

12-1-1985

## Cubans in Tampa: From Exiles to Immigrants, 1892-1901

Louis A. Pérez Jr.  
*University of South Florida*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/tampabayhistory>

### Recommended Citation

Pérez, Louis A. Jr. (1985) "Cubans in Tampa: From Exiles to Immigrants, 1892-1901," *Tampa Bay History*. Vol. 7 : Iss. 2 , Article 4.  
Available at: <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/tampabayhistory/vol7/iss2/4>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Open Access Journals at Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Tampa Bay History by an authorized editor of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact [scholarcommons@usf.edu](mailto:scholarcommons@usf.edu).

## **CUBANS IN TAMPA: FROM EXILES TO IMMIGRANTS, 1892-1901\***

by Louis A. Pérez, Jr.

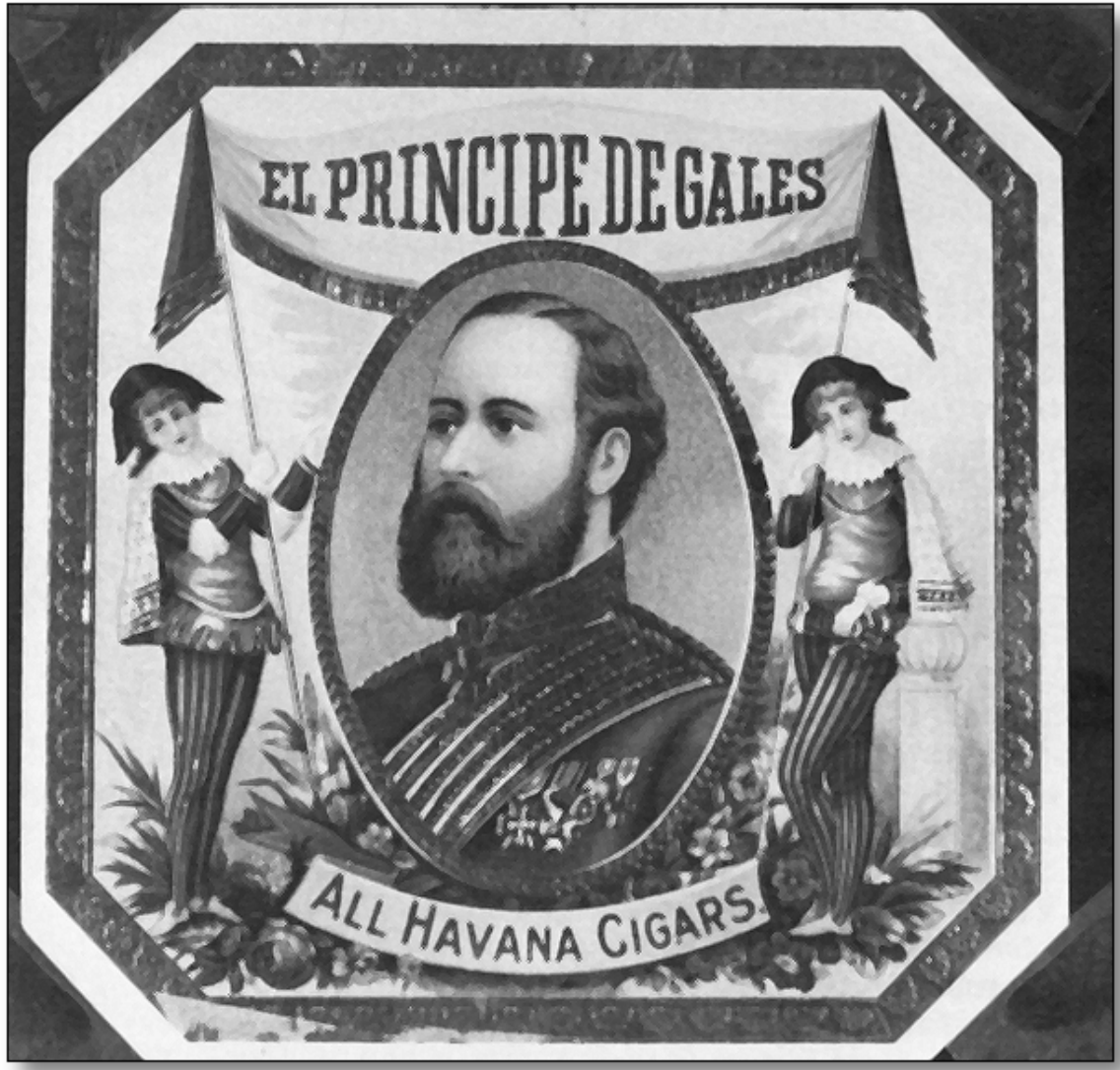
The Ten Years War which began in 1868 came to an unheralded end in the interior of Camagüey Province in eastern Cuba. A decade after the “Grito de Yara,” Cubans and Spaniards met in the remote village of Zanjón to put a formal, if only ceremonial, end to the ill-fated struggle for Cuban independence. The Pact of Zanjón in 1878 brought to an end to one cycle of immigration and precipitated the onset of another. The outbreak of hostilities in Cuba in 1868 set into motion the first in a series of population dislocations. Separatists unable to participate in the armed struggle, together with thousands of sympathizers seeking to escape the anticipated wrath of Spanish colonial administration, scattered throughout Europe, Latin America, and the United States. By the end of the first year of armed struggle, some 100,000 Cubans had sought refuge abroad.<sup>1</sup>

A peculiar broadcast fixed the distribution of Cuban exiles. A small group of separatists, largely of patrician origins, wealthy, and capable of enjoying a felicitous exile, settled in Europe. Other separatists, consisting in the main of middle class professionals and businessmen, emigrated to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. A third group, by far the largest, consisted of Cuban workers. Unable to sustain exile without both employment and a dependable source of income, these workers tended to settle in the southeastern portion of the United States, most notably Florida—first Key West and later Tampa.

Political unrest in Cuba unfolded against a larger economic drama. By the middle of the nineteenth century, key sectors of the Cuban economy had become dependent on the North American market. Economic dislocation in the United States reverberated directly, and often with calamitous repercussions, in Cuba. The panic of 1857 in the United States precipitated pressure for higher tariff duties on items manufactured abroad.<sup>2</sup> During the Civil War, moreover, a succession of laws raised the average rate of tariff on dutiable goods to a high of 40.3 per cent. The effect on the Havana cigar industry was immediate. Panic gripped the manufacturers, and many factories went into bankruptcy and ceased operations.<sup>3</sup>

The disruption of the Havana factories resulted in a major reorganization of the industry. Several of the more resourceful manufacturers, seeking to penetrate the high tariff wall, relocated their operations in the United States. Since the 1830s, Key West had served as a site of modest cigar manufacturing.<sup>4</sup> In the 1860s the city provided Cuban manufacturers an ideal setting for the production of cigars. Key West offered easy access to the tobacco regions of western Cuba and the commercial centers of Havana. Moreover, the labor required to produce the much-coveted Havana cigar was readily available. In 1869, as the war in Cuba deepened, the Spanish cigar manufacturer Vicente Martínez Ybor left Havana and established his El Principe de Gales factory in Key West.<sup>5</sup> From this modest start, Key West emerged within a decade as the major

\* This article appeared originally in *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 57 (October 1978).



**A label for Martinez Ybor's leading brand of cigars.**

Photograph courtesy of Thomas Vance.

cigar manufacturing center in the United States.<sup>6</sup>

Almost from its inception, the fate of the cigar industry in the United States was very much linked to developments in Cuba. Repression of Cuban separatists during the Ten Years War contributed to swelling the exile population.<sup>7</sup> As wartime conditions in Cuba forced Havana cigar factories to close, many unemployed workers migrated to Key West in search of work.

Similarly, the end of the Ten Years War had far-reaching consequences on the Cuban community in Key West. After the Pact of Zanjón, hope for Cuban independence in the foreseeable future waned among all but the most zealous patriots. The pact had released many

exiled separatists of further active commitment to the cause of independence. Nowhere did this express itself more dramatically than among the cigarworkers in Key West. Patriotic ardor after 1878 yielded increasingly to labor militancy.

The emigré cigarworkers in Florida had long been committed to a tradition of militant trade unionism. A heightened sense of class consciousness and a keen political awareness propelled them into the vanguard position of proletarian struggles. The esprit of skilled workers, pioneer trade unionism among cigarworkers, and the central place occupied by the reader, or *lector*, served to promote a solidarity uncommon among Cuban laborers.<sup>8</sup>

In the years following the Zanjón Pact, there was a resurgence of militancy among the cigarworkers. New organizations emerged to advance their interests. As early as 1865, a Cuban cigarworker, Saturnino Martínez, founded the weekly newspaper *La Aurora*.<sup>9</sup> A year later, cigarworkers in Havana Province organized a number of associations, including the Workingmen's Society of San Antonio de Los Baños. In 1878, the workers founded the Worker's Guild and the Workmen's Center. That same year, tobacco selectors founded the Society of Selectors. In 1892, cigarmakers organized the first workers convention in Havana.

These activities in Havana had immediate repercussions in Key West. The nearness of the island and the frequency of travel between Cuba and Florida, together with family and work ties, combined to make the world of the cigarworkers on both sides of the Florida Straits a single universe. By the mid-1880s, strikes and work stoppages in the Key West industry had become commonplace. Beset by labor problems, several manufacturers launched a search for a new site for their factories. In 1885, Vicente Martínez Ybor settled on a forty-acre tract of land east of Tampa.<sup>10</sup> Other manufacturers followed, and within a year, two new cigar factories commenced production of the Havana cigar in Tampa. In 1889, a prolonged and violent strike in Key West resulted in a number of other manufacturers moving to Tampa. Another strike in 1894 led to the addition of still more factories in Tampa.

The new industry in Ybor City soon came to possess many of the features of the pre-industrial production system. A distinctive Latin quality of paternalism, prevalent throughout the pre-industrial Hispanic world, established the tone of early labor-management relations in Ybor City and West Tampa. Martínez Ybor soon acquired all the characteristics of a benevolent *patrón*, fully solicitous of the needs of his employees. Newly-constructed homes, subsidized by Martínez Ybor, were made available to workers at modest prices and in interest-free installment plans.<sup>11</sup>

Reminiscent of the proto-typical Latin American *patrón*, Martínez Ybor took personal interest in the well-being of his employees, often serving as godfather to workers' children, making emergency cash advances to needy workers, and sometimes contributing to the funeral expenses of his employees. Social ties further strengthened the relationship between the *patrón* and his workers. "When Vicente Martínez Ybor sensed restlessness among his employees," one writer noted, he "would invite the workers to his large home for a picnic."<sup>12</sup> At Christmas time, he dispatched wagons laden with gifts of suckling pigs and pastries for his employees and their families.<sup>13</sup>



**Tampa cigarworkers, including several women, posed for the camera in their workshop around the turn of the century. Their dress denoted their status as skilled workers.**

Photograph courtesy of Tampa- Hillsborough County Public Library System.

Cigar factories in Tampa were only a few years old when the cause of *Cuba Libre* revived exiles' passions. Indeed, the reorganization of the Florida cigar industry occurred almost simultaneously with the resurgence of independence sentiment. Largely inspired by José Martí they provided the initial leadership for independence. Martí introduced into the new drive for independence, moreover, distinctive populist and radical sentiments. New populist crosscurrents stirred separatist ranks. For Martí, Cuba Libre signified not only a nation free of Spanish rule, but also a country from which racism, exploitation, and oppression had been eliminated.<sup>15</sup> No other sector of the exiled patriots was more disposed by temperament and tradition to identify with Martí's version of *Cuba Libre* than the Florida cigarworkers.<sup>16</sup>

Martí made the first of a series of visits to Key West and Tampa in early 1892. He discovered that he had not misplaced his confidence. By the end of the year, during a visit to Tampa, Martí announced the creation of the Cuban Revolutionary party (PRC), dedicated to the winning of Cuban independence.<sup>17</sup> For the next six years, cigarworkers in Tampa labored tirelessly for the cause of Cuban independence. By 1896, the cigarworkers had established forty-one patriotic





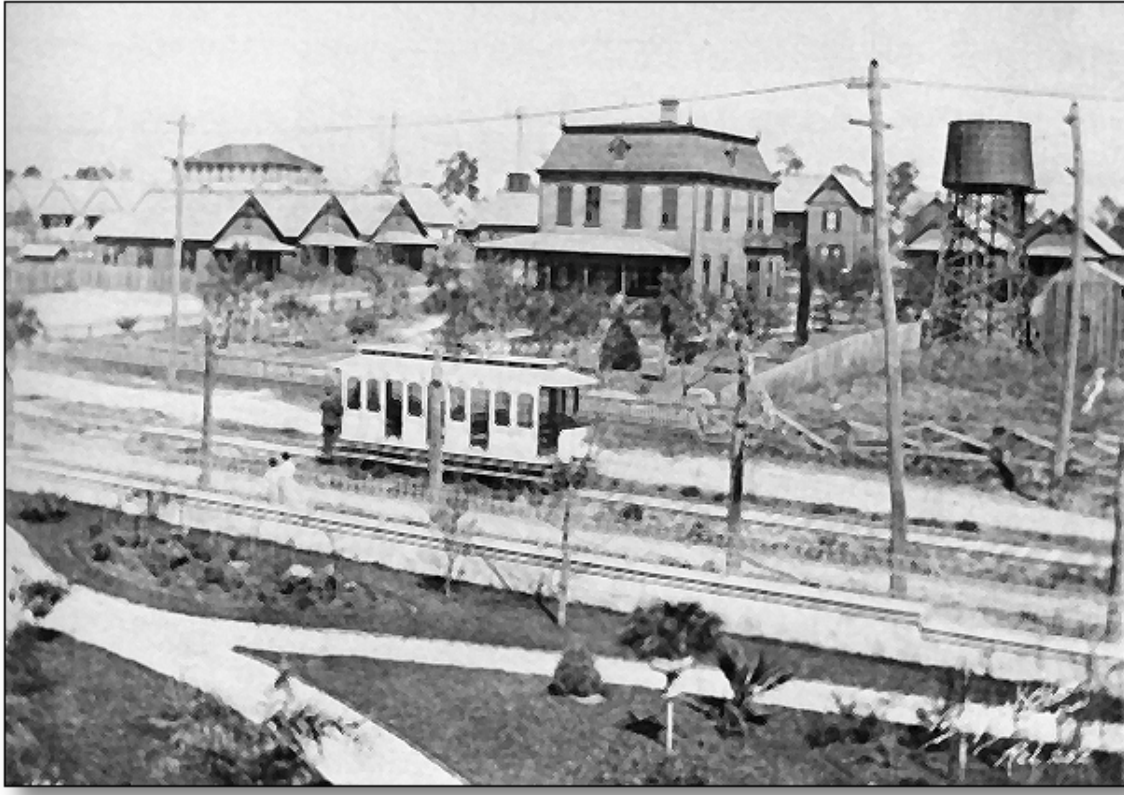
**A 1909 view of young cigar workers in Tampa.**

Photograph by Lewis Hine courtesy of the Library of Congress.

clubs, thirty in Ybor City and eleven in West Tampa.<sup>18</sup> These juntas served as the vital infrastructure of the PRC. Throughout the 1890s they collected funds, promoted separatist elan, and propagandized in their communities. Local juntas, further, co-ordinated support of filibustering expeditions leaving Florida for Cuba.<sup>19</sup> Many cigarworkers made individual contributions at the factory, donating typically one day's pay on a regular basis.<sup>20</sup>

The organization of cigarworkers into juntas halted all trade union activity. Indeed, for the duration of the war, activities based on class grew increasingly incompatible with activities based on nationalism and were all but formally proscribed by separatist leaders. The PRC leadership frowned on strikes, perceiving work stoppages as a threat to the independence cause. Class was subordinated to nationalism. In February 1896, a threatened strike in Tampa prompted Tomás Estrada Palma, the chief of the New York delegation, to visit Ybor City to urge workers to return to the factories in behalf of Cuba Libre.<sup>21</sup>

The politics of class, moreover, became a secondary concern as both labor and management found themselves inexorably linked on the same side of the independence cause. Many leading cigar manufacturers, including Vicente Martínez Ybor, Domingo Villamil, Teodoro Pérez, and Cecilo Henríquez, publicly identified with Cuban independence. Eduardo Hidalgo Gato, the Key



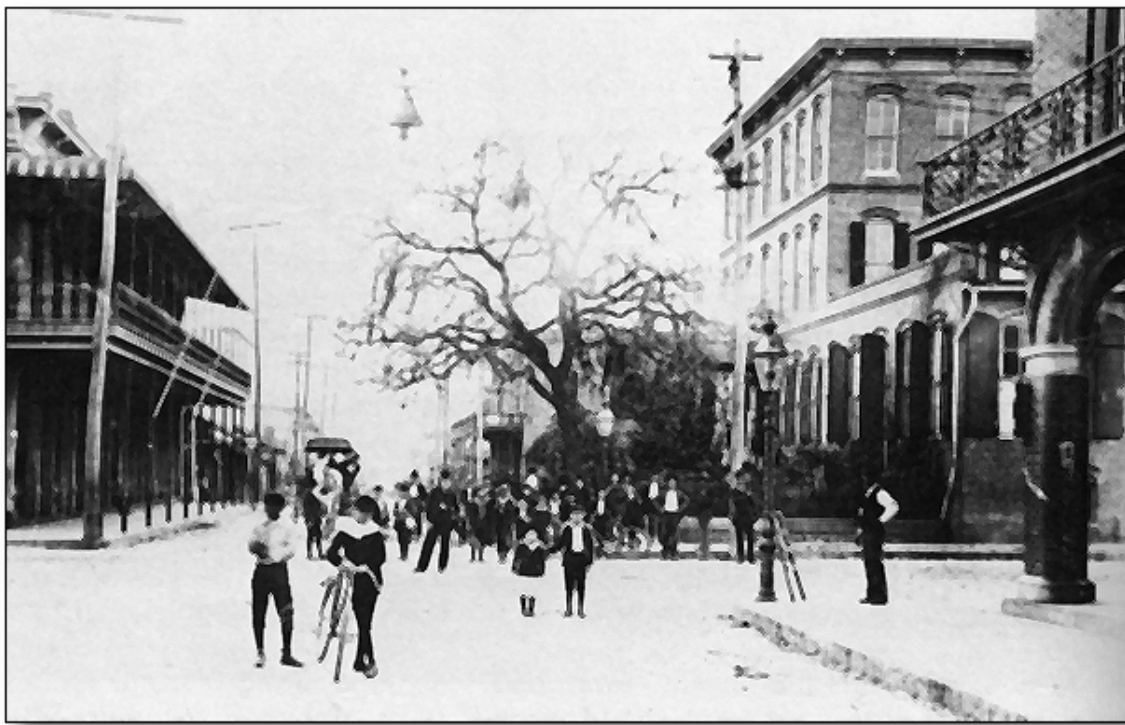
**The two-story home of José Arango, a cigar manufacturer, contrasts with the typical houses of Ybor City cigarworkers seen on the left. A streetcar is also pictured in this 1898 scene.**

Photograph courtesy of Tampa- Hillsborough County Public Library System.

West cigar magnate and close personal friend of Martí, donated tens of thousands of dollars to the separatist cause.<sup>22</sup> Benjamin Guerra, secretary-treasurer of the PRC, owned a cigar factory in Tampa. At the same time, such noted socialist cigarworkers as Carlos Baliño, later one of the founders of the Cuban Communist party, and Diego Vicente Tejera, organizer of the Cuban Socialist party, labored in exile as close collaborators of José Martí.

The end of the war in 1898 had an immediate impact on Cubans in exile. For many, support of the independence movement had defined in very specific terms the nature and function of exile. Peace transformed the meaning of exile. In October 1898, the separatist leadership abolished the Department of Expeditions.<sup>23</sup> In December, the New York delegation announced the dissolution of the PRC, enjoining patriotic juntas in the United States to disband local organizations.

The community of Cuban exiles in Florida, so long singularly preoccupied with the cause of independence, faced an uncertain future. The era of self-imposed exile had come to an end. For many, the opportunity to return to Cuba opened painful choices. The war had allowed many to persuade themselves that exile was a function of political commitment. Indeed, for many Cubans, this conviction accurately reflected the reality of their exile. Many, most notably



**The corner of Fourteenth Street and Ninth Avenue in Ybor City at the turn of the century shows the Ybor factory, by then owned by the Havana-American Cigar Company, on the right.**

Photograph courtesy of Florida State Archives.

professionals, lost little time in returning to Cuba.<sup>24</sup> But others had come to look upon Florida as a permanent home. This was the birthplace of their children and where they owned homes. News of employment difficulties further subdued enthusiasm to return to Cuba. The three-year war for independence had devastated the Cuban countryside and crippled the urban economy. Competition for jobs grew increasingly fierce as the more than 50,000 soldiers left the ranks of the Liberation Army in search of work. In September 1899, the Havana *Liga General de Trabajadores* published a manifesto denouncing the lack of jobs for those who had labored faithfully abroad for the cause of independence. There seemed little opportunity now for these patriots to return and resume their lives on the island.<sup>25</sup>

The end of the war, further, had the immediate effect of returning to center stage long-deferred class issues. For three years, the cigarworkers had labored under a patriotic injunction against strikes. As the moratorium on labor activity lapsed, increasing attention was given to working conditions. The end of the war also affected cigar manufacturers. Peace in Cuba promised to restore and expand tobacco exports to the United States. The expulsion of Spain, moreover, offered a new field of investment for North American capital. Indeed, the age of the independent immigrant cigar manufacturer was drawing to a close. More than this, a way of life in Ybor City and West Tampa was coming to an end. The pre-industrial, patrón system, personified by the benevolent paternalism of Martínez Ybor succumbed to technology, corporate organization, and





**Workers preparing filler tobacco at Ybor City's Cuesta-Rey factory in 1924.**

Photograph courtesy of Florida State Archives.

*yanqui* efficiency. The tobacco conglomerates of the 1890s lost little time in acquiring preponderant control of tobacco fields and factories in Cuba. By 1902, some ninety per cent of the export trade in Havana cigars had passed under the ownership of American trusts.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, many cigar factories in Tampa were acquired by American corporations. Not perhaps without appropriate symbolism, the grand patrón of Ybor City, Vicente Martínez Ybor, died in 1896. In 1899, the Havana-American Company, a consortium of cigar factories in New York, Chicago, and New Orleans, established ownership over a number of Tampa factories. Two years later, the Duke Tobacco Trust made its debut in Tampa, and the Havana-American Company came under control of the American Cigar Company.

New production systems were the inevitable concomitants of the new corporate ownership. Increasingly, the relatively relaxed if not always efficient pace of work in the old factory became subject to a new regimen of efficiency and labor rationalization. Nothing better illustrated the implications of the new economic order descending on the Tampa cigar industry than the weight strike (*huelga de la pesa*) in 1899. The old Ybor factory instituted a weight system whereby each cigarmaker received a fixed quantity of tobacco with which to produce a specific number of



Selectors at the Sanchez-Haya factory, choosing tobacco leaf for use as cigar wrappers.

Photograph courtesy of Florida State Archives.

cigars. Workers protested that the assigned lot of tobacco was inadequate, and they demanded the removal of the scale. The manufacturers' refusal precipitated a walk-out that received immediate support from cigarworkers in other factories.

The 1899 strike involved crosscurrents and issues of far-reaching significance. First, the 1899 strike represented the first major labor-management confrontation in almost a decade. It further involved a central, if unstated issue. The introduction of the weight system underscored the qualitative nature of the transformation occurring in the cigar industry. The measure represented one of the first efforts to introduce efficiency into the factory. Quite apart from the worker's claim that the assigned weight imposed an unreasonable quota system, the measure struck at the long-standing if unofficial practice whereby cigarworkers were allowed small quantities of tobacco for their own personal use. A traditional pre-industrial fringe benefit was now being threatened.<sup>27</sup> In the end, the workers were successful. The manufacturers removed the scale. In addition, a uniform level of wages won approval. In the course of negotiations, moreover, the workers secured authority to establish workers' committees in each factory.<sup>28</sup>



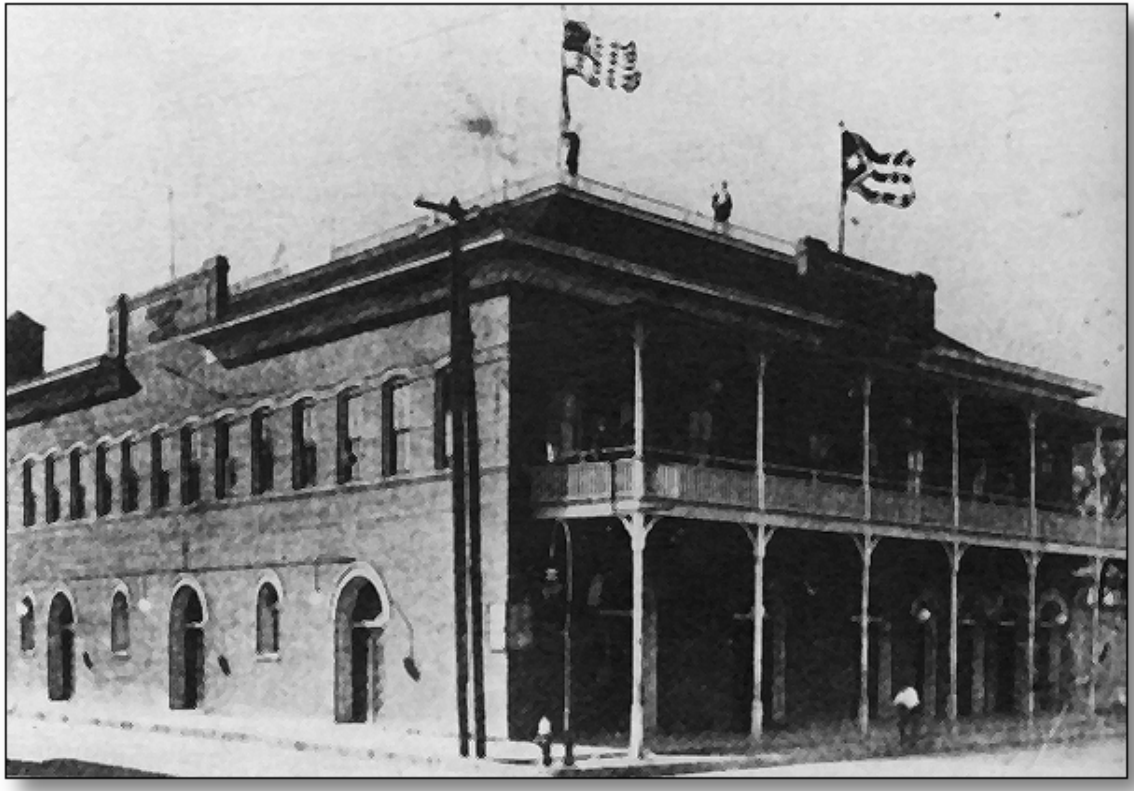
**Cigarmakers pause at their workplaces for a photograph. This scene was recorded at Factory No. 1 of the Sanchez & Haya Company in about 1910.**

Photograph courtesy of USF Special Collections.

The 1899 strike had a galvanizing effect on Tampa cigarmakers. The success of collective action encouraged cigarworkers to formalize the organizational infrastructure emerging from the strike. Long the target of Samuel Gompers and the Cigarmakers International, Cuban workers in Tampa chose instead to establish a union wholly of Cuban origins.<sup>29</sup> The organization of *La Sociedad de Torcedores y sus Cercanias*, popularly known as *La Resistencia*, resulted in formal liaison with cigarmakers' organizations in Cuba. The cigarworkers' world on both sides of the Florida Straits, shattered by the war for independence, was reunited in 1899. For the next three decades, cigarworkers in Havana and Tampa came to depend on each other for support, funds, and ideas.<sup>30</sup> *La Resistencia* gave palpable form to the determination of cigarworkers to remain in Tampa and their commitment to defend laboring class interests in their new homeland within the context of the long-standing proletarian traditions.

*La Resistencia* developed quickly into the cutting edge of the community of immigrant cigarworkers in Tampa. In another successful strike in 1900, *La Resistencia* outmaneuvered the International Cigarmakers Union for authority to organize the cigarworkers. Nor were strikes organized by *La Resistencia* wholly confined to working conditions. Union leaders had sufficient insight into political and economic relationships to discern the appropriate pressure points in Tampa's power structure. In one instance, the destruction of a local bridge connecting Ybor City and West Tampa forced workers to undertake hazardous boat crossings twice daily. In May 1901, *La Resistencia* threatened a strike to force the manufacturers to pressure city officials to





Ybor City's original *Círculo Cubano* with the Cuban flag flying beside "Old Glory."

Photograph courtesy of USF Special Collections.

repair the bridge. "We cannot get what we want by asking for it ourselves," explained one worker, "so we strike and the manufacturers obtain it for us."<sup>31</sup>

The third and by far the most dramatic confrontation between management and labor occurred in mid-1901, when *La Resistencia* challenged manufacturers' plans to open factory branches outside of Tampa. Perceiving its closed shop under siege, the union threatened a general strike unless the manufacturers met their demands to abandon plans to expand operations. In late July 1901, *La Resistencia* undertook its most ambitious effort by calling some 5,000 cigarworkers to the streets. The 1901 general strike continued well into the fall. Expression of support for the Tampa cigarworkers came from Key West and Havana. The strike received prominent sympathetic press coverage in the Cuban press.<sup>32</sup> Expressions of solidarity from Havana unions included statements of moral support and funds for the relief of workers and their families.<sup>33</sup>

Widespread support among cigarworkers notwithstanding, the strike came to an unsuccessful and violent climax. Vigilante squads and local police inaugurated systematic harassment of union supporters. Arrested strikers were offered the choice between jail or returning to the factory. A citizen's committee organized by local businessmen kidnapped several union leaders and forcefully deported them to Honduras. Landlords, in collusion with manufacturers, denied



strikers extension of credit and eventually evicted workers and their families. Union funds deposited in local banks were frozen.<sup>34</sup>

La Resistencia failed to survive the four-month strike. The collapse of the union created immediately the opening through which the International Cigarmakers made organizing inroads and ultimately absorbed a good number of immigrant workers. On still another level, the cigarworkers were integrated into another American institution—one more step in the Americanization of the cigarmakers and the conversion of cigarworkers from exiles to immigrants.

The struggle for Cuban independence, stretching intermittently for thirty years had organized the cigarworkers in exile around the cause of Cuba Libre. Except for the period of labor militancy during the mid-1880s, the nadir of the separatist effort, Cuban workers in exile subordinated class interest to national pursuits. The end of the war precipitated a major reorientation of cigarworkers' attention and energies. With the establishment of peace, the long-cherished expectation of returning to Cuba subsided as workers reconciled themselves to more or less permanence in the United States. New institutions emerged in Tampa to protect and promote the interests of the new immigrants. La Resistencia represented one such response. The establishment in 1899 of the *Círculo Cubano* (Cuban Club) represented still another expression of the roots sinking into the Tampa soil. Designed to provide a variety of medical, social, and educational services, the *Círculo Cubano* gave another institutional focal point to the permanent cigarworkers, and the Cigarworkers International after 1901 gave Cubans an additional institutional tie to the United States.

Not that the immigrant cigarworkers severed entirely their ties to Cuba. On the contrary, relationships between both centers of the cigarmakers' world remained close and mutually reinforcing. Nor did the cigarworkers shed their traditional radicalism. Indeed, the strikes of 1910, 1920, and 1931 offered palpable proof of the persistence of the old world radical tradition.

Cubans were doomed, however, in their struggle to preserve the individuality of their community. The very uniqueness of the settlement, its traditions and its politics, singled it out for extinction. Its very success guaranteed its demise.

<sup>1</sup> Fernando Portuondo del Prado, *Historia de Cuba*, 6th ed. (Havana, 1957), 438.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of economic conditions of the period, see George W. Van Vleck, *The Panic of 1857* (New York, 1943).

<sup>3</sup> Julio LeRiverend, *Historia económica de Cuba*, 2nd ed. (Havana, 1965), 167-96.

<sup>4</sup> For the early antecedents of cigar manufacturing in Key West, see Gerardo Castellanos G., *Motivos de Cayo Hueso: contribución a la historia de la emigración revolucionarias-cubanas en los Estados Unidos* (Havana, 1935).

<sup>5</sup> Manuel Deulofeo, *Héroes del destierro. La emigración: notas históricas* (Cienfuegos, 1904), 11. For a complete study of Vicente Martínez Ybor, see Glenn Westfall, "Don Vicente Martínez Ybor, the Man and His Empire: The development of the Clear Havana Industry in Cuba and Florida in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1977).

<sup>6</sup> Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and the New* (St. Augustine, 1912; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1973), 117-18. See also Joseph M. Leon, "The Cigar Industry and Cigar Leaf Tobacco in Florida During the Nineteenth Century" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1962), and Westfall, "Don Vicente Martínez Ybor, the Man and His Empire."

<sup>7</sup> Martín Duarte Hurtado, "La lucha de los tabaqueros en Tampa y Cayo Hueso," *Granma*, January 2, 1967.

<sup>8</sup> See Louis A. Pérez, Jr., "Reminiscences of a 'Lector': Cuban Cigar Workers in Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LII (April 1975), 443-49.

<sup>9</sup> José Antonio Portuondo, *'La Aurora' y los comienzos de la prensa y de la organización obrera en Cuba* (Havana, 1961), 23-115.

<sup>10</sup> For a detailed description of the origins of Ybor City, see Durwood Long, "The Historical Beginning of Ybor City and Modern Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLIX (April 1971), 31-41. See also Emilio de Rio, *Yo fui uno de los fundadores de Ybor City*, Tampa, 1950).

<sup>11</sup> "Life History of Mr. John Cacciatore" (Ms. Federal Writers Project, Special Collections, University of South Florida Library), 3. See also Joan Marie Steffy, "The Cuban Immigration of Tampa, Florida, 1886-1898" (M.A. thesis, University of South Florida, 1975), 14-15.

<sup>12</sup> Steffy, "Cuban Immigration of Tampa, Florida," 25.

<sup>13</sup> Gloria Jahoda, *River of the Golden Ibis* (New York, 1973), 223.

<sup>14</sup> For the best single study of the Cuban exiles and the war for independence, see Juan J.E. Casassus, *La emigración cubana y la independencia de Cuba* (Havana, 1953).

<sup>15</sup> See "Pobres y ricos," "Sobre negros y blancos," and "Mi raza," in José Martí, *Obras completas*, edited by Jorge Quintana, 5 vols. (Caracas, 1964), I, pt. 2.

<sup>16</sup> "El obrero cubano," Martí, *Obras completas*, I, pt. 2, 537-74.

<sup>17</sup> Fanny Azcuy, *El Partido Revolucionario y la independencia de Cuba* (Havana, 1930), 47-68. See also Nestor Carbonell y Rivero, *Tampa, cuna del Partido Revolucionario Cubano* (Havana, 1957), and Barbara Ruth Johnson, "Origins of the Partido Revolucionario Cubana in Tampa: Martí and the Tobacco Workers" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1968).

<sup>18</sup> Gualterio Garcia to Tomás Estrada Palma, March 22, 1896, and Julio César Orta to Joaquín Castillo, March 20, 1896, in León Primelles, ed., *La revolución del 95 según la correspondencia de la delegación cubana en Nueva York*, 5 vols. (Havana, 1932-1937), 111, 384-86.

<sup>19</sup> See Richard Vernon Richenbach, "A History of Filibustering From Florida to Cuba, 1895-1898" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1968), and Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward* (Gainesville, 1950), 96-137.

<sup>20</sup> See "Colectas del Club 24 de Febrero, desde 25 de agosto de 1895." Ms., Unión Martí-Maceo, Tampa; photocopy in author's possession. See also Wen Gálvez, *Tampa: impresiones de emigrado* (Ybor City, 1897), 165-98.

<sup>21</sup> *Tampa Tribune*, February 21, 1896.

<sup>22</sup> Castellanaos, G., *Motivos de Cayo Hueso*, 185-89; José Martí to Eduardo H. Gato, October 27, 1894, in Martí, *Obras completas*, II, pt. 2, 471-73.

<sup>23</sup> General Emilio Núñez to the Chiefs and Officials of the Department of Expeditions, October 15, 1898, in *Patria*, October 19, 1898.

---

<sup>24</sup> José Rivero Muñiz, *Los cubanos en Tampa* (Havana, 1958), 110-11.

<sup>25</sup> Evilio Tellería Toca, “Los tabaqueros cubanos y sus luchas en Cayo Hueso y Tampa,” *Bohemia*, April 28, 1967, 23, 113.

<sup>26</sup> See Meyer Jacobstein, *The Tobacco Industry in the United States* (New York, 1907), 101-16, and Leland H. Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony* (New York, 1928), 157.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Tomás Mayet, February 20, 1973, Tampa. “Because of the individual nature of his work, and his product,” Fernando Ortiz wrote, “the cigar-maker always was entitled to his own ‘smokes’ – that is, a certain number of the cigars he made for his personal use. This privilege came to acquire a tangible economic value. The cigar-maker could sell his smokes to a passing customer, and the manufacturer came to regard this as a part of the worker’s wages, paid in kind. The attempt to treat this privilege as a part of the worker’s wages gave rise at times to acrimonious disputes and strikes.” Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (New York, 1970), 86-87. Gloria Jahoda wrote of the old Tampa factories: “The filler was never weighed; that would have been an offense against latin [sic] honor. It was assumed that no worker took any. He was allowed to smoke as many finished cigars as he cared to. It was a privilege he guarded jealously.” Jahoda, *River of the Golden Ibis*, 219.

<sup>28</sup> Durward Long, “‘La Resistencia’: Tampa’s Immigrant Labor Union,” *Labor History*, VI (Fall 1965), 195-96.

<sup>29</sup> John C. Appel, “The Unionization of Florida Cigarmakers and the Coming of the War with Spain,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXVI (February 1956), 47.

<sup>30</sup> See Alberto F. Pedriñán, “Ybor City: las ruinas de lo que fuera una civilización floreciente,” ms., 1975; copy in author’s possession.

<sup>31</sup> Long, “‘La Resistencia,’ ” 202.

<sup>32</sup> See *Diario de la Marina*, September 4, 1901.

<sup>33</sup> The support of Tampa cigarworkers in Cuba may not have been entirely selfless. Some workers held out the hope that cigarworkers in Tampa would deliver a crippling blow to the industry in Tampa, thereby forcing cigar manufacturers out of business. This, many expected, would lead to the revitalization of the industry in Cuba. See Secret Service Report, Police Department of Havana, September 27, 1901, file 193 (letters received), records of the military government of Cuba, in record group 140, National Archives, Washington. See also José Rivero Muñiz, *El movimiento obrero durante la interuención* (Havana, 1961), 28-29, 85-86.

<sup>34</sup> Long, “‘La Resistencia,’ ” 210-11.