key West*, 17; Browne, *Key West*, 117; Ogle, *Key West*, 87; and 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West.

The Club San Carlos closed due to the "Panic of 1873" and the ensuing economic depression. That year, educator Rosendo Pando inaugurated the nocturnal *Unificación* School with financial assistance from revolutionary leaders in New York. Another group of patriots later renewed the Club San Carlos School on Green Street with teacher Aurelio Silveira. In 1874, the Club San Carlos was reorganized in a larger building on Fleming Street by José D. Poyo Estenoz, José V. Roig, and José C. Morilla. A new female institute was named after patriot Francisco Vicente Aguilera. Its first teachers were José García Toledo and his wife Elisa Figueredo, daughter of the martyred patriot Pedro "Perucho" Figueredo. The children participated in skits and plays on patriotic anniversaries. The Cubans avidly celebrated holidays and the arrival of visiting revolutionary leaders with serenading parties, picnics, dances, soirees, fishing trips to the docks and nearby keys, processions, music bands, and patriotic caravans that raised funds for the independence cause. These racially integrated events sometimes lasted for days and included bicycle races, climbing greased poles, and sack races, among other activities. The Anglos who referred to Cubans derisively as "dagoes" considered their merriment "a most ridiculous farce" and of "disgust among all good people here." They also complained that the exiles "introduced the custom of allowing their children to run about unclothed."³⁸

In the process of establishing themselves in Key West, the émigrés instilled community cohesiveness through patriotic, fraternal, recreational, and mutual assistance orders. The Patriotic Association of Key West was founded on July 17, 1869, in the home of Juan Pomares. Its first president was Pedro Franchi Alfaro, who was superseded by Luis Cabaleiro, Juan María Reyes,

38. Those reorganizing the Club San Carlos in 1874 were Martín Herrera Montero, a twenty-four-year-old restaurant keeper; Benito Alfonso; forty-four-year-old cigar factory clerk Bernardino Díaz de la Rosa; Vicente Bueno, a forty-one-year-old cigar maker; Luis Someillán; Juan M. Reyes; thirty-four-year-old José D. Poyo; José Romero, a thirty-four-year-old mulatto grocer; José V. Roig; José C. Morilla, a forty-nine-year-old cigar maker; and Juan Guerra was the teacher. The building disintegrated in the fire of 1886 that destroyed much of Key West. It was rebuilt on Duval Street, where Cuban independence leader José Martí addressed the exiles. The wooden structure collapsed during a 1919 hurricane and a new masonry building was completed in 1924 at its present location. Castellanos, *Motivos*, 114-17, 249-50; Deulofeu, *La Emigración*, 31; "A Queer Town"; and *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 26 November 1869, 2.

and José Dolores Poyo. The organization had 114 members who initially raised \$150 to \$200 weekly for the independence cause. In April 1870, Reyes created Los Pares association and "The War Chest" to accrue funds for the liberation effort. The Patriotic Association of the South was established by José María Izaguirre on November 17, 1871, to unify more than a score of Cuban exile groups in Key West. Shortly thereafter, political divisiveness prompted the appearance of the Confidential Agency of the Republic, presided by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes with treasurer Martín Herrera Montero, a twenty-four-year-old restaurant keeper. A similar rival organization, the Cuban Revolutionary Committee, was founded on April 1, 1874. The women also organized various patriotic groups, including the Club Mercedes de Varona, presided by Enriqueta Domínguez de Valdés, the *Hospitalarias Cubanas*, the Adriana del Castillo, and the *Hijas de la Libertad*.³⁹

The *Ateneo*, a recreational club, was founded in 1870 on the second floor of the grocery store of thirty-one-year old Luis Someillán on Duval and Front streets. The *Recreo Juvenil* society for youths was formed that year by teenager Belisario G. de Mendoza. They would meet on the long dock at the end of Carolina Street, dubbed the *Muelle de los Amores*, where courtships flourished into romances. The first music band on the island, *La Libertad*, was directed by José González Mendoza and had more than fifteen members. They played at patriotic, civic, and funerary events. The Cuban Freemasons chartered the Masonic Dr. Felix Varela Lodge No. 64, on February 13, 1873, and soon had fifty-five members. Two years later, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows established the Cuba Lodge No. 15 with thirty members. Angel de Loño was later elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the order. In 1876, the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows organized "St. Rafael, No. 1706" with thirty Cubans. A branch of the Orden Caballeros de la Luz, a paramasonic fraternity founded in

39. The leaders of the Club Mercedes de Varona were Enriqueta Domínguez de Valdés, President; Francisca Bello, Vice President; Rita Muñoz de Valdés, Secretary; Rosario Bello, Vice Secretary; Adelaida Reyes de Alcántara, Treasurer; Corina Aragón de Oliva, Vice Treasurer; Delegates: Altigracia Marchena de Román, Guadalupe Valdés, Rosario Muro and Concepción Abael. Castellanos, *Motivos*, 156, 160, 164-65; Pérez Rolo, *Mis recuerdos*, 9-10; Casasús, *La Emigración Cubana*, 149-53; Deulofeu, *La Emigración*, 27-29; and 1870 Florida Federal Census, Key West, Monroe County, 62, 81.

Philadelphia in 1873 to assist Cuban patriots, was established in Key West.⁴⁰

The Cuban exiles published revolutionary weekly newspapers that were usually free to readers. *El Republicano*, edited by forty-year-old Juan María Reyes, appeared in 1870. It was printed in the home of cigar manufacturer John H. Gregory on Duval Street, across from the Russell House hotel. Reyes, nicknamed Nito, had previously started his career as a lector at the Wolfe & Co. factory. José Dolores Poyo, who had worked for the *Gaceta Oficial de la Habana* and had been a lector in the *El Príncipe de Gales* cigar factory, printed *La Igualdad* in 1876 and two years later began *El Yara*. In 1879, Aurelio Silveira founded *El Artesano*. These publications "maintained the ideal of independence, preached war, and the conspiracy against Spain." In contrast, the Key West *Dispatch* was the only English-language weekly during 1867-80.⁴¹

Newspapers promoted a revolutionary spirit that, on one occasion, produced divisions within the community. An article in *El*

40. The members of Masonic Dr. Felix Varela Lodge, No. 64 were: Lino Infante, Worshipful Master; twenty-seven-year-old Pedro Magin Vidal, Senior Warden; forty-four-year-old physician Pedro Someillán, Junior Warden; forty-one-year-old cigar manufacturer José Navarro, Treasurer; thirty-six-year-old editor José D. Poyo Estenez, Secretary; forty-four-year-old merchant Juan Modesto Azpeitia, Senior Deacon; thirty-two-year-old cigar maker Frederico Sánchez, Junior Deacon; twenty-six-year-old cigar maker Gregorio Cruz, Tyler; forty-year-old grocer Francisco Barranco Marrero; F. Barranco Miranda; forty-year-old grocer Jacinto Borroto; thirty-nine-year-old Julio F. Borroto; twenty-five-year-old Pedro M. Calvo; thirty-four-year-old cigar maker José Chacón; twenty-five-year-old Hernán Carbonai; thirty-seven-year-old house carpenter Desiderio Castellanos Fernández; forty-four-year-old cigar factory clerk Bernardino Díaz de la Rosa; twenty-five-year-old cigar maker Carlos Díaz Silveira; Bernardo Figueredo; forty-two-year-old cigar maker José Jesús Jorge; twenty-two-year-old cigar maker José Inés Lounders; twenty-six-year-old Bernardo Miyares; thirty-four-year-old Luis Rodríguez; thirty-four-year-old cigar manufacturer thirty-two-year-old Juan José Ramírez; forty-year-old Fernando Sánchez López-Sierra; forty-five-year-old Dionisio José Saez; thirty-four-year-old grocer Luis Someillán; thirty-eight-year-old apothecary Manuel Soria; thirty-one-year-old cigar maker Ricardo Taillefer; twenty-four-year-old cigar maker Juan Terry; thirty-two-year-old cigar manufacturer José Toledo González; and José Valdés Velazco. Castellanos, *Motivos*, 343-44; Crowther, *The Lodges*, 133; *Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge of Florida*, 5874 (Jacksonville, FL: Sun and Press, 1874), 579; Pérez Rolo, *Mis recuerdos*, 10-11, 29; and Browne, *Key West*, 138.

41. The *Key West Dispatch* was published by Democrat Walter C. Maloney Jr. and edited by his father, from 1867 to 1872, when it passed to Republican H. A. Crane as publisher and Eldridge Ware as editor. The last editor of the paper was E. L. Ware and C. T. F. Clarke was its publisher. Maloney, *Sketch*, 46-47; "Key West," *New York Times*, 11 January 1874; *Cuba en la Mano: Enciclopedia Popular Ilustrada* (Havana, CU: Ucar, García, y Cía, 1940), 692, 730, 736; Deulofeu, *La Emigración*, 26; Pérez Rolo, *Mis recuerdos*, 13-14; Westfall, *Key West*, 15; Browne, *Key West*, 118, 142; and Castellanos, *Motivos*, 213, 215-16, 221-22.

Republicano prompted thirty-five-year-old Gonzalo Castañón Escarano, colonel of the Volunteers in Havana and editor of the biweekly newspaper *La Voz de Cuba*, to publicly challenge Reyes to a duel on January 21, 1870. Castañón accompanied by his physician Estéban Pinilla, his two seconds, Felipe Alonso and Eugenio Arias, and Alonso Menéndez, arrived at Key West eight days later on the steamer *Alliance*. They hired a black porter named Pereira at the dock and lodged in the three-story Russell House. Pereira identified Reyes to Castañón, who requested a meeting. The colonel, who had denounced the Cuban patriots as “bandits” and “prostitutes,” removed from his pocket a copy of *El Republicano* and asked Reyes if he was the author of its editorial. Upon an affirmative response, Castañón cursed Reyes, crumpled the newspaper in his face and slapped him. The stunned editor ran out on the street shouting “Cubans! Cuba has been offended!” The police detained Castañón and produced him in court where a trial was set for May 1. The Spaniard was quickly freed under a \$200 gold bond. The Cubans then became “excited and threatening,” prompting the stationing of soldiers from the barracks “about the streets to preserve order.”⁴²

On the evening of January 29th, bread vendor Mateo Orozco had two messengers deliver a written ultimatum to Castañón demanding that he either publish a retraction in his newspaper regarding his offenses against patriotic Cuban women or engage in a “duel to death.” Castañón accepted the challenge and suggested a Corsican duel, where the armed opponents meet alone in a solitary place, each holding a letter in his pocket purporting to have committed suicide. After the colonel avoided the confrontation for two days, Orozco and his seconds, the brothers Francisco and José B. Botella, sought the Spaniards at the Russell House around half past noon. Offensive words were exchanged on the hotel veranda. A pistol shoot out ensued in which Castañón fired five times, Felipe Alonso three, and the Cubans discharged twelve bullets, hitting Castañón in the leg and the neck. The fleeing Orozco shouted, “*Viva Cuba Libre!* Women

42. Juan María Reyes on a return voyage from Tallahassee to Key West was one of seven passengers who perished when the steamer *Amelia* sank on 2 January 1877. “Cuba,” *New York Times*, 30 January 1870; Gil Gelpi y Ferro, *Album histórico fotográfico de la guerra de Cuba desde su principio hasta el reinado de Amadeo I* (Havana, CU: Imprenta “La Antilla,” 1872), 331; “Don Gonzalo Castañón,” *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 25 February 1870, 67-68; *Combate de Russell House Cayo Hueso 1870: Muerte de Castañón* (Havana, CU: Editorial Alfa, 1938), 6-8; Pérez Rolo, *Mis recuerdos*, 11; Casasús, *La Emigración Cubana*, 152; Castellanos, *Motivos*, 217-19; Browne, *Key West*, 119; and Stebbins, *City of Intrigue*, 145-46.

of Cuba, you have been avenged!” The unconscious colonel was carried up to his room where he died fifteen minutes later. It was then discovered that Castañón wore a coat of mail under his shirt. Ten-year-old Juan Pérez Rolo witnessed the ensuing commotion and rejoicing on the streets. A small cannon placed in front of the corner pharmacy of Dr. Joseph Ramos was fired in celebration. Beer abundantly flowed and the grocery store of Andrés Alpizar and other buildings were decorated with the Cuban tricolor. A military patrol was placed that night at the residence of the Spanish consul and ten Cubans were arrested and charged with complicity in the murder of Castañón and released on bail.⁴³

The next day, a hearse conveyed Castañón’s coffin to the dock during a funeral procession led by two priests, the consuls of Spain and France, a few citizens, and a U.S. Army squad with reversed arms. The casket was packed in ice and sent to Havana on the steamer *Lavaca*. Six weeks later, Edward Botella, whose brothers were implicated in the Castañón murder, was stabbed in the arm while attending a patriotic activity. The unknown assailant escaped. In early May, a telegram was sent by the Key West authorities to Havana soliciting the presence of the Spanish witnesses to the Castañón incident for a grand jury examination. The captain-general of Cuba requested from the Federal government protection for his subjects prior to allowing them to testify. Before the issue was resolved, the grand jury “made no inquiries and refused to wait,” and discharged the accused for lack of evidence.⁴⁴

43. The Cubans arrested for complicity in the death of Castañón were: Arteaga, Francisco Aceituno, Joaquín and José Botella, Patricio Gonzalo, Alexander Mendoza, Valentín Moreira, Pedro Orozco, Domingo Rodríguez, Pablo Vázquez. Fugitives: Mateo Orozco, Carlos Rodríguez, A. Lozano. “A Cuban Editor Shot,” *New York Times*, 1 February 1870; Gelpi y Ferro, *Album histórico fotográfico*, 332; *Combate de Russell House*, 9-13; Pérez Rolo, *Mis recuerdos*, 11-12; Castellanos, *Motivos*, 219-20; Browne, *Key West*, 119; “The late Tragedy,” *Key West Dispatch*, 1 February 1870; “Cuba” *New York Times*, 2 February 1870; and Stebbins, *City of Intrigue*, 148-50.

44. The Botella brothers joined the rebels on the island and perished in combat. Mateo Orozco fled to Nassau and then to Jamaica, where he passed away. In 1892, Cuban exiles in Key West erected a monument in the city cemetery “To the Martyrs of Cuba.” In the center of a gated square plot stands a twenty-two-foot obelisk with each side representing the four regions of Cuba during the Ten Years’ War. At the entrance to the monument are stone carvings of two books, with Orozco’s name chiseled in one of them. Castañón was interred in Espada Cemetery in Havana. In 1887, his remains were transferred to the cemetery in his native La Cortina, Mieres, Asturias, Spain. Gelpi y Ferro, *Album histórico fotográfico*, 332-33; “Excitement at Key West,” *Baltimore Sun*, 1 February 1870; “Cuban Affairs,” *New York Times*, 21 May 1870; Pérez Rolo, *Mis recuerdos*, 21; and Browne, *Key West*, 119.

Although most Spanish residents immediately evacuated to Havana, the population of Key West rapidly grew during the next four years. The town continued to expand, with "small and unpretending" wooden dwellings rising in every direction. Many Cubans initially regarded their stay in Key West as transitory and did not purchase homes or open bank accounts. They were able to survive without learning English. The island populace mainly spoke "Spanish, or a *patois* of that language," and a Northern traveler heard "the children babble it in the streets in a very musical way." He noticed that "All the native and Cuban refugee population smoke" cigars and found a "little bow-legged boy, scarcely three feet high, dressed in mannish style, striding along with a cigar in his mouth six inches in length and half an inch in diameter." The Cuban ladies smoked cigarettes and cigars at home only. The visitor found "a beautiful woman leaning from her window the other morning smoking a cigar of large proportions, with much nonchalance, and, apparently, much enjoyment." During the pleasantly mild winter, a sojourner saw "Cuban refugees wrapping themselves up in cloaks and overcoats, as if it were really cold."⁴⁵

By 1874, many Cuban émigrés had fulfilled the requirements for acquiring American citizenship and became new voters. They were highly politicized and initially flocked to the Republican Party, which rewarded them with patronage in local offices. The lack of support for the Cuban insurgents from the Grant Administration prompted patriots Angel de Loño and Lorenzo Jiménez to form the Cuban Democratic Club with up to 300 adherents. De Loño, whose father had been a provincial governor in Cuba, had migrated to New Orleans in 1848. Three years later, he joined the ill-fated Narciso López filibuster expedition to Cuba. Moments before sailing from Louisiana, his wife boarded the vessel determined not to leave him. López ejected both of them. After the 1868 insurrection started, de Loño returned to Cuba and received the rank of rebel colonel. On March 23, 1869, he led a dozen patriots who hijacked the Spanish steamer *Comanditario* after it left Havana for Cárdenas. Fifty passengers and crew were left on Salt Key and the vessel, lacking coal and provisions, was abandoned at Stirrup Key, Bahamas, a week later. It was the first and only attempt to organize a Cuban navy during the Ten Years' War. De Loño returned to his family in

45. "Key West," *New York Times*, 11 January 1874; "A Queer Town"; and Castellanos, *Motivos*, 143.

Manhattan and worked as a teacher and editor. He became a naturalized American citizen on October 8, 1872. The family moved to Key West in February 1876, and a year later the governor of Florida appointed de Loño to a four-year term as Justice of the Peace for Monroe County. De Loño also managed a cigar box factory on Emma Street. He resided with his family on the corner of Caroline and Front streets. The De Lono & Hudson real estate and insurance company had an office on Duval Street. A decade later, de Loño was appointed Monroe County Court judge, a post he held for four years until his death.⁴⁶

In 1876, Colonel Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, son of the Cuban patriot, was elected Republican mayor of Key West. The city council included José Ramos and Manuel Pino, who presided over

46. Angel J. de Loño Pérez (1824-June 1893), married Amaryllis B. Faust, of Tallahassee, FL, on 25 July 1851, at Annunciation Episcopal Church in New Orleans. Amaryllis met an untimely death a month later. De Loño, who had an AB degree, taught Spanish Language and Literature at the University of Louisiana. On 21 December 1853, he married nineteen-year-old Matilda Charlotte Lambert in New Orleans. Two years later, their son Gabriel was born in Georgia. The family then moved to Texas, where de Loño taught in an academy. They settled in New York City in 1860, where he was agent for Frank Leslie's *Ilustración Americana* in Havana and Mexico until it folded. Daughter Lola was born in 1863 and the following year de Loño established a commission merchant firm at 67 Exchange Place. In 1865, de Loño spent three months in jail after being accused of spending the money of his friends in Havana "for his own benefit and obtained goods under false pretenses" from several businesses. He left for Havana and on 19 September 1866, returned to New York City, where his daughter Ignacia was born the following year. In 1867, an R. G. Dun & Co. credit report said de Loño "Is a swindler, has been frequently arrested & put in the Tombs" prison. Angel de Loño and Amaryllis B. Faust, 25 July 1851, Marriage Record, 3rd Justice, Vol. VED 678, 1850-1855, Roll 42/43, Public Library, New Orleans, LA; Angel de Loño and Matilda Charlotte Lambert, 21 December 1853, 2nd Justice, 1853-1854, Roll 28, *Ibid.*; "Died," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 2 September 1851; "University of Louisiana," *New Orleans Daily Delta*, 7 December 1851; *Colección de los partes y otros documentos publicados en la gaceta oficial de La Habana referentes a la invasión de la gavilla de piratas capitaneada por el traidor Narciso López* (Havana, CU: Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía general por S.M., 1851), 58; A. De Lono, New York City, Vol. 349, p. 963, R. G. Dun & Co., Baker Library, Harvard University, Boston, MA; "Capture of the Comanditario," *New York Times*, 7 April 1869; Browne, *Key West*, 69, 110, 118; Angel de Loño to George F. Drew, 6 May 1877, Governor Marcellus L. Stearns—Appointments, Resignations and Removals 1873-1877, RG 101, Series 577, Box 4, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL; Secretary's Office, Records of Commissions, 3 January 1877 to 17 February 1877, Florida Secretary of State, RG 101, Series 577, Box 4, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL; and A. de Loño to A. J. Gonzales, 28 September 1892, Gonzales Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

the assembly. Six years later, in "the most bitter election ever held in Monroe County," the Cuban Americans unanimously provided the winning swing vote to independent senatorial candidate George W. Allen. Five Cubans served as justice of the peace. Ildefonso Salgado was the assistant warden of the jail and the police force included Ramón Valdés and the brothers Eulogio, Evaristo and Benito Rodríguez. Juan Miguel Reyes was the first postal letter carrier; Fernando Figueredo Socarrás at various times was superintendent of Monroe County public schools, chief of Customs, and Monroe County representative in the Florida legislature in 1884. Other Cuban American state legislators for Monroe County were Republicans Dr. Manuel Moreno and José G. Pompéz, and Democrat Manuel P. Delgado. Ramón Alvarez was alternate to the Republican national convention in 1892.⁴⁷

Some writers have indicated that in 1878, after the Ten Years' War ended, "Key West suddenly took on the appearance of a ghost town when hundreds of Cubans returned to their native island." U.S. passport applications records indicate that some Cubans who were naturalized American citizens temporarily visited the island. Justice of the Peace Angel de Loño notarized most of these documents. Among the first to briefly return were revolutionaries Major Gerardo A. Castellanos Lleontart; cigar entrepreneur Eduardo Hidalgo Gato; Bayamo native Bernardo Miyares; Fernando Sánchez López-Sierra (whose property in Cuba had been confiscated for treason) along with his wife Mariana and their three children; and Fernando C. Pino, a veteran of a failed 1859 filibuster expedition. Other sojourners included Marina de la Luz, a 38-year-old illiterate black male; Rafael Fernández O'Halloran, accompanied by his wife and their four children; and Juan José Márquez and his wife Dolores. José María Navarro traveled to Cuba in late November 1878 with his wife Rosalia and their three children. He was back in Key West two months later as one of the founders of the Cuban Revolutionary Club No. 25. Methodist Minister Enrique Someillán visited Cuba with his family in the spring of 1879 and

47. The five Cuban American justices of the peace were Alejandro González de Mendoza (1870), Juan María Reyes (1871), Diego André (1876), Angel J. de Loño Pérez (1877), and José Lamar. Browne, *Key West*, 56, 118, 131, 134; Ogle, *Key West*, 82; Alpizar, *Cayo Hueso*, 17; Castellanos, *Motivos*, 87, 176; Pérez Rolo, *Mis recuerdos*, 28-29; Westfall, *Key West*, 17; Gerald E. Poyo, "Cuban Revolutionaries and Monroe County Reconstruction Politics, 1868-1876," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (April 1977): 417, 419.

they returned to their Key West home within a year. The 1880 Florida Federal Census indicates that the Cuban population of Key West had more than doubled from 1,047 to 2,388 in the previous decade. Scores of Cuban American children who had been born during that era were raised on the islet.⁴⁸

During the decade of 1870 to 1880, the Cubans in Key West had a major social, political, economic, and cultural impact on the city and the state of Florida. They were active in local politics, bilingual education, religious revitalization, fraternities, and mutual aid societies. The newcomers racially integrated their families, neighborhoods, workplaces, social institutions and recreational activities in the Jim Crow South. Cuban American elected officials were both Republican and Democrat, and the exiles also massively voted independent. Cubans prompted industrial prosperity during Reconstruction in the predominantly rural south, making the city the cigar capital of the world. The cigar industry transformed Key West into the thirteenth largest American port and helped foment America's smoking habit. The end of the Ten Years' War left the émigrés politically divided. Key West surpassed New York City as the capital of the exile community and in the 1890s served as the "birthplace" of José Martí's triumphant Cuban independence movement. Some of the descendants of the Cuban exiles still live on the island today, having been raised bilingual and bicultural, while preserving the traditions established in Key West more than a century ago.⁴⁹

48. Gerardo A. Castellanos Lleontart (20 May 1843-16 April 1923) led an uprising with 54 men in his native Santa Clara in February 1869. He attained the rebel rank of major before being captured in 1873, and managed to flee to New York before settling in Key West. Gerardo Castellanos, 29 April 1878, Miguel Morales Armas, 1 May 1878, Fernando Sánchez López Sierra, 30 July 1878, Angel Percia, 5 August 1878, Ramón Piqué, 27 August 1878, José Silverio Rodríguez, 30 September 1878, Rafael Fernández O'Halloran, 8 October 1878, José María Navarro, 22 November 1878, Romualdo Pérez, 11 January 1879, Fernando C. Pino, 17 March 1879, Juan José Márquez, 24 March 1879, Enrique B. Someillán, 26 April 1879, and Eduardo Hidalgo Gato, 24 June 1879, U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1905, M1372, Rolls 222, 225-29, RG 59, NA; 1880 Florida Federal Census, Key West, 230; Enrique Ubieta, *Ejemplares de la revolución cubana* (Havana, CU: La Moderna Poesía, 1920), 1:215; Casasús, *La emigración cubana*, 387-88; *Savannah Daily Morning News*, 9 May 1859; Alpizar, *Cayo Hueso*, 44-45; and Westfall, *Key West*, 16.

49. Westfall, *Key West*, 11, 15; Alpizar, *Cayo Hueso*, 16; and Casasús, *La emigración cubana*, 355.