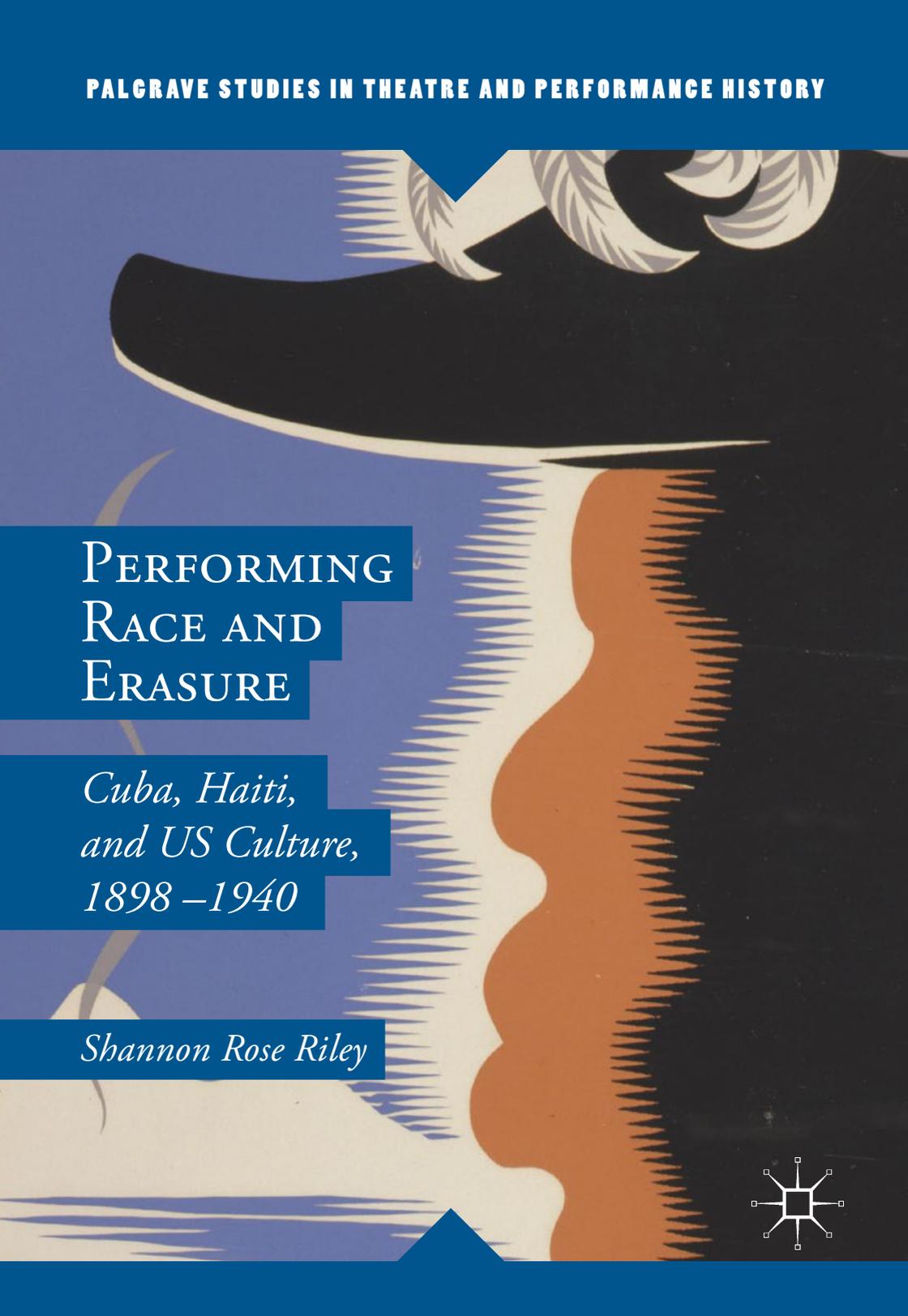


PALGRAVE STUDIES IN THEATRE AND PERFORMANCE HISTORY



PERFORMING
RACE AND
ERASURE

*Cuba, Haiti,
and US Culture,
1898–1940*

Shannon Rose Riley



Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance
History

Series Editor

Don B. Wilmeth
Emeritus Professor
Brown University
USA

Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History is a series devoted to the best of theatre/performance scholarship currently available, accessible and free of jargon. It strives to include a wide range of topics, from the more traditional to those performance forms that in recent years have helped broaden the understanding of what theatre as a category might include (from variety forms as diverse as the circus and burlesque to street buskers, stage magic, and musical theatre, among many others). Although historical, critical, or analytical studies are of special interest, more theoretical projects, if not the dominant thrust of a study but utilized as important underpinning or as an historiographical or analytical method of exploration, are also of interest. Textual studies of drama or other types of less traditional performance texts are also germane to the series if placed in their cultural, historical, social, or political and economic context. There is no geographical focus for this series and works of excellence of a diverse and international nature, including comparative studies, are sought.

More information about this series at
<http://www.springer.com/series/14575>

Shannon Rose Riley

Performing Race and Erasure

Cuba, Haiti, and US Culture, 1898–1940

palgrave
macmillan

Shannon Rose Riley
San José State University
USA

Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History
ISBN 978-1-137-59210-1 ISBN 978-1-137-59211-8 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-59211-8

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016941599

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover illustration: Poster for *Haiti* by William Du Bois, Lafayette Theatre. Designed by Vera Bock, courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd. London

*For Grams, Mom, Marc, Moisés, Aunt Bonnie, Uncle Hanns, and Koller
—mis propios santos.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author has made every effort to trace rights holders and thanks the following for permission to reproduce copyright material:

Theatre Library Association for permission to quote from Shannon Rose Riley, “Mistaken Identities, Miscegenation, & Missing Origins: The Curious Case of *Haiti*,” in *Performing Arts Resources: A Tyranny of Documents: The Performing Arts Historian as Film Noir Detective*, (2011) Volume 28.

English Language Notes (ELN) for permission to quote from Shannon Rose Riley, “Racing the Archive: Will the Real William DuBois Please Stand Up?” in *ELN*, (Spring/Summer 2007) Volume 45.1. www.english.colorado.edu/eln

Figures 1.1 through 1.3 are in the public domain. Figure 3.1 is available from the Library of Congress, Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division and Figure 4.1 from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. They are not subject to copyright.

My disciplinary background is in the arts, performance studies, and critical theory. I have a BFA in sculpture and a MFA in studio art (performance art and video installation) with additional studies in art history and critical theory. When I began my PhD in performance studies at UC Davis (UCD), I planned to write about subjection and performance art and to continue my work in critical theory by completing the Designated Emphasis (DE) in that subject. In the DE, I worked with Marc Eli Blanchard, Professor of Comparative Literature, who had established the program and also ran the Caribbean Research Group (CRG). I do not recall how the topic first arose, but I described to him my trip to Haiti as a

young art student in an anthropology class taught by Marilyn Houlberg at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago and shared with him my rudimentary idea that Cuba and Haiti had unique positions in US historical memory because of their racial and revolutionary backgrounds. Intrigued by my thinking, Blanchard invited me to the CRG, where he and other members ultimately convinced me I should undertake the project.

In preparation, I completed qualifying exams in US/Caribbean history, African-American theatre, Caribbean drama and performance, and critical theory in relation to the Caribbean, racialization, and postcolonialism. Thus the project began as a dissertation in Performance Studies under the thoughtful direction of Lynette Hunter, Jon D. Rossini, and Blanchard. UCD awarded me a Dissertation Year Fellowship (2005–2006) during which time I received insightful feedback from Thomas Holloway in the Department of History, Bettina Ng’Weno in African and African-American Studies, Marisol de la Cadena at the Center for History, Society, and Culture and the participants in its highly coveted dissertation workshop at Westerbeke Ranch (2006).

A Postdoctoral Fellowship in Communication and Performance Studies and the Intercultural Studies Program at the Center for Women’s Intercultural Leadership at Saint Mary’s College, Notre Dame from 2006 to 2008 afforded time to continue archival research and a faculty development grant in Fall of 2009 from San José State University provided resources to share the work at professional conferences. I am particularly grateful to the 2009 NEH Summer Seminar, “Roots: African Dimensions of the History and Culture of the Americas (Through the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade),” at the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities where Jean Jonassaint, Joseph C. Miller, and Ivor Miller provided helpful comments. The community of scholars at the American Society of Theatre Research has been invaluable: the sessions, “Performing Race, Performing ‘America’” (2007), “Socialist Imaginary in Global Theater and Performance” (2009), and “Experiments in Democracy: Performing an Interracial and Multicultural America, 1900–1950” (2012) were particularly useful. I also want to thank my colleagues at SJSU for their support and camaraderie—especially William McCraw, Chris Jochim, and Jennifer Rycenga, who generously shared treasures from her own archival research. Daniel B. Chávez and the graduate students from the Seminar in Performance Histories and the seniors in my Humanities Seminar on Cultural Memory: Remembering and Forgetting also provided generative commentary.

This book has been through several revisions that required additional archival research and work in other disciplinary areas. In its final form, it is deeply indebted to the anonymous reviewer at Palgrave, who suggested I look more closely at work in American studies. The reviewer's insights and provocations made for a more clearly articulated book; I am very grateful. I am also indebted to the labor of numerous librarians and archivists. Barbara Knowles and Roderick Bladel at the Billy Rose Theatre Collection, Veronica Fletcher at George Mason University, Juan Kassar at the Columbus Memorial Library of the OAS, and Diana L. King at UCLA's library (previously at UCD) assisted in the early stages. Joellen P. ElBashir at Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Research Center located a program of the Howard Players' production of *Genifrede*. Veronica Fisher at George Mason located production notes and photographs of *Black Empire*; Abby Yochelson at the LOC helped determine dates of publication and other information for *Old Glory in Cuba*. Danny Soares and the Inter-library Loan Department at SJSU helped with numerous requests and my friend, Tamara Smith, located historical articles from *New Journal and Guide* when the limitations of my university's library became clear.

Finally, I am deeply grateful for friends and family who encouraged me along the way; I am particularly appreciative of those who read drafts and provided suggestions: Daniel B. Chávez, Tova Cooper, Katherine McNamera, Julia Medina, Tamara Smith, and Jeremy Vaughan. I give thanks to Jherald Lee Grisham—for inspiration, feedback, rum cocktails, and patience during this last revision. This book is dedicated, above all, to Marc Eli Blanchard (1942–2009) and my mother, LaVaughn Blanche Barner Riley (1923–2004).

CONTENTS

1	Cuba, Haiti, and the USA: Performing Race, Nation, and Empire, 1898–1940	1
2	Imperial Scripts and Vaudeville Skits: Faulty Memory and the Power of Performance	35
3	Patriotic Performance Culture and Whiteness: The Trope of Old Glory in Cuba	59
4	Re-Racing the Nation: From <i>Cuba—A Drama of Freedom</i> to the Cultural Performance of Negro History Week	101
5	Military Occupation in Haiti: Staging Pan-Whiteness in a World of Color	141
6	Staging the Haitian Revolution: Performing Blackness and the Role of the Mulatta/o	173

7	Biracial Palimpsests: Racing and Erasure in <i>Black Empire</i> and <i>Haiti</i>	211
8	Palimpsest-Postscript: Tracing the Past in the Present	237
	Bibliography	241

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1	“Map Showing Location of Haiti,” from MacCorkle’s <i>The Monroe Doctrine in its Relation to the Republic of Haiti</i> (1915). Note the Windward Passage route marked, “To New York”	2
Fig. 1.2	“Golly. I’ve gone an’ did it again!” by J.H. Donahey, 1912, <i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	13
Fig. 1.3	“I’m in for Something Now,” by Hanny, 1915, <i>St. Joseph News-Press</i>	14
Fig. 3.1	<i>Raising Old Glory over the Morro Castle</i> , Thomas Edison Film Co., 1899. Library of Congress Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division	70
Fig. 4.1	“Some of our brave colored Boys who helped free Cuba” by J.F. Jarvis, 1899. US Library of Congress, prints and photographs division	107

Cuba, Haiti, and the USA: Performing Race, Nation, and Empire, 1898–1940

CUBA, HAITI, AND US EMPIRE

On April 3, 1914, 4 months before the opening of the Panama Canal, William A. MacCorkle, state senator and former governor of West Virginia, delivered an address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia on the value of Cuba and Haiti to US interests.¹ “Second to Cuba in strategical importance is the Island of Haiti,” the senator declared—and he framed the significance in terms of US foreign policy, which was invested in creating pathways and seaways for the flow of capital.² As evidence, he cited their proximity to the Canal, potential market value, and strategic importance as military additions to the geopolitical Canal Zone.

To these aims, MacCorkle applied a racialized, imperial logic: he argued that Cuba and Haiti were crucial to US empire and its goal of seeking and securing new routes and markets because the two were geographically located in such a way that they “could largely control the commerce of practically half of the world” due to their position on either side of the Windward Passage—the 50-mile-wide strait between them and the only deep sea-lane from the eastern US seaboard to the new Canal (Fig. 1.1). Of utmost concern was that this power might end up in the hands of the “descendants of those slaves” who “control the Republic of Haiti.”³ Arguing that “Negro rule” had “destroyed this beautiful island” and quoting Rear-Admiral Colby M. Chester’s claim of a “general tendency



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF HAITI

Fig. 1.1 “Map Showing Location of Haiti,” from MacCorkle’s *The Monroe Doctrine in its Relation to the Republic of Haiti* (1915). Note the Windward Passage route marked, “To New York”

of the people to revolution,” MacCorkle forecast that, “sooner or later the irresponsible government of the Republic of Haiti will commit the act that will involve us under the first clause and original application of the Monroe Doctrine.”⁴ For MacCorkle, the 1823 Monroe Doctrine (or more precisely its 1904 Roosevelt Corollary) was the solution to enact commercial and racial aims in the Passage and Canal Zone.

At the time of MacCorkle’s address, the United States had already established a presence in Cuba via the War of 1898 and the Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution, which forced Cuba to accept US terms and military intervention.⁵ Within just over a year, as MacCorkle foresaw, the USA had its reason to begin a military occupation of Haiti that would last almost 20 years. Overlaying the timeline of the occupations with that of the Canal project foregrounds their strategic importance within the larger scope of empire and allows me to delineate a micro-geography of empire for analysis, namely the period of the US occupations of Cuba and Haiti, from 1898 to 1940.

US military and economic control of Cuba began in 1898 when the US government declared war against Spain and performed an armed intervention on Cuban soil. After the war, the USA established a military government

on the island from 1899 to 1902 and a form of “indirect rule” under the Platt Amendment that lasted through 1934.⁶ The USA began Canal construction in 1904 and its troops occupied Cuba from 1906 to 1909, briefly in 1912, and again from 1917 to 1922.⁷ Meanwhile, citing political violence, risk of revolution, and potential threat to lives and property and invoking Theodore Roosevelt’s Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, US Marines invaded Haiti in July 1915—within less than a year after the Canal opened for business.⁸ The brutal military occupation lasted until 1934 with financial control through 1940.⁹ This timeline and imperial geography forms the historical framework of this book; the material under examination, about which I say more below, is primarily performance culture that was produced in the USA during this time and that trades in representations of the two Caribbean countries.

Indeed, MacCorkle’s speech exemplifies how racial thinking structured the transnational encounters of empire and points to the legacy of the Haitian Revolution (1791–1803) in US national memory and the possibility of its repetition, that is, the potential for other revolutions.¹⁰ J. Michael Dash drives home that Haitian independence in 1804 “challenged the whole system of slavery and notions of black inferiority so violently that Rayford Logan, in commenting on its impact on the American consciousness, likens it to ‘the effect that the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 produced upon the capitalistic nations.’”¹¹ Nor did concerns about Haiti and its capacity to inspire other revolutions lessen after the end of slavery in the USA. Haiti remained a symbol of the capacity for resistance on racial terms—namely of racial mobilization and revolution under the sign of blackness.

According to historian Louis A. Pérez Jr., the prominence of Cubans of African descent among those fighting for independence from Spain throughout the nineteenth century “raised suspicions” among US politicians that Cuba would become, like Haiti, another site of racial mobilization.¹² Indeed, the trope of “another Haiti” was used frequently in connection with Cuba. In March of 1898, not long before the USA declared war against Spain, Stewart Woodford, President McKinley’s minister to Spain, for example, described the insurgency in Cuba as “confined almost entirely to negroes [sic]” and concluded that an independent Cuba would be “a second Santo Domingo”—meaning Haiti.¹³ General Leonard Wood, Rough Rider and military governor of Cuba (1899–1902), also believed the country threatened to become “another Hayti.”¹⁴ “Another Haiti” is thus a trope that represents revolution and annihilation in terms of black and white. In 1899, journalist Herbert P. Williams expressed

concern, for example, that a successful revolution in Cuba would result in racial civil war, thus exposing “law abiding citizens” to “the fury of the negroes.”¹⁵ Similar concerns were re-amplified as the strategic importance of the “Black Republic” with regard to the Panama Canal became clearer to US national interests and foreign policy aims.¹⁶ Part of the goal of US empire was thus to produce and then secure Cuba and Haiti as racialized spaces prone to a certain kind of revolution.

For MacCorkle, controlling Cuba and Haiti not only allows the USA to secure commerce through the Canal, it also permits a policing of racial tensions that might be understood as transnational; the occupations of Cuba and Haiti were mechanisms of empire because they secured pathways for commerce and also attempted to constrain the possibility of racial revolution near the Zone. The importance of Haiti and Cuba to US interests therefore had as much to do with protecting the hegemony of whiteness as with securing access to the isthmus and limiting foreign involvement in the area.

Finally, in order to articulate Haiti’s strategic importance without giving it symbolic or political power, MacCorkle devotes an entire section of his speech on “Moral Conditions in Haiti” to the “cannibalistic” and “horrid rites of the voodoo,” in order to dismiss the entire political project of Haitian independence as a “horrid phantasmagoria” and thereby justify US invasion and occupation.¹⁷ For MacCorkle, the strategic conversion of the religion, *Vodou*, into the “cannibalistic” and “horrid” “voodoo” permits the argument that Haiti is morally deficient and therefore already guilty of “chronic wrongdoing.”¹⁸

Considerable work in American studies links the importance of new markets and the Panama Canal to US empire and examines the interconnections of race, empire, and nation. Jason Colby’s *The Business of Empire* and John Lindsay-Poland’s *Emperors in the Jungle* make clear that the growth of commerce and trade was a major project of US empire and that the locations of its imperialist takeovers, whether military or corporate, were “othered” in particular ways—racialized and gendered, made visible through stereotypes to be rendered politically invisible.¹⁹ Vicente L. Rafael describes, for example, how the census was an “instrument of white love” intended to give Filipinos a chance to perform their capacity for self-government “before the solicitous gaze” of US “tutors” and by which brown bodies were racialized, subjected, and managed.²⁰ Yet Rafael clarifies that Filipinos also performed in ways that challenged structures of imperial power.²¹

Amy Kaplan’s concept of the “anarchy of empire” refers productively to the destruction brought about through colonization/occupation as well as to the ways that empire opens up spaces for contestation and unravels through internal contradictions.²² Indeed, as several scholars have shown, empire is a kind of relational dynamic wherein the “system of rule” also “transforms society at home.”²³ The US occupations of Cuba and Haiti operate similarly; while images in US popular culture and media often stereotyped them as the others of US empire in order to denigrate their sovereign status, military occupations were also “contact zones” that transformed US society.²⁴ The US occupations of the two Caribbean republics created a transnational space that facilitated a large body of cultural production in the USA, particularly performance culture, which fostered domestic transformations in terms of race and public buy-in to imperial foreign policy. Plays like *Old Glory in Cuba* (1898) and Frank Dumont’s *The Cuban Spy* (1899) and literary and cinematic enactments of Teddy Roosevelt and the Rough Riders, for example, stage Cuba as a scenario not only for embodying the aims of empire but also for playing out the limits of the sign of whiteness.²⁵ Likewise, Afro-Americans of the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul seemed to stage the very “anarchy of empire” in the 1898 pageant, *Cuba—A Drama of Freedom*, which depicted both support for the aims of US empire and often contradictory affiliations with Cuban independence and the political goals of Cubans of color and through which the community negotiated the parameters of what it meant to perform blackness in a several-week-long debate over the role of the cake-walk in the production.²⁶

To be sure, racial taxonomies shift tremendously in the USA between the War of 1898 and the end of the US occupation of Haiti—the historical parameters of this study. Matthew Frye Jacobson demonstrates that from 1840 to the early twentieth century, there was a “hierarchy of plural and scientifically determined white races” in which the Irish, Polish, Jewish, and Italian were not-quite-white.²⁷ After the restrictive legislation of 1924, whiteness was “reconsolidated” and the late nineteenth century’s probationary white groups were unified, thus forging a “multi-ethnic pan-whiteness” from what had been considered distinct racial groups.²⁸ Matthew Pratt Guterl further demonstrates that the inclusive whiteness that matured in the 1920s also “brought with it an equally inclusive and lasting redefinition of blackness.”²⁹ What I call “pan-blackness” was contemporaneous with the emergence of “multi-ethnic pan-whiteness.” And while neither “white” nor “black” were “stable, easily defined identities in

1900,” all that would change by 1940 through a significant reconsolidation of racial categories that reified the “binary structure of racial identity—the white-black dyad.”³⁰

One mechanism for this reification was the US Census; from 1920 onward, it contained no “mulatto” category as it had previously and “one could only choose between the calcifying borders of whiteness and blackness.”³¹ But the change occurred not only through instruments like the census and the law but also in the contested spaces of cultural production. Guterl explains that, “African Americans and European immigrants were active participants in this history of race in Modern America—key players in the process the novelist Jean Toomer bitterly called ‘the hypnotic division of Americans into black and white.’”³² Jacobson, too, reiterates that race is produced through politics and culture.³³ Occupation literature by US Marines stationed in Haiti, such as Faustin Wirkus’s *The White King of La Gonave* (1931) and Captain John H. Craige’s *Black Bagdad: The Arabian Nights Adventures of a Marine Captain in Haiti* (1933), for example, use the Black Republic as a kind of “b(l)ackground” against which Irish, Polish, and German Marines perform both their allegiance to empire and their more recently acquired “personal whiteness.”³⁴ Indeed, what might be called the overproduction of Haiti’s blackness is requisite to the performance of the new “pan-whiteness” in the context of occupation. Titles like *Black Bagdad* and *White King* reductively foreground the binary language of black and white to accomplish this task. Likewise, the overproduction of Haiti’s blackness was equally useful for the rearticulation of the sign of blackness in the USA—for this reason, theatrical productions on the Haitian Revolution, like William Edgar Easton’s *Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale* (1893), became particularly fruitful for people of African descent in the USA between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, or what Henry Louis Gates calls the New Negro era.³⁵ Indeed, the timeframe under study here largely overlaps with this period of mass restructuring of the sign of blackness and repeated staging of the Haitian Revolution made strategic alliances with the “Black Republic” and seemed to seize the trope of “another Haiti” towards other purposes.

Several factors, including the expansion of US empire and World War I, hastened the process of racial reconsolidation in terms of black and white. The end of European immigration, the growth of what Guterl calls “superpatriotism,” and the development of “a racialized consumer society,” also “speeded the absolute assimilation of immigrant groups (previously understood as racially distinct) into the singular ‘white race.’”³⁶

Simultaneously, increased postwar advocacy for social justice for “the Negro,” the Great Migration, and immigration to the USA by people of African descent from the Caribbean, like Hubert Henry Harrison and Marcus Garvey, were crucial to the growth of the New Negro Movement and engendered “the first truly national mass culture obsessed with ‘the Negro’ as the foremost social threat.”³⁷

Among Negro thinkers such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Harrison, and Garvey, the new “race-consciousness” increasingly meant color consciousness.³⁸ Du Bois, for instance, engaged the “color line” and the language of blackness so as to advance racial-political solidarity among people of African descent. In 1917, Garvey, founder of the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), adapted Marx’s notion of “class consciousness” to issues of race and did so in largely biracial terms.³⁹ Three years later, Harrison, who founded the New York Colored Socialist Club (1911), the New Negro Movement (1914–15), and is considered the “father of Harlem Radicalism,” further elaborated the idea of a “new race-consciousness” in order to describe a different racial awareness among American Negroes.⁴⁰ Further reinscribing the biracial gesture, Harrison’s “new race-consciousness” referred not only to the Negro’s internationally situated analysis of his position in US culture and civil society, but also to the fact that the “white world” was “vaguely, but disquietingly, aware that Negroes are awake, different, and perplexingly uncertain.”⁴¹ For Garvey, it was the “honest prejudice” of the white South that provided a context that gave “the Negro of America the real start—the start with a race consciousness.”⁴² In this sense, the rise in white nationalism and white supremacy during this period—from the Ku Klux Klan to the scientific racism of eugenics and the writings of white supremacists such as Earnest Cox and Lothrop Stoddard—was a kind of grindstone against which to articulate a race consciousness under the sign of an increasingly unified blackness, and vice versa.

Writing the same year as Harrison, Lothrop Stoddard talks about similar global shifts in racial awareness when he bemoans that the “world of color” in fact “outnumbers the white world two to one.”⁴³ Stoddard describes the shift as one from the “political to the racial map of the globe. [...] Instead of a world politically nine-tenths white” in colonial political power, he depicts the situation after WWI and the Bolshevik Revolution as “a world of which only four-tenths at the most can be considered predominantly white in blood, the rest of the world being inhabited mainly by the other primary races of mankind: yellows, browns, blacks, and reds.”⁴⁴

This crisis of whiteness—its numerical minority and the threat to its hegemony from the “rising tide of color”—radically restructured its position.⁴⁵ Part of the solution was to strategically shift the parameters of whiteness and grow its numbers and the emergent “multi-ethnic pan-whiteness” was such a formation. The term “biracialism,” was coined in 1927 by Stoddard precisely to be politically useful to his vision of white supremacy—it further consolidated the emergent pan-whiteness by generalizing the story of racial contestation exclusively in terms of black and white. As Guterl argues, it “encouraged Americans to focus on race-as-color and almost solely on whiteness and blackness, leaving them increasingly unable, or unwilling, to deal with the national ‘race questions’ other than the purportedly peculiar conundrum posed by ‘the Negro.’”⁴⁶

Overall, the result was a culture of racial thinking that took shape predominantly in black and white; the emerging “race-consciousness” among Negroes and the articulation of the “Negro problem” were connected with the “whitening process” taking shape among European immigrants. Guterl argues that the Red Summer of 1919, when scores of probationary, or “dingy whites,” burst into violent riots that left many people of African descent dead or wounded, “signaled to all” that the “Negro Problem” and “the whitening process” were indeed interconnected.⁴⁷ Pan-whiteness and the new “race-consciousness” emerge conterminously and each reifies, requires, the white-black dyad.

Given these changes in US society and the effects of the anarchy of empire, images of the “Black Republic” and Cuba, “another Haiti,” resonated deeply with the increasingly biracial taxonomy of race in the USA and were useful to the reification of black and white racial positions. This is largely because Haitian revolutionary history has tremendous currency when told as a story about the great annihilation of white colonials at the hands of the enslaved; moreover, it is typically told in simple black and white despite tremendous intra-group differences among the formerly enslaved as well as the large mixed race class in Haiti and its complicated and numerous roles in the long fight for freedom on multiple fronts.⁴⁸ In his speech at the American Academy, for example, MacCorkle quotes Rear-Admiral Chester’s 1908 *National Geographic* article in order to foreground Haiti’s blackness and mark it as a site of white erasure. He states, “Haiti is getting blacker and blacker, the white element having been practically exterminated or removed from the island.”⁴⁹ In another gesture that over-produces Haiti’s blackness in order to foreground white extermination, MacCorkle drives home that while “whites and mulattos held

political supremacy” in San Domingo (the DR), they had been “ruthlessly massacred by the negro [sic]” in Haiti.⁵⁰

The specter of the Haitian Revolution haunts even Stoddard’s reformulation of whiteness and his theory of biracialism. The year before the invasion of Haiti, Stoddard published his first book, *The French Revolution in San Domingo* [sic]. Based on his Harvard dissertation, it describes the revolution in the French colony of Saint Domingue as “a great tragedy,—the tragedy of the annihilation of the white population” and was intended as a cautionary tale regarding the crisis of whiteness and growing racial violence in the USA.⁵¹ The book’s title simply refuses to link the capacity for revolution with the formerly enslaved and disenfranchised—thus Stoddard does not name the Haitian Revolution. Nor does he call the independent Republic by its proper name, Haiti; instead, in another gesture of erasure, he reinscribes a colonial name, San Domingo. In the book’s narrative, he further minimizes Haiti’s successful resistance against the French by arguing that if it were not for the large number of Bonaparte’s soldiers killed by yellow fever, the colonized and enslaved would never have defeated the French army. From the gesture of the title through his final argument, Stoddard’s primary aim is to refute any claims to black political sovereignty and perform a kind of restoration of white hegemony. Producing a link between the obliteration of white memory/extermination and the emergence of black history/revolution, Stoddard wrote, “White San Domingo has become only a memory, and the black State of Haiti makes its appearance in the world’s history.”⁵²

In this palimpsestic formulation, the fear that whiteness will become nothing more than memory—a fear of white annihilation—occurs precisely because blackness makes a mark on world history. Indeed, after a dozen years of revolution, former slave turned Emperor, Jean Jacques Dessalines, declared independence on January 1, 1804. One of his first acts as head of state was to reclaim the island’s former indigenous name “Haiti”—a word meaning “mountainous land” in the Taino language. In so doing, he is said to have declared, “I have avenged America.”⁵³ He also declared all Haitians were black, regardless of color—including the country’s Polish population.⁵⁴ There can be no doubt that these acts were a visible, performative, and radical marking of black political power in “the world’s history.” Stoddard’s response is to erase the power of that history. And with the Haitian Revolution as a kind of root to his thinking on race, he went on to author *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy* (1920) and *Re-forging America: The Story of Our Nationhood*

(1927), which articulates his concept of “biracialism” as a project for “saving” the nation based on white supremacy.⁵⁵ Indeed, MacCorkle, Chester, and Stoddard all overproduce Haiti’s blackness and connect it to white annihilation while engaging in a biracial rhetoric that shores up the category of whiteness and justifies US military occupation.

At the same time, the Republic of Haiti—even more than Africa—was “the symbolic center of Pan-Africanist discourse” in the Americas from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries; its successful revolution was emblematic of resistance, hope, and pride under the sign of blackness.⁵⁶ The Haitian Revolution undeniably inspired other slave revolts in the USA under Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner, for example, and the Revolution’s memory was kept alive throughout the nineteenth century, frequently in lectures and newspaper articles.⁵⁷ In 1893, Frederick Douglass gave an opening dedication on the subject at the Haitian Pavilion of the Chicago World’s Fair, while off-site events included the staging of Easton’s *Dessalines, A Dramatic Tale* (1893); Douglass’s speech and Easton’s play were published together the same year.⁵⁸ As I document in Chap. 6, Easton’s play was produced several times over the next few decades, as were many others on the subject. By the early twentieth century, the military takeover of this “symbolic center” by the all-white Marine Corps further coalesced the energy of the “new race-consciousness” among American Negroes, as it did the new “multi-ethnic pan-whiteness.”⁵⁹

Cuba was equally useful to the articulation of growing biracialism in the USA, largely because of its capacity to represent the potential for “another Haiti.” As noted above, the trope of “another Haiti” was a kind of shorthand for violent racial conflict in terms of black and white and above all, the end of white hegemony. Cuba’s proximity to the USA, the racial makeup of its population, and the number of slave revolts and independence movements it produced by the mid-nineteenth century already pointed to the possibilities for another successful revolution and rise to power of a Negro government like Haiti’s.⁶⁰ Even before the War of 1898 and increased interest in Cuba by Afro-Americans, Martin Robinson Delaney’s *Blake; or the Huts of America* (1859–61), told the story of a fugitive slave, Henry Blake, who escapes from the USA to Cuba in order to lead an insurrection that would ultimately claim both countries.⁶¹ By the War of 1898, Cuba had become a site for reconfiguring both blackness and whiteness primarily in terms of the US military.⁶² Indeed, while the “black-white dyad” existed well before the emergence of the discourse of

biracialism in the late 1920s and is prevalent in cultural narratives of US nation formation, this book argues that it was increasingly reified through the vast array of US performance forms and literary enactments that centered on the US occupations of Cuba and Haiti.⁶³

Undeniably, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Panama, the Dominican Republic (DR), and other countries played key roles in the War of 1898 and the development of US economic imperialism; they were also part of public responses to US empire—whether for or against—and the nexus of race, nation, and empire played out across all of these sites.⁶⁴ Similar racist stereotypes were used to depict the independent republics and nations that were caught in the grip of empire. The republics of the Philippines, “Santo Domingo” (the DR), and Panama, for example, were sometimes depicted in political cartoons as disobedient black children, as were Cuba and Haiti.⁶⁵ Yet, Cuba and Haiti held a special kind of currency in US popular culture of the period. For example, US popular culture and media frequently staged or depicted images of the US flag being raised in Cuba—what I describe in Chap. 3 as the trope of “Old Glory in Cuba” was writ large in various forms from cinema to photography and drama. The image of the US flag being raised in Manila did not hold the same patriotic currency as “Old Glory” in Santiago de Cuba or at El Moro in Havana. What is considered the first Negro pageant in the USA, staged in the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul in 1898, is not about Puerto Rico, the Philippines, or the DR, but rather, Cuba. Teddy Roosevelt’s memoir and its claims to the heroic performance of the Rough Riders is set in Cuba, not Puerto Rico or the Philippines. And while the occupation of Haiti created the context for an avalanche of material from travel narratives rife with images of cannibalism and “voodoo” to the first zombie horror film and numerous plays on the Haitian Revolution, there was no equivalent (mis)translation of Filipino folklore into horror cinema or of its independence movement to stages in Harlem, Detroit, Chicago, Baltimore, Los Angeles, and so on. Negroes in the USA did not stage plays about Emilio Aguinaldo or Filipino independence during Negro History Week as they did about Antonio Maceo of Cuba or Henri Christophe of the Haitian Revolution; to be fair, the Philippines was not central to the growing pan-African imaginary in the ways that Cuba and Haiti both were. While Puerto Rico and the DR had substantial populations of African descent, were within the Canal geography, and were also subject to US military and economic takeover, they were not known as sites of race revolution and typically had more

amicable diplomatic relations with the USA, albeit under duress, than either Cuba or Haiti.⁶⁶

These differences are visible in political cartoons from the period, which frequently depicted Puerto Rico as the light-skinned nephew of Uncle Sam. A cartoon published in the *Chicago Inter Ocean* in 1905, for example, shows Uncle Sam holding the hand of a little white boy who wears clean knickers, a white school shirt, and a tie that says “Porto Rico.” They stare in judgment at a little black boy whose patched straw hat reads “Cuba” and whose torn pants have patches that read “revolt.” “Cuba” has a gun in one hand, a knife in the other, and has pillaged the Cuban Bank—an open safe lies at his feet. In the caption, Uncle Sam speaks to Porto Rico: “And to think that bad boy came near [to] being your brother!”⁶⁷ Similarly, the 1898 cartoon, “Uncle Sam’s New Class in the Art of Self-Government,” depicts Puerto Rico and Hawaii as well-behaved, light-skinned girls.⁶⁸ In contrast, two dark-skinned boys fighting with each other in the front row represent the Cuban expatriates and guerrillas. Emilio Aguinaldo, representing the Filipino independence movement, is dressed as a peasant boy and stands on a chair at the back of the classroom with a dunce cap on his head; he is also dark-skinned, but with straight hair rather than curls. The image positions the misbehavior of dark-skinned males (as figures of anti-imperial resistance in the Philippines and Cuba) against the model behavior of exoticized but light-skinned young females (Hawaii and Puerto Rico).

Cuba and Haiti have racialized revolutionary backgrounds that marked them in different ways in the US national imaginary—and ongoing political action by people of African descent in the two countries intensified stereotypical reproductions in the US press. In the period of occupations, representations of Cuba and Haiti in American popular culture frequently depict the two revolutionary, anticolonial republics as incapable of self-government in almost identical ways. In 1912, a cartoon by J.H. Donahy published in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* depicts a barefooted little black boy wearing patched overalls and a straw hat that reads “Cuba” across its brim (Fig. 1.2). He has just broken a water jug on the ground—the words “self-government” are written across the shattered pieces. The boy’s physical gestures are those of a child who is about to get into trouble—head lowered, one foot atop the other, hands behind back and shoulders shrugged. The cartoon device of the “thought bubble” indicates just what troubles the little boy: an image of the US flag reminds the lad that he has just disappointed his “American” uncle. The caption reads, “Golly,



Fig. 1.2 “Golly. I’ve gone an’ did it again!” by J.H. Donahey, 1912, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*

“I’ve Gone an’ Did It Again!”⁶⁹ This cartoon references the armed protest organized by the Cuban Independent Party of Color, which had been formed in 1907 in order to fight for racial equality in Cuba. The US government immediately redeployed US Marines to the island “to protect US investments” and in the violence that ensued some 3000 Cubans of African descent were killed.⁷⁰ The cartoon does not give weight to the issues brought up by the Independent Party of Color, which was “the first real political challenge to the rules of the political order established in 1902.”⁷¹ Opposition to the Platt Amendment and US involvement in Cuban affairs was thus curtailed via military intervention and dismissed by means of the visual iconography of minstrel performance. Popular media relied on images of infantilization, blackness, and inability to self-govern

in order to erase the struggle for racial equality and independence that the armed protest had attempted to demonstrate. Cubans of color were depicted as uneducated children who could not manage their own affairs—this erased the articulate and organized actions of a formal political party. Racialization and infantilization strategies worked to disempower Cuban social projects and justify US intervention.

A nearly identical cartoon by Hanny was published in the *St. Joseph News-Press* a few days after the public execution of Haiti's violent dictator, President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam, on July 27, 1915. Here too, the cartoon accompanied the depicted country's military invasion by US Marines (Fig. 1.3). Hanny's cartoon features the well-worn image of the minstrelized black child, one foot atop the other. The child's jug once



Fig. 1.3 “I’m in for Something Now,” by Hanny, 1915, *St. Joseph News-Press*

again lies broken on the ground and there are only a few changes: the jug simply reads “government,” and instead of the US flag coming to the child’s mind, an angry Uncle Sam clenches his fists in frustration. The caption reads: “I’m in for Something Now”—and to be sure, what followed was a 19-year-long military occupation with complete economic and governmental takeover as well as unspeakable brutality at the hands of Marines.⁷² The replication of this nearly identical image in conjunction with military occupation—3 years later by a different artist in a different newspaper concerning a “different” country—indicates the degree to which the image of the unruly Negro boy was completely “readable” to an American audience and how much it was a part of the popular culture that facilitated the military takeovers of Cuba and Haiti. The two cartoons also demonstrate the connection between images in the popular media and enactments of military occupation—the former facilitates public buy-in in the latter.

The strategy is clear: erasure of the political agency of Haitians and Cubans and justification of US military action is achieved by the easy, canned repetition of a trope that marks racial difference through infantilization and converts political action, namely protest and coup, into an image of the failure to self-govern. Here we can see how an overload of discourse or imagery is used to produce prohibition, erasure, and silence—in short, to limit or remove the agency of those being represented. In the first volume of *History of Sexuality*, Michel Foucault points out that it is precisely the “proliferation” of discourses on sex that guarantees and produces its repression as something “condemned to prohibition, nonexistence, and silence.”⁷³ The “incitement to discourse” marks and unmarks its very subject matter and requires endless repetition in multiple conversations; discourse makes it invisible. So it is with racist images of Cuba and Haiti and the workings of empire.

PERFORMING RACE: RACING AND ERASING

This book argues that Cuba and Haiti—as signs and as sites—were important to the emergence of empire as well as the imaginative restructuring of US racial categories at the turn of the twentieth century and that performance, broadly construed, is a key cultural form through which people in urban areas began to imagine the country’s imperial role and by means of which they staged and restaged shifting racial meanings and taxonomies. Performance is therefore seen as “constitutive of social experience and

not something merely additive or instrumental.”⁷⁴ *Performing Race and Erasure: Cuba, Haiti, and US Culture, 1898–1940* thus not only examines the ways that Cuba and Haiti were raced and erased through racial stereotypes but above all looks at the ways that race in the USA was rehearsed, performed, and restaged through representations of Cuba and Haiti. In particular, it explores how theatrical and cultural performances and literary enactments of the two republics were significant to the ways that people in the USA re-imagined themselves *as* black or white. Most simply, it is a book on performance and its role in mediating both empire and the growing biracial imaginary in the USA between 1898 and 1940.

Representations of Cuba and Haiti in US culture worked in a few intertwined ways. Racialized and typically racist representations erased the two country’s claims to political sovereignty, as in the case of the two cartoons described above, MacCorkle’s assertions about “voodoo,” or in the quasi-autobiographical literature of occupation which documents the performance of US military men against the backdrop of empire, such as Roosevelt’s *Rough Riders* (1899), Wirkus’s *The White King of La Gonave* (1931), and Craige’s *Black Bagdad* (1933). Simultaneously, such works often played out limit performances of increasingly biracial domestic racial categories. As mentioned above, Craige and Wirkus each overproduce Haiti’s blackness in order to foreground the whiteness of the Marines; their novels indicate that the Marine occupation was a site for performing one’s newly acquired whiteness. Similarly, the 1898 pageant, *Cuba—A Drama of Freedom*, and the 1935 plays, *Antonio Maceo* and *Yellow Death*, not only erase ethnic, religious, and national differences between Cubans and Americans of African descent in order to consolidate the emergent pan-blackness and new “race-consciousness,” but as I demonstrate, they also often silence the involvement of Cubans in their own political affairs.

Indeed, there are many layers of racing and erasing at work in the material under consideration here. Cuba and Haiti are raced via stereotypes in order to erase them politically; they are raced and erased in order to articulate shifting racial positions in the USA. Simultaneously, a tremendous amount of intra-group difference was erased domestically in the production of both pan-blackness and multi-ethnic pan-whiteness. The latter, for example, eroded previously marked racial categories in which the Irish and others were not quite white. The growing body of cultural production being articulated in the language of black and white erased many rich cultural worlds in the USA; what Charles S. Johnson called the “flourishing culture of mixed-race Americans” was “vanishing” along with

the “mulattoes, quadroons, musters, mustafinas, cabres, griffies, zambis, quatravis, tresalvis, coyotes, saltaras, albarassadores, [and] cambusos” who were “neither white nor black.”⁷⁵

The concept of palimpsest is useful for analyzing these various interwoven layers of racialization, erasure, and performance. Jacobson notes that, “race is a palimpsest, a tablet whose most recent inscriptions only imperfectly cover those that had come before, and whose inscriptions can never be regarded as final.”⁷⁶ In this configuration, cultural production both produces and destabilizes race by “layering different conceptual schemes atop one another in response to shifting social and political circumstances”—the “palimpsest of race” for Jacobson is thus a map of the “terrain of ascription, perception, and subjectivity [...]”⁷⁷

A palimpsest is a “parchment or other writing surface on which the original text has been effaced or partially erased, and then overwritten by another; a manuscript in which later writing has been superimposed on earlier (effaced) writing.” In extended use, it refers to something that has “been reused or altered while still retaining traces of its earlier form; a multi-layered record” or a “structure characterized by superimposed features produced at two or more distinct periods.”⁷⁸ Palimpsest has been developed in the last 30 years as a theoretical concept across disciplines, from structuralism and intertextuality studies to analyses of political and cultural memory, urban histories, and ethnic geomorphology.⁷⁹ Genette uses it to consider “literature in the second degree” and produce a structural taxonomy of the kinds of relations between texts and versions of a text, such as parody, travesty, caricature, variation, supplement, sequel, epilogue, translation, and so on.⁸⁰ This understanding of palimpsest is useful to think of the above two cartoons as related versions, even translations (from the Cuban context to Haitian) of an easily repeated trope of blackness that was produced precisely in order to unmark Cuban or Haitian political agency and enact the aims of US empire.

Palimpsest is also useful for analyzing versions over time and material history. For instance, Arnold considers four versions of Césaire’s *Notebook* in which each new publication largely obscures the previous.⁸¹ The concept extends to studies of architecture, cities, landscapes, and even the cadavers of national heroes—all conceived as sites of “multilayered temporality” and contestation over memory and national or cultural identity.⁸² Alarcón uses palimpsest as a paradigm to accommodate interwoven narratives and to argue that Mexicanness is an idea that emerges from a process of erasure and superimposition of multiple narratives.⁸³ Quiroga

uses it in the context of Cuba to analyze physical and imaginative sites where memory and national collective history converge and contest one another.⁸⁴ Much palimpsest theory focuses on relationships between texts, layers, or images—on the superimposition of culture or memory over time. Typically, the focus is on palimpsest as a site, a writing surface or physical object, that bears a trace or reveals a superimposition, rather than on the interconnected palimpsestic acts of marking, unmarking, and reading.⁸⁵ Alarcón's generative contribution is precisely to look at the process of erasure and superimposition that forms and is formed by ideas of Mexicanness as well as at the way the tourist/reader engages with competing, overlapping images.

Linking these theorizations of palimpsest with Jacobson's observation that race is a palimpsest provides a model for thinking about racialized versions of history as sites of racial production—black and white versions of events and stories, for example, comprise a biracial palimpsest of cultural power struggle, the stakes of which are nothing short of the production of history, the power to mark or unmark difference, and the biracial reconsolidation of difference in the USA. Black and white versions of historical events are a primary cultural site of the emergent biracialism. Stoddard's telling of the Haitian Revolution is very different from William Edgar Easton's or Langston Hughes's; Roosevelt's account of the battle on San Juan Hill is very different from Ephraim McGirt's. And again, black and white versions of events not only documented history but also reinscribed and reified categories of whiteness and blackness.

As I argue in Chap. 4, Carter G. Woodson's articulation of Negro history was in dialogue with popular racist narratives. According to his biographer, his lifelong project was to counteract the negative effects of racist images of Negroes, such as the popular film on white supremacy and the perils of racial mixing, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). The "blockbuster" of its day, the 3-hour long silent black-and-white film—a remake of Thomas Dixon Jr.'s 1906 play, *The Clansman*—played for over 40 weeks when it was first released. Woodson feared that people, regardless of race, might believe the history conveyed in the film and he sought to counter it by founding the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) and subsequently Negro History Week to educate everyone in the USA about the achievements of men and women of African descent from around the world.⁸⁶

Dramatic events, especially history plays, were a large portion of History Week programs. Randolph Edmonds's *Yellow Death*, for example,

was performed at Douglass High School in Baltimore as part of annual events in 1935 and aimed to set the record straight about the courage of the Negro soldiers in the battle against the disease.⁸⁷ The play offered a counter-narrative to Sidney Howard and Paul de Kruif's popular play, *Yellow Jack*, which valorized white troops in the defeat of yellow fever in Cuba during the War of 1898 and which had been written in 1933 and staged widely in 1934.⁸⁸ In 1938, Howard and de Kruif's play became a popular Hollywood film of the same title; 4 years later, in 1942, the Associated Publishers, press of the ASNLH, published Edmonds's play. These layers of production and publication form a kind of palimpsest, each erasing, reframing, and reinscribing the telling of events, not simply in order to correct historical narrative, but to articulate racial difference in contested layers of rhetorical and performative gesture. The overlay of black and white versions of the story of yellow fever and other historical narratives comprises a biracial palimpsest in which racial difference is marked and unmarked; the documents revise, erase, and reinscribe one another. And in making statements about the USA, race, and valor, both "black" and "white" versions erase Cuban involvement in the battle against yellow fever, as I discuss more in Chap. 4.

Palimpsest allows for a conceptualization of three intertwined kinds of racing and erasure at work in the materials discussed in this book: first, the layering of black and white "versions" of historical events, especially in dramatic literature and performance, regarding the War of 1898 and the Haitian Revolution; second, in general, the silencing or erasure that is already a part of the writing of history. Speaking palimpsestically, Michel-Rolph Trouillot notes, "the production of traces is always also the creation of silences" and the materiality of these traces and silences "sets the stage for future historical narratives"—for ongoing reinscriptions and erasures.⁸⁹ The writing of history is always already the production of erasures and silences that run along lines of power.

Most importantly, palimpsest is useful for conceptualizing how representations of Cuba and Haiti permitted Americans to perform race in different ways—in other words, how racing and erasing permitted racial performance. Palimpsest is productive for thinking about the ways that processes of racialization consist of acts of marking and unmarking difference. As such, palimpsest is less a site of racial inscription as conceived by Jacobson than it is a way to think about the acts of authors, producers, performers, audiences, and publishers as part of the mechanism through which racial difference and historical memory are marked and unmarked, raced and erased.

In *The Festive State: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism as Cultural Performance*, David Guss usefully frames up race as cultural performance, which he understands as a site of “social action where identities and relations are continually being reconfigured.”⁹⁰ Cultural performances serve as “discursive events” wherein notions of race, community, and nationality are articulated, challenged, and reinscribed.⁹¹ As active forms of cultural production, they are disputed and ambiguous, and like theatrical performances, they constitute and are constituted by “contemporary historical and social realities.”⁹² Cultural performances are typically framed and set off from “normative every day reality,” and through repeated staging, social and cultural meanings are queried, reframed, and redirected.⁹³ Guss, however, makes clear that cultural performances are not “texts” to be read, but “fields of action” in which various groups negotiate power relations and notions of community belonging.⁹⁴ With this in mind, we can fruitfully reconceptualize Jacobson’s palimpsest of race not so much as a site of inscription but as a field of action. Cultural performances like parades, war spectacle, Negro History Week, other forms of imperial spectacle like military occupation, and the palimpsest of racial production itself are fields of action that mediate and are mediated by social imaginaries.

The concept of “social imaginaries” describes the ways a group of people think of themselves *as* a people through imagining their collective social life (e.g. “nation,” “public,” or in this case, “race”). According to Dilip Gaonkar, social imaginaries are a “fluid middle ground between embodied practices and explicit doctrines.”⁹⁵ They are not categories of representational discourse that reflect the social form but are ways of understanding “the social” that “become social entities themselves, *mediating* collective life” (my italics).⁹⁶ Like cultural performance, social imaginaries constitute social experience; they are a middle ground, for example, between legal instruments that produce race and the ways that race is embodied in daily life and performance. In *Marxism and Literature*, Raymond Williams argues for a shift away from reflective models of culture, wherein discrete objects of thought or art are seen to reflect a preexisting social form, towards a theory of mediation which looks at cultural forms as both forming and being formed by material social processes. According to Williams, the most damaging consequence of a theory of art and culture as reflection is that it suppresses the material social process which is the making of any cultural form. For Williams, all forms of signification are “indissoluble elements of the material social process itself, involved all the time both in production and reproduction.”⁹⁷ Culture mediates, and is a mediation of,

the social imaginary. Biracialism, as a type of social imaginary, mediates and is mediated through “images, stories, legends, and modes of address that constitute a symbolic matrix that cannot be reduced to theoretical terms.”⁹⁸ As a performance studies project, this book thus takes cultural performance and theatrical productions as fields of action that form and are formed by the racial positions they might otherwise claim or seem to express. The reflection model reifies ideological notions of identity in ways that cannot serve an analysis, such as this, of how racial positions and meanings are *actively* negotiated and contested through performance.

OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

Chapter 2, “Imperial Scripts and Vaudeville Skits: Faulty Memory and the Power of Performance” builds on Jill Lane’s notion of colonial forgetting to examine the performative function of foreign policy documents (the Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary) and to analyze popular burlesque and vaudeville entertainments, such as John Bruce’s *Uncle Sam* (1893), Frank Hassall’s *The World’s Champion American Boy* (1896), and Frank Tannehill’s *Flags of the World* (1898), as enactments of empire. In particular, it explores the ways that imperial memory required performed amnesia as evidenced in the cultural performance of war slogans like, “Remember the *Maine!* To hell with Spain!” as well as in the Doctrine and Corollary. Once the stakes of imperial forgetting are outlined, the chapter concludes by accounting for some of the “faulty memory” of US empire regarding Cuba and Haiti. As such, the chapter aims in part to contribute to discussions of the “relationship between memory and history.”⁹⁹

Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 look at the emergence of pan-blackness and pan-whiteness vis-à-vis representations of Cuba and Haiti. As such, the chapters themselves form a kind of biracial palimpsest of black and white “versions” of imagining Cuba and Haiti through performance: Chaps. 3 and 4 focus on Cuba while Chaps. 5 and 6 examine Haiti; Chaps. 3 and 5 focus on whiteness while Chaps. 4 and 6 explore configurations of blackness. Chapter 3, “Patriotic Performance Culture and Whiteness: The Trope of Old Glory in Cuba,” continues to examine the role of cultural performance, cinema, and theatre in the making of empire and whiteness by analyzing depictions of US military or corporate presence in Cuba, or what I call the trope of Old Glory in Cuba. These include photographic and cinematic images of the US flag being raised in Cuba, like the Edison film, *Raising Old Glory over Morro Castle* (1899), the plays *Old Glory in Cuba*

(1898) and *The Cuban Spy* (1899), as well as Teddy Roosevelt's memoir, *The Rough Riders* (1899), and motion pictures that claim to depict reenactments of the Rough Riders in Cuba. By examining how whiteness is represented in the plays, films, and memoir, we can trace the changing parameters of whiteness (from variegated to multi-ethnic) and the various strategies that were used to bolster its claims to power including acts of feigned weakness and what I call the restored behavior of whiteness. Chapter 4, "Re-Racing the Nation: From *Cuba—A Drama of Freedom* to the Cultural Performance of Negro History Week," continues to explore representations of Cuba in performance but looks at pageantry and theatre in relation to changes in the sign of blackness in the USA. Here, too, the primary method is to examine the ways race is depicted in the plays and to theorize the ways theatrical performance created sites to reconfigure the limits of blackness through acts of marking, misreading, and erasing various differences among people of African descent. The chapter provides an analysis of what may be the first Afro-American pageant in the USA as well as one of the first analyses of Negro History Week that takes the nation-wide festival as an example of cultural performance and which examines the crucial role of theatrical performance to local festival events.

Chapters 5 and 6 focus on depictions of Haiti. Chapter 5, "Military Occupation in Haiti: Staging Pan-Whiteness in a World of Color," examines the context of occupation as a site, or "b(l)ackground" for the production of the emergent multi-ethnic pan-whiteness. US Marines who were not-quite-white were able to perform their new position in the context of imperial takeover. The chapter thus takes military occupation as a form of imperial cultural performance and the literature that documents its tours of duty—novels by Marines like Craige and Wirkus, for example—as scripts that enable future enactments of empire and whiteness.¹⁰⁰ The chapter also explores the relation between whiteness, conquest, and consumption by looking in particular at the figure of the cannibal in both Marine representations and the first zombie horror film, *White Zombie* (1932). Chapter 6, "Staging the Haitian Revolution: Performing Blackness and the Role of the Mulatta/o," takes stock of the numerous plays on the theme of the Haitian Revolution written in the USA by people of African descent and investigates how the plays mediated the emergent pan-blackness through interactions between black and racially mixed characters. The limited scholarship on the plays tends to discuss them as positivist expressions of a pre-existing blackness.¹⁰¹ To challenge anachronistic understandings of racial categories in the plays, the chapter performs a close comparative

reading of the racial positions of the main characters in the Dessalinian dramas, Easton's *Dessalines* (1893), Matheus's opera *Ouanga* (1932), and Langston Hughes's *Emperor of Haiti* (c. 1930). Changes in blackness over the period in question become clearer through such comparison and by scrutinizing racial positions in the productions. The chapter thus situates the plays within the context of historical changes in US racial configurations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in order to shed light on the ways that Haiti's revolution was useful to the production of pan-blackness in the USA, to challenge what we think we understand about Negro productions of the Haitian Revolution, and to explore the repeated staging of these plays during the occupation of Haiti as an extended cultural performance of resistance. The chapter thus reframes the New Negro era as precisely the period in which pan-blackness emerges and also expands the typical Harlem and Harlem Renaissance focus by tracing productions in Boston, Hartford, Washington DC, Baltimore, Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Galveston, and Chicago.

The plays discussed in Chap. 6 reclaim an event that is disavowed and silenced and reproduce it as a very visible and repetitive mark of resistance.¹⁰² Indeed, one of the goals of Negro History Week and of the many plays on the Haitian Revolution was to fill in the erasures of historical production in order to produce alternative national and racial narratives. There is tremendous resonance between Trouillot's "various layers of silences" and their use as "vantage points" from which to produce other histories and the root meaning of the word, *palimpsest*.¹⁰³ Etymologically, *palimp-* (from the ancient Greek, *πάλιν*) means "again" and *-sest* (*ψηστός*), "to rub smooth." The latter shares the same Indo-European base as the Sanskrit *bhas-* or *psā*, "to crush, chew, devour." *Palimp-* is thus a repetition, something done again, a citation, a reiteration, a revolution, research, rehearsal, performance; *-sest* is an erasure, a removal, a devouring.¹⁰⁴ Embedded in the structure of the term is repetition; something needs to be rubbed smooth, *again* (*palimp-*). Something therefore needs to be reinscribed again from the vantage points of erasure.

Chapter 7, "Biracial Palimpsests: Racing and Erasure in *Black Empire* and *Haiti*," examines two Federal Theatre Project (FTP) plays on the historical Henri Christophe that trouble notions of Negro theatre because they were staged by integrated Negro Units and were written and directed by non-Negro artists. As a result, each play has been raced and erased in some surprising ways in order to fit more neatly within the limits of Negro theatre—through racial misattribution, stories of epic revision,

and the persistent erasure of integration and interracial collaboration in Negro Units as well as of the role of the mulatta, particularly in *Haiti*. Indeed, *Black Empire* and *Haiti* are particularly useful for exploring the late 1930s phase of biracialism in which pan-blackness and pan-whiteness become fully dominant as well as for rethinking contemporary scholarship on race and Negro Unit productions. A short postscript provides brief closing comments on biracialism, Cuba, and Haiti from a contemporary perspective.

CONTRIBUTIONS

This book contributes to the contemporary body of American studies scholarship on the interconnections between race, nation, and US empire and it does so primarily through the lens of performance studies. It draws on a largely unique set of skits, plays, songs, cultural performance, and popular amusements that depict either Cuba or Haiti and analyzes their role in the production of empire and the reconfiguration of US racial structures along increasingly biracial lines. It focuses on a select transnational geography and timeframe, the US occupations of Cuba and Haiti, partly because of their strategic position to the Canal and partly because images of the two countries held tremendous currency in US popular culture between 1898 and 1940, not only as commercial products in cinema, literature, and performance, but also as images that reshaped racial identities and enacted the aims of empire. By examining performance that trades in images of these two countries, the book sheds light on the ways that race was performed in increasingly biracial terms through acts that simultaneously marked and erased other kinds of difference. The book thus offers insight into the roles of performance and popular culture in the processes and structures of racialization and the development of US empire at the turn of the twentieth century.

The book makes several critical gestures within a performance studies framework, such as analyzing foreign policy documents as performative speech acts that permit a series of imperial enactments from military deployment to sustained occupation as well as the performance of biracialized subject positions. The study provides new material regarding productions of several historical plays and discusses unknown historical material including plays performed as part of early Negro History Week events, vaudeville scripts, and popular songs. As such, it offers new insights into late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century performance, broadly speak-

ing. The research required extensive archival exploration, which resulted in a number of surprising rewritings of current accounts in theatre history. In particular, it challenges some ways of thinking about race and historical performance studies. The contemporary categories of “black drama” or “black theatre,” for example, reinscribe the biracial binary in ways that do not account for the tremendous flux in racial categories in the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁵ In 1967, Loften Mitchell wrote *Black Drama* as part of the critical turn of the Black Power movement.¹⁰⁶ In many ways we have inherited this legacy and only now are starting to bring scholarship on race in American studies to bear on our readings of nineteenth- and twentieth-century performance.¹⁰⁷ Many contemporary scholars writing on Harlem theatre, for example, use terms like “black theatre” or “white society,” but again, neither of these groups can be said to have existed in 1900 in the way we understand them today. The online database, *Black Drama, 1850–Present*, for example, is a wonderful trove of plays and ephemera, but is proscriptive in the ways it understands race. *Britannica* also has a page on “Black theatre” in its “American theatre” section. It is common to use easy biracialisms and the politically useful terminology of today, however neither is productive in a study that seeks to unpack a material history of processes of racialization.¹⁰⁸

To avoid reinscribing such biracialisms, I try to avoid using the terms “black” or “white” unless they are in the primary source. Likewise, I use the terms “Negro,” and “Afro-American” as I find them. If race is not given, I default to either Negro or Afro-American rather than reinscribing the black-white binary I am analyzing. However, by Chap. 7, it is almost impossible to avoid the language of black and white, if only because pan-whiteness and pan-blackness are dominant by the late 1930s. Even then, however, I try to destabilize the binary by frequently using the term “non-Negro” to decentralize white privilege or the awkward “pan-white” to foreground that the white position is historically specific in this analysis. As Diana Rebekkah Paulin argues, “the black-white encounter overshadows the complex national and transnational web of relations between and among the racially and ethnically diverse populations that came into play between the Civil War and World War I.”¹⁰⁹ This study hopes to unstitch some of its power by looking at how the black-white dyad was increasingly reified via images of Cuba and Haiti. As Grace Elizabeth Hale asks, “If we understand the past as always having been only white and black, what will be the catalyst that makes the future different?”¹¹⁰ More importantly, if we anachronistically understand the past in simplistic black and white we miss

a chance to scrutinize the history of biracial reification and understand more clearly how it continues to shape us today.

Looking at representations of Cuba and Haiti during this timeframe allows us to see that while WWI, the Great Migration, and other factors are key to such social changes regarding race, many of these processes were already in play in the context of empire. For example, while tensions among the Irish, Italian, or German immigrants who were considered racially distinct groups are sometimes dramatized in Roosevelt's memoir, *The Rough Riders* (1899), and in theatrical productions of the War of 1898, it is also clear that military service in the context of empire offered an early mechanism for the reconsolidation of whiteness, which both Guterl and Jacobson date somewhat later, to the 1920s. Representations of Cuba and Haiti are good locations to look for this biracial language somewhat in anticipation of the timeline outlined by Guterl and Jacobson. The book thus makes a substantial contribution to critical whiteness and empire studies as well as to the growing body of literature on biracialism in the USA. I also hope that rethinking palimpsest as a field of action may be useful in other areas of inquiry.

Finally, the book contributes to the understanding of the roles that Cuba and Haiti played in the emergence of US empire and offers a comparative study that is typically limited by disciplinary conventions. Works on US foreign policy are often more comprehensive in scope, taking up the Good Neighbor Policy in its entirety, for example.¹¹¹ International histories of the Caribbean often focus on the legacies of former empires; discussions are centered on transitions from colonialism to independence or remain structured as Anglophone, Francophone, and so on.¹¹² And while there are excellent distinct histories, both political and cultural, of the US occupations of Cuba and Haiti, rarely is Cuba (a former Spanish colony) put in critical, historical relationship with Haiti (a former French colony)—and when it is, it is most often in the context of Haitian revolutionary studies that examine the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹¹³

NOTES

1. The address was published the following year. William A. MacCorkle, *The Monroe Doctrine in Its Relation to the Republic of Haiti* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1915). MacCorkle was governor (1893–97) and state senator (1911–14). ———, *The Recollections of Fifty Years of West Virginia* (New York: J.P. Putnam's Sons, 1928).

2. ———, *The Monroe Doctrine...* 32.
3. *Ibid.*, 32–35, 40.
4. *Ibid.*, 45, 47, 61. Colby M. Chester, “Haiti: A Degenerating Island,” *National Geographic* XIX (1908): 214.
5. “The Platt Amendment,” (www.ourdocuments.gov, 1903). Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902–1934* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), 47–55.
6. ———, *Cuba under Platt*, 56–57.
7. Stephen J. Randall et al., *The Caribbean Basin: An International History* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 32.
8. Theodore Roosevelt, “Theodore Roosevelt’s Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine,” (www.ourdocuments.gov, 1905); ———, “State of the Union Address, December 6, 1904,” in *State of the Union Addresses of Theodore Roosevelt* (Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2007).
9. I use Renda’s periodization, which includes extended economic control after evacuation. Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).
10. John E. Baur, “International Repercussions of the Haitian Revolution,” *Americas* 26 (1970); Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti’s Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988); David Patrick Geggus, ed. *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2001); Sibylle Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Matthew J. Clavin, *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War: The Promise and Peril of a Second Haitian Revolution* (Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Maurice Jackson et al., *African Americans and the Haitian Revolution: Selected Essays and Historical Documents* (New York: Routledge, 2010).
11. J. Michael Dash, *Haiti and the United States: National Stereotypes and the Literary Imagination* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 7.
12. Pérez, *Cuba under Platt*, 33.
13. ———, *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 14. The Republic of Haiti, formerly the French colony of St. Domingue, takes up the western part of Hispaniola and the Dominican Republic (DR), formerly the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo, the east. At the time, Haiti was interchangeably referred to as “Hayti,” “St. Domingue,” “San Domingo,” or “Santo Domingo.” Haiti unified the island of Hispaniola from 1822 to 1844, when the DR became independent. Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: Saint Domingue Revolution from*

- Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990); Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); ———, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Jeremy D. Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution: Eyewitness Accounts of the Haitian Insurrection* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
14. Wood qtd. in Philip Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, 1895–1902*, vol. II: 1898–1902 (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1972), 464.
 15. Qtd. in Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 31.
 16. Haiti has been known as the “Black Republic” since at least 1884. Sir Spenser St. John, *Hayti, or the Black Republic* (London 1884).
 17. MacCorkle, *The Monroe Doctrine...* 62–74, 45.
 18. I use the *kreyòl* spelling, *Vodou* for the religious practice; “voodoo,” indicates a set of misrepresentations that include images of cannibals and zombies and is partly an invention of US occupation. “Chronic wrongdoing” is Roosevelt’s Corollary rhetoric. Roosevelt, “State of the Union Address, December 6, 1904.”
 19. Jason M. Colby, *The Business of Empire: United Fruit, Race, and U.S. Expansion in Central America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); John Lindsay-Poland, *Emperors in the Jungle: The Hidden History of the U.S. in Panama* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
 20. Vicente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 26.
 21. *Ibid.*, 50.
 22. Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 14.
 23. Charles S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 20. Kaplan argues international struggles for geopolitical domination shape domestic representations of identity; US foreign policy, for example, is partly a medium for policing domestic racial tensions. Kaplan, *Anarchy*.
 24. “Contact zone” is “the space of imperial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.” Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 8.
 25. Thomas R. Beaty, “Old Glory in Cuba, a Drama in Four Acts,” (Clyde: Ames Pub. Co., 1898); Frank Dumont, *The Cuban Spy: A Comedy-Drama in Four Acts* (Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Co., 1899).

26. J.C. Reid, “Cuba Criticisms,” *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, December 17 1898; “Cuba Notes,” *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, November 5 1898; “‘Cuba’ Notes,” *Globe*, November 9 1898.
27. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 7. On the “not quite” of colonial mimicry, see “Of Mimicry and Man,” Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 125.
28. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 132. Jacobson traces the history of whiteness in the USA across three somewhat overlapping phases. The first begins with the 1790 naturalization law that understands “free white persons” as a very exclusive group, namely white Anglo-Saxon Protestant men.
29. Matthew Pratt Guterl, *The Color of Race in America, 1900–1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 189.
30. *Ibid.*, 5–6.
31. *Ibid.*, 166.
32. *Ibid.*, 6.
33. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 9.
34. The “discovery of personal whiteness” is a “very modern thing—a nineteenth and twentieth century matter indeed.” W.E.B. Du Bois, “Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil (1920).” (Project Gutenberg, 2005), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15210/15210-h/15210-h.htm>
35. Henry Louis Gates et al., eds., *The New Negro: Readings on Race, Representation, and African American Culture, 1892–1938* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
36. Guterl, *Color of Race*, 6.
37. *Ibid.* Garvey from Jamaica; Harrison from St. Croix. Rayford M. Logan et al., *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1983), 254–56; 292–93.
38. Guterl, *Color of Race*, 6.
39. UNIA was established in 1914. Logan et al., *Dictionary* 254–56.
40. Hubert Henry Harrison, *When Africa Awakes [1920]* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1997), 76. Logan et al., *Dictionary* 292–93; Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883–1918*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); Louis J. Parascandola, *‘Look for Me All around You’: Anglophone Caribbean Immigrants in Harlem* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 131–62.

41. Harrison, qtd. in Matthew Pratt Guterl, "The New Race Consciousness: Race, Nation, and Empire in American Culture, 1910–1925," *Journal of World History* 10, no. 2 (1999): 307.
42. Garvey, qtd. in William A. Edwards, "Racial Purity in Black and White: The Case of Marcus Garvey and Earnest Cox," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 15, no. 1 (1987): 120.
43. Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy* (New York: Scribner's, 1920), 7.
44. *Ibid.*, 5.
45. *Ibid.*, 225.
46. ———, *Re-Forging America: The Story of Our Nationhood* (New York: Scribner's, 1927); Guterl, *Color of Race*, 6.
47. ———, *Color of Race*, 6.
48. Dubois, *Avengers*. Fick, *Making of Haiti*. On racial structures in Haiti, see Chap. 4 below.
49. From Chester, "Haiti: A Degenerating Island," 214, qtd. in MacCorkle, *The Monroe Doctrine... 47*.
50. ———, *The Monroe Doctrine... 43*.
51. T. Lothrop Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), viii.
52. *Ibid.*, ix.
53. J. Michael Dash, *The Disappearing Island: Haiti, History, and the Hemisphere*, CERLAC Colloquia Paper (2004), 2.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Stoddard, *Rising Tide*; ———, *Re-Forging*.
56. Guterl, "New Race Consciousness," 345.
57. Michael L. Nicholls, *Whispers of Rebellion: Narrating Gabriel's Conspiracy* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); Douglas R Egerton, *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).
58. Frederick Douglass, "Oration of Hon. Frederick Douglass, Ex-United States Minister Resident to the Republic of Haiti. Delivered on the Occasion of the Dedication of the Haitien [sic] Pavilion at the World's Fair," in *Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale*, ed. William Edgar Easton (Galveston: J.W. Burson Co., 1893); William Edgar Easton, *Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale; a Single Chapter from Haiti's History* (Galveston: J.W. Burson Co. Publishers, 1893).
59. Guterl, "New Race Consciousness," 345. The Corps "excluded blacks from its inception in 1798 until 1942." John Whiteclay Chambers et al., eds., *The Oxford Companion to American Military History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 8.
60. Cuba abolished slavery in 1886.

61. *Blake* was serially published in *Anglo-African Magazine* (1859) and *Weekly Anglo-African* (1861 and 1862). Martin R. Delaney, *Blake; or the Huts of America (1859–61)* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), ix. Delaney was an author, physician, abolitionist, and “black nationalist.” Commissioned a major in 1865, he was the US Army’s first Negro field officer. Logan et al., *Dictionary* 169–72.
62. Amy Kaplan, “Black and Blue on San Juan Hill,” in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Donald E. Pease, et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).
63. On the predominance of the black-white dyad in US national narratives: Diana Rebekkah Paulin, *Imperfect Unions: Staging Miscegenation in U.S. Drama and Fiction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), x.
64. Nicaragua, Colombia, Panama, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, the DR, and so on, played key roles in the US imperial project in the isthmus. For a history of the USA in the isthmus, see Lindsay-Poland, *Emperors*. On US imperialism in the Caribbean, Colby, *Business*; Thomas David Schoonover, *Uncle Sam’s War of 1898 and the Origin of Globalization* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003); Randall et al., *Caribbean Basin*; Philip Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, 1895–1902*, vol. 1: 1895–1898 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972); Scott Nearing et al., *Dollar Diplomacy: A Study in American Imperialism [1925]* (New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1969).
65. “The Republics as Blacks,” and “The Latin American Nations as Non-Black Males” in John J. Johnson, *Latin America in Caricature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), 157–209; 210–55.
66. The USA seized DR Customs in 1905 and occupied the country from 1916 to 1924. Bruce J. Calder, *The Impact of Intervention: The Dominican Republic During the U.S. Occupation of 1916–1924* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2006). Eric Paul Roorda, *The Dictator Next Door: The Good Neighbor Policy and the Trujillo Regime in the Dominican Republic, 1930–1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); Alan Cambeira, *Quisqueya La Bella: Dominican Republic in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2014). The Spanish ceded Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the USA in 1898. In 1917, Puerto Ricans were granted US citizenship but not the right to vote in presidential elections; it remains a US commonwealth. César J. Ayala et al., *Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History since 1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
67. Johnson, *Latin America in Caricature*, 127.
68. W.A. Rogers, “Uncle Sam’s New Class in the Art of Self-Government,” (*Harper’s Weekly: Journal of Civilization*, 1898).

69. J.H. Donahey, "Golly. I've Gone an' Did It Again!," (Cleveland Plain Dealer, 1912). Reproduced in Johnson, *Latin America in Caricature*, 143.
70. On the 1912 armed protest of thousands of Afro-Cubans and US military response: Richard Gott, *Cuba: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 122–24.
71. *Ibid.*, 123.
72. Hanny, "I'm in for Something Now," (St. Joseph News-Press, 1915). Reproduced in Johnson, *Latin America in Caricature*, 205.
73. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 18, 6.
74. John J. MacAloon, ed. *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals toward a Theory of Cultural Performance* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 2. Also qtd. in David M. Guss, *The Festive State: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism as Cultural Performance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 11–12.
75. Guterl, *Color of Race*, 166. Johnson, qtd. in *ibid.*
76. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 142.
77. *Ibid.*, 170.
78. *OED*.
79. Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Marc Treib, *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape* (New York: Routledge, 2009).
80. Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman, et al. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).
81. A. James Arnold, "Césaire's *Notebook* as Palimpsest: The Text before, During, and after World War II," *Research in African Literatures* 35, no. 3 (2004): 134. Sarah Dillon, *The Palimpsest: Literature, Criticism, Theory* (London: Continuum, 2007).
82. Jane Lilienfeld, "To Have the Reader Work *with* the Author': The Circulation of Knowledge in Virginia Woolf's *to the Lighthouse* and Toni Morrison's *Jazz*," *Modern Fiction Studies* 52, no. 1 (2006): 43. Michael J. Lazzara, "Pinochet's Cadaver as Ruin and Palimpsest," in *Telling Ruins in Latin America*, ed. Michael J. Lazzara, et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
83. Daniel Cooper Alarcón, *The Aztec Palimpsest: Mexico in the Modern Imagination* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), xviii.
84. José Quiroga, *Cuban Palimpsests* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
85. Few projects take up the act of reading: Cooper Alarcón, *Aztec Palimpsest*. Lilienfeld, "To Have the Reader Work with the Author'."
86. Sister Anthony Scally, *Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985), 9.

87. “Three Historical Plays Merit High Praise History Week,” *The Afro-American*, February 23 1935. Randolph Edmonds (1900–1983), director of the drama program at Morgan College in Baltimore, was known as “The Dean of the Black Academic Theatre.” He staged several productions with the local Krigwa Group until it came under pressure to integrate racially. He then formed Monumental Theatre. Edmonds held teaching positions at Dillard University and Florida A&M; he wrote 46 plays—many on historical figures. James V. Hatch et al., eds., *Black Theatre USA: Plays by African Americans: The Early Period 1847–1938* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 246–47.
88. Sidney Howard et al., *Yellow Jack: A History* (New York: Dramatists Play Service, Inc., 1933).
89. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 29.
90. Guss, *The Festive State*, 12.
91. *Ibid.*, 11.
92. *Ibid.*, 23.
93. *Ibid.*, 8.
94. *Ibid.*, 10, 12.
95. Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, “Toward New Imaginaries: An Introduction,” *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 11, 4.
96. *Ibid.*
97. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 99.
98. Gaonkar, “Toward New Imaginaries,” 11.
99. Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), xii.
100. Singer’s basic criteria include a beginning and an end, an organized program of activity, a place and occasion of performance, a set of performers, and an audience. Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 71.
101. For example, Hatch et al., eds., *Black Theatre USA*; Errol Hill, *Black Heroes: Seven Plays* (New York: Applause Books, 1989); Errol G. Hill et al., *A History of African American Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Karen Sotiropoulos, *Staging Race: Black Performers in Turn of the Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).
102. Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed*; Trouillot, *Silencing*; Thomas Reinhardt, “200 Years of Forgetting: Hushing up the Haitian Revolution,” *Journal of Black Studies* 35, no. 4 (2005).
103. Trouillot, *Silencing*, 44.
104. *OED*.

105. “Black Drama—1850 to Present,” Alexander Street Press, <http://solomon.bld2.alexanderstreet.com/>. *Britannica* has an entry on “black theatre” that encompasses everything from nineteenth-century minstrel shows to contemporary performance.
106. Loftin Mitchell, *Black Drama: The Story of the American Negro in Theatre* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1967).
107. Tavia Nyong’o, *The Amalgamation Waltz: Race, Performance, and the Ruses of Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Paulin, *Imperfect Unions*.
108. Much scholarship reifies a blackness that would not have been stable in the period under investigation. Hatch et al., eds., *Black Theatre USA*; Annemarie Bean, “Black Minstrelsy and Double Inversion, Circa 1890,” in *African American Performance and Theater History: A Critical Reader*, ed. Harry J. Jr. Elam, et al. (2001); Sotiropoulos, *Staging Race*; Clare Corbould, “At the Feet of Dessalines: Performing Haiti’s Revolution During the New Negro Renaissance,” in *Beyond Blackface: African Americans and the Creation of American Popular Culture, 1890–1930*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brandage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); ———, *Becoming African Americans: Black Public Life in Harlem 1919–1939* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Kate Dossett, “Commemorating Haiti on the Harlem Stage,” *The Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 22, no. 1 (2010).
109. Paulin, *Imperfect Unions*, ix.
110. Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890–1940* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), 11.
111. Fredrick B. Pike, *FDR’s Good Neighbor Policy: Sixty Years of Generally Gentle Chaos* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013); Roorda, *Dictator Next Door*.
112. As exception, see Randall et al., *Caribbean Basin*.
113. Renda, *Taking Haiti*; Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992); Pérez, *Cuba under Platt*; David Patrick Geggus, *Haitian Revolutionary Studies* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002); ———, ed. *Impact*; Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed*.

Imperial Scripts and Vaudeville Skits: Faulty Memory and the Power of Performance

PERFORMING US EMPIRE: STAGES, DOCTRINES, SCRIPTS, AND SKITS

The War of 1898 is typically described as the moment Uncle Sam somewhat reluctantly claims the spotlight on the world stage; indeed, the metaphor of the *theatrum mundi* is vital to the War's historiography.¹ As Louis A. Pérez Jr. notes, US historians writing between the two World Wars celebrated 1898 as the country's "point of debut on the global stage, an affirmation of [its] place of importance in world affairs."² The rhetorical force of this narrative persists in both professional and popular contemporary historiography and its function continues to be to simultaneously occlude and announce Uncle Sam's role as a global power.³

The scenario dramatizes Uncle Sam's entrance onto a stage whose audience and players include the other nations of the world and its suddenness downplays any prior motives by suggesting he was forced into his new role. It minimizes the importance of other factors already building toward the emergence of US global power, including the successful industrialization and corporatization of its economy, or what Willard Gatewood refers to as the "economic revolution of the late nineteenth century," which had largely prepared the country for transformation into an imperial power.⁴ The story of dramatic entrance is partly about forgetting this longer history of empire. Indeed, rather than a sudden change caused by belligerent action or declaration of war, the emergence of US empire had followed

the flow of capital to ever newer markets and more bountiful resources, as dictated by the economic necessity of capitalism.

Writing in 1925, Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman describe four phases of US expansion from the middle of the eighteenth century—a much slower movement than the scenario of dramatic entrance. These are the settling of the Northwest territory; the movement into the Southwest; “the tide of men and capital [that] flow[ed] across the plains and beyond the Rockies and the Sierras to the Pacific,” and finally, “the movement of American business enterprise into regions over which the flag of the United States did not fly.”⁵ Nearing and Freeman refer to the latter as the period of economic imperialism. By the late nineteenth century, the need to obtain foreign markets and to secure resources and pathways for trade raised the urgency for geopolitical control of the Caribbean and the isthmus. In order to accommodate these economic aims, the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was given increasingly broader interpretation, for example, by means of the 1904 Roosevelt Corollary, in order to set the stage for US intervention in Caribbean and Latin American countries that the USA might declare guilty of chronic wrongdoing. The desires of US empire, namely, to emerge as a global power with interoceanic trade and military routes between the Pacific and the Atlantic and to claim new markets for resources and exports, were achieved in part by a foreign policy that aimed to limit rival powers in the area and to expand US interests. As such, the Doctrine and the Corollary were scripts for staging and enacting the aims of empire. Gretchen Murphy argues that the Doctrine “uses spatial constructs to build a worldview.”⁶ Like the *theatrum mundi*, this worldview becomes crucial to imagining empire—indeed the Doctrine in many ways provides a basic script for Uncle Sam.

In “On Colonial Forgetting: The Conquest of New Mexico and Its *Historia*,” Jill Lane argues that Spanish conquest consisted of “a complex range of performative acts and rhetorical postures” that worked to “advance, restage, and seal” the aims of Spanish empire.⁷ These included inscribing the monarch’s name on rocks, planting and unfurling the Spanish flag, performing various ceremonies and religious dramas, and especially public readings of the *Requerimiento* to “claim possession of the lands in the name of the king.”⁸ Citing J.L. Austin’s well-known concept of performative speech acts, Lane notes that the *Requerimiento* is performative precisely because it “enacts what it enunciates.”⁹

Foreign policy documents like the Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary (as well as the Platt Amendment, etc.) can be understood in

similar ways. Although they are not read aloud in the context of occupation, they are invoked in order to make performative declarations (of war, intervention, or occupation) and thus constitute a significant part of the performative force through which US empire was produced. The 1823 Monroe Doctrine, for example, sought to limit European colonization in the Americas in part to expand US control in the hemisphere. Addressing the European countries in general—Russia, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal in particular—Monroe warns that the Americas were “not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers,” and the USA would “consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to [its] peace and safety.”¹⁰ While Monroe clarifies that the USA would not interfere with existing colonies or dependencies, he warns that any interference by European countries with “the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged” would be taken as a belligerent stance against the USA. He also promised that the USA would remain neutral toward Spain’s former colonies—as long as the USA recognized them as legitimate governments and provided they remain stable.¹¹

In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt discussed Monroe’s Doctrine in a State of the Union Address. His statement has become known as the Roosevelt Corollary; it states:

Chronic wrongdoing, or impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilization which with the aid of the Platt amendment Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many of the republics in both Americas are constantly and brilliantly showing, all question of interference by this Nation with their affairs would be at an end.¹²

In two sentences, Roosevelt fully applies Monroe’s Doctrine to the aims of economic imperialism. In the first, he repeats the rhetoric of “wrongdoing” and “impotence” alongside the image of an allegedly reluctant international police power—something that only becomes viable, it

should be noted, with the completion of the Canal and resulting increase in naval power.

By invoking the Corollary in order to performatively declare a particular country guilty of wrongdoing or incapable of “self-determination,” the USA was able to achieve its own policy designs and economic interests in targeted countries through military occupation, designation of protectorate status, declaration of war, and so on. The USA deployed rhetorics of national interest and foreign need or disability in a series of foreign policy documents that served as performatives in order not to describe or even justify, but to *enact* and execute, its various economic and strategic maneuvers. However, like the *Requerimiento*, the Doctrine and Corollary required and were part of “a complex economy of inscription,” especially in terms of performance. Equally necessary was the public buy-in to empire that patriotic performance provides. As I address in the next section, plays, chants, and popular performance forms mediated public participation in the pursuit of imperial aims.

“KEEP OFF THE GRASS OF THIS ONE STRAND”: POPULAR MEDIATIONS OF UNCLE SAM ON THE WORLD STAGE

The economy of imperial inscription included not only a performative foreign policy, but also a range of performances including vaudeville sketches, public chants and songs, and the more brutal enactments of war and occupation. As noted above, Monroe’s Doctrine uses spatial constructs to create an imperial worldview. It envisions the hemisphere as a space in which the USA supersedes former imperial powers and Roosevelt’s Corollary expands the scope of that space as well as the country’s role as an international police power. Late nineteenth-century performance culture similarly stages Uncle Sam as the new global power and enforcer of the hemisphere; such imaginings were popular in burlesque and vaudeville entertainments like John Bruce’s *Uncle Sam* (1893), Frank Hassall’s *A versatile musical drama, burlesque, and spectacular and transformation ... entitled The World’s Champion American Boy* (1896), and the 1898 vaudeville spectacle, *Flags of the World*, by Frank Tannehill, Jr.¹³ In Bruce’s theatrical sketch, for example, Uncle Sam threatens that the USA will “make nations tremble,” and “terrify everybody.” He warns, “Boys, I’ll fix them all so they will quit fightin’ and keep peace or I’ll blow them all to kingdom come.”¹⁴ The common focus on the “world” in the titles suggests these entertainments functioned as *theatrum mundi* that staged the position of the USA in a global context.

Tannehill's *Flags of the World* (1898) is a multi-media spectacle for a cast of over 20 women, musical accompaniment, and projected film imagery that embodies the aims of the Monroe Doctrine and stages US foreign relations with other countries, both colonial and colonized. The play's cast of characters, all portrayed by "young" women, includes ENGLAND, IRELAND, GERMANY, RUSSIA, CUBA, SPAIN, FRANCE, and AMERICA as well as a dozen additional chorus girls, scantily-dressed as a "living" US flag. These countries constituted some of the players against which the USA then positioned itself on the "world stage." All but Ireland and Cuba were powerful European empires at the time or had been in the recent past.

The women that portray the empires (England, Germany, Russia, Spain, and France) are dressed in representative military uniform—even CUBA carries a machete and wears an officer's uniform from the Cuban War of Independence against Spain. The only two characters not in military uniform are IRELAND and AMERICA—the former is dressed "becomingly as [an] Irish Peasant boy" and the latter as Uncle Sam.¹⁵ This foregrounds Ireland's colonial status and amplifies US exceptionalism as a former British colony. It also demonstrates the ambivalent racial position the Irish held in US society at the time. People of Irish, Italian, and Polish descent were still categorized as different races by the US Immigration Commission in 1911 and were not yet considered white in the way we understand the term today.¹⁶

Each character occupies center stage individually and declares her relation to the USA; musical accompaniment and projected images complete each scenario. The Edison Company had marketed its Vitascope in 1896 and soon had numerous competitors.¹⁷ Such projectors were therefore quite popular in variety houses and theatres across the USA for screening short films and for integrating images directly into sketches and spectacles.¹⁸ Tannehill referred to these projected images as "pictorial embellishments." When the character finishes her lines, she moves to the other side of the stage and strikes a pose while the act continues. The staging borrows from the conventions of the popular follies or burlesque repertoires in the use of an entirely female cast as well as in its chorus girl ending and provocative costuming.

As the first character to enter the stage and present a monologue, ENGLAND highlights the Anglo origins of US culture and declares an imperial-filial bond. Once in the spotlight, she draws a sword and salutes the audience; "God Save the Queen" plays pianissimo in the background.

The projected images include Queen Victoria surrounded by the English flag, the Prince of Wales in uniform, and a portrait of the Prime Minister.

ENGLAND: If against some foreign power
 You had to make a stand
 You'd find, that England's hands and hearts
 Would reach across the sea
 For after all is said and done
 We're all her progeny.¹⁹

This last line enunciates the white Anglo-Saxon roots of US imperialism—a kind of rightful inheritance that will be backed by England's promise of support (“we”). Once this genealogy is established, the playwright characterizes the other empires and nations in order to finally stake US claims.

Spain is depicted as an aging former power—ripe for replacement according to the logic of imperial transition:

SPAIN: Once the Dons, held half the world
 And o'er it saw, their flag unfurled
 Now stronger nations, bid us stay
 And tell us what to do, and say...²⁰

The “stronger nations” include, above all others, the USA, which quickly and successfully concluded its attack against Spain in both the Philippines and Cuba. The images projected during SPAIN's monologue were, in order, a picture of Columbus, “the Boy King of Spain and his Mother” surrounded by the Spanish flag, and General Weyler, head of the Spanish Army fighting to keep control of Cuba. This sequence of images, taken with SPAIN's lines, compresses the Spanish imperial gesture from Columbus through Cuban colonization.

A defenseless CUBA then takes the spotlight, giving voice to annexationist and interventionist desires. The “Cuban National Air” plays and a telling sequence of images is projected: a Cuban flag signifying independence, Cuban Generals Maceo and Gómez in uniform (leaders of the Cuban Army of Independence fighting against Spain), and the single word: “annexation.”

CUBA: Years of suffering, years of sorrow
 Waiting for that bright tomorrow
 That must come, if strength is left us

Though of all, Spain has bereft us.
 Hear ye not, so near your sea
 Poor Cuba's cry for Liberty?
 Will you see us fall, or see us stand
 Shall we have the help of Yankee land?²¹

CUBA's monologue plays on the rhetoric of neighborly assistance to the weak and imperiled, which many used to justify US intervention. Despite the realities of US foreign policy, much of the public's resistance to ideas of expansionism was successfully diffused through such gestures. As Pérez notes, "That the public imagination could persuade itself that the call to arms represented a summons to deliver an oppressed New World people from the clutches of an Old World tyranny served to consecrate the virtue of the US purpose."²²

In line with this, the character AMERICA, dressed as Uncle Sam, is the last to claim center stage—staging US emergence as the final scene in a line of imperial powers. Unlike the other countries/characters in the play, who enter the stage alone, AMERICA is accompanied by a dozen girls dressed, follies-style, as the US flag: "the color of their tights being one leg white, one leg red, the bodies covered with stars and stripes," while the music to "Yankee Doodle" plays during the first part of the monologue:

AMERICA: Independence! That's the word
 And we won it, by the sword
 Though it came late in the day
 The Republic's here, and here to stay.
 America, garden spot of earth
 You bet I'm proud, you gave me birth.
 Go where you will, around, about
 When you leave America
 You're camping out.
 [...]
 Fight if you will
 Grab each other's land
 But keep off the grass
 Of this one strand.
 Let the eagle doze
 And you won't strike a snag
Defense—not offense—
 Says Columbia's Flag.²³

The monologue closes with a series of projected images, including Old Glory and—in a pictorial display of empire—a picture of President McKinley surrounded by the US, Cuban, and Hawaiian flags. Meanwhile, the chorus girls line up to the accompaniment of “The Star-Spangled Banner.” The stage directions note, “When the line ‘in triumph still wave’ is sung, the cloaks of girls are removed,” revealing what Tannehill described as “The Living American Flag” (10). The curtain is lowered to the firing of guns and fireworks in ejaculatory display as the highly eroticized flag delights the audience.

The female actors in feminized military garb perform as surrogates for the real characters in this drama of imperial surrogation—the King of England, the King of Spain, President McKinley, and so on—the men whose projected images flicker almost spectrally on stage. In each scenario, the masculine image frames and is framed with the iconography of military uniforms, flags, hymns, and the erotic performance of female actors. The emergence of US empire on the stage is accompanied by all manner of spectacle that directs attention away from its economic and geo-political aims; the uncloaking of its power takes place just prior to the final curtain.

Hassall’s *The World’s Champion American Boy* (1896) also stages US desires for hemispheric if not global domination. At the end of the burlesque spectacle, the blond-haired hero participates in a scene of fantastical glory; the stage directions intend to produce the easily identifiable climax of nationalist iconography:

Uncle Sam standing back of eagle from six to twelve feet high, and back of eagle left, Goddess of Liberty from six to twelve feet high. In center, back of eagle, between Uncle Sam and Liberty, figure of World’s Champion American Boy, reaching up to Sam and Liberty, for the Champion Cup and the Champion Belt of the world.²⁴

The language of cup and belt references masculine sports like boxing or wrestling and suggests physical fitness and strength. In this scenario, the “World’s Champion American Boy,” an embodiment of the physically fit “young nation,” literally reaches out to claim his trophies under the approving gaze of the almost parental figures of Liberty and Sam.

Sketches and stage directions constitute a large portion of variety stage and vaudeville scripts, which tend to be light on dialogue and focus more on action and visual and performance imagery. Hassall’s *The World’s Champion American Boy*, or Bruce’s *Uncle Sam* have very little dialogue at

all, are poorly written, and are comprised almost entirely of directions and notes for sketches. Traditionally, these kinds of pieces would not be analyzed, at least not with the tools of dramatic literary criticism. Moreover, stage directions are typically disregarded in analysis partly because they may not reflect what occurred in any given performance or are seen as supplemental. Nonetheless, analyzing stage directions is fruitful because such parenthetical comments mark a space where action and image impinge upon the stability of the text and especially because it allows us to record the repeated use of flags, hymns, popular songs, and the figures of Uncle Sam, Yankee Doodle, and so on, in theatrical productions of the period.

The repetition of patriotic imagery is especially useful for understanding how the nation's new role as empire was imagined through performance. By attending such popular productions, theatregoers in different urban communities throughout the USA consumed recognizable patriotic tropes, songs, scenarios, and so on. According to Benedict Anderson, the formation of a collective from an aggregation of localized groups is achieved when communities begin to read and share the same images and stories.²⁵ Arguably, then, patriotic performance culture constitutes a site of such collective formation. The theatregoing community in the USA was increasingly motivated by patriotic imagery in contemporary plays, films, and songs—and vaudeville stages constituted popular fields of action for imagining and participating in the new role of empire.

REMEMBER THE *MAINE*! PATRIOTIC PERFORMANCE AND IMPERIAL FORGETTING

Let us return to the War of 1898. The popular history of the War suggests that while the USA was in favor of Cuban independence from Spanish colonial rule, it had been able to remain neutral until February 15, when the battleship *USS Maine* exploded in Havana Harbor (*la Bahía de la Habana*). Responding to immediate and persistent public outcry, the US government was forced to declare war against Spain, thus thrusting Uncle Sam into the limelight. Again, this narrative cleanly erases any machinations toward establishing US military and economic imperialism in the Caribbean and replaces them with the image of a just nation, one that had no choice but to defend its honor. The eruption of crisis instantly removes all suspicion of ulterior imperial motive, despite the long history of attempted purchases and annexations and US concerns over the participation of Cubans of African descent in the growing rebellion against

the Spanish, about which I say more below. In this narrative, Uncle Sam emerges as the unwitting hero of a defenseless Cuba—one that would have preferred to stay out of it, if not for what was easily read as a targeted act of aggression. A single tragic event ignites the call for a swift retribution even though the explosion was never proven to be the result of Spanish guile.²⁶ The sudden crisis event and the ensuing public outcry—a widespread, large-scale cultural performance—were orchestrated partly through the inflammatory “yellow journalism” of William Randolph Hearst’s *New York Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer’s *New York World* and provided the US government with a reason to declare war and finally occupy Cuba. Soon, the streets were filled with chants of “Remember the *Maine!* To hell with Spain!”—according to Henry B. Russell’s 1898 history of the War, it was the “catch-phrase of the day,” heard everywhere.²⁷ The rhymed pair of exclamations trades in remembering and forgetting—remembering US losses precisely in order to forget (to hell with) Spanish claims to Cuba.

Michael Rogin demonstrates how US foreign policy is converted into amnesia-inducing nationalizing spectacle in order to mobilize the population—and while his subject is the First Gulf War, the argument holds true in the case of the spectacle that surrounded the war effort and the sinking of the *USS Maine*.²⁸ “Remember the *Maine!* To hell with Spain!” is an amnesia inducing discursive and performance strategy that produces a faulty memory from the start—the memory of an event that never quite occurred, at least not as imagined (the sinking of a US ship by the dastardly Spanish). This “faulty memory” is not the result of transmission across time and space, nor is it simply a form of selective memory. It is an invented memory produced and performed at multiple sites, disseminated widely and quickly. “Remember the *Maine...*” reverses the relationship of memory to historical event—here, patriotic remembering is a prologue to the production of imperial forgetting. There is a relationship between the performative enactment of US empire and an inbuilt requirement for imperial forgetting that is strikingly similar to Jill Lane’s claim that the spectacle of Spanish conquest ultimately revealed and figured its own forgetting.²⁹ Indeed, the performance of patriotic memory mediated, to a large extent, the very war: in the days, weeks, and months between the explosion of the *Maine* and the landing of the US military in Cuba, performances of remembering erupted across the country. The amusements section of the Sunday *Philadelphia Inquirer*, dated May 15 1898, for example, ran an advertisement titled “Remember the *Maine!*” It announced a “Grand Patriotic Evening” at the Academy of Music: “All

the National songs to be sung by prominent artists assisted by a chorus of 80 voices and military band. Prominent speakers will address the audience."³⁰ Such public events were widely popular and as the ad indicates, song was an especially important form of patriotic expression.

For Joseph Roach, the "social processes of memory and forgetting, familiarly known as culture, may be carried out by a variety of performance events, from stage plays to sacred rites, from carnivals to the invisible rituals of everyday life."³¹ Performance, broadly conceived, was a primary site for the production of patriotism and the faulty memory that facilitated imperial performance—patriotic spectacle as well as military occupation. There are at least twenty-seven songs in the Library of Congress catalog on the topic of the *Maine*—twenty have "Remember the Maine" in the title—and most were published immediately after the crisis by professional music houses. Patriotic memory is an imperative in "Boys! Remember the Maine" and "Remember boys, the Maine." In "Remembered is the Maine" and two songs titled "Maine Remembered," the act of remembering takes place in the past—a *fait accompli*; others like "Off to Remember the Maine" or "We'll Not Forget the Maine" project memory into the future—as a patriotic promise of never-forgetting. Some honor the loss of human life in the imperial project and aim to pluck the heartstrings, such as "My Sweetheart went down with the Maine"; others swear revenge, like "Avengers of the Maine."³²

The songs were published widely, from New Hampshire to New York City and New Orleans; from Washington D.C., Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago, Indianapolis, Detroit, and small towns in Kansas to Alabama, Nashville, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. This was a nationwide performance spectacle of imperial memory—one that included formal and informal commemorations accompanied by songs such as "Our Navy Signal—Remember the Maine," patriotic speeches, public chants of "Remember the *Maine!* To hell with Spain!" as well as drunken sing-alongs and bleary-eyed dances to songs like, "Remember the Maine: The Last Ship Waltz." All of this unified the country in simultaneous acts of a shared affective patriotism for the first time since the Civil War—all of this performance aimed to "advance, restage, and seal" the aims of economic imperialism.³³

In his work on nationalism in Cuba, Gregory T. Cushman argues that the "acts of 'memory and forgetting' involved in historical consciousness" are not only mediated through print language (newspapers, periodicals, and books)—but also through music.³⁴ Indeed, published scores constitute a

print language that requires communal performance—after the sheet music is purchased, people gather, in both private and public contexts, to play, sing, dance, and listen *together*. Shared performance forms such as singing, chanting, or just being part of the audience at an event, provide an “experience of simultaneity” with others and create affective moments of imagining [the nation as] shared community. Anderson’s concept of “unisonance” describes the felt performance of such an imaginary by individuals who become invested in the performance-capital of the collective formation.³⁵ He writes, “How selfless this unisonance feels! If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound.”³⁶

The sheer volume of rhetorical and performance strategies surrounding the sinking of the *Maine*—the press, public events, chants, and songs—encouraged the doublethink required in order to remember to forget (to forget imperial aims and declare war, to forget concern over continued revolution in Cuba, even to forget Cuba in the popular naming of the military event: the Spanish-American War). This remembering to forget is similar to the anti-conquest strategies described by Mary Louise Pratt—strategies whereby US subjects claim the benefits of altruism even as they assert the need for expansion.³⁷ As David Trask notes, the “American people went to war convinced that they had embarked on an entirely selfless mission for humanity.”³⁸

The popular narrative of the War of 1898 thus accomplishes several erasures and produces several revisions, substitutions, and surrogations. It is a palimpsestic narrative—trading in erasures and reinscriptions. The image of the just nation suffering at the hands of a villain obscures the imperialist aims of the USA in Cuba and justifies the prompt removal of the Spanish empire from the tropical islands on either side of the isthmus—a strategic erasure of imperial competition and an insertion of US power that marks the beginnings of an outright imperial surrogation in the hemisphere, one which culminates, on some level, with the opening of the Panama Canal. Imperialist and racist aims were embedded if not fully erased through an appeal to “memory”—by remembering the *Maine*, national memory was kept focused on its own loss and was thus able to forget about US desires for a kind of imperial succession.

In 1984, Orwell wrote, “All history was a palimpsest, scraped clean and reinscribed as often as was necessary” in order to map onto the totalitarian regime’s political aims.³⁹ Nor is such a view of historiography entirely

fictional. Trouillot's *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, argues that the production of historical narratives is about power and that historiography, archive-making, and so on, trade heavily in silences and erasures.⁴⁰ Faulty memory allows citizens to reconcile democratic principles and national fantasies of altruism with imperial projects such as war and the invasion of countries that were strategic to US interests. As Jennifer DeVere Brody notes, "faulty memories" facilitate "the telling of hegemonic (white) American history."⁴¹

SKETCHES OF IMPERIAL FORGETTING

The imperial forgetting facilitated by Uncle Sam's dramatic entrance on the "world stage" and the call to "Remember the *Maine!*" obscures the longer development of US empire and downplays prior interest in Cuba and in Haiti. Indeed, the US government long had its eye on Cuba. The USA wanted financial control of the island and tried to purchase it from Spain several times in the nineteenth century: James Polk offered \$100 million in 1848, Franklin Pierce offered \$130 million in 1854 and the Grant administration also considered purchase. Before the Civil War, many southern slaveholders supported annexation to create another strong agricultural center and strengthen the slaveholding position, especially as Western expansion reduced slaveholding states in the Union.⁴² The sinking of the *Maine* justified these desires and required the imperial performative: a declaration of war against Spain and military and economic intervention in Cuba. Yet the desires and concerns that the faulty imperial memory occludes have roots in the mid-nineteenth century when the USA contemplated Cuba's possession and imagined—with extreme anxiety—the possibility of "another Haiti." The 1895 war for independence, *Grito de Baire*, was more successful than previous attempts at revolution and posed a concern to both Spanish colonials and the US government.⁴³ The insurgent armies launched a military confrontation that threatened the resources of bourgeois prominence and in response, the planter class in Cuba cried out for US intervention and annexation.⁴⁴ Pérez notes that the Cuban revolutions of the nineteenth century not only threatened traditional colonial rule, agricultural production, and property values in Cuba, but also challenged US colonial fantasies and renewed anxieties about the Haitian Revolution.⁴⁵ Indeed, the purposes for occupying Cuba had not changed between 1848 and 1898, but the presentation had.⁴⁶

It could be argued that US interest in Cuba and Haiti begins with the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804). Many Americans viewed the existence of the Black Republic as a threat to the practice of slavery and by extension, the economy; the new Haiti was capable of striking “terror in the hearts of slaveholders throughout the region.”⁴⁷ Such discourses refer to the Haitian Revolution as a dangerous, excessively violent, and primitive slave uprising rather than a legitimate postcolonial project based on the precepts of equality, fraternity, and liberty in order to silence it as “unspeakable,” “unthinkable,” or totally “incomprehensible.”⁴⁸ Trouillot clarifies that “in most places outside of Haiti, more than a century after it happened, the revolution was still largely unthinkable history.”⁴⁹ Not only was it “unthinkable before” it happened and “thought impossible by its contemporaries,” but the story of the Haitian Revolution is also “silenced by historians.”⁵⁰ Sibylle Fischer similarly unpacks the unspeakability of the successful revolution and argues for its centrality in the emergence of modernity in the Americas—a centrality she argues is nonetheless repeatedly disavowed.⁵¹ And in the groundbreaking, “Hegel and Haiti,” Susan Buck-Morss argues that Haiti is crucial to understanding Hegel’s master-slave narrative because its revolution is blatantly under erasure in the philosopher’s work.⁵² For Buck-Morss, Hegel was aware of the revolution in St. Domingue; it had been discussed at length in newspapers and journals he regularly read. She concludes that the real world revolution of slaves and mulattos was germane to his articulation even as it had to remain unacknowledged. Building from this work, it becomes possible to make a convincing argument that Haiti is also an unnamed and unnamable target of Monroe’s Doctrine.

Indeed, while it remains unnamed in the Doctrine, Haiti could not have been absent from mind in 1823 when concern over its threat to the US institution of slavery was high.⁵³ Let us return to the issue of acknowledgement or recognition in Monroe’s paragraphs above because it is essential to determining the aim of his warning. Recognition is the process whereby already existing governments acknowledge a modern nation and its “international legal status.”⁵⁴ In 1821, not long after securing the purchase of Florida, the USA recognized five newly independent Latin American countries—all former colonies of Spain: Chile, Argentina, Peru, Colombia (which then included Venezuela and Ecuador) and Mexico. Within two years of Monroe’s address, another six nations would be acknowledged: Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Brazil. The Jeffersonian *de facto* principle of recognition, “whereby

governments are recognized automatically regardless of their nature,” had only one exception at the time of Monroe’s address—Haiti.⁵⁵ To bring up recognition criteria at all, then, is to single out Haiti without having to name it. Neither Spanish colony nor recognized government, Haiti is the unarticulated exception to Monroe’s promise of non-interference.

Monroe performs an almost forced nonchalance given the prominence of Haiti in US discourse at the time. The Black Republic had claimed its independence a mere 19 years before Monroe’s address and Haitian independence had violently challenged the culture of slavery thus making a tremendous impact on neighboring countries.⁵⁶ Eric Williams notes that Thomas Jefferson was very “apprehensive of the repercussions of the Saint-Domingue slave revolution, which precipitated a slave uprising in his native Virginia.”⁵⁷ The Revolution’s repeatability is what so troubled the white, slave-owning imagination.⁵⁸ In 1811, little more than a decade before Monroe’s address, one of the best-organized revolts in North American history occurred in the new state of Louisiana when over 500 enslaved marched into New Orleans under Haitian officers.⁵⁹ And just 1 year before Monroe’s Address, the leader of Haiti, President Jean-Pierre Boyer—a *gens de couleur* who had fought in Haiti’s revolution—successfully unified the north and south of the Republic and controlled the former Spanish colony of Santo Domingo.⁶⁰ It is hard to imagine that Monroe was not addressing the Black Republic even if direct mention was both unnecessary because commonly understood and conceptually impossible in a Presidential address, given the USA denied recognition of Haiti until 1862.

Black subjectivity and a legitimate black government forged through a successful race, class, and labor revolution was inconceivable in an economic system established on slavery and white hegemonic rule. One did not need to speak it—and a President could not run the risk of doing so. According to the Afro-pessimism of Frank B. Wilderson III, “Black subjectivity” (subjectivity under erasure) is structured as a “void”—the very absence of relational status—and this structural void “haunts the socius.”⁶¹ In a sense, nineteenth-century Haiti was a national equivalent to this structural void—~~nationhood~~ under erasure; a nation that did not possess relational status and yet haunted the USA even at the turn of the twentieth century. Haiti’s absence is no oversight in Monroe’s narrative—his speeches were carefully crafted. More than a betrayal of white anxiety about race revolution, it is a denial of black subjectivity on any level—a thorough refusal of recognition.

While the USA did not recognize Haiti and grant diplomatic status until 1862, it held interests in Haiti as early as 1847 when it first attempted to establish naval bases at Samana Bay in the recently independent Dominican Republic and the Mole St. Nicholas on the northwest coast of Haiti at the mouth of the Windward Passage. In 1891, the USA sent a considerable fleet to Port-au-Prince and threatened to seize the Mole, but the Haitian government refused to negotiate and the fleet was recalled.⁶² US warships deposited Marines on Haitian soil no fewer than eight times between 1867 and 1900 for limited time-periods without formally declaring occupation and with little effect.⁶³ US capital, however, was succeeding in its penetration of the Black Republic: by 1897, Haiti had already petitioned US banks for loans totaling millions of dollars.⁶⁴

By 1898, the USA was concerned over the so-called vulnerabilities of Cuba and Haiti—the former under a weak Spanish rule and the latter to various European countries that sought to recoup loans. Yet attempts to purchase Cuba and control Haiti by means of finance and capital were not only intended to reduce European interference in the hemisphere in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine or to claim the island nations as productive markets, but were also aimed at reducing what was seen as a threat to US racial and political hegemony. Pérez claims that US intervention in Cuba had less to do with concern over Spanish power in the region than with growing concern that the “rebel insurgents” would succeed: “intervention was as much against the expanding Cuban claim of sovereignty as the declining Spanish claim.”⁶⁵ Moreover, Roosevelt, Elihu Root, and other prominent imperialists were well aware of the strategic importance of Cuba regarding plans for the construction of a canal at the isthmus.⁶⁶ This is clearest in the timing of the Roosevelt Corollary and construction on the Panama Canal, both 1904, and in the choice to install a “permanent” US military base in Guantánamo Province on the Windward Passage in 1898 rather than on the Florida Straits, which borders US shores.

The imperial performance made possible through the Doctrine and Corollary requires that national memory functions like a palimpsest. The remembering to forget performed with “Remember the *Maine!*” was a kind of whitewashing that reconciled a heroic national image with its increasingly imperial aims. But the kind of imperial memory at work regarding the Haitian Revolution requires a more persistent blacking out—a conceptual redaction, which haunts the nation, largely unspoken. Always present was the specter of the Haitian Revolution and the

capacity for “another Haiti.” Indeed, the Revolution’s repeatability—its capacity to be rewritten, reproduced, restaged—is also what made it useful to the production of pan-blackness over the following decades, culminating with the early twentieth-century occupation of Haiti, as I discuss in Chap. 6.

§§§

Denying long-standing financial, geo-political, and racial concerns, and using the sinking of the *Maine* as impetus, the USA formally declared war against Spain on April 25, 1898 and immediately prepared for military deployment to Cuba. Between June 10 and 23, US troops landed in Guantánamo, Siboney, and Daiquiri. Battles were fought at Las Guásimas on June 24, El Caney and San Juan Hill on July 1, and Santiago de Cuba on July 3. On July 17, Spanish forces surrendered at Santiago de Cuba and the US military occupation began with the raising of the US flag, that other performative component. The Platt Amendment, which went into effect in 1902, performatively created the space for US intervention. According to Pérez, the Amendment served as the “principal instrument of [US] hegemony” and transformed “the substance of Cuban sovereignty into an extension of the US national system.”⁶⁷

Platt also marked the beginning of “cocktail time in Cuba,” as an eponymous 1928 US guidebook declared, and the party lasted until the Revolution of 1959.⁶⁸ To be sure, “it was the Americans who were drinking the cocktails and Cubans who were being told to hurry up and bring them.”⁶⁹ “Cocktail time” can be understood as a performative space in which US imperialism is put on display via conspicuous consumption of the exotic other and in which a kind of drunken after-effect, an intoxication of empire, produces amnesia about imperial violence and machinations. According to Greg Grandin, concepts like “occupation” and “protectorate status” are used to disguise acts of invasion, guerrilla warfare, and so on.⁷⁰ They belong to what Joseph A. Fallon calls the “murky zone” of US imperial activities.⁷¹ Through performative declaration of occupation or protectorate status (via invocation of the Roosevelt Corollary), the USA was finally able to set up a series of naval bases in the Caribbean. By turning Haiti and the DR into protectorates, the USA had by 1914, finally “acquired the Mole St. Nicholas in the former, and the Samana Bay in the latter, as first class naval bases.”⁷² From Guantánamo in Cuba and the Mole in Haiti, it thus commanded the Windward Passage and

from Puerto Rico and the DR, the smaller Mona Passage.⁷³ The Panama Canal was central to US naval and imperial power—and occupied Cuba and Haiti were its heraldic guardians.

In 1939, *The Gentleman's Companion Volume II, Being an Exotic Drinking Book or, Around the World with Jigger, Beaker and Flask*, published the recipe for a drink named “Remember the *Maine!*” The ingredients include rye whiskey, Italian vermouth, cherry brandy and absinthe and the recipe narrative tells of a “hazy memory of a night in Havana.”⁷⁴ It seems a perfect formula for imperial memory—something that happens in between the promise to remember of the title and the forgetting typically associated with absinthe consumption. The night being remembered, in fact, does not occur in 1898, but during the “unpleasantness of 1933, when each swallow was punctuated with bombs going off on the Prado.”⁷⁵ The false memory of 1898 invoked by “Remember the *Maine!*” is taken up, emptied out, and adapted as a generic structure, a recipe for adventure, and a way to delegitimize the political aims of the 1933 revolutionary movement under Ramón Grau San Martín in Cuba.⁷⁶ The scene described in the recipe book depicts an American “gentleman”—a cosmopolitan man of empire—drinking rye and absinthe at the Hotel Nacional while another revolution unfolds on the streets. The “hazy memory” caused by this drink is strikingly similar to—and another instance of—the imperial memory invoked through the call to “Remember the *Maine!*” Remembering a version of an event that in some sense did not occur (the Spanish probably did not sink the *Maine*) enables the war that erases Spain and permits an imperial surrogation, which is disavowed in the very acts of performed memory (chanting, singing, drinking) that in some sense start the process in the first place and permit the repetition of future hazy memories in other murky zones of empire.

NOTES

1. Jeffrey H. Richards, *Theater Enough: American Culture and the Metaphor of the World Stage, 1607–1789* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Gary W. Reichard et al., eds., *America on the World Stage: A Global Approach to U.S. History* (Organization of American Historians, 2008). The War lasted from April 25 to August 12, 1898.
2. Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 131.

3. Thomas David Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War of 1898 and the Origin of Globalization* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003). Donna Littlejohn, "Spanish-American War to Take Center Stage in San Pedro Military Re-Enactment Weekend," *Daily Breeze* (2013), <http://www.daily-breeze.com/general-news/20130706/spanish-american-war-to-take-center-stage-in-san-pedro-military-re-enactment-weekend>
4. Willard B. Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1893–1903* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 1.
5. Scott Nearing et al., *Dollar Diplomacy: A Study in American Imperialism [1925]* (New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1969), 1.
6. Gretchen Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 7.
7. Jill Lane, "On Colonial Forgetting: The Conquest of New Mexico and Its *Historia*," in *The Ends of Performance*, ed. Peggy Phelan, et al. (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 54.
8. *Ibid.*, 56.
9. *Ibid.* J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
10. James Monroe, "Seventh Annual Message, Dec. 2, 1823," in *Writings of James Monroe, Volume VI, 1817–1823*, ed. Stanislaus Murray Hamilton (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1902), 328, 340.
11. *Ibid.*, 340.
12. Theodore Roosevelt, "State of the Union Address, December 6, 1904," in *State of the Union Addresses of Theodore Roosevelt* (Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2007), 109.
13. Frank Hassall, "A Versatile Musical Drama, Burlesque, and Spectacular and Transformation ... Entitled the World's Champion American Boy," (Library of Congress/American Memory Collection, 1896); John Bruce, "Uncle Sam," (Library of Congress/American Memory Collection, 1893); Frank Tannehill, "Flags of the World," (Library of Congress/American Memory Collection, 1898). Tannehill was an established Broadway actor, playwright, and director from 1898 to WWI. *IBDb*.
14. Bruce, "Uncle Sam."
15. Tannehill, "Flags," 2.
16. United States Immigration Commission 61st Congress, *Dictionary of Races or Peoples* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911). Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).
17. Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 91–132.

18. Gwendolyn Waltz, "Filmed Scenery on the Live Stage," *Theatre Journal* 58, no. 4 (2006).
19. Tannehill, "Flags," 3.
20. *Ibid.*, 7.
21. *Ibid.*, 6–7.
22. Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 24.
23. Tannehill, "Flags," 8.
24. Hassall, "World's Champion American Boy."
25. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
26. The US Navy claims the cause remains "elusive." A 1911 board of inquiry concluded a mine caused the event, but recent theories suggest coalbunker combustion near the magazine. Department of the Navy, "The Destruction of the *USS Maine*," *Naval History and Heritage Command* (2011), <http://www.history.navy.mil/browse-by-topic/disasters-and-phenomena/destruction-of-uss-maine.html>
27. Henry Benajah Russell, *An Illustrated History of Our War with Spain: Its Causes, Incidents, and Results* (Hartford: A.D. Worthington & Co. Publishers, 1898), 459. Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 57.
28. Michael Rogin, "'Make My Day!': Spectacle as Amnesia in Imperial Politics [and] the Sequel," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Donald E. Pease, et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).
29. Lane, "On Colonial Forgetting," 53.
30. "Remember the Maine! [Advertisement]," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 15 1898.
31. Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), xi.
32. W.E. Atkinson, "Oh! Men of the Maine," ([n.p.], 1898); Hiram L. Badger, "Remember the Maine," (Manchester, N.H.: Hiram L. Badger, 1899); J. P. Baron, "Remember the Maine," (New Orleans: L. Grunewald Co., 1898); Horace R. Basler, "Remember the 'Maine,' Song and Chorus," (Pittsburgh: Basler's Music House, 1898); John Braham, "Remembered Is the Maine," (New York: Johs. S. Cheatle, 1898); R. H. Brennen, "Remember the Maine," (Cincinnati: Geo. Jaberg Music Co., 1898); George Brewster, "Maine Remembered," (Chicago: The Thompson Music Co., 1899); A. L. Burtis, "Remember the Maine," (Lockport, N.Y.: A. L. Burtis, 1898); Frank A. Bush, "Remember the Maine, the Lost Ship, Waltz Song & Refrain," (Belleville, Kan.: Frank A. Bush, 1898); Berta (Miss) Byrd, "Remember the Maine," (Washington D.C.: H. Kirkus Dugdale Co., 1900); Alexander Dixie, "Avengers of the Maine," (New York: The Howe Music Co., 1898); J. P. Frazer, "Remember the Maine," (Detroit: Fraser Publishing Co., 1898); B. D. Freeman, "Dewey's Victory, or We'll

- Remember the Maine," (Cincinnati: Olsen & Co., 1898); Beatus Fuller et al., "Remember the Maine : Patriotic Song," (Seneca: J. Fuller, 1898); E. Grace Griffin, "Remember the Maine, Words & Music," (San Francisco: The Zono Mauvais Music Co., 1898); Albert H. Grove, "Our Navy Signal-Remember the Maine," (Indianapolis: The Algrove Music Co., 1898); Orpha Ide Kendall, "We'll Not Forget the Maine," (Chicago: Chicago Music Co., 1898); Clarence W. Kramer, "Remember the Maine! Boys," (New Sharon, Iowa: F. B. Rhodes, 1898); Renwick Harcourt Langford, "*Remember the Maine*"; *Poems* (Grand Island, Neb.: Standard printing co., 1898); DeByford McCannon, "Off to Remember the Maine," (Deer Park, Ala.: D. B. McCanon, 1898); Bert Morgan, "My Sweetheart Went Down with the Maine, Words and Music," (Macomb, Illinois: Morgan Music Co., 1898); Michael J. Nolan, "Boys! Remember the Maine," (New York: Michael J. Nolan, 1898); Walter A. Phillips, "Remember the Maine," (n.p. 1898); Ella Rood, "Remember Boys, the Maine," (Nashville: The Rood Publishing Co., 1898); Furth Saymour, "Our Unforgotten Heroes of the Maine," (New York: Consolidated Music Publishers Ass'n., 1898); Tony Stanford, "Remember the Maine," (New York: Feist & Frankenthaler, 1898); H.R. Strong, "Maine Remembered," (Los Angeles: Commercial Printing House: Music Printers, 1898); Viola Turner-Coon, "Remember the Maine," (Kansas City: Mos., National Publishing Co., 1898).
33. Lane, "On Colonial Forgetting," 54.
 34. Gregory T. Cushman, "¿De Que Color Es El Oro? Race, Environment, and the History of Cuban National Music, 1898–1958," *Latin American Music Review* 26, no. 2 (2005): 169. Cushman builds on Anderson's theory of the nation as imagined community. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
 35. ———, *Imagined Communities*, 145.
 36. Ibid.
 37. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 7.
 38. Trask qtd. in Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 39.
 39. Orwell, *1984* (1949).
 40. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).
 41. Jennifer DeVere Brody, "Memory's Movements: Minstrelsy, Miscegenation, and American Race Studies," *American Literary History* 11, no. 4 (1999): 743.
 42. Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 5.
 43. ———, *Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902–1934* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), 23.
 44. Ibid., 25, 28.
 45. Ibid., 23, 25, 28, 29.

46. ———, *The War of 1898*, 50.
47. Stephen J. Randall et al., *The Caribbean Basin: An International History* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 16.
48. Sibylle Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Trouillot, *Silencing*; Thomas Reinhardt, “200 Years of Forgetting: Hushing up the Haitian Revolution,” *Journal of Black Studies* 35, no. 4 (2005).
49. Trouillot, *Silencing*, 95.
50. *Ibid.*, 95–96.
51. Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed*.
52. Susan Buck-Morss, “Hegel and Haiti,” *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 4 (2000); ———, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009).
53. Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti’s Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988). David Patrick Geggus, ed. *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2001); John E. Baur, “International Repercussions of the Haitian Revolution,” *Americas* 26 (1970); Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed*.
54. Gregory Weeks, “Almost Jeffersonian: U.S. Recognition Policy toward Latin America,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2001): 492.
55. *Ibid.*, 503, 492.
56. Hunt, *Haiti’s Influence*; Geggus, ed. *Impact*; Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed*.
57. Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492–1969* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 270.
58. During this timeframe, the sign of whiteness referred to a very narrow category of Anglo-Saxon Protestants (Jacobson’s first phase). Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*.
59. Roach, *Cities*, 252–53.
60. At the time of Monroe’s Address, the Republic of Haiti claimed the entire island of Hispaniola and continued to do so until 1844 when the DR established an independent government.
61. Frank B. Wilderson III, *Red, White and Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), xi.
62. Trouillot, *Silencing*, 129; Nearing et al., *Dollar Diplomacy*.
63. Lester D. Langley, *The Banana Wars: United States Intervention in the Caribbean, 1898–1934* (Wilmington: SR Books, 2002), 115.
64. Anonymous, “Gold Basis for Haiti: The Government Will Try to Secure a Loan of \$6,000,000 from Bankers in the United States,” *New York Times*, October 6 1897. Nearing et al., *Dollar Diplomacy*; Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

65. Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 80.
66. *Ibid.*, 48–49.
67. ———, *Cuba under Platt*, xvii, 49. All dates from the Library of Congress.
68. Basil Woon, *When It's Cocktail Time in Cuba* (New York: H. Liveright, 1928).
69. Alan Ryan, “Introduction,” in *The Reader's Companion to Cuba* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1997), xv.
70. Grandin refers to US actions in Cuba and Haiti as guerrilla warfare and invasion, respectively. Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2006), 3.
71. Qtd. in Josep M. Fradera, “Reading Imperial Transitions: Spanish Contraction, British Expansion, and American Irruption,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy, et al. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 55.
72. Nearing et al., *Dollar Diplomacy*, 123.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Charles H. Baker Jr., *The Gentleman's Companion Volume II, Being an Exotic Drinking Book or, around the World with Jigger, Beaker and Flask* (New York: The Derrydale Press, 1939), 116–17.
75. *Ibid.*
76. The 1933 revolution undermined the dictatorship of President Machado and established a government under Grau's leadership that abrogated the Platt Amendment and tried to implement dramatic social and agrarian reform in Cuba. Robert W. Whitney, *State and Revolution in Cuba: Mass Mobilization and Political Change, 1920–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

Patriotic Performance Culture and Whiteness: The Trope of Old Glory in Cuba

*We have heard you, Cuba, heard you,
And your cry is not in vain;
We are coming now to free you
From the tyranny of Spain!
We are coming! We are coming!
We are coming with Old Glory
To o'er turn the rule of Spain!*²

—“*We Are Coming with Old Glory*” (popular tune, 1898)

Following the loss of the *USS Maine*, there was an explosion of patriotic performance as the US public first demanded and then prepared for war. Flag-waving and chants, public events and amusements, theatrical skits and numerous songs that called to “Remember the *Maine*” were common fare. And the US flag was everywhere; the object performance of “Old Glory” was not limited to fervent public display but also saturated the stage and popular media, including what may be the first “American war film,” which depicts the US ensign being raised in place of the Spanish colors in Cuba.¹ The massive military spectacle of preparation for the war effort was itself dramatic: Teddy Roosevelt’s “Rough Riders,” a regiment of almost 800 men and an equal number of horses, made its way by train from San Antonio, where the men had trained, to Tampa for deployment

to Cuba. Thousands flocked to the southern stations where the volunteer regiment frequently stopped to care for its horses; in his 1899 memoir, *The Rough Riders*, Roosevelt describes the scenario as one of prideful excitement: “Everywhere the people came out to greet us and cheer us. They brought us flowers; they brought us watermelons and other fruits, and sometimes jugs and pails of milk [...]”² All told, over 300,000 men in enlisted units were deployed to the island from all over the country and thousands more organized themselves in multiple volunteer regiments.³

Patriotic popular culture and the daily activities of the war effort coalesced to form an extended cultural performance of people and objects. Twain’s *The War Prayer* (1905) describes the scenario as a series of repetitive gestures and actions—daily, men enlist, volunteer, and march while family members and sweethearts cheer; nightly, people speak, applaud, preach, and cry together.⁴ In Twain’s spectacle of patriotism, objects perform metonymically for the power of the nation: drums beat, bands play, flags flutter, toy pistols pop and firecrackers sputter. “On every hand” a flag waves and “in every heart” burns the “holy fire of patriotism” marking the bodies of the citizenry through affective unisonance—over the “spread of roofs and balconies” the “fluttering wilderness of flags” stitches together public and private spaces.⁵

The War of 1898 harnessed “the singular power of nationalism,” namely “its capacity to organize a sense of popular, collective unity through the management of mass national commodity spectacle.”⁶ As such, the War itself can be considered a form of mass commodity spectacle. In addition to the “yellow journalism” of the day, which assured sensationalized coverage, the spectacle of performance—especially in multi-use theatre spaces that incorporated theatrical, curio, and motion picture entertainments—was a primary field of action for the production of the war effort. The staging of this spectacular nationalism haunts a range of popular cultural productions from various plays and popular songs to the first motion pictures that represented war on variety show stages across the country, thus facilitating the performative aims of US foreign policy. As noted in the previous chapter, for example, the chant, “Remember the *Maine!* To hell with Spain!” was crucial to initiating the war effort and a wide range of performances invoked the trope.

Another popular theme of patriotic performance culture was the trope of “Old Glory in Cuba.” Indeed, the US flag saturated the media and popular culture, repeatedly staging the scene of surrogation—the trope of Old Glory in Cuba is a metonymic image for US presence on the island

and all that it enabled for the production of whiteness and empire. Indeed, the “key performative gesture” that sealed the moment of takeover and the defeat of the Spanish was the ceremonious raising of the US flag in place of the Spanish colors.⁷ Performative speech acts function by enacting that which they enunciate, but the raising of the US flag functions in a slightly different performative manner, which is to say that it enunciates, or announces, that which it enacts, namely the moment of surrogation in which the USA replaces Spain in Cuba and more broadly, the hemisphere. The cultural materials that comprise the trope of Old Glory in Cuba include the object performance of the US flag in print media and motion pictures such as *Raising Old Glory over Morro Castle* (1899), vaudeville plays that depict both US military and market presence in Cuba such as Frank Dumont’s *The Cuban Spy* (1899) and the eponymous *Old Glory in Cuba* (1898) by Thomas Beaty, and the staging of US military presence in Cuba as personified in the figure of the Rough Rider in early motion pictures such as *Skirmish of Rough Riders* (1899) and *US Infantry Supported by Rough Riders at El Caney* (1899), as well as in Teddy Roosevelt’s memoir, *The Rough Riders* (1899). These are the materials explored in this chapter.

An analysis of the material that makes up the trope of Old Glory in Cuba demonstrates the crucial role of patriotic performance to the production of empire and the war effort. It allows me to map the shifts in whiteness and show that Cuba was a prime site for playing out its parameters. Over the half-century prior to the War, there had been growing debate regarding the criteria for whiteness in the USA, and by extension citizenship, due in large part to increased immigration from Europe as well as concerns about miscegenation, which I shall discuss more in Chaps. 5, 6, and 7. Jacobson dates the “fracturing of monolithic whiteness” into “distinct white *races* (now in the plural),” to the 1840s.⁸ This “variegated whiteness” was developed in order to create a hierarchy of white races that would maintain the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic position. For example, Jacobson offers an 1863 description of Irish protesters in New York that demeans them as “rioters,” a “pack of savages,” and “incarnate devils.”⁹ Jacobson clarifies that it was not that groups like the Jewish, Polish, and Irish did not look white, but that they “did not *act* white.”¹⁰ For Jacobson, the phase of variegated whiteness continues until the 1920s when it is replaced by “multi-ethnic pan-whiteness”—a single category that absorbs the former “probationary” white groups.¹¹

According to Julian B. Carter, George Beard developed the concept of “neurasthenia” in the 1880s in order to explain how and why “the

progress of civilization was making well-bred white people sick.”¹² Rather than proving that white people of a certain class were weak, however, the discourse of neurasthenia confirmed their rarified superiority by converting weakness into a racial asset.¹³ Carter argues that the discourse offered a way “for whites to talk about whiteness as both precious and vulnerable” and that far from challenging its claims to superiority over “racial and ethnic ‘inferiors’—the emphasis on white weakness disguised the power relationships embedded in its constructions of racial and national modernity.”¹⁴ The discourse of neurasthenia secured the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon/Teutonic position and belittled “white Others” and can thus be understood as another mechanism for the production of variegated whiteness. Indeed, Roosevelt made similar observations to Beard’s about weakness among whites of a particular class when he complained that, “Over-sentimentality, over-softness, in fact washiness and mushiness are the great dangers of this age and of this people,” and that “There is no place in the world for nations who have become enervated by the soft and easy life, or who have lost their fibre of vigorous hardness and masculinity.”¹⁵

Via the War of 1898, Roosevelt and the Rough Riders became an antidote for the white racial weakness articulated in discourses on neurasthenia or in Roosevelt’s own masculinist rhetoric. At the same time, the nation’s new imperial power was “embodied in the figure of American manhood” exemplified by Roosevelt and his Rough Riders—the iconic figuration of the trope of Old Glory in Cuba.¹⁶ Yet, while Roosevelt often degraded the Irish and other immigrant groups, his Rough Riders were emblematic of the changing parameters of whiteness. To be sure, the three phases that Jacobson describes are not so much replaced one by the other in succession as they are in a relation more accurately described by Raymond Williams’s notion of the emergent, the dominant, and the residual.¹⁷ An analysis of the cultural materials that constitute the trope of Old Glory in Cuba suggests that while a variegated whiteness of multiple white races was dominant at the end of the nineteenth century, “multi-ethnic pan-whiteness” was already emergent, and the monolithic whiteness that Jacobson dates from the first naturalization law of 1790, which limited citizenship to “free white persons,” to the beginning of mass European immigration in the 1840s, remained residual if not central to the purpose of variegated whiteness, which ultimately serves to reinscribe and protect a very limited white Anglo-Saxon hegemony. In this sense, both neurasthenia and variegated whiteness are part of a trace of residual, monolithic

whiteness in the USA that is also apparent in “racialist school” arguments about national identity, like those made by Teddy Roosevelt.¹⁸

Nonetheless, the Rough Riders indicate the emergence of multi-ethnic pan-whiteness well ahead of the 1920s. First, despite the marking of “white Others” in Roosevelt’s memoir, the popular lore of the Rough Riders unified a diverse group of men from different classes and what we would call ethnic backgrounds, but which were seen as racial at the time. Second, early cinema of the Rough Riders and other soldiers further minimized distinctions of variegated whiteness because the grainy film reduced them all equally to spectral white bodies.¹⁹ Finally, the military itself was a mechanism for learning how to *act* white because it lessened, through regulations and physical regimentation, the differing behaviors and body practices of various immigrant groups.

New opportunities for white masculinity existed in two main areas of imperial performativity: in the production of new export and labor markets (the figure of the US businessman in Cuba) and via the military (the figure of the US soldier, particularly, the Rough Rider).²⁰ These figures served the advancement of economic imperialism and the production of a new kind of US whiteness that simultaneously countered the “neurasthenia” of nineteenth-century white masculinity even as it staged its weakness. For example, the American heroes in the plays *Old Glory in Cuba* (1898) and *The Cuban Spy* (1899) are businessmen who overtly articulate the privilege of the white, capitalist Anglo-Saxon subject of empire even as they frequently need to be saved from certain death at the hands of their Cuban antagonists by the women they covet. Unlike popular early twentieth-century US melodramas such as the 1914 film, *The Perils of Pauline*, which depicted swooning female characters and gallant male heroes, these plays stage images of an imperiled white imperial masculinity. Each play also performs a similar surrogation with the US flag, in which it first appears weak only to become the object of salvation. As I show in more detail below, the weakness of the white men and the US flag in these plays functions similarly to the discourse of neurasthenia in general, which is to say it produces weakness precisely in order to confirm a position of superiority. In a strikingly similar gesture, even Roosevelt highlights the unplanned absence of the Rough Riders’ horses in Cuba at the very moment he foregrounds the heroism of the men in battle—he converts their strategic weakness immediately into one more instance of their military valor.

Neurasthenia, its discourse and performance, is one mechanism by which “old stock” (Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic) whiteness is fortified and

reinscribed within the context of variegated whiteness through a somewhat feigned gesture of weakness.²¹ The rest of this chapter maps out the trope of Old Glory in Cuba in order to foreground the importance of performance in the production of the war effort and to trace shifting strategies in the production of whiteness.

THE PERFORMING US FLAG

The August 27, 1898 issue of *Harper's Weekly: Journal of Civilization* published a photograph with the caption, "Raising the American Flag on the Casa Municipal."²² Such an image was still relatively rare in print media, which continued to rely predominantly on illustrations, and would thus have held tremendous iconic power. It depicts the moment the USA took control of Santiago de Cuba on the Windward Passage. Dozens of American soldiers stand at attention in the space between the camera and the US flag being raised atop the city's Spanish colonial government building. Two buglers stand in silhouette on the rooftop and announce the moment of "surrogation," which Roach describes as "the metamorphosis of one symbolic identity into another, an exchange," perhaps not so much of "bodies and souls" but in this case, of governing bodies.²³ In the moment of this image, the USA unfolds itself (its flag) through an act of standing upon, and claiming, the pre-existing Spanish colonial structure. The Battle of Santiago, fought in the Windward Passage, had been the largest naval engagement between Spain and the USA in the War of 1898; it definitively marked the defeat of the Spanish fleet in the Americas and dramatized the new power of the US Navy.

The substitution of flags was so symbolic that in the subsequent days, headlines repeatedly staged the scenario in headlines: "Old Glory Waves in Bland Cuban Breezes," "Marines Have Landed and Old Glory Now Floats over Cuba," "Exit Toral, Enter Shafter—Old Glory Floats over Santiago," "Old Glory Waves from Many Poles..." and "Last Edition! Stars and Stripes over Santiago; Old Glory Proudly Waves over the Governor's Palace."²⁴ The repetition of this moment, this hyper-marking, not only symbolically erases Spanish colonialism and marks US power, but it also produces a kind of mesmerizing amnesia in terms of the promise to uphold Cuban independence. In this sense, the patriotic fervor invoked by images or imaginings of Old Glory in Cuba worked as a kind of anti-conquest strategy that required public displays of performed patriotism.

The US flag performed, indeed starred, in the unfolding patriotic drama and was emblematic of a new, post-Civil War nation and its aspirations towards empire. Images of Old Glory, especially in relation to Cuba, further unified a country still healing from civil war and the failures of Reconstruction.²⁵ Roosevelt took great care to note this effect in his memoir. In a section describing their train ride from San Antonio to Tampa, he elaborates:

Everywhere we saw the Stars and Stripes, and everywhere we were told, half-laughing, by grizzled ex-Confederates that they had never dreamed in the by-gone days of bitterness to greet the old flag as they now were greeting it, and to send their sons, as now they were sending them, to fight and die under it.²⁶

No longer the hated flag of the Union from a “grizzled ex-Confederate” perspective, Old Glory increasingly represented a shared national identity—one aimed against a common external enemy, grounded in a thrust for continued market expansion, dressed in righteousness and depicted in a range of popular forms, like the song “Old Glory, the Blue and the Gray” (1898).²⁷ As a “just war,” directed against a common foreign enemy, the War of 1898 reunified the nation.²⁸

The nickname literally marked that which was newly reconciled through an invocation of the old—a shared past: our “old glory”. The historical flag of that name had been sewn in the early nineteenth century for the purpose of being flown at sea. Its owner, a US sea captain, retired to Tennessee and when the Civil War broke out, he stitched it into a mattress for safekeeping. To use this nickname for the US flag in 1898 was to invoke the legacy of a sea-faring flag that survived the Civil War and re-emerged complete—an analogy for the “new” imperial Yankee nation. Nor did Old Glory simply reintegrate a “white” nation (“brother fighting brother” had been the metaphor for the Civil War); it was an equally powerful image for many US citizens of African descent. In 1899, James Ephraim McGirt published the first edition of his collection, *Avenging the Maine, A Drunken A.B., and Other Poems*. The final, short poem is titled “God Bless our Country”:

God bless our country, the land of the free;
Be with our rulers, whoever they be;
Protect the flag and let it wave
Forever o’er free men, not th’ slave.²⁹

The banner to which McGirt refers is not that of the Confederacy, but of Lincoln's Union—the Yankee Stars and Stripes.

Old Glory became popularized in the context of Cuba and the War. While there are only a dozen entries in the LOC catalog for songs, plays, or books with “Old Glory” in their titles published between 1868 and 1897, and none prior, there are twice as many entries between 1898 and 1899 alone. The conflation of reconciled nation and emergent empire in one image makes clear that the post-Civil War nation was forged *through and as* empire. The very possibility of empire permitted the unification and solidification of a white hegemonic nation even as the sign of whiteness was in flux; Old Glory was a condensed image of imperial surrogation in Cuba.

Responses to imperial expansion were undoubtedly varied. Gatewood notes, “[b]y the time President William McKinley submitted the Treaty of Paris to the Senate on January 4, 1899, the policy of overseas expansion had become the target of severe criticism by a relatively small though highly articulate group of white citizens.”³⁰ There was also a burgeoning anti-imperialist movement in Boston that staged the first mass war protests during the summer of 1898.³¹ Even here, performance culture, rather than print, is the site of public response to the war. As I discuss in the following chapter, Americans of African descent were equally varied in their responses to US imperialism—some opposed it as “an expression of Anglo-Saxon supremacy,” others “enthusiastically embraced the New Manifest Destiny,” while many more navigated strategically between these poles.³²

However, in the main, US foreign policy aims neatly aligned with popular culture. Despite resistance to imperialism from various groups, the image of Old Glory in Cuba coalesced a majority of the US public across divisions of region, class, and race; one notice published in *The Freeman, An Illustrated Colored Newspaper* in September informed local readers that a Mrs. Pauline Cottrell was regularly performing both “Old Glory” and “Cuba Libre” and that “she always brings the house down.”³³ In newspapers, small and large, announcements enticed audiences to participate in patriotic events at local theatres and other community sites. The trope of Old Glory in Cuba was an effective mark of imperial surrogation precisely because it floated so easily from narrative (the many headlines announcing that Old Glory waved over Cuba) to visual image (photograph and film) and performance; from songs specifically about the USA in Cuba and song pairings that produced the trope, like Mrs. Cottrell's, to a range of patriotic theatrical productions and entertainments.

Benedict Anderson argues that print-capital is crucial to the formation of a national imaginary—and in the case of the War of 1898, yellow journalism is often cited as a primary cultural influence on both the government and the masses.³⁴ Marial Iglesias Utset challenges Anderson's formulation by noting that in a predominantly illiterate country, print-capital is perhaps less significant than what she calls "symbolic-capital." She traces the ways that small, symbolic gestures and daily acts helped to create an independent Cuba in the late nineteenth century. Similarly, Gregory Cushman speaks about the role of music and Anne McClintock argues about the centrality of spectacular regalia and commodity fetishism in such processes.³⁵ What they all share is an argument that the nation is formed not so much at the level of formal decree or via the acts of great individuals but through and as popular cultural production. The trope of Old Glory in Cuba crosses genres of cultural production, as does the trope of "Remember the *Maine*," however, predominant in this moment is the overlay of textual, performatic, and visual fields in popular entertainment—and the primary site for this superimposition is the theatre space.³⁶

A *New York Tribune* article titled "Enthusiasm at the Theatres: Audiences 'Whoop it Up' When they See a Flag or Hear a Patriotic Song" was published ten days after the explosion of the *Maine*. It describes how theatre managers and audiences reacted to the tragedy and claims that "the temper of the people of New York" was visible in their receptions to the "patriotic appeals" made on various stages. The article distinguishes these appeals from the patriotic sentiment frequently served up on the "east and west side of town" (think *Uncle Sam* or *Flags of the World*). The difference here was the spirit had "captured Broadway."³⁷

The article credits the Daly Theatre for the trend: "About the second night after the Maine was sunk the orchestra at Daly's played 'The Star-Spangled Banner' and 'Yankee Doodle' between the acts and the audience showed its approval of the tunes in no uncertain manner." By the next night, "half the theatres in town" followed suit or announced plans to do so and ultimately, "they all did it." The purpose was to "stir the audience with the sight of a flag or the sound of a tune at every possible or impossible opportunity" and the latter included all manner of out of context references in a wide range of theatrical productions. The "dim streets of Paris by night" echoed with "The Star-Spangled Banner" in a production of *The Two Orphans* and the US flag sparked a riotous performance by audiences at the Fifth Avenue Theatre who were attending *El Capitan* on the Spanish domination of Peru in the early sixteenth century.

The *Tribune* article goes into some detail to describe the final scene of the second act, which usually depicts the waving of the Spanish flag in heroic fashion. Typically, the audience would applaud, but in this case it was oddly silent. Suddenly, everyone began waving small US flags that the management had distributed and a larger one was carried on stage. The audience “appeared to have gone mad” and the actors were so surprised that one was moved to tears on stage. Yet audiences were not merely or not completely manipulated by theatre managers; the article makes clear that managers were responding to a sense of audience desire: “...consistency is not considered *when the manager thinks that his audience wants to show a bit of patriotism*” (my italics).³⁸ The audience co-produced the patriotic performance even as in so doing they were interpellated as patriotic citizenry. In turn, the performed public responses in the days after the *Maine*, interpellated the government, calling it to action.³⁹

To drive home the patriotic power of both flags and audience response in the days following the *Maine*, the article offers more examples: a trained dog show at Tony Pastor’s Theatre invokes passionate response when it uses American and Spanish flags in its tricks, an event at the Grand Opera House includes the song “Uncle Sam, Tell Us Why You Are Waiting,” and the audience responds with gusto, and finally, audiences are described as bursting into “The Star-Spangled Banner” or “Yankee Doodle” whenever a theatre orchestra started the tune. The author wittily notes, “the enthusiasm does not seem to flag” and that theatre managers were working to respond further to audience demands.⁴⁰

Unlike the newspaper, which requires the predominantly private act of reading, theatre spaces, as fields of action, were an important public sphere. As the *Tribune* author notes, “[t]here is no other place where it is so easy to get the people of New-York [sic] together as in a theatre, except perhaps, in City Hall Park [...]”⁴¹ Indeed, variety theatres across the country were particularly rich sites for the production and dissemination of the new repertoire of national spectacle. Such theatres were multimedia sites where skits, tableaux vivants, plays, burlesque, vaudeville, the performance of song, oratory, and motion pictures of the war effort all came together to produce a body of image- and performance-capital that mediated a rapidly changing national imaginary. The circulation of these images and performances throughout variety stage venues created an imagined community that crossed local borders, as patriotic iconography became theatrical convention through the repetition of images, tropes, character types, and songs in local theatres around the country.

War films were so popular that one vaudeville theatre nicknamed its projector the “war-graph”—another, the “warscope” and Edward Amet dubbed his popular exhibitions, the “War Show.”⁴² In May 1898, Keith’s, “Philadelphia’s most popular theatre,” ran an advertisement in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* that listed 11 films as part of their Biograph series, “New War Views”: *US Troops in Cuba*, *The Maine after the Explosion*, *The Maine and Iowa*, and one simply titled, *Old Glory*.⁴³ Because of demand for “war films,” 17 US cities soon offered Biograph runs in local theatres and New York City alone had seven.⁴⁴ Motion picture projection was an essential tool for expanding the national spectacle of the War of 1898 and vice versa. Motion picture technology previously existed, but in 1896, the Edison Manufacturing Company produced the Vitascope, which “effectively launched projected motion pictures as a screen novelty in the United States.”⁴⁵ Only one Vitascope was in use in New York City in 1896 but within a year, there were several hundred across the country.⁴⁶ Through film, the Rough Riders and other white military troops and regiments became the fascination of the US people. Films of the men in training, or preparing their morning bath became popular fare in vaudeville and variety show programs. War films offered a way for US citizens in an increasingly expanded geographical area to consume the same images within roughly the same timeframe and thereby helped to constitute an increasingly imperial national imaginary. The films also functioned, through the black and white cinematography and the focus on white bodies, to even out the ethnic differences that were central to the hierarchy of variegated whiteness.

Like live performance and the yellow journalism of the day, films sought to provoke powerful emotions, especially patriotism, and audience reactions to war films were similar to those made in response to material displays of Old Glory or performances of “The Star-Spangled Banner.” One film historian describes an *Indianapolis News* report of ecstatic fans cheering on “our side” in the “War Show.”⁴⁷ Another cites accounts of New York City film spectators “shrieking their approval” and offering standing ovations at the sight of US troops, the battleship *Maine*, or Old Glory in Cuba.⁴⁸ The war surely invigorated the motion picture industry, which had been declining since its initial attraction.⁴⁹ And motion pictures invented the war *as* visual and performance spectacle. “Faked actualities,” simulations, and reenactments were at their peak of popularity during the War of 1898 and this is not merely coincidental.⁵⁰

Along with the press and the rest of the entertainment industry, the American Mutoscope and Biography Company and the Edison

Manufacturing Company quickly responded to audience demands for images of war by means of simulation. Soon after the explosion of the *Maine*, for example, Biograph re-released the film *Battleships Iowa and Massachusetts* under the name *Battleships Maine and Iowa* (hereafter, *Battleships*) in order to capitalize on the tragic event and stir patriotic emotion.⁵¹ Moreover, one of the biggest motion picture hits of 1899, the Edison Company film *Raising Old Glory over Morro Castle*, was made in front of a painted backdrop on Vitagraph's New York City rooftop rather than on location in Cuba.⁵² Additionally, *Raising Old Glory* is "widely believed to be a retitled version of what is often referred to as the first American war film, *The Tearing Down the Spanish Flag* [sic]."⁵³

Raising Old Glory, a founding image of US war cinema, performs the trope of Old Glory in Cuba. A filmed simulation or reenactment of US presence in Cuba, it both depicts and performs erasure and substitution. In the opening scene, the Spanish flag is lowered in front of what the title indicates is the old colonial fort that guards Havana Harbor.⁵⁴ Spain's colors appear almost entirely black, casting a large shadow on the wall as the flag lowers; suddenly, the US flag rises to take its place (Fig. 3.1). The visual contrast is noticeable: shadows are minimized and Old Glory appears much brighter as it waves in the breeze.

An announcement for the film's release—often read aloud at screenings—was published in the January 1899 issue of *The Phonoscope*:

Down goes the Spanish flag, and up floats the Stars and Stripes. Down falls the symbol of tyranny and oppression that has ruled in the new world for four hundred years, and up goes the Banner of Freedom. In the distance are the turrets and battlements of Morro, the last foothold of Spain in America [italics mine].⁵⁵



Fig. 3.1 *Raising Old Glory over the Morro Castle*, Thomas Edison Film Co., 1899. Library of Congress Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division

The structure of the narrative reiterates the gesture of the film through its own rhetorical pairing of removals and replacements. The language of going up and down not only describes, but also repeats the erasure and surrogation that the film performs visually. A physics of imperial succession naturalizes the gravity of falling and the lightness of floating upwards—the downfall of Spain and easy ascension of Old Glory. The final sentence in the film’s description uses one last spatial strategy to literally place the “last foothold of Spain” at a remove—soon to be relegated to distant memory. By using the singular “America” rather than the plural, the narrative brings Cuba completely within an imperial geography that extends outward to claim the hemisphere.

The narrative clarifies just how to understand the surrogation being performed by the flags via the new film technology. The Spanish empire’s “last foothold” has been successfully taken. The removal of the Spanish flag and its replacement by Old Glory signifies, with great economy of form, a thorough and dramatic imperial surrogation. All relations in the film and narrative are between Spain and the USA—there is nothing of Cuba in the image or the narrative.

Films like *Raising Old Glory* and *Battleships* resist easy distinctions between documentary, newsreel, theatre, fiction, and deceit. Yet, reenactments or simulations should not be dismissed as mere fakes or political propaganda.⁵⁶ In this moment, cinema and theatre audiences were predominantly one and the same and it was within a multimedia theatrical context and by means of a set of intermedial relationships that the “reality effects” of film began to map onto the political and ideological effects of empire.⁵⁷

In keeping with the mixed codes of theatres and exhibition halls, some of the war films were clearly marketed as “counterfeit presentments.”⁵⁸ Others were called “actualities”—a term that traded in the new technology’s indexicality and claims to immediacy and authenticity. To understand how “actualities” and “counterfeits” circulated together, it is important to note that from 1896 to 1905, films were projected most frequently in theatrical and popular entertainment contexts and had not yet been separated into dedicated sites like nickelodeons.⁵⁹ In 1898, motion pictures were a form of theatrical spectacle and audiences understood images and responded, at least initially, within the conventions of nineteenth-century theatre and amusement exhibitions, which consisted of an iconographic repertoire that drew from photographic images, popular print illustrations, comic strips, circuses and side-shows, vaudeville skits, phantasmagoric

spectacle, and loosely staged reenactments of historical events.⁶⁰ “Faked actualities,” to borrow Auerbach’s dialectical formulation, would have also been understood in terms of press coverage, film catalog copy, and other ad-lib commentary made during projection.

Exhibition spaces frequently offered multiple media and genres in one locale, further compressing the various iconographies and genres into palimpsestic overlay. The 9th and Arch Dime Museum in Philadelphia, for example, advertised the following in one column: top billing went to “accurate and complete war bulletins read from the stage” and a “matchless exhibition of life motion WAR views shown on the marvelous CINEOGRAPH, greatest of picture-projecting machines.” Second billing boasted about the “corps of operators at the [war] front taking new pictures daily for the Cineograph to be exhibited at this house exclusively. Positively the only life motion pictures ever taken of Admiral Dewey’s Fleet [... and] The Troops at Tampa.” The ad continues with a list of the Museum’s “Curio Hall” offerings, which included a “Miramba band” [sic] and “Cuban Plantation Scenes.” At the bottom, the ad notes that vaudeville routines, a farce comedy, and the “Great and Only Charmion in her daring disrobing trapeze specialty” are all being offered “in the theatre.”⁶¹

The layout of the advertisement can be read vertically to show the ways that intermediality and empire operated in this particular moment. Claims to cinema’s authenticity and immediacy are prominent—the image of the news corps on the front lines of empire suggests that the fare presented is up to date and exclusive. The technology and the war are also foregrounded through the use of capital letters—the cinema, however, is not marked as a sign of science and modernity, but rather the “marvelous.” This elision of projection with the marvelous is in part owing to the already popular phantasmagoria shows that had long used magic lanterns and other forms of still projection. Just beneath these powerful claims about war and technology in the ad are the colonial fantasies of the racialized and gendered other as depicted in the “Curio Hall” and the trapeze-striptease. War bulletins claim primacy at the top of the column—but at the bottom, the Great and Only Charmion in her daring display; farce, desire, and titillation are at the root of empire. The war and the “reality effects” of imperial cinema were mediated via the visual and performance lexicon of the sexism of burlesque and the pseudo-scientific racism of the circus and the cabinet of curiosities. These narratives, performances, and images were layered not only in the single column advertisement, but on site and more importantly, in the popular imagination. The advertisement, like the physical spaces of the vaudeville theatre and dime museum,

compressed and layered images “real” and “fake” in order to stoke patriotic sentiment and sell tickets.

Given the multimedia context of projection, early motion pictures were more performatic than cinematic in form and functioned within a set of complex, often contradictory codes. Images refer to other images, to other acts, and to other narratives: an expanded version of Genette’s intertextual, literary palimpsest. Audience members did not consume the arts one by one in discrete settings—there was no cinema audience *per se* or even a dedicated theatre audience in such popular contexts. Audiences, not yet passive viewers, produced meanings in complex overlays of readings, images, narratives, and acts—some real and some imagined, all politically powerful. As audience members read through such an advertisement, or moved their bodies through a multimedia space like the one at 9th and Arch, sampling multiple entertainments, they performed an overlaying of imagery and meaning. Such superimpositions of “fact” and fantasy typically did not encourage the audience to think critically but to consume, experience, and participate emotionally.

Rival filmmakers traded in terms of genuines and counterfeits and such claims were everywhere, yet Auerbach suggests it did not seem to matter much to audiences.⁶² He argues that early film audiences were primarily caught up in the “intimate simulations” of the new technology and concerned with instantaneous responses of “wonder, puzzlement or joy.”⁶³ “For both audience and makers,” he claims, “the quest for sensation tended to render the opposition between fact and fiction relatively moot.”⁶⁴ Auerbach seems to suggest that citizens were not merely manipulated from the top down by a political propaganda machine because audiences interacted with films and because they themselves cared more about emotional response than cinematic truth-claims. This, however, does not diminish the ideological position of war films or make the process of patriotic interpellation any less relevant. The films worked politically (patriotically) precisely because they evoked a feeling of belonging, of unisonance, that plucked the heartstrings and this emotion was induced through the productive tensions of real and reel.

The solicitation of emotional response was part of a seductive interpellation, one that overlaid truth and fiction, fact and fantasy, reality and reenactment in the US imagination. The political effects of war cinema, that is, support for the war effort and ensuing military occupation, were achieved precisely through intimate simulation. This is not the image of Althusser’s police officer hailing a citizen, but a performative scenario that hails the citizen through affective patriotic display—the citizen was expected, encouraged to perform,

to interact. And popular audiences were interactive, even unruly, regardless of whether they were watching a skit or a film.

Reality effects were not only the result of what Auerbach calls cinema's "phantasmagoric immediacy" and its manipulation of space and time, but also of its location within the theatrical context of display and the intermediality through and in which meaning was produced by audiences: the rush and flicker of the light, the whirl of the projector, the speed of the moving image, the darkened room, the day's news in mind, the valence of the real within the stacked codes of popular entertainments, and the curio display down the hall.⁶⁵ The phantasmagoric quality of projection, the indexicality of film (pointing to real-world events of war), and the shared excitement of being swept up in the new technology, indeed, the new nation, all combine to increase the valence of "the real"—to produce the "reality effects" that "closely paralleled [...] the nation's opening imperialist foray into global expansion."⁶⁶ The production of "reality effects" was part of the spectacular production of empire. Indeed, the aims of empire were best achieved in the moments that such reality effects were put into relationship with the curio display, theatrical performance, and the spectacle of national iconography. The codes of these reality effects worked not so much because they depicted the real, but because they traded in the theatrical and phantasmagoric: presence/absence, marking and erasure, and the projection (pure ephemera) of the real. Within the same spatial context (the multi-use theatre), theatrical forms were becoming more concerned with being "true to life," however, the cultural production machine of the war effort traded, above all, in substitutions and surrogations. The emergence of empire was mediated partly through the ways that the reel, the real, and the theatrical came together in the popular imagination.⁶⁷ The blurring of the real and the reel also comes to bear on the production of whiteness, as I describe in the section on the Rough Riders, below.

STAGING OLD GLORY IN CUBA: *OLD GLORY IN CUBA*,
A DRAMA IN FOUR ACTS (1898) AND *THE CUBAN SPY*:
A COMEDY-DRAMA IN FOUR ACTS (1899)

Thomas R. Beaty's play, *Old Glory in Cuba, A Drama in Four Acts*, is, at least in title, the most literal expression of the imperialist trope of US presence in Cuba.⁶⁸ It tells the story of a US ship blown up off the coast of Havana and the ensuing investigation, concluding with a spectacle of

the military defeat of the Spanish. Ames Publishing Company of Clyde, Ohio copyrighted Beaty's play on October 29, 1898, not long after the war; two print copies were catalogued into the Library of Congress on November 2.⁶⁹

Despite the bold claims of the title in the context of 1898, the actual plot does not mesh with the patriotic impulse of the war. In the play, the over-insured US merchant ship, *Alabama*, is loaded with worthless cargo and destroyed as part of an insurance fraud scheme. Only in the second act—3 years later—do US troops evict the Spanish from Cuba. This makes no sense given the public's desire to "show a bit of patriotism."⁷⁰ The author surely would not have missed the chance to stage the glory and power of prompt retribution; it just would have made good entertainment sense to do so. Beaty's play does not even attribute the blowing up of the fictitious *Alabama* to the Spanish, but rather to a corrupt US businessman!

Given all of the flag-waving spectacle throughout and the heroic ending of the play, it would be a mistake to perceive these differences as a way to critique US involvement in Cuba (e.g. that US business fraud was somehow behind the *Maine*). It is more plausible that a previously written play was in the publishing house's repertoire prior to the sinking of the *Maine*, and that after the War, it was copyrighted and published. Much like the film *Battleships*, which was released under a new title to cash in on the crisis, it is likely the unrevised play was published in order to take advantage of the growing market for dramatic sketches of war against Spain—especially the trope of Old Glory in Cuba. I do not, however, point out these inconsistencies to dismiss the play's association with the War of 1898—on the contrary. Nor do I suggest that the play foretold real events or that the playwright had skill as a prognosticator. Yet it would also be a mistake to consider the blowing up of the American ship in the "first act" as merely coincidental. Rather, *Old Glory in Cuba* articulates an imperial desire that pre-dates the war and that was bound to find a form: the concept of "a just reason" for entry into Cuba pre-dates the historical excuse of the *Maine*—right down to the image of a sinking ship.

It is hard to know how audiences would have understood this play. Would it have mattered that the play, described as a "war drama" in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Macon Telegraph*, was not "true to life" given the growing impulse toward those claims in the theatre of the day?⁷¹ Although there are no reviews, the play was performed at least twice. In May 1900, it was staged at the Armory in St. Clair Pennsylvania by the

Junior Order of United States Mechanics and in Hawkinsville Georgia by “local talent for the benefit of the Pulaski Volunteers,” where it ran for 2 weeks. In each case, a community-based social organization produced the play with a cast of amateur actors.

THE FICKLE FLAG AND IMPERILED WHITE MEN

The second act of *Old Glory in Cuba* is framed by images of the US flag. It opens, as the stage directions indicate, with a “street scene in Havana.” At the rise of the curtain, “villagers” are discovered “spitting and hooting at [the] American flag.”⁷² The act concludes with the US villain and traitor, Mr. Lawton, attempting to take the flag from its pole but the hero, Robert Adams, sees Lawton and warns, “He who touches that flag, must do so over my dead body.”⁷³ When Lawton takes Adams at his word and attempts to fire his pistol, May Norton strikes the villain’s arm, causing the revolver to fly through the air. “No you don’t,” she commands, and the second act closes.⁷⁴ In this pair of framing images the flag is mistreated and threatened—it requires defending. When the hero of the play cannot protect it, the heroine, May, must come to the rescue and save them all.

A similar scene occurs in the next act. The hero is again about to be shot, this time by the Spanish villain, Don Alvo. Alvo is determined to kill Adams, and not even the powerful American businessman, John Norton, can prevent it. Norton throws himself in front of Adams, saying, “Then fire upon me, the representative of the United States.” To his surprise, Alvo continues to count to three. May enters again with a large US flag, and “wrapping it around Adams,” taunts, “Then fire upon this if you dare!”⁷⁵ The curtain goes down on this tableau—May’s gesture of wrapping the imperiled hero in the US flag and her invocation of a dare are sufficient to ward off the impending execution. May again rushes in to save the day. The heroes, Adams and Norton, cannot defend themselves, each other, or their flag and must be rescued by May’s patriotic display.

Old Glory in Cuba is unlike most popular US melodramas, which depict swooning female characters and gallant heroes. It would seem an anomaly with its fickle flag and scenes of imperiled white masculinity, but Richard Carson, the US hero in well-known white minstrel performer Frank Dumont’s, *The Cuban Spy: A Comedy-Drama in Four Acts* (1899), is also tied up, bound to cannons by the Spanish villain, and needs to be saved again and again by the heroine, Elinora, admittedly for comic rather than dramatic effect.

After saving Richard four times in as many acts, Elinora, whose nickname is “Little Cuba,” is captured. The Spanish villain Valdez is about to kill her for spying on behalf of the Cuban patriots but as he orders his men to shoot, she exclaims,

Stay! You and your murderous associates may fire upon me, but I reserve the right to die under the colors I have loved, fought for, and wish to embrace in my dying moments. (She places a Cuban flag which she produces from her bosom upon her shoulders.) This flag has been consecrated by the blood of Cuban patriots! Fire upon it, and add another stain to the credit of Spain! Here is another emblem (takes out American flag, places it over her heart). Fire upon this if you dare!⁷⁶

Her display is so convincing that Valdez’s men refuse to fire on her and at the same moment, the Cuban patriot, General Máximo Gómez, arrives with armed enforcements. In the ensuing battle, Carson thrashes Valdez in a sword fight and Elinora waves both Cuban and US flags in triumph as the final curtain goes down. In *The Cuban Spy*, as in *Old Glory in Cuba*, the heroine saves the imperiled hero. The flags that fail at the hands of both men come through in the hands of the female leads. Despite the different aims of comedy (*The Cuban Spy*) and drama (*Old Glory in Cuba*), there is a structural formula—a performed repetition—right down to the use of the very same lines: “Fire upon this if you dare!” Both plays invert the gender roles typically associated with melodrama and portray an imperiled white American masculinity. Finally, both depict a rather fickle flag: at times it comes to the rescue, an almost magical fetish striking fear in the hearts of its enemies, but at other times it fails to protect or requires certain invocations by certain persons in order to be effective, very much in the manner of Austin’s performative.

Like the “living American flag” which closes *Flags of the World*, Beaty’s play concludes each scene with a patriotic tableau including national hymns, well-known songs, multiple flags, and images of national leaders. In the final moments of the play, “American seamen” defeat the villains in a flurry of hand-to-hand combat and flag-waving.⁷⁷ Amidst the display of spectacular regalia, Robert Adams, the play’s young hero, declares, “And now we will sail for the ‘Land of the Free and the home of the Brave.’” With this, the *Star Spangled Banner* plays and the curtains descend. The author nonetheless felt compelled to say more on the topic; on the final page of the script, after “Curtain,” and “The End,” the playwright adds

the following: “Note.—The above climax must be thoroughly rehearsed, outside shouting is as important as lines. At finish of battle, form picture so the whole stage will appear as a cluster of waving flags.”⁷⁸ This note indicates the value the playwright placed on performance and the imagery of the play, but it also betrays a kind of fretting that the image will not be quite right. His desire to fill the “whole stage” indicates a kind of *horror vacui*. To assuage this concern, his final note produces a totalizing image, a fluttering surface of patriotic display—one that completely fills the theatrical space.

It is almost too easy to read these moments as indications of hegemonic anxiety about protecting the privileges of masculinity, the limits of whiteness, and the national interests of an emerging empire even though psychoanalytical theory has been useful to critique and deconstruct predominantly white patriarchal power and masculinity with good result. McClintock argues that a “crisis in male imperial identity” is built into the colonial encounter.⁷⁹ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick theorizes that the tensions between the requisite homosocial desire of white hegemony and the denial of its homoerotic or homosexual components produce masculine anxiety.⁸⁰ In her reading of nineteenth-century culture, Elaine Showalter demonstrates that the “castrating potential” of female power elicited a simultaneous “intensified valorization of male power” and “expressions of anxiety about waning virility.”⁸¹ Like Showalter, Laura Mulvey uses Freud’s theory of fetishism to critique the male gaze vis-à-vis cinema and to expose underlying masculine anxieties.⁸² McClintock extends the theory of fetishism through the work of Marx and Fanon in order to analyze the spectacle of nationalism. Nationalism, she notes, is “experienced and transmitted primarily through fetishism” that requires objects such as flags, uniforms, anthems, and so on as well as the “organization of collective fetish spectacle.”⁸³

In Freud’s development of the anthropological concept, the male child’s misrecognition or perception of a lack in the female sex organ causes castration anxiety. In the case of fetishism, castration anxiety is relieved through the construction of an image-object that serves as a “form of protection” to ward off or substitute for the sense of lack.⁸⁴ But the fetish is ambivalent, even double-edged in nature: its protection cuts both ways—it is always already both affirmation and disavowal.⁸⁵ Thus, fetishism, as a kind of symptom, betrays an underlying anxiety—hence its usefulness as a critical tool for exposing the anxieties that undergird various hegemonies: whether whiteness, masculinity, or the nation.

Through the discourse of fetishism, the totalizing image of flags in the final note of *Old Glory in Cuba* can be read as a substitution for a real or perceived lack of power or for some other misrecognition that produces the equivalent of a castration anxiety. The same can be said for every instance where the flag is wrapped around the hero for protection or raised in place of the Spanish colors.⁸⁶ Yet theories of fetishism are usually necessary in order to locate the embedded and disavowed anxieties that appear in other (fetishized) form—and in these plays, the anxiety is suspiciously over-staged. Theories of fetishism and analyses of masculine anxiety seem at first glance to fit the analytical task at hand, but are somewhat misleading. It is no doubt true that the flag functions in these productions as a national fetish in the manner described by McClintock. However, the patriotic display and belligerent stance (fire upon this if you dare!) can also be read through Carter's useful analysis as mechanisms for staging the neurasthenia of white masculinity and the white nation precisely in order to protect and maintain its boundaries. Rather than expressing a hidden anxiety, the staging of weakness in these plays confirms the righteous sensibilities of the white male characters, justifies and makes sympathetic US market and military take-overs, and reinscribes the image of a righteous nation defending its honor, which had been the very pretense for declaring war against Spain. Indeed, discourses of fetishism and Carter's reading of neurasthenia are most useful when put into critical relation to one another. In fetishism, a perceived lack or weakness is substituted for and denied by means of the fetish; in neurasthenia, weakness or nervousness is performed, even over-staged, in order to protect the power of whiteness, which may be read somewhat more anthropologically as a power fetish. As an expression of racial anxiety (by "well-bred whites") that aims to shore up a lack in the racial construction, that is, the threat to Anglo-Saxon whiteness in the context of "white Others," the discourse of neurasthenia suggests that whiteness itself is a fetish construction that requires certain kinds of performativity.

THE WHITE MALE SUBJECT OF US EMPIRE: ROBERT
ADAMS, JOHN NORTON, RICHARD CARSON,
AND THE ROUGH RIDERS

At the center of the trope of *Old Glory in Cuba* writ large is the late nineteenth-century white, male, capitalist subject of empire who stages himself in relation to the racialized and gendered others who both threaten and make possible empire's desire for hegemony. The increasing numbers

of “white Others” in the USA is one example, and via the production of hierarchies of whiteness in terms of neurasthenia and racist depictions of the Irish, German, and so on, the white subject of empire maintained his position. The locations of US imperialist takeovers are also othered in particular ways—racialized and gendered, made visible or invisible—and vaudeville stages were fields of action for stereotyping these Others and for performing a very particular kind of white masculine subject. For example, all of the leading male characters in *Old Glory in Cuba* are Spanish colonials or white “Americans”—the only Cubans in the play are described simply as “Villagers.”⁸⁷ Cuba was not only omitted from the common term, “Spanish-American War,” and its delegates barred from official negotiations, but the repetitive raising of the US flag and the focus on relations between the USA and Spain in the media and popular culture (e.g. plays like *Old Glory in Cuba*) further erased Cuban independence as a valid political project.⁸⁸

In one of the scenes where Robert Adams, the bumbling young hero in *Old Glory in Cuba* is threatened, he brags to the Spanish villain,

Sir! You may starve poor Cuban mother’s [sic] and their babies, you may blow up our ships and kill our brave sailors, but you shall learn that an American citizen can not be insulted with impunity.⁸⁹

His imperial values are clear: Cuban mothers and babies are legitimate collateral damage and may be starved, possibly without incurring punishment; the US military is expendable, its very function is to be so—but a young white businessman from the USA is imagined as untouchable, well beyond reproach. But even more than indicating imperial values (no one is as important as an American citizen), the rhetorical strategy marks the others against which Adams’s own whiteness can be situated. Here, Cuban mothers and babies, even soldiers (who are generic by definition; a kind of labor force) are the others against which the highly individual, white US capitalist in Cuba could be measured. Indeed, one must perform an equation of “American citizen” with white businessman of a certain class in order for Adams’s threat to ring true.

Within just a few moments, the gesture is repeated by John Norton, the white US businessman and Cuban plantation-owner, whose daughter, May, serves as the love interest for Adams and the two villains: the American swindler Mr. Lawton and the colonial Spaniard, Don Alvo. Speaking to Alvo, Norton declares,

Robert Adams is an American and the free born subject of a country whose proudest boast is that the poorest and humblest have, at least, liberty and protection 'neath its flag—a country of which every true-born American heart is justly proud: and I warn you that if you persist in murdering one of her peaceful and unoffending subjects, she will exact for her outraged honor a bitter, a terrible retribution.⁹⁰

With the language of “free born” and “true-born,” Norton seems to speak from a racialist notion of the USA as a white nation—and while white masculinity is marked only as “American” in Norton’s monologue and the rest of the play, character names like Robert Adams and John Norton clearly indicate their Anglo-Saxon position. Norton’s rhetorical nods to the poor and humble are little more than an attempt to seem inclusive; not all citizens could claim “liberty and protection 'neath [the] flag”—the Ku Klux Klan had been organized during Reconstruction and occurrences of lynching had increased steadily since Emancipation to staggering proportions by the late 1890s. Norton’s threat links US military power with the promise of “a terrible retribution” and the entitlement he articulates in the figure of the “peaceful and unoffending subjects” who will take what they want in Cuba, either by conquest or by purchase. With Norton’s claim, the might of the military and the businessman merge in a single boast; the subjects in his articulation can only be white, male, capitalist subjects of empire.

In the midst of the arms smuggling, insurance fraud, and power plays for financial dominance of Cuba that *Old Glory in Cuba* negotiates, May Norton stands in for all of the booty-capital that is to be acquired in the imperial transaction. John Norton, as such, is the quintessential white, imperialist-capitalist patriarch, who controls the neocolonial purse strings by regulating access to Cuban goods and labor as well as to his daughter; he symbolizes the rise of the trading class to power. Writing some years later, Marxist scholars Joseph Freeman and Scott Nearing would suggest “historically it would be correct to say that imperialism signifies the rise of the trading class to power.”⁹¹ Neither John Norton in *Old Glory in Cuba* nor Richard Carson in *The Cuban Spy* is an Admiral Dewey, but after 1898, the power of the US businessman in Cuba was perhaps equal to that of Dewey in Japan. As Pérez notes, by 1905, “some 13,000 Americans had acquired title to land in Cuba, and these purchases had passed over the \$50 million mark”; in some areas, they owned a majority of land.⁹² Certainly, US capital had brought to the Cuban land-grab a set of specific imperatives regarding

property, protection, and profits. “It was these objectives to which United States policy was given. And nowhere were they in a more advanced state of development than in Cuba.”⁹³ The soldier paved the way for the invasion of US capital in Cuba and would subsequently guarantee its interests.

The lead character in *The Cuban Spy*, Richard Carson, embodies the transformation of US power in Cuba from soldier to businessman (the figure of capital), as costume notes indicate, by changing over the course of the play from “[s]emi-military dress” to a “business suit.” As if to confirm the suit’s role as a kind of surrogate armor, the playwright specifies that Carson is to have “[n]o coat or vest in Act III as prisoner.”⁹⁴ Teddy Roosevelt represents a similar transition via his own performance in Cuba—from officer in the First United States Volunteer Cavalry wearing the Rough Rider slouch hat, boots, and leggings to President of the United States wearing a suit and a tie.⁹⁵

In *Old Glory in Cuba*, May is simultaneously a sign of all that is to be acquired in the Cuban context and a surrogate for the white US businessman who is able to claim this power. In this regard, imperiled masculinity is feigned from the start—May can be read as the ultimate proof of its strength. She is a surrogate for the power of the white businessman and military in Cuba. The figure of the bumbling young hero is a strategy for downplaying, yet claiming, both the “tough guy” persona who demands what he wants and the businessman persona, who buys it. The blundering white American feigns anxiety or helplessness precisely in order to mask over and protect the imperial and economic power he hopes to wield—a kind of neurasthenic strategy (weakness converted to/as sign of racial, class, and military power). The American masculine ideal articulated in *Old Glory in Cuba* is in a position of entitlement, capable of using threat and righteousness in combination with discourses on the helplessness or ignorance of others in order to justify its claims on the world. The staging of imperiled white masculinity, the fickle flag, and strategies of feminization and infantilization (disposable Cuban mothers and babies as well as surrogate heroines) cloak the white male subject that is at the center of both stage and empire.

While the heroes in *Old Glory in Cuba*, Norton and Adams, are described only as “American,” they are clearly marked by their Anglo-Saxon surnames and their class position as successful or would-be successful businessmen in the context of Cuba; even the US villain, Lawton, has an English surname and is a capitalist, albeit a corrupt one. Other “probationary” white groups—for example, Irish, Polish, or German—are simply absent from the dramatic context of *Old Glory in Cuba*, however *The Cuban Spy* handles the play’s “white Others” differently because it is a comedy.

The cast of characters is illuminating in this regard. The play's hero, "Richard Carson," is described as "a young American aiding the patriots" in Cuba and his role as "juvenile comedy." Neither race nor ethnicity is provided, but as in *Old Glory in Cuba*, his name and actions mark his Anglo-Saxon whiteness. The additional comedy in the play is predominantly that of variegated whiteness (what we might anachronistically call "ethnic comedy" but was in that moment, racial): Phelim McNab is described as "Irishman—Irish comedy" while the German, Carl Weisbeer is described as "Dutch comedy." Their last names mark their status as the "white Others of a supreme Anglo-Saxondom" and mock them within the conventions of vaudeville.⁹⁶ McNab's name is wordplay that marks the Irishman's criminality: Phelim (feel 'im) [Mc]"nab" (rob) implies he is a pickpocket. Similarly, Carl's surname translates as "white beer." The names mark these men as not-quite-white by foregrounding the ways that they "undo whiteness" through criminality and drunkenness. The "Irish" and "Dutch comedy" components of the play reinforce the difference of these immigrant populations through feminization and other vaudeville strategies. In one scene, Carl, while in drag, declares, "I'm a woman but I don't know it."⁹⁷ Once their difference is marked, the assimilation of the probationary whites over the course of *The Cuban Spy* is indicated in the notes on costumes. Carl is described as "Made up stout, funny German costume, to change slightly during progress of play. In last act more genteel." Similarly, Phelim is described as having "Extravagant Irish make-up, to change during acts."⁹⁸ With claims made on behalf of "true-born" citizens (by Norton) and depictions of Phelim and Carl's assimilation, both *Old Glory in Cuba* and *The Cuban Spy*, respectively, stage what was at stake in the "deep and divisive debate about the nature and extent of American nationality."⁹⁹ The rest of the comedic roles are supplemental: one very small part is described as "Negro comedy" and the Spaniards, reduced only to their dramatic (and political) roles in the context of Cuba, are described as "Heavy" and "Second heavy."¹⁰⁰

WHITENESS, MASCULINITY, AND ROOSEVELT'S ROUGH RIDERS IN CUBA

Teddy Roosevelt, Lieutenant Colonel of the Rough Riders, has been called the "primary architect" at the center of "a version of white supremacy with masculinity at its center."¹⁰¹ Writing in 1908, prominent Negro educator, author, and mathematician, Kelly Miller, described then President Roosevelt's own white masculinity in performative terms: "A man almost

or wholly without Anglo-Saxon blood, he is the ideal embodiment of the Anglo-Saxon spirit which glorifies beyond all things else the power of doing things.”¹⁰² Roosevelt was outspoken on the subject of whiteness, and often claimed, for example, that the Irish, particularly the Catholic Irish, were an inferior race.¹⁰³ Despite his racialist position on citizenship, his disdain for ethnic groups like the Irish, and his desire to counter the weakness of “well-bred whites,” the Rough Riders, for which he became famous, embodied the tensions between the dominant construct of variegated whiteness and an emergent multi-ethnic pan-whiteness.

Teddy Roosevelt’s memoir, *The Rough Riders* (1899), is particularly useful for examining such tensions and the shifting parameters of whiteness because it uses a variety of strategies, at times contradictory, for marking and unmarking difference among the men who comprised the First United States Volunteer Cavalry. This is partly because the group is more diversely white than Roosevelt would seem to prefer given his stance on probationary white groups and national identity and yet he requires precisely the mixture of men to articulate a “rough masculinity” in order to reinvigorate both whiteness and the nation. In this sense, he is in somewhat of a bind.

Above all, Roosevelt wants to foreground the frontier character and heroism of the Rough Riders, to minimize association with weak or neurasthenic elites, and to appeal to the masses, therefore when he first mentions the makeup of the regiment, he notes repeatedly that the majority of men were from “the four Territories” and only a small percentage were from “Harvard, Yale, Princeton” and “clubs like the Somerset, of Boston, and Knickerbocker, of New York.”¹⁰⁴ With this, he emphasizes the diversity of the group by noting that the white men who made up the majority of its ranks were from all over the USA and from different social and class backgrounds. At the same time, Roosevelt reinforces the group’s frontier personality when he specifies they were primarily formed by “the wild riders and riflemen of the Rockies and the Great Plains.”¹⁰⁵ Indeed, Roosevelt produces a common set of traits (scripts for performance) among the men that unifies them (and by extension, their whiteness) regardless of region, class, education, age, or social position:

All—Easterners and Westerners, Northerners and Southerners, officers and men, cow-boys and college graduates, wherever they came from, and whatever their social position—*possessed in common the traits of hardihood and a thirst for adventure. They were to a man born adventurers, in the old sense of the word.*¹⁰⁶ (My italics.)

He brings “all” of these diverse men together through what they “possessed in common”—namely “hardihood” and a “thirst for adventure.” Both of these are qualities that run counter to the weakness described in Beard’s concept of neurasthenia and decried by Roosevelt. Moreover, when Roosevelt uses the expression, “adventurers, in the old sense of the word,” he clearly connects shifting notions of white US masculinity with the frontier and imperial privilege—the imagined right to travel to other countries as one who experiences “adventures.” The frontier, and by extension the theatre of war in Cuba, was thus a kind of unifying space for the shifting parameters of whiteness.

Noting that “the regular army and the big-city regiments of 1898–1902” were full of probationary white groups at the company level and that the “vast increase in immigration had so changed the makeup of the American public,” Richard Slotkin argues that some public acknowledgment of diversity was needed in the wake of the war.¹⁰⁷ For Slotkin, Roosevelt’s memoir provided the acknowledgment; the Rough Riders are simultaneously described as a mixture of ethnicity, class, and region, cowboys, Irishmen, Jews, and Harvard athletes, yet all were described as having a shared background—all men are marked as “white.”¹⁰⁸ Indicative of the emergent form of pan-whiteness, Slotkin notes that Roosevelt’s memoir produces an “all-white, all Teutonic melting pot.”¹⁰⁹ Indeed, by my count, Roosevelt uses the term “white” 36 times in the memoir and only speaks of a single “White race” as opposed to the multiple white races we might expect to find given the then-dominant construct of variegated whiteness and that the man exemplified the racialist school of nationalism.¹¹⁰ While his usage of a single “White race” hints at the emerging multi-ethnic pan-whiteness that would become dominant after 1924, there should be no doubt that the “mixture” of men that comprise this group ultimately permits Roosevelt to simultaneously re-shape the parameters of white masculinity and the privileges of its membership even as he would aim to conserve its strategic political power in national and hemispheric contexts.

Undeniably, other sections of his narrative reveal the variegated whiteness that Jacobson argues was dominant at the time of the War of 1898. For instance, the Rough Riders unified diverse men as a combined symbol of white US masculinity partly through bonding rituals that simultaneously marked white difference while cohering them as a group. Roosevelt describes the practice of “nicknaming”—most significantly, the ironic strategy used in the process—when he notes that the men “speedily gave

one another nicknames, largely conferred in a spirit of derision, their basis lying in contrast." A quiet one was called "Hell Roarer," and a rageful man was called "Prayerful James"; "a young Jew" was called "Pork-chop," and an Irishman named "Sheeny Solomon," the latter an interesting gesture that conflates Jewish and Irish positions into a single probationary white figure.¹¹¹ The oppositional nicknames not only hint at the aggressive innuendo among the men—Roosevelt himself noted that if they were not sent to Cuba soon, fighting was sure to break out among them—they also document existing racial and class tensions within the regiment. Sedgwick reminds us that nowhere was the tension between homosocial proscription and homosexual prohibition more intensified than in the military, which required the most rigorous male bonding.¹¹² This, too, would have intensified group tensions; examples of hyper-masculine names emerging from this homoerotics included "Tough Ike," a "brave and fastidious" member of a private New England men's club, and "The Dude," a "decidedly rough cow-puncher."

As Roosevelt goes into more detail, he resuscitates a hierarchy of whiteness in the order of his narrative: he begins not with the men who make up the majority of the group, but with descriptions of the men from east coast universities, social elites, politicians, and civil servants.¹¹³ Only then does he describe those who "made up the bulk" of the regiment.¹¹⁴ Surnames in this section confirm the "probationary" status of many of the volunteer regiment's members, for example O'Neill, Llewellen, and Brodie.¹¹⁵ Here, too, are the cowboys, gamblers, fighters, and clergymen who added popular appeal and rough character to the group by virtue of their bawdy mix. Third, Roosevelt describes the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Pawnee Indians who formed a small portion of the regiment.¹¹⁶ In a fourth section, he concludes his inventory with a description of "men who fought Apaches," and "Texas Rangers," among them a brave Irishman named McGinty and an "Alsatian by birth" named Fred Herrig.¹¹⁷ It may seem contrary to my argument that he would describe a hierarchy that would place the Native American above any group of white men, but Roosevelt perhaps had more respect for the Native American than for some probationary white groups. Nonetheless, he describes all of these men as heroic and brave, again, uniting them through common behavior.

While there were several Native Americans in the Rough Riders, there was only one Negro among them: Marshall, Roosevelt's "colored body-servant."¹¹⁸ This is a telling reversal of nineteenth-century US military

history: Colored Troops had been used by the US military predominantly in battles against the “Indians” during the Apache Wars at the mid-nineteenth century, but by the War of 1898, while Native American scouting practices were appropriated for military strategy (and by the US Boy Scouts)—and the Native American was integrated into the Rough Riders—the “Buffalo Soldiers” remained in segregated units. Brought east for the first time in order to serve in the War of 1898, they fought in the battles at Las Guásimas, El Caney, and San Juan River among others, and against the deadly yellow fever in Cuba.¹¹⁹ But by 1898, the Native American was in more “favor” due to increased racial tensions resulting from failed Reconstruction.

As minstrelsy in the middle of the nineteenth century had provided a venue for what Eric Lott describes as the love and theft of African American cultural practices, by the late nineteenth century the same could be said of Native American culture and the construction of the frontiersman persona. Once the Native Americans were nearly exterminated and segregated from Anglo-American culture, white boys and men began to appropriate bodily practices, rituals, iconography, and lore from Native Americans in military culture and the emerging culture of boy scouting. The attempted genocidal erasure and subsequent mimesis of the erased culture offers an example of the complex ways in which whiteness marked itself as both precisely different from, yet desirous of, Native American culture. Roosevelt would also become known for his “big stick” policy—a term he borrowed from an African proverb. Such phallic and masculine-centered rhetoric combined with strategies of racial and cultural appropriation are key components of Roosevelt’s white masculinist performance.

While Roosevelt speaks repeatedly about Indian savagery, he suggests that once a certain mixing with white blood had occurred, the Indian was capable of achieving near-complete integration. Indeed, the Negro soldier is strikingly omitted from Roosevelt’s account of the war in Cuba despite the fact that heroic performances by the Colored Troops in the war of 1898 were well documented. Roosevelt had made publicly clear that although he believed the “smoked Yankees” had fought well, they required white command in order to be effective in battle. In one particularly inflammatory article published in 1899, Roosevelt described how at the battle of San Juan Hill, he had to pull his pistol on a group of angry infantrymen in order to get them to comply.¹²⁰ Lothrop Stoddard would rearticulate this hierarchy in 1920 when he wrote, “there can be no doubt that the Indian is superior to the negro [sic].”¹²¹

In his memoir, Roosevelt erases the heroism of the Colored Troops in favor of a narrative in which the Negro serves as a conduit of imperial power. In one of the few mentions of Marshall, given in a single short paragraph in a section devoted to the preparation to embark to Cuba, Roosevelt articulates a hierarchy of race and the surrogation of racial power within a triangulated structure:

The officers' horses were on another boat, my own being accompanied by my colored body-servant, Marshall, the most faithful and loyal of men, himself an old soldier of the Ninth Cavalry. Marshall had been in Indian campaigns, and he christened my larger horse, "Rain-in-the-Face," while the other, a pony, went by the name of "Texas."¹²²

Roosevelt first marks the colored man's loyalty and then confirms his role in continental expansion, his age, and his military background ("old soldier"). The use of the term "himself" foregrounds the bond between the two men—and to some degree partly confers respect on Marshall's past. Roosevelt then produces a triangulation when he makes clear that the colored man had fought against the red man on behalf of the white man. To confirm this triangulated surrogation, Roosevelt concludes this section by telling us that Marshall "christened" his horses by appropriating Native American and territorial names. Marshall's use of names like Rain-in-the-Face and Texas seems, for Roosevelt, symbolic of the cultural war-booty, or spoils, of empire; it seems to confirm the black man's domination of the red man on behalf of the white man even as the former's age and current status as a body-servant mark his own diminished status within the process of interracial triangulation.

Roosevelt omits, however, that Rain-in-the-Face was the name of a heroic Hunkpapa Sioux chief and warrior, born Iromagaja, who fought against the US military and westward expansion in the last stages of the "plains wars."¹²³ The feud he had with General Custer's younger brother in the 1870s was the stuff of legend—from Rain-in-the-Face's alleged vow to tear out Tom's heart and eat it to Custer's subsequent death in a battle they both fought. This dramatic tale was popularized in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem *The Revenge of Rain-in-the-Face* (1878) as well as in dime novels.¹²⁴ No doubt for Roosevelt, the gesture was proof of the white man's victory: to ride a horse named after a former enemy of his country would be very powerful—and even more so, another subjugated Other had named it on his behalf, almost claiming the enemy's spirit in the "christening" act. Yet Rain-in-the-Face is a figure of the red man's vow to

and capacity for revenge against the white man. As a veteran of the Apache Wars, Marshall knew this story and just as likely used it strategically in naming Roosevelt's horse. In this sense, we also can understand Marshall's "christening" not so much as the act of an Uncle Tom who transfers the Native American's fetish power to his white master but also as a silent reiteration of Rain-in-the-Face's vow, reminiscent of what Daphne A. Brooks describes as an "Afro-alienation act," namely, a "tactic that the marginalized seized on" in order to convert the "condition of alterity" into "cultural expressiveness and a specific strategy of cultural performance."¹²⁵

Roosevelt's memoir unquestionably intended to silence and refused to acknowledge any kind of black agency, whether the possible Afro-alienation acts of one old soldier or the bravery of the entire Negro Cavalry in Cuba. Kaplan argues that his quickly published memoir was "one of the documents involved in a struggle over writing the history of that war, a struggle in part against an African American narrative of black heroism that had gained some currency."¹²⁶ She notes, tellingly, that it is only after his description of the encounter with "smoked Yankees" in the narrative that he feels compelled to give an account of the Rough Riders' valor in battle.¹²⁷

ROOSEVELT'S NEURASTHENIA? OR, THE FAILED SPECTACLE OF THE ROUGH RIDERS AND THE RESTORED BEHAVIOR OF WHITENESS

As discussed above, much was made of the Rough Riders, their horses, and horsemanship; in many ways, they were the country's new cowboys. The horse played an important role in configuring their frontier masculinity and thus offered more than effective transportation and military crowd control. Being mounted was the key component of their name and identity as "Rough Riders" and is reiterated as the title of Roosevelt's memoir. And while Roosevelt laments the fact that after having trained as a cavalry, his unit was "dismounted" before embarking for Cuba, he moves very quickly over his admission of the lack behind the group's iconic image. Almost an aside in the middle of a section about the regiment's weaponry and training (its power), the phrases, "As it turned out," and "In a way," further minimize the admission before he moves quickly on: "As it turned out, we were not used mounted at all, so that our preparations on this point came to nothing. In a way, I have always regretted this."¹²⁸

Indeed, with the exception of a few officers including Wood and Roosevelt, the men did not have their horses in Cuba—they never enacted their ultimate performative gesture: the very charge full of cowboy enthusiasm for which the group had trained. In a failure of modern technologies, US naval craft could not accommodate the men, arms, and horses deploying to Cuba—no practical plan had been made. Being dismounted was the equivalent of a kind of castration of Rough Rider masculinity. To make matters worse, one of Roosevelt’s two horses drowned in transport (was it Rain-in-the-Face?). As an admission of a kind of failure, this comprises Roosevelt’s moment of weakness and nostalgia (“I have always regretted this”). Yet he quickly recovers, confirming in the next paragraph, how rapidly they retrained as an infantry and that in the Rough Rider uniform, “they looked exactly as a body of cowboy cavalry should look.”¹²⁹ With the expression “cowboy cavalry,” he reclaims their mounted status.

The US public had wanted a Rough Rider cavalry in Cuba—had watched them move across the country with their horses and had watched them prepare in Tampa. When events unfolded as they did, the image production machine simply continued with the story of the Rough Rider as it had been initiated. The dismounted status of the regiment required the fabrication of motion picture footage or the vetting of footage shot before deployment in order to fill in the missing parts. Moreover, “as it turned out,” the new motion picture cameras, like the horses, did not make it to the theatre of war in Cuba, “largely as a result of technological limitations and the overall conditions of production.”¹³⁰ As a result, there was no footage of the fighting in Cuba.¹³¹

Footage of the Rough Riders in Tampa is also limited. William Paley’s film *Roosevelt’s Rough Riders Embarking for Santiago*, for example, documents the war effort as men load cargo onto a large ship, but does not show them on horseback.¹³² American Mutoscope and Biograph Company’s film, *Roosevelt’s Rough Riders*, does show the men mounted sometime in the weeks prior to deployment in June. The 1903 Biograph picture catalog describes the film as “A charge full of cowboy enthusiasm by Troop ‘I,’ the famous regiment, at Tampa, before its departure for the front,” and as such, resuscitates the narrative of the mounted Rough Rider even though it was common knowledge by 1903 that the men had no horses in Cuba.¹³³ Like Roosevelt’s memoir, films of the Rough Riders were engaged in a kind of battle over the production of history, one in which they aimed to fill in for the lack of horses in Cuba and recuperate a particular image of white masculinity.

In 1899, during the US occupation and military government of Cuba, James H. White produced two films for the Edison Manufacturing Company that used a different strategy to reclaim the image of the mounted Rough Rider. The films were distributed on the motion picture circuit in the same year under the titles, *US Infantry supported by Rough Riders at El Caney* and *Skirmish of Rough Riders*. The films staged so-called “reenactments” of the Rough Riders by the New Jersey National Guard that had been filmed in New Jersey. Both show groups of men on horseback charging toward the camera, flags figuring prominently in the frame—and each catalog description highlights the heroic riding of the mounted cavalry. The film company catalog describes *US Infantry Supported by Rough Riders at El Caney*:

Up the road comes a detachment of infantry, firing, advancing, kneeling and firing, again and again. The advance of the foot soldiers is followed by a troop of Rough Riders, riding like demons, yelling and firing revolvers as they pass out of sight.¹³⁴

Similarly, the Edison catalog describes *Skirmish of the Rough Riders*:

Shielded by a thick bit of timber at a turn of the road stands a company of mounted men, awaiting the order to advance. In the foreground, left as the flotsam of battle, is a dead horse from the shelter of which two marksmen are picking off the enemy. Suddenly comes the command, “Forward,” and the riders dash up the road, out of sight, leaving behind them a great cloud of dust and smoke. A detachment of infantry covers the advance, and volley repeatedly as they press forward.¹³⁵

But White’s films do not reenact—they restore. They function similarly to what Schechner, discussing performance, describes as “restored behavior” of “a past that never was”—in this case, as restorations of an ideal Rough Rider performance.¹³⁶ Describing them as reenactments is itself a way to restore a behavior, an event, with no original—one never enacted in the first place.

Here, the “reality effects” produced in the blurring of real and reel produce whiteness as restored behavior; empire and whiteness mediate and are mediated not only by the reality effects of early cinema but also through the discourse of reenactment and the power of repetition in the story of the Rough Riders in Cuba.¹³⁷ Daphne Brooks argues that the racialized body is “spectacularly inauthentic.”¹³⁸ And while she speaks of the figure of the octoroon in the context of melodrama, the fabricated

films of the heroic ride in Cuba, a ride that never occurred, similarly constitute a spectacularly inauthentic racialized body: the white masculinity of the Rough Rider—a copy without an original. To this day, the films are still listed as reenactments on the LOC website and the film’s location named as Cuba.¹³⁹ This attests to the repeatability and persistence of the restored script surrounding the Rough Riders and their heroic ride in Cuba and its importance in the national imaginary.

CONCLUSION

The trope of Old Glory in Cuba is useful for demonstrating the importance of performance in the unfolding of the War of 1898 and in terms of the shifting parameters of US whiteness. Indeed, Cuba—on stage, on screen, and in the theatre of war—was a field of action for the production of empire and also for a re-scripting of white masculinity vis-à-vis not only the Rough Riders, but also the figure of the US businessman in Cuba. Old Glory in Cuba is a kind of deep structure that facilitated imperial surrogation in general and staged, in particular, the successful exchange of Cuba from Spanish hands to American—a repetitive form that can be reused, emptied out, and refilled again and again across discursive, visual, and performatic fields. A Metropolitan Opera House advertisement in the *New York Times* gives a synopsis of a program that quickly summarizes the preparation for war and its ultimate outcome via performance. “Hustling in the armory previous to departure, marching to the front; from night to dawn; foraging; for breakfast, a song; the alarm; the advance; the battle at San Juan Hill; helping the wounded; renewing the attack; victory; Old Glory in Cuba.”¹⁴⁰

The promise of the line “We are coming now to free you” from the popular song, “We are Coming with Old Glory” (1898), ultimately will not ring true within the logic of the US imperial project. Indeed, the rhetoric of promise and freedom expedites takeover. The last two lines of the song depict the overthrow (to “o’er turn the rule of Spain!”) that is the aim of US presence in Cuba (“coming with Old Glory”). Old Glory in Cuba is a trope that marks and enacts imperial surrogation: it enables the overturning and will fill the space left by Spain’s retreat. The aim of any political overthrow is to remove one government and replace it with another, but in the context of Cuba in 1898, the gesture did not rest there. The desire to succeed Spain in the control of Cuba required the simultaneous erasure of both Spanish dominion *and* Cuban sovereignty. Pérez summarizes the lingering misunderstanding on this topic: the USA

tends to think that Cuba should be grateful to it for help in achieving independence from Spain, whereas Cuba regards the War of 1898 as an act of betrayal by the USA because of the ensuing takeover.¹⁴¹

Within months of the war, a popular line of boys' adventure books, called the "Old Glory Series" advertised titles such as *A Young Volunteer in Cuba, or Fighting for the Single Star*, *Under Dewey at Manila*, or *The War Fortunes of a Castaway*; and *Fighting in Cuban Waters, or The Haps and Mishaps of a Young Gunner*.¹⁴² The series uses the trope of Old Glory to encourage young white men to imagine themselves within the structures of the imperial encounter; the gunner, volunteer fighter, or castaway in search of fortune and adventure provided models for the next generation of young white men who would grow up to serve, for example, in the early twentieth-century military occupations of Cuba and Haiti. Indeed, during the US occupation of Haiti (1915–34), the white Others of variegated whiteness would be fully assimilated into the emerging multi-ethnic pan-whiteness; Haiti would prove particularly useful as a site for its production, as I explore in Chap. 5.

NOTES

1. James Castonguay, "The Spanish-American War in U.S. Media Culture," in *Hollywood and War, the Film Reader*, ed. J. David Slocum (New York: Routledge, 2006).
2. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), 53.
3. Approximately 306,760 military personnel deployed for battle in the "Spanish-American War." Total casualties, according to US statistics, state that almost 2,500 personnel died in active duty, but only 369 in battle, with most of the remaining caused by yellow fever. Federation of American Scientists, "American War and Military Operations Casualties: Lists and Statistics," FAS.org, www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL32492.pdf. There were also hundreds of volunteer regiments.
4. Written in 1905, it was published in *Harper's Bazaar* (1916).
5. Mark Twain, *The War Prayer [1905]* (New York: Perennial: An Imprint of HarperCollins, 2002).
6. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 374.
7. Jill Lane, "On Colonial Forgetting: The Conquest of New Mexico and Its *Historia*," in *The Ends of Performance*, ed. Peggy Phelan, et al. (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 62.

8. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 41.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, 57.
11. The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act) decreased the flow of immigration into the US through literacy requirements, entry taxes, and so on. It aimed to stem the flow of Eastern Europeans and Jews and ban people entering from Africa, India, and the “Asiatic Barred Zone.” According to the US Department of State Office of the Historian, “the most basic purpose” was to “preserve the ideal of American homogeneity.” <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>, cited November 1, 2014.
12. Julian B. Carter, *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880–1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 42.
13. *Ibid.*, 42–74.
14. *Ibid.*, 44.
15. Qtd. in Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000), 3; Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin De Siècle* (New York: Viking, 1990).
16. Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 20.
17. “Dominant, Residual, and Emergent,” in Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 121–27.
18. Richard Slotkin, “Unit Pride: Ethnic Platoons and the Myths of American Nationality,” *American Literary History* 13, no. 3 (2001).
19. Daniel Bernardi, ed. *The Birth of Whiteness: Race and the Emergence of United States Cinema* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996); Richard Dyer, *White: Essays on Race and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Gwendolyn Audrey Foster, *Performing Whiteness: Postmodern Re/Constructions in the Cinema* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003).
20. On the ways US economic imperialism turned others into consumers of US goods and producers of US labor, see Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*.
21. “‘Old Stock’ Americans clashed with European immigrants from Ireland, Germany, Italy, and Eastern Europe.” Matthew Pratt Guterl, *The Color of Race in America, 1900–1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 5.
22. “Raising the American Flag on the Casa Municipal,” in *Harper’s Weekly: Journal of Civilization* (1898).
23. Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 217.

24. "Old Glory Waves in Bland Cuban Breezes from a Spanish Staff, Uncle Sam's Marines Pitch," *Idaho Statesman*, June 12 1898; James Gordon Bennett, "Marines Have Landed and Old Glory Now Floats over Cuba," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 12 1898; "Exit Toral, Enter Shafter—Old Glory Floats over Santiago," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 18 1898; "Old Glory Waves from Many Poles; Chaplain Sayers Recounts the Triumphs of Our National Flag," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 14 1898; "Last Edition! Stars and Stripes over Santiago; Old Glory Proudly Waves over the Governor's Palace," *Wilkes-Barre Times*, July 18 1898; "A Fragment of El Caney's Flag When the Spanish Banner Was Lowered Dunlee Grabbed A..." , *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 27 1898; "Trophy from Spanish Ship. Machine Gun from Maria Teresa Presented to State of Indiana," *Grand Forks Daily Herald*, January 26 1899. The last two boast how US soldiers took trophies, including pieces of Spanish flags. These and other regalia were formally seized and archived in the Trophy Flag Collection at the US Naval Academy Museum. <http://www.usna.edu/Museum/collections/>
25. Congress implemented Reconstruction (1866–1877) to reorganize the southern states, readmit them to the Union, and determine ways the formerly enslaved could participate in society. Southern states tended to view it as humiliating and developed ways to resist racial integration, from the KKK to Jim Crow.
26. Roosevelt, *Rough Riders*, 54.
27. Con T. Murphy, "Old Glory, the Blue and the Gray," (Chicago: Meyer & Brother, 1898).
28. Amy Kaplan, "Black and Blue on San Juan Hill," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Donald E. Pease, et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). Donald E. Pease, "New Perspectives on U.S. Culture and Imperialism," in *ibid.*, 31.
29. James Ephraim McGirt, *Avenging the Maine, a Drunken A.B., and Other Poems [1899]*, 2nd enlarged ed. (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printers and Binders, 1900).
30. Willard B. Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1893–1903* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 180.
31. Castonguay, "Spanish-American War."
32. Gatewood, *Black Americans*, ix–x.
33. "The Stage, the Freeman Post Office," *The Freeman, An Illustrated Colored Newspaper*, September 3 1898.
34. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
35. Marial Iglesias Utset, *A Cultural History of Cuba During the U.S. Occupation, 1898–1902*, translated by Russ Davidson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Gregory T. Cushman, "¿De Que Color Es El Oro? Race, Environment, and the History of Cuban

- National Music, 1898–1958,” *Latin American Music Review* 26, no. 2 (2005); McClintock, *Imperial Leather*.
36. An alternative to the widespread overuse/misuse of “performative,” Taylor suggests the term “performatic” (from the Spanish, *performático*) “to denote the adjectival form of the nondiscursive realm of performance.” Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 6.
 37. “Enthusiasm at the Theatres: Audiences ‘Whoop It up’ When They See the Flag or Hear a Patriotic Song,” *New York Tribune*, February 25 1898.
 38. *Ibid.*
 39. On interpellation, see Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus,” in *Levin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001).
 40. “Enthusiasm.”
 41. *Ibid.*
 42. Jonathan Auerbach, “McKinley at Home: How Early American Cinema Made News,” *American Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (1999): 815; Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 252. Castonguay, “Spanish-American War.”
 43. “Philadelphia’s Most Popular Theatre, Keith’s—60th Week of the Biograph [Advertisement],” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 15 1898.
 44. Musser, *Emergence of Cinema*, 247, 252.
 45. *Ibid.*, 109.
 46. e.g. Mutoscope’s “Biograph.” *Ibid.*, 145.
 47. Castonguay, “Spanish-American War.”
 48. Musser, *Emergence of Cinema*, 244.
 49. *Ibid.*, 240.
 50. Auerbach, “McKinley,” 814.
 51. Musser, *Emergence of Cinema*, 241.
 52. Castonguay, “Spanish-American War.”
 53. *Ibid.* Many Biograph runs advertised one popular film simply as *Old Glory*; it may be the same film.
 54. Thomas A. Edison Inc. et al., “Raising Old Glory over Morro Castle,” (Filmed ca. Jan. 2, 1899 in New York City: Edison Manufacturing Co., 1899).
 55. *The Phonoscope*, January 1899, p. 15.
 56. Auerbach claims Biograph had close ties with high-ranking Republicans. Auerbach, “McKinley,” 815.
 57. Auerbach coined “reality effects” to talk about early cinema’s claims to authenticity. *Ibid.*, 799, 814.
 58. *Ibid.*, 815.

59. Musser argues modern cinema arises with this shift. Musser, *Emergence of Cinema*, 417.
60. Auerbach, "McKinley," 798.
61. "9th and Arch Dime Museum [Advertisement]," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 15 1898.
62. Auerbach, "McKinley," 813.
63. *Ibid.*, 810.
64. *Ibid.*, 816.
65. *Ibid.*, 814.
66. *Ibid.*
67. I borrow Louis Kaplan's coinage of "the reel and the real" from his lectures on modern cinema at Tufts University in the late 1990s.
68. Thomas R. Beaty, "Old Glory in Cuba, a Drama in Four Acts," (Clyde: Ames Pub. Co., 1898).
69. Library of Congress et al., "Catalogue of Title Entries of Books and Other Articles Entered in the Office of the Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress, at Washington, D.C, under the Copyright Law, Wherein the Copyright Has Been Completed by the Deposit of Two Copies," (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), 340, 373.
70. "Enthusiasm."
71. "St. Clair," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 6 1900. "Rain Helps Crops, Farmers About Hawkinsville Are Harvesting Wheat, Personals," *Macon Telegraph*, May 25 1900. That framing has been repeated in the archive; the Microfilming Corp. of America in Sanford, NC produced a microfiche of the play in 1982 as part of their Pamphlets in American History: Spanish-American War, 1898 series.
72. Beaty, "Old Glory in Cuba," 13.
73. *Ibid.*, 19.
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*, 24.
76. Frank Dumont, *The Cuban Spy: A Comedy-Drama in Four Acts* (Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Co., 1899), 57.
77. Beaty, "Old Glory in Cuba," 30.
78. *Ibid.*
79. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 27.
80. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "The Beast in the Closet," in *Speaking of Gender*, ed. Elaine Showalter (New York: Routledge, 1989), 245.
81. Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, 10.
82. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975).
83. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 374–75.

84. Hal Foster, "The Art of Fetishism: Notes on Dutch Still Life," in *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*, ed. Emily Apter, et al. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 251.
85. *Ibid.*, 261.
86. This is consistent with keeping captured foreign flags in the US Trophy Flag Collection.
87. Beaty, "Old Glory in Cuba," 13.
88. On the erasure of Cuba, see "Constructing the Cuban Absence," Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 81–107.
89. Beaty, "Old Glory in Cuba," 18.
90. *Ibid.*, 24.
91. Scott Nearing et al., *Dollar Diplomacy: A Study in American Imperialism [1925]* (New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1969), xiv.
92. Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902–1934* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), 72.
93. *Ibid.*, xv.
94. Dumont, *Cuban Spy*, 4.
95. Roosevelt, *Rough Riders*, 39–40. Roosevelt was President from 1901 to 1909.
96. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 42.
97. Dumont, *Cuban Spy*, 28.
98. *Ibid.*, 4.
99. Slotkin, "Unit Pride," 474.
100. Dumont, *Cuban Spy*, 3.
101. Michelle Ann Stephens, *Black Empire: The Masculine Global Imaginary of Caribbean Intellectuals in the U.S. 1914–1962* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 40.
102. Kelly Miller, *Race Adjustment: Essays on the Negro in America* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1908), 276. Miller (1863–1939) was born in Winnsboro, SC—his father a free Negro who served in the Confederate Army and his mother, enslaved. He attended Howard University and was the first Negro student at Johns Hopkins University. Miller was professor of mathematics at Howard (1890–1934) and Dean of its College of Arts and Sciences. From 1895 to 1925, he published widely on the "race problem" and modernized the curriculum at Howard by introducing sociology and the "systematic study of the Negro." Rayford M. Logan et al., *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1983), 435–39.
103. Thomas G. Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).
104. Roosevelt, *Rough Riders*, 13.

105. Ibid., 10.
106. Ibid., 22.
107. Slotkin, "Unit Pride," 477.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. Roosevelt, *Rough Riders*.
111. Ibid., 47.
112. Sedgwick, "Beast," 245.
113. Roosevelt, *Rough Riders*, 13–17.
114. Ibid., 18–23.
115. Ibid., 19, 20.
116. Ibid., 23–27.
117. Ibid., 27–29.
118. Ibid., 61.
119. Theophilus Steward, chaplain of the 25th Infantry, described the 24th Infantry's service at the Siboney Yellow Fever Hospital in *Colored Regulars in the United States Army* (1904). "The Yellow Scourge in Cuba," University of Virginia Health System, http://www.healthsystem.virginia.edu/internet/library/historical/medical_history/yellow_fever/cuba.cfm
120. On Roosevelt's essay and responses to it: Willard B. Gatewood, 'Smoked Yankees' and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898–1902 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 92–97, 92 n. 1.
121. Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy* (New York: Scribner's, 1920), 127–28.
122. Roosevelt, *Rough Riders*, 61.
123. John C. Fredriksen, "Rain-in-the-Face," in *America's Military Adversaries: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 415.
124. The tale is reiterated in the 1912 silent films *Custer's Last Fight* and *The Massacre*. Roberta E. Pearson, "The Revenge of Rain-in-the-Face? Or, Custers and Indians on the Silent Screen," in *The Birth of Whiteness: Race and the Emergence of U.S. Cinema*, ed. Daniel Bernardi (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996).
125. Daphne A. Brooks, *Bodies in Dissent: Spectacular Performances of Race and Freedom, 1850–1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 4.
126. Kaplan, *Anarchy*, 134.
127. Ibid., 141.
128. Roosevelt, *Rough Riders*, 39.
129. Ibid., 39–40.
130. Castonguay, "Spanish-American War," 22.
131. Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975, 1994), 20.

132. Thomas A. Edison Inc. et al., "Roosevelt's Rough Riders Embarking for Santiago," (Filmed June 8, 1898, in Tampa, Florida: Edison Manufacturing Co., 1898).
133. American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., "Roosevelt's Rough Riders," (Filmed ca. April 1898 in Tampa, Florida: Library of Congress: American Memory, 1898 (1903)).
134. Thomas A. Edison Inc. et al., "U.S. Infantry Supported by Rough Riders at El Caney," (Reenacted May 1899 in the Orange Mountains near West Orange, New Jersey: Library of Congress: American Memory, 1899).
135. ———, "Skirmish of Rough Riders," (Reenacted May 1899 in the Orange Mountains near West Orange, New Jersey: Library of Congress: American Memory, 1899).
136. Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 38.
137. Auerbach, "McKinley," 814.
138. Brooks, *Bodies in Dissent*, 30.
139. <http://www.loc.gov/item/98501103/>
140. "Programme for to-Night's Concert in Metropolitan Opera House," *The New York Times*, August 4 1898.
141. Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).
142. "Display Ad 36—No Title," *New York Times*, December 10 1898, BR837.

Re-Racing the Nation: From *Cuba—A Drama of Freedom* to the Cultural Performance of Negro History Week

In November 1898, shortly after the end of the War, the American Law Enforcement League of Minnesota organized what may be the first Afro-American pageant in the USA: the large-scale four-act spectacle, *Cuba—A Drama of Freedom*.¹ The pageant's purpose was to raise funds for the League, a Negro organization that spoke out against lynching in the USA and aligned its cause with US intervention in Cuba, which it felt supported the struggle for freedom by Cubans of African descent.² Written and supervised by Cora Pope, whose husband, Sergeant ZA Pope, had fought in one of the US Colored Troops at the battle of Santiago, the pageant was performed for integrated audiences at the Lyceum Theater in Minneapolis and the St. Paul Metropolitan Opera House.³ Historical reviews note that "the theater was packed to the doors with a fashionable audience," which numbered more than 2000 at the Opera House alone and that the performance was "given entirely" by a cast of "300 colored performers."⁴ Indeed, many more people organized the pageant and managed off-stage activity, making the production a community-wide event that touched many of the Negro families in the Twin Cities area.⁵ A review in *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper* called it the "most notable dramatic event ever produced by the Afro-Americans of the Twin Cities," while historian Paul D. Nelson describes it as "one of the most spectacular demonstrations of patriotic enthusiasm ever witnessed in Minnesota."⁶ Yet where much of the patriotic spectacle in white popular culture justified the war effort through its focus on remembering the *USS*

Maine, this production did so by focusing loosely on the cause of Cuban freedom and independence from slavery and Spain. Public response was so positive, there were several encore performances later in the month.⁷

Drawing from the conventions of pageants, minstrelsy, and vaudeville productions, the spectacle incorporated a combination of tableaux vivants, songs, dances, dramatic sketches, and oratory in four main acts: “Columbia’s Festal Day,” in which Liberty is surrounded by colorfully dressed maids and guards; the “Cuban sugar plantation” scene—a large-scale “rollicking” cakewalk number that showcased, in the Opera House production, four pairs of “tots” who stole the show; the “Battle of Santiago,” which depicts the betrayal of General Maceo to the Spanish and in which Sergeant Pope led the charge on stage; and a final jubilee set in the near future of 1900 in which “all countries welcome Cuba to the sisterhood of nations.”⁸ In between the third and fourth acts, at the production’s climax, prominent Afro-American attorney Fredrick L. McGhee gave a speech in the character of the Cuban patriot, General Maceo, in which he “recounted the wrongs of his country and called upon his followers to avenge him.”⁹ A review in the St. Paul *Globe*, an Afro-American newspaper, notes the “splendid scenic effects,” “fine choruses,” and “scenes from Cuba’s history,” but seems especially thrilled with the military spectacle: “‘Cuba’ is a rattling performance. That is it has big guns and all kinds of guns that are used to make a great effect at proper times.”¹⁰ Indeed, with 300 performers and “all kinds of guns,” the event must have been viscerally powerful.

Cuba—A Drama of Freedom uses many conventions of patriotic performance culture. The Jubilee and Festal scenes are similar to both *The World’s Champion American Boy* (1896) and *Flags of the World* (1898) in their use of national iconography, colorful patriotic costumes, and militarized fanfare, particularly in tableaux vivants.¹¹ The pageant’s third act invokes the familiar trope of the “Cuban spy” to reference Maceo’s traitor. Here, as in Dumont’s 1899 melodrama, the trope justifies US economic and political intervention in Cuba; however in *Cuba*, the capture of Maceo’s traitor layers US and Cuban patriotism in order to forge transnational bonds between people of African descent. And like most popular patriotic melodrama, the production was highly sentimental. During the battlefield scene, for example, bodies were carried across the stage while doctors and nurses of the Red Cross tended the scores of wounded. A great deal of the production’s emotional power was precisely in the “massing of great numbers of people on the stage.”¹² When

a nurse sang “Home Sweet Home” for a dying soldier, there were “few dry eyes in the house.”¹³

Being part of the audience at a large-scale event that aimed to pluck the patriotic and racial heartstrings provides an “experience of simultaneity” with others that creates a state of unisonance, or the shared affect of the collective formation, especially as enacted through performance.¹⁴ In this context, the shared emotions went beyond the national affiliation described by Anderson to include a mix of class, regional, national, racial, diasporic, imperial, and anti-colonial connections and ruptures. For example, Fredrick McGhee—a colored elite who would become a co-founder, with W.E.B. Du Bois, of the Niagara Movement in 1905—calling for vengeance *as* the Cuban military hero and patriot Maceo, simultaneously justifies US involvement in Cuba on the so-called behalf of the *independentistas* (avenge us!) and via the ghosting of live performance, warns the US nation to reconcile its own bloody racial tensions.¹⁵ McGhee-as-Maceo performs racial solidarity across class, ethnic, religious, and national difference in order to decry racial terrorism both in Cuba and the USA. The production’s emotional payoff comes from the mixture of national patriotism and racial and political linkages in the search for justice between people of African descent in both the United States and Cuba.

At the same time, the tropes of both US and Cuban patriotism (Liberty and Maceo) are layered over imperialist anti-conquest strategies in the production as well as in the Afro-American press. For example, the pageant was described as “a story of the incidents leading up to the war in Cuba and terminating when Santiago falls to the prowess of American arms, ‘for humanity’s’ sake, leaving the struggling Cuban patriots assured of their freedom.”¹⁶ The author of these lines reinscribes the national narrative in which the USA comes to save the day in Cuba, bringing freedom to its patriots. Yet, the majority of Cubans—including those of African descent—did not share this perspective on US involvement in their political affairs. On the contrary, most Cubans saw the results of US involvement as a kind of betrayal.¹⁷ And even as McGhee-as-Maceo performs a racial alliance across national borders, the figure, embodying the very anarchy of empire, identifies with both colonizer (US military intervention in Cuba) and colonized (whether Cuba under Spain or the Negro in the US South).

The main topic of discussion in the Afro-American press following the performances was not the pageant’s depictions of patriotism or the outcome of the War in terms of Cuban independence, but was instead, the cakewalk—a form of “high-stepping” dance competition that dates

to the period of slavery but that had become increasingly popular in late nineteenth-century performance culture through the venue of the minstrel show, where it was performed in blackface.¹⁸ One reviewer repeatedly drives home that the dance was an “elite cake walk [sic] by the handsomest girls and their beaux of this city,” that it was “very artistic,” and had been “presented by some of the leading young women and men of St. Paul.”¹⁹ Many of the socially elite “colored 400,” like Mrs. Fredrick (Mattie) McGhee, defended the dance number as the hit of the show but some, like J.C. Reid, thought that despite its popularity with audiences, the cakewalk ultimately revealed that “all coons are alike” and that such “frivolity” reinscribed negative stereotypes.²⁰

In a series of letters published in the press, Mattie McGhee defended the dance by saying they had not copied it from slave culture or blackface minstrelsy but from white high society itself, namely from a party at the Vanderbilt’s home in New York City.²¹ For Mrs. McGhee, this legitimized the dance as culturally significant whereas Reid saw nothing redeeming in the fact that socially elite Afro-Americans performed the dance or in the Vanderbilt’s stamp of approval. Reid saw no difference in a cakewalk performed by “the colored 400” and “those of less prominence” despite the fact that he saw the former as the “moral and intellectual lights among local Afro-Americans.”²² Convinced that class standing and mimicry would neither remove the stain of the past nor change the future of the race, Reid argued that Afro-Americans should “put down everything that was ever connected with slavery” and stop “imitating the white man.”²³ But Mattie McGhee argued that the production did “more to elevate the colored people in the estimation of the whites in the Northwest than all the combined efforts of the race-loving people of the Twin Cities.”²⁴ The heated, even sniping, debate continued in the local press until early February of 1899, when Fredrick McGhee and Reid, who refused to debate any further with women, argued the question, “Is the Cakewalk Detrimental to the Afro-American?” at the Bethesda Church in Minneapolis. In front of a large crowd, nine judges determined that Reid did not make a successful case and that McGhee had won the debate.²⁵

The cakewalk did not open up a rift in the “Afro-American community” as much as it revealed the tensions involved in knitting together such a community; it embodied the lived complexities of color and class among the “race-loving people” of the Twin Cities. The pageant’s uptake in the press in terms of the cakewalk rather than its themes of justice, freedom, or the outcome of the War of 1898 itself is one example of how Cuba—both

the pageant and the country—was a staging ground for a debate about the sign of blackness in the USA and what might constitute a new racial performativity. Indeed, Reid argues there is “no time for frivolity” like the cakewalk when the “memory of our brothers who are being butchered daily in the South should be ever green” and when “the deadly odor” of lynching is “slowly but surely setting the whites of the North against us.”²⁶ Questions of racial performativity vis-à-vis the crisis of lynching and the parameters of Afro-American community were at the core of the drama that surrounded the cakewalk—more than issues of Cuban independence. More precisely, *Cuba—A Drama of Freedom* created a palimpsestic overlay in which Cuban independence was sutured to questions of lynching and the growing racial crisis at home—and this suturing is equally clear in the figure of McGhee-as-Maceo calling for vengeance.

E. Patrick Johnson argues that in times of crisis, “older versions of blackness” are often called into question and, undoubtedly, the proliferation of Jim Crow racial terrorism at home coupled with growing awareness that US imperialism preyed on people of color abroad fomented such a crisis.²⁷ The theatre of war in Cuba, in particular, was increasingly central to this awareness—and between 1898 and the mid-1930s, theatrical performance on the subject was a popular mode of mobilization and debate that both fractured and cohered Negro communities across the USA and helped reconfigure the parameters of blackness. The War of 1898 catalyzed the growing crisis because (1) demonstrations of valor in battle by Negro soldiers failed to have any effect on either national memory or in terms of improving their increasingly disenfranchised civil status in the USA, and (2) the intercultural contact zones of empire created a space for growing diasporic affiliation among people of African descent. The resistance against Spain by people like Antonio Maceo in Cuba motivated people of African descent in the USA at a moment described as the “nadir” of Negro political and social life after the Civil War.²⁸

Gatewood confirms that “Negro Americans increasingly emphasized self-help, group loyalty, and *racial solidarity*” in response to the “rising tide” of “prejudice and discrimination in the 1890s” (italics mine).²⁹ At the same time, empire was shifting racial meanings both in the USA and to some degree in its imperial strongholds; it reified the white supremacist position, turning what Gatewood calls the “‘Mississippi plan’ of race relations” into “the American Way,” and at the same time provided the grist for the “heightened race consciousness” of US Negroes.³⁰ To be sure, the crisis of violent racism at home and its linkages to empire

greatly intensified group solidarity in the USA under the sign of blackness. Regardless of one's stance toward empire, shifting structures of race relations at home and increased political and racial affiliation with people of color abroad came together to cohere the racial sign.

In this chapter I look at the ways that Cuba, with its large population of African descent, brought older versions into question and provided a context for staging a new version of American blackness—especially in performance. First, I situate the figure of the New Negro in the context of the War of 1898 and emerging cultural and political pan-Africanisms, which is to say precisely within the tensions between an older version of blackness that sought to demonstrate its value by means of patriotism and a newer version that looked increasingly across national borders. I then look at the role of theatrical and cultural performance in this dynamic. Negro History Week, for example, was established in 1926 as an annual nation-wide celebration in order to foster group solidarity in the USA precisely by re-racing and re-writing that which had been erased from US history as well as by re-collecting, re-remembering (re-making the members of community), and re-mapping the sign of blackness in a wider pan-African context. Its popular format and use of theatrical performance made it particularly significant to the production of a newly racialized social imaginary in the USA—and images of Cuba and Haiti figure prominently in its materials.

Theatrical representations of Cuba that were published or staged in the USA as part of Negro History Week events are particularly instructive for exploring the productive tensions between patriotic nationalist narratives and pan-African narratives in the reconfiguration of blackness. Two such plays set in Cuba in the late nineteenth century are Randolph Edmonds's *Yellow Death* and Willis Richardson's *Antonio Maceo*, both from 1935. Each challenges previous versions of blackness while raising questions about empire, nation, race, and allegiance and in each, the figure of the soldier is crucial. The former uses a patriotic narrative of Negro contribution to the War of 1898 whereas the latter documents the martyrdom of Antonio Maceo, the Cuban hero who was crucial to the Spanish colony's nineteenth-century battles for both emancipation and independence. In the first, Cuba is the staging ground for the performance of a heroic US blackness that erases all Cuban participation in historical events and in the second, diasporic misidentification or misrecognition and the erasure of intra-racial difference are harnessed to the reification of the sign of blackness in the USA, which was increasingly a pan-blackness. The chapter concludes with a review of the biracial rhetoric found in the materials explored

in this chapter in order to situate it within the broader context of the “rise of ‘biracialism’” and to consider the ways such language was used to forge a pan-black position.³¹

THE PALIMPSESTIC PRODUCTION OF HISTORY/RACE: E-RACING, RE-RACING, AND RE-MEMBERING

The “smoked Yankees” who returned home from the War of 1898 received brief recognition for their valor in battle and were just as quickly forgotten (Fig. 4.1). The poem, *The Conquerors: The Black Troops in Cuba*, written before the end of the year by Paul Laurence Dunbar concludes its staccato message with the somber acknowledgement that only a future version of



Fig. 4.1 “Some of our brave colored boys who helped free Cuba” by J.F. Jarvis, 1899. US Library of Congress, prints and photographs division

the US nation would be able to thank the men for their sacrifice. Indeed, by 1899, Teddy Roosevelt had published his impactful memoir on the War in which he would completely discredit the valor of the “smoked Yankees” and claim all the glory of battle for his Rough Riders. In this sense, Roosevelt’s story of San Juan Hill can be seen as the racialized erasure and reinscription of historical events—one that demonstrates the tremendous staying power of the silences that are made with the production of history: Trouillot’s “simultaneous production of mentions and silences.”³² The patriotic rhetoric of memory found in “Remember the Maine!” had induced Americans, regardless of race, to remember to forget the economic and racial aims of empire—but after the war, it was clear that the nation would not re-member its Negro soldiers. By this formulation, I mean neither would it make their valor part of national memory nor would it (re)incorporate them into the “body politic.”³³

The same year that Roosevelt published his memoir, James Ephraim McGirt of rural Robeson County, North Carolina published a collection of poems titled *Avenging the Maine, A Drunken A.B., and Other Poems*.³⁴ Although not a critical success, the book was popular enough that second and third editions were released in 1900 (again in North Carolina) and 1901 (Philadelphia). The first two stanzas of the title poem declaim,

Sing, O Muse! the avenging of the Maine,
 The direful woes, the fate of Spain.
 A heinous deed to our ship they wrought,
 Untimely death to our crew they brought.
 Our soldiers’ valor forever tell,
 Who for revenge both fought and fell;
 Volcanic boats over the water went,
 The burning revenge from them was sent.
 Shafter’s army, pray tell me all
 Who died bravely rallying to the call?
 What of the Negroes in the band,
 Did they scatter or did they stand?
 To this question, I’ll answer brief,
 They fought like demons without a chief.
 I’ll ever sing of the memorable day
 When Negro valor was brought into play;
 In the hottest battle their captain died,
 They did not scatter, “Onward they cried.”
 Their eyes on victory intensely fixed,
 Negro and white blood that day flowed mixed.

There are the first to embark on land,
There were no cowards in this band.³⁵

McGirt both reinscribes the rhetoric of imperial aims (avenging the Maine) and also takes up an urge to rewrite, revise the erasure of the historical record with its tremendous momentum and forgetfulness. “What of the Negroes in the band?” he demands of the Muse. The avenging of the *Maine* here is not simply a patriotic call to arms but is also an attempt to avenge the men whose valor was so quickly erased from the nation’s history. In the second stanza, McGirt seems to challenge the Roosevelt narrative, which alleged Negro soldiers fell into useless disorganization when their white officers were killed.

There are two things to note here. The historiography of the War of 1898 is constructed palimpsestically and biracially: black and white “versions” mark and unmark each other (I say more on this below). Second, the ambivalence in McGirt’s poem—the tensions between the patriotism of “avenging” the Maine and the outrage at having to set the historical record straight—is a mark of the growing disenfranchisement of Negroes in the USA after the War and of a rethinking of previous versions of blackness.

James Robert Payne notes how the literature, and I would add performance, of the War of 1898 produced by Negroes in the USA tends to fall into three categories: works that express idealism toward the War, works that express disillusionment, and those that negotiate between the two.³⁶ Cora Pope’s 1898 pageant, *Cuba—A Drama of Freedom*, is simultaneously a performance of patriotic idealism and in the climactic speech given by McGhee-as-Maceo, an expression of political disillusionment as was the very formation of the American Law Enforcement League of Minnesota that the pageant aimed to fund. US intervention in Cuba is lauded even as McGhee-as-Maceo makes a pointed speech about “the righteous vengeance of the oppressed.”³⁷ The conversion of Sergeant Pope’s military action into a dramatic role in the battle scene also functions ambivalently. On one hand it stages the valor of the Colored soldiers for an integrated US audience—on the other, it converts his heroic acts into entertainment and thereby risks becoming parody. To borrow loosely from Marx, it seems to me that Pope’s performance embodies both the very real tragedy of fighting heroically in Cuba in order to prove one’s patriotism and the very real farce of growing Negro disenfranchisement. Similarly, while the first stanza in McGirt’s poem tropes in patriotic rhetoric, the terse reply of the second stanza reveals the poet’s frustration. Indeed, the general

trend in the literature and performance of the War of 1898, points to tensions between “Old Negro” idealism/patriotism and “New Negro” disillusionment and echoes Gates’s depiction of the New Negro as “the sign of a new racial self” that countered older scripts of blackness.³⁸

The violently diminished status of the Negro in the USA, which became dramatically clear after the War of 1898, fostered the growing disillusionment. Not only was the valor of the Negro soldier quickly erased, but civil and political progress was also being wiped out. In November of that year, for example, the racially integrated Fusion government of Wilmington, North Carolina was overtaken by white supremacist Democrats in a forceful coup. According to Colonel Alfred M. Waddell—who staged the takeover and in so doing became the new mayor—seven of the city’s Negro political leaders and newspapermen were run out of town.³⁹ The press was burned down and as many as 250 Negroes and people of color were killed by “white” mobs.⁴⁰ At the time of the riot, two-thirds of Wilmington’s population was of African descent. As a port town, the city was a bustling hub for cosmopolitanism and successful entrepreneurship regardless of race; Negro citizens owned businesses such as restaurants, drugstores, barbershops, and tailor shops and also served as firemen and policemen.⁴¹ But the coup successfully terminated the progressive environment in Wilmington and “marked the violent culmination of the Democratic party’s white supremacy campaign in North Carolina.”⁴² Shockingly, the former Congressman who staged the coup was allowed to retain control of the government with no repercussions. McGirt, living some 80 miles from Wilmington, would have been painfully aware of the deteriorating civil status of Negroes in his home state and nationally—and by the time the second edition of his *Avengeing the Maine* was published in 1900, he would have lost the right to vote because North Carolina rescinded Negro suffrage.

In 1916, William Pickens, Dean of Morgan College in Baltimore, published *The New Negro: His Political, Civil and Mental Status, and Related Essays*.⁴³ In it, he describes the “turn from the old to the new Negro: from the patient, unquestioning, devoted semi-slave to the self-conscious, aspiring, proud young man”—and he does so in almost performative terms that detail a different repertoire of daily gestures, speech acts, and mannerisms.⁴⁴ He tells, for example, how one young man was ousted from his job even though his white associates agreed he was well qualified. The only complaint was “when he talks on some phases of the race question he sometimes *clinches his teeth!* They evidently preferred that when he talked of the great injustices [...] he would rather show his teeth in the conciliatory, apologetic grin of the old-fashioned Negro.”⁴⁵

Pickens notes the patriotic spirit of the new Negro is very different from “1898 when his youth, wherever admitted, rose as one man to meet the Spaniard”—a time when the Negro “still looked upon ‘Uncle Sam’ as being some personality separate and apart from the oppressor.”⁴⁶ In that moment, the “old-fashioned Negro” had hoped to better his conditions by an “opportunity to show his patriotism at San Juan Hill,” but the “hostile” political aftermath at home caused him to “identify his former ideal of the nation with the oppressor himself.”⁴⁷ Cataloguing the changing rhetoric of the new Negro, Pickens writes:

One hears expressions from individual Negroes now which were not to be heard twenty years ago: that the United States needs humiliation; that it would “help the Negro if any foreign power should humble this country;” that the Negro has “nothing to fight for” in the United States, and “nothing to defend;” that he (the individual who may be speaking) “would not volunteer;” [...] and many other expressions which show that the Negro is beginning to look for deliverance from abroad rather than at home.⁴⁸

Whereas Pickens imagined this deliverance might result from the USA being humbled by a foreign power, it more accurately resulted from the growing networks of cultural and political pan-Africanisms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These include the Pan-African movement (with a capital “P”) associated with W.E.B. Du Bois and the five Pan-African Congresses of 1919, 1921, 1923, 1927, and 1945 as well as other pan-Africanist cultural movements (with a lower case “p”) of the 1920s and 30s, including francophone *Négritude*, the Haitian *Indigénisme* that arose in response to the US occupation, the *Negrismo* movement in Cuban poetry, and Marcus Garvey’s United Negro Improvement Association, which was a mass movement in the USA by 1920.⁴⁹

These movements, taken as a whole, simultaneously facilitated anti-colonial solidarity under the sign of blackness and mobilized specifically national racial projects. Du Bois noted in 1933 that the idea behind the first four Pan-African Congresses had been to foster racial solidarity in order to “see what can be done for the freedom of the human spirit which happens to be encased in dark skin.”⁵⁰ Culturally speaking, he noted many Negroes in the USA “still” considered themselves members of “the white race”:

There are still large numbers of American Negroes who in all essential particulars conceive themselves as belonging to the white race. And this, not on account of their color, which may be yellow, brown, or black, but on account of their history and their social surroundings. They react as white Americans. They have all the racial prejudices of white America, not only against Asiatics

and Jews, but even against Mexicans, and West Indians. In all questions of human interest, they would flock to white America before they would flock to the brown West Indies or to black Africa or to yellow Asia.⁵¹

Du Bois argued the racist structures of global economics (the problems of color caste, discrimination, exploitation for profit, and oppression) required that the American Negro, regardless of color, move “nearer to the dark people outside of America than to his white fellow citizens.”⁵² By means of Pan-Africanism, the sign of blackness was rearticulated as an increasingly broad identifying construct that homogenized the “yellow, brown or black.” Hubert Henry Harrison similarly argued that Negroes must begin to identify first and foremost as a cohesive racial group just as white men increasingly identified racially before considering ethnicity, religion, or political party: “For we are not Republicans, Democrats or Socialists any longer. We are Negroes first.”⁵³

Both Du Bois and Harrison articulate a unified Negro racial identity vis-à-vis an increasingly broad and generic “white race” or group of “white men” that speaks to the growing ranks of the emergent “multi-ethnic pan-whiteness” of the early twentieth century.⁵⁴ With this formulation, Jacobson describes how groups that were considered “probationary whites” in the nineteenth century, such as the Irish, Italians, and Jews, were folded under the sign of whiteness in the period from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries in order to consolidate white racial power. Guterl describes the shift from “a multiplicity of white races to the arrival of ‘biracialism’”—one that structures “absolute whiteness” vis-à-vis “absolute blackness” and vice versa.⁵⁵ In 1920, Du Bois would say the “discovery of personal whiteness” is a “very modern thing—a nineteenth and twentieth century matter indeed.”⁵⁶ The same must be said of the new “absolute blackness,” or pan-blackness, of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by which I mean a single category of racial identification that subsumed prior differences of color and ethnicity between people of African descent. In “The Conservation of Races” (1897), Du Bois called it “Pan-Negroism.”⁵⁷

REMEMBERING TO RE-MEMBER: THE CULTURAL PERFORMANCE OF NEGRO HISTORY WEEK AND PAN- AFRICAN HISTORY AS NATIONAL SPECTACLE

Like Haitian *Indigénisme* and Cuban *Negrismo*, Carter G. Woodson’s Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH), which he co-founded in 1915, its Associated Publishers (established 1920), and its

annual celebration, Negro History Week (established 1926), constituted a pan-African cultural movement that articulated a new version of blackness in the USA and that engaged diasporic affinities.⁵⁸ Woodson and the ASNLH established Negro History Week (NHW) as an annual “national celebration” to be held “everywhere in the United States”⁵⁹ during the second week of February so as to encompass the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass. With its established timeframe as well as an “organized program of activity, a set of performers, an audience, and a place and occasion of performance,” NHW can be understood as a nationwide cultural performance of locally organized events that occurred during the same week across the USA.⁶⁰ Indeed, NHW sought to articulate, challenge, and (re)inscribe notions of race, community, and nationhood precisely through annual repetition during the same week; it implemented a suggested program of activity via the publication arm of the ASNLH, Associated Publishers; and there were various sets of performers and audiences (both theatrical and cultural) in simultaneous celebrations at multiple locations across the country.

In order to help organize the event in the inaugural year, the ASNLH published a pamphlet that outlined the purposes of the celebration and suggested related activities. The recommended program for the first celebration sutured patriotic and pan-African historiographies together by calling for both “exercises emphasizing the importance of the African background” and themes such as “the Negro in the discovery and exploration of America.”⁶¹ Local celebrations were performance-oriented and consisted primarily of public addresses by scholarly persons, school activities on celebration themes, performances, and library exhibitions. Theatrical productions were especially popular and were staged at grade schools, high schools, churches, and Negro universities across the country. Although some plays were available through Associated Publishers (AP), local teachers wrote many that were never published. May Miller, for example, who taught at Frederick Douglass High School in Baltimore and often wrote and edited for AP, authored close to 20 one-act plays that she staged with her students.⁶²

Dramatizations were increasingly popular in annual celebrations. By 1937, Woodson made an urgent call for simplified scripts for use in elementary schools across the country and noted that “teachers themselves are taking more and more to producing their own dramatizations and having them published either in mimeographed or printed form.”⁶³ AP produced several compilations of plays and other performance materials that were intended for use in NHW celebrations and educational

contexts. These included Richardson's *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro* (1930) and Richardson and Miller's compilation, *Negro History in Thirteen Plays* (1935).⁶⁴ In these anthologies, four different plays concern Cuba and Haiti: Richardson's *Antonio Maceo*; Helen Webb Harris's *Genifrede: The Daughter of L'Ouverture* and Miller's *Christophe's Daughters*, which both stage events of the Haitian Revolution from the perspective of women; and John Frederick Matheus's *Ti Yette*, a tragedy set in mid-nineteenth century New Orleans, which tells the story of two enslaved descendants of Toussaint L'Ouverture who dream of fleeing to Haiti in order to be free.⁶⁵

Performers and audiences in NHW events expanded beyond the theatrical stage to the larger field of action that constitutes cultural performance in that communities were organized and mobilized as racial actors. For example, the inaugural pamphlet called for the organization of a nationwide Negro community through the establishment of localized "committees for the celebration," it also asked that community members appeal to their local boards of education to adopt Negro history textbooks, and finally, it asked that community members urge local libraries and schools to create a shelf of "scientific works on the Negro and pictures of distinguished men of the race" to be exhibited during the week. In this sense the "Negro community" interpellated through the event becomes the performing body for an increasingly biracialized national audience.⁶⁶

Finally, as a field of "social action" in which racial and national identities and relations were reconfigured, meanings and articulations of NHW were contested depending on local context and thus shifted over time.⁶⁷ In 1931, Woodson wrote against the utopian dreams of "the Negro radicals" in Harlem who began to use the event as a platform and deployed it against the integrative aims toward which it was initially instituted.⁶⁸ By 1953, the event was partially appropriated at a national level by the Communist Party, again, speaking to the capacity of cultural performance forms as sites of debate and social change.⁶⁹

Looking at Negro History Week in this way allows us to examine two levels of staging new versions of blackness in the USA: first, at the level of individual plays that were presented at local NHW events or published by AP, and second, at the meta-level, which takes NHW itself as a nationwide cultural performance. In other words, there are two layers of performance worth noting here: at the level of individual plays for what they can tell us about the ways images of Cuba were used to reimagine and rearticulate blackness within a US context and at a meta-level that includes

the larger cultural performance of blackness made possible by the annual celebration itself.

In his introduction to *Negro History in Thirteen Plays*, Woodson describes a performance of Inez M. Burke's children's pageant, *Two Races*, given during Negro History Week by a fifth-grade class because it dramatized the national potential of a pan-African vision of history.⁷⁰ In the production, "a Negro boy" and "a white boy" are playing marbles on the way home from school. The white boy drops a schoolbook and when the Negro boy picks it up, he discovers it contains stories of the great achievements of all of the races of the world—except his own. This saddens the boy and estranges him from his friend. At this moment, a character called the "muse of history" appears and presents what Woodson describes as "a panorama of great men of African blood who had done much for the benefit of mankind." This vision inspires the Negro boy to achieve greatness and in the final moments of the pageant, the white boy respectfully takes his hand. Woodson concludes, "Thus we see dramatized a new America."⁷¹

Woodson's introduction suggests that pan-African historiography could bring about a new racial/historical consciousness. He clearly establishes interplay between pan-African history and the national race project of dramatizing a "new America" that would include the full civil and cultural participation of its Negro citizens. Indeed, interplay between the diasporic and the national was emblematic of NHW events. For example, under the direction of James C. Grant, the Morgan College Dramatic Club staged three plays as part of its NHW program for February 14, 1935 at Douglass High School in Baltimore: Miller's *Christophe's Daughters* on the Haitian Revolution; Richardson's *In Menelik's Court*, which concerned black anticolonial resistance in 1896 to Italian colonization in Ethiopia (then Abyssinia); and Edmonds's *Yellow Death*. The first two stage diasporic histories of two anticolonial movements and the latter stages a patriotic national narrative using the post-war military occupation of Cuba as the ground for the demonstration of Negro valor—and again, Cuba and Haiti figure prominently. On February 23, *The Afro-American* published a review titled "Three Historical Plays Merit High Praise History Week," which declaimed, "History is being made before our eyes."⁷² Negro History Week was indeed central to the production, dissemination, and institutionalization of pan-African historiography in the USA and performance was one of its primary tools.

Woodson theorized that race prejudice resulted from a lack of knowledge about Negro history.⁷³ According to his biographer, Woodson's

primary motive in establishing the ASNLH in 1915 had been to counteract the negative effects of racist stereotypes in white popular culture, namely the film, *The Birth of a Nation*, which had received great acclaim in theatres across the USA the same year.⁷⁴ Woodson stated that the goal of the nationwide celebration “is not so much a Negro History Week as it is a History Week. We should emphasize not Negro History, but the Negro in history.”⁷⁵ Woodson’s aim was not to articulate a separate black history, but to blacken US national history.⁷⁶ Historiography is a form of national narrative, and Woodson’s joint efforts with AP and Negro History Week constituted a publication/performance machine that deployed both patriotic and diasporic narratives in order to challenge racial stereotypes in the USA.⁷⁷ Negro History Week events staged pan-African histories as a way to perform and consolidate a specifically “American” notion of blackness as well as to challenge white notions of US history, and it did so on a national scale and in largely biracial terms.

Arthur A. Schomburg wrote, “The American Negro must remake his past in order to make his future.”⁷⁸ Similarly, Cynthia Enloe notes that shared public pasts and futures are required in order to establish a sense of national identity.⁷⁹ Negro History Week provided several mechanisms for constructing shared pasts and imaginable futures. Concerned with the establishment of an archive of Negro life and history, the inaugural NHW pamphlet requested that community members send any detail of “Negro family history” and forward “any important documents bearing on the record of the Negro” directly to the ASNLH.⁸⁰ It was distributed widely to schools, churches, government agencies, and according to Woodson, “social welfare agencies, recreational establishments, and business organizations had special services” for collecting such materials as part of NHW events.⁸¹ Trouillot describes four crucial points at which silences enter the process of historical production: “the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of the retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance)” (italics in original).⁸² Woodson’s project sought to counter the ongoing production of such silences in national historiography and the ASNLH provided a mechanism for collecting fragments, publishing and producing, countering racist stereotypes, and archiving a collective history under the sign of blackness, writ large. Indeed, in 1929, Woodson deposited over 1200 documents in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.⁸³

Indeed, the ASNLH, Associated Publishers, and Negro History Week constitute a single apparatus. Woodson's project relied crucially on a combination of cultural performance and print-capital to produce and circulate images of Negro history and many local celebrations relied on the materials published by AP. The second page of the 1926 Negro History Week pamphlet offered, for example, a list of 13 texts as "suggestive materials for a program for the celebration of Negro History Week," and all were available from AP.⁸⁴ These texts included *The Negro in Africa*, *The Negro in the Discovery and Exploration of America*, *Negro Labor in the United States*, *The Negro Inventor*, and *The Negro Soldier*. The most popular history book written by Woodson and published by AP was titled *The Negro in Our History*.⁸⁵ According to one source, the text presented "a history of the United States as it has been influenced by the presence of the Negro," and was instituted in "classrooms in black schools and colleges nationwide."⁸⁶ The "our" in the title of the work is clearly an indication of nationalist collectivity—the Negro in a "shared" US history.

There were two connected strategies for remembering an invented, shared past and redefining the sign of blackness: to re-mark or re-race that which had been erased within national discourse regarding the patriotism and valor of men of African descent in battle and to imagine, collect, and produce a history of the dispersed members of African heritage. In this sense, Negro History Week produced and popularized the invented tradition against and with which to articulate modern US blackness.⁸⁷ Yet even as the ASNLH and NHW were mechanisms for countering the production of silences in white national historiography, the consolidation of the sign of blackness required the production of new silences and erasures, especially in terms of intra-racial difference both at home and in diaspora.

YELLOW DEATH (1935)

Randolph Edmonds's *Yellow Death* dramatizes the heroism of Companies A and B of the 24th Regiment of the Regular Army in the yellow fever hospital at Siboney, Cuba. After fighting heroically at San Juan Hill and in other battles, the "Buffalo Soldiers" had been sent to the hospital because at the time US politicians and military officials perceived Negro soldiers to be immune to tropical diseases.⁸⁸ The regiment lost more than one third of its 460 men to yellow fever and malaria during the first 40 days of their work in the hospital.⁸⁹ The historical information for Edmonds's play seems to have come from Theophilus Steward, chaplain of the 25th Infantry, who

described the 24th Infantry's service at Siboney Yellow Fever Hospital in his book, *Colored Regulars in the United States Army* (1904). Like the story of San Juan Hill, the story of their valor at Siboney had been all but erased from national memory.

Edmonds notes that he wrote the play "to point out the fact that the Negro has played a heroic part, even if it is only a small one, in the fight against the dreaded scourge of yellow fever."⁹⁰ Perhaps he had been prompted by Sidney Howard's widely popular play from the previous year, *Yellow Jack*, which tells nothing of the role of the 24th Infantry and credits white US military doctors Walter Reed and James Carroll with the glory of vanquishing the fatal disease. This performs a double erasure as it also negates crucial medical advances by Cuban doctors on the involvement of the mosquito in the spread of the illness. Written in 1933, Howard's play was first produced by Guthrie McClintic at the Martin Beck Theatre on Broadway, where it ran for 79 shows in the spring of 1934.⁹¹ It was immediately published by Dramatists Play Service and had wide production in "little and community theaters, colleges and universities, and occasionally [...] by high schools and boys' prep schools."⁹² In 1938, it was released on film by MGM with well-known actor, Robert Montgomery, in the leading role; a second Broadway production was staged at the International Theatre in 1947.⁹³ In order to see how these black and white versions compete for cultural currency as they raced and erased one another in turn, it is useful to situate the 1935 Negro History Week performance(s) and 1942 publication of Edmonds's *Yellow Death* (marked in bold) in sequence with Howard's version of events: 1933/34–**1935**–1938–**1942**–1947. Note too, the "white version" has the final word, at least in this palimpsestic frame (US plays about Yellow Fever in Cuba). This frame allows us to see one case in which the NHW/AP apparatus uses dramatic literature and performance to counter and reframe the racist views that were so popular in US theatres. In his introduction to *Negro History in Thirteen Plays* (1935), Woodson opens by stating, "[t]he stage in America is often an agency for racial propaganda which fair-minded people are not anxious to promote."⁹⁴ Such racist "stagnation," required a "new stimulus"—a kind of corrective—and for Woodson, the dramatic literature and performance of Negro History Week was a large part of that solution.⁹⁵

Edmonds's play is set just "after daybreak on July 19, 1898"—just days after the end of the war. Several Negro soldiers are moving bodies on stretchers and counting off the dead—in the hundreds. The soldiers know they will soon be asked to volunteer a second time, so a small group

decides to desert. They argue that they went to Cuba to fight the Spanish, not serve as nurses. One soldier states, “I’ve mopped so many floors I’m beginning to have house maid’s knees. I won’t know how to drill when we get on the field again.” The gender implications of this comment suggest the feminization of racial difference by a military that perceived Negro soldiers as immune and sent them to work as nurses and scullions. The angry soldiers are suspicious of the patronizing rhetoric used by the white military doctor who is about to ask them to volunteer again (think of Pickens’s reference to the new Negro who “would not volunteer”). One soldier notes the doctor will “probably fill us with what wonderful heroes we are to take care of the fever ridden soldiers and Cubans” while another interjects, “And end by telling us it is only necessary to do double duty to make sure everybody gets well.” Despite this skepticism, most of the soldiers, especially the patriotic Tom (always the good Negro), refuse to let the others abandon their post. They argue the honor of the race rests on their performance as patriots despite personal cost.⁹⁶

In the context of the New Negro movement in both the world of the play and its production, naming this character “Tom” makes a commentary on the “Old Negro’s” belief that participation in the War of 1898 would improve civil status.⁹⁷ In effect, Edmonds suggests that only a “Tom” would believe it to be true—only a Tom is willing to do the white man’s work. In this sense, Edmonds’s narrative is somewhat ambivalent—it seems critical of Tom’s naïveté yet the playwright’s stated goal is to demonstrate the patriotic performance of Negroes in the War of 1898. Tom may be a tool of white imperialism but he is well aware of the implications of historical erasure.

TOM: ...when the call is made for volunteers in a little while, all of us must be there and step forward again as one man. This is necessary because we are not living for ourselves alone. The attitude towards our people everywhere will be made a little better or a little worse because of what we do here. Some day down in the years to come little brown children sitting at their desks in the school house will be reading about us. Now history must record that even though we knew men were dying like flies from this terrible disease we did not shirk; we did not run away, but we stuck to our posts like men and like soldiers.⁹⁸

Tom argues desertion would threaten the reputation of the Colored Troops. Not only was their honor at stake, but by extension so was the honor of the future generations.

It is their duty, he argues, to perform patriotic sacrifice and to vouchsafe that their actions would be remembered in order to create a different kind of future. Tom asks one of the would-be deserters,

TOM: Do you know what will happen to you if you quit? Well, I'll tell you. The white world will forget La Guasimas [sic] and El Caney. They'll forget that our troops crossed the bloody San Juan River and marched up the hill and helped capture the blockhouse. They'll soon forget or probably will never know that if it hadn't been for some of our troops, Colonel Roosevelt and his Rough Riders would have been cut to pieces. They'll be anxious enough to say our men were cowards anyway, without giving them deserters to prove it.⁹⁹

For Tom, the price of desertion is not only racial shame—it is historical erasure. Yet even with volunteerism, the white popular historiography of the War of 1898, like Roosevelt's memoir and Howard's play, largely erased the role of the four Negro regiments that fought in Cuba. As one soldier fighting in Cuba put it, "Colored men are always forgotten in war when our arms meet with success, but are speedily remembered when defeat perches above our door."¹⁰⁰

One of the characters ultimately declares, "But whatever happens, Cuba will always be grateful to the heroic members of the 24th infantry."¹⁰¹ Discourses on helping to free Cuba (from Spain, from yellow fever) helped to alleviate tensions many US Negroes felt fighting for US imperialism. Similar to their white compatriots, many deployed "anti-conquest" strategies in order to invoke the benefits of altruism while supporting US imperialism.¹⁰² Like Howard's *Yellow Jack*, Edmonds's play also erases Cuban independence through the articulation of US heroism in the moment of crisis. As Mariola Espinosa notes, Cubans "insisted on due acknowledgement of the fact that the work done by their compatriot [Dr.] Carlos J. Finlay was fundamental to the success of the effort" and that the eradication of yellow fever was not just the result of US scientific and military involvement.¹⁰³ In order to mark the bravery of Negro US soldiers in Cuba, Edmonds participates in the ongoing production of silences that erase Cuban involvement in their own political and public health affairs.

RE-RACING THE NATION: E-RACING DIFFERENCE: *ANTONIO MACEO* (1935)

Richardson's *Antonio Maceo* dramatizes the betrayal and assassination of General Antonio Maceo, second-in-command in the Cuban Army of Independence. It takes place in 1896 during *La Guerra de Independencia*

de Cuba (the Cuban War for Independence) and is set entirely in a hut on the military road between Mariel and Majana in the western provinces of the island. Maceo and his troops prepare to intercept Spanish army intelligence, but his physician has betrayed him to the Spanish, who are planning the General's assassination.

The son of Marcos Maceo, a mulatto from Venezuela, and an Afro-Cuban woman, Mariana Grajales, Maceo was nicknamed "El Titán de Bronce" ("The Bronze Titan") by his Cuban compatriots because of his color, stature, and heroism. Maceo began military service fighting for Cuban independence and the end of slavery in *La Guerra de los Diez Años* (1868–78). White Cubans—both Spanish colonials and *independentistas*—were concerned that if the enslaved were freed, Cuba would become another Haiti, site of retributive violence against whites. Even after abolition in 1886, rumors that the *independentista* Maceo was fighting for a black republic rather than a multiracial Cuban nation, as valorized in the figure of the *mestizo*, continued.¹⁰⁴ Said more forcefully, Aline Helg claims that he was "continuously accused of secretly wanting to establish a black dictatorship in Cuba."¹⁰⁵ From the start of *La Guerra de Independencia* in 1895 until his death the following year, he was known for destroying Spanish cane fields and mounting a strong offensive in the western part of the island. Unquestionably, Maceo was all the more subversive because he was willing to relinquish his privilege as a free mulatto and member of the land-owning class in order to fight on behalf of emancipation and independence.¹⁰⁶

Richardson's history play names the important Cuban battles for independence at Piñar del Rio, Paralejo, and Mal Tiempo, but is oddly silent on matters of race.¹⁰⁷ It misses the subversive gesture behind Maceo's eschewing of mulatto privilege—nor does it highlight that Maceo is alleged to have fought for a black republic. Other than a couple of references to degrees of color—one Cuban marked as "lighter colored" and Maceo described as "a sturdy brown man"—there are no direct references to race in the play.¹⁰⁸ Racial positions are not marked for Mariana his Afro-Cuban mother, his Latino/mulatto father, or for the Cuban soldiers, Carlos and Juan. What is interesting about this last omission is that it misses an opportunity to drive home that most of Maceo's troops were Afro-Cuban. Maceo's blackness is implicit in Richardson's play only by its inclusion in the 1935 compilation, *Negro History in Thirteen Plays*.

Despite differences between the ways race mediates and is mediated by nationalism in both Cuba and the USA, Richardson marks Maceo as Negro and inscribes him into a pan-African history in the context of

the ASNLH publishing/production machine. Surely, it is not enough to make the claim that Cubans of African descent were black and be done with it, which, as Ifeoma Nwankwo notes, misses “the complexity of the racial identity in general, and of the historical relationship to the sign of Blackness in particular, in Cuba.”¹⁰⁹ Helg elucidates that the Spanish had imposed a concept called a *raza de color* or *clase de color* that united blacks and mulattoes, whether Cuban or African born, but these structures were in flux during the nineteenth-century struggles for independence and emancipation. Some Cuban intellectuals called for maintaining the unitary concept of a *raza de color* while others “refused to include mulattoes in the same race as blacks.”¹¹⁰ Even within a shared collective identity, Helg clarifies that “personal distinctions based on color and ethnicity” were not completely excluded.¹¹¹ Yet noting the complexities of the sign of blackness in Cuba or of intra-diasporic racial difference was not the goal of Richardson’s play or the compilation. On the contrary, the purpose was the consolidation of the sign of blackness through erasure of such differences. The goal was the articulation of a US racial project—by means of articulating a pan-African, or more precisely pan-black, history that erased intra-diasporic differences.

Antonio Maceo illustrates how the actions of men of African descent from other countries were racialized according to US criteria and articulated as part of a pan-black history. The play is especially useful for analyzing how and when intra-racial difference and misrecognition were engaged and for what purposes. As Sandra Gunning argues, the “privileging of diaspora identification almost to the point of romanticizing the revolutionary and subversive power of this identification threatens to elide the very real impact of color, status, region, and gendered experience as sites of intra-racial difference within the context of black diaspora.”¹¹² With this she rightly challenges Paul Gilroy’s position that intra-racial difference is constrained within national borders and in a productive gesture, she makes it a “primary, defining feature” of diasporic identification.¹¹³ I would like to complicate this somewhat by suggesting that intra-racial misrecognition both constitutes the diasporic encounter even as it erases (e-races) difference (differences of color, language, religion, as well as ethnicity) in order to produce a cohesive (new) version of blackness. Racial misrecognition occurs, for example, when US biracialism is projected onto other racial constructions. Rather than presenting a problem of accuracy or authenticity, however, intra-racial misrecognition makes the articulation of new kinds of alliances possible. As put by Kenneth W. Warren,

“the ambiguities that inhere in diasporic thought,” are at least partly what makes “diasporic visions possible.”¹¹⁴ Moreover, intra-racial difference should not be understood in positivist terms as already existing in the world and awaiting the encounter of discovery between people of African descent. Rather, it should be understood as the intentionally palimpsestic production of pan-blackness by simultaneously marking and erasing racial and ethnic difference in diaspora. In other words, pan-African approaches to historiography in the USA strategically produced and erased intragroup differences in relation to the sign of blackness.

The play unmarks any racial, national, linguistic, and ethnic differences between people of African descent in Cuba and the USA and converts Maceo into a generic “Negro” soldier figure that articulates bravery and heroism. Historically, it was much more complicated than that. The contact zone of war in Cuba simultaneously fostered and strained racial affiliation across national borders. For example, although many Negro soldiers had perceived Cuba, in Gatewood’s terms, as a “black man’s paradise,” the large numbers of “smoked Yankees” were not welcome there.¹¹⁵ During a 3-year tour of duty, Major John Roy Lynch, who was one of the first US Congressmen of African descent, noted that Afro-Cubans identified more in terms of their emerging nation than in terms of a common bond based on race.¹¹⁶ The mixed-race Lynch states, “They had no sympathetic feeling for the colored American on account of race, for they have no race issue there such as we have in the States... With the Cubans, black and white, it was not a question of race or color, but of country.”¹¹⁷

Many letters written by Negro soldiers stationed in Cuba between 1898 and 1902, document a mixture of admiration and disdain, affiliation and rejection, for the Cuban people. Some soldiers, like their white compatriots, disparaged the Cubans as lazy and dirty and did not bond with them based on perceived commonalities. Others believed that white US military personnel had introduced racial prejudice into the Cuban culture where none had previously existed and thusly explained the alienation.¹¹⁸ H.C.C. Astwood, an Afro-American missionary in Santiago de Cuba reported, “The color line is being fastly drawn here and the Cubans abused as Negroes.” Within a year, there were reports that a Cuban was lynched near Havana. According to Gatewood, “smoked Yankees” serving in the military in Cuba confirmed Astwood’s views, “indicating that the color line had become increasingly rigid [read biracial] under the administration of General Leonard Wood.”¹¹⁹

There was an “importation” of US biracialism and southern racism (Gatewood’s “Mississippi plan”) into Cuba between 1898 and 1934—especially as the Republic’s protectorate status made the US presence a political, economic, and cultural reality due to both frequent military occupation and increased US tourism (“cocktail time”). Langston Hughes describes an instance in which white US tourists denied American Negroes access to a Cuban beach even though there were no such restrictions in place.¹²⁰ Hughes noted that occasionally one would see a “very dark Negro” in a position of power in Cuba and this is what “misled” Americans—particularly Negroes—to imagine there was no color line there. On the contrary, Hughes suggests that Cuba’s color line was “much more flexible” and “much more subtle,” but there remained “definite social divisions based on color—and the darker a man is, the richer and more celebrated he has to be to crash those divisions.”¹²¹

Since the nineteenth-century writings of the patriot José Martí, Cuban nationalism was articulated via the image of *mestizaje*, or racial mixing, rather than blackness. Martí’s well-known essay, “*Nuestra América*” (1891), calls for a celebration of the mixing that resulted from colonialism and adds to the mixture not only black and white, but the indigenous identity component that was so essential to his articulation of nationhood. Martí describes the figure of the *mestizo*—a brown body with Christian feet, a white head—as the founding image of the various national projects emerging in the Americas, including Cuba’s own. Martí calls this rethinking of the hemisphere, “*nuestra América mestiza*”—or “our mestizo America.” Leaving aside a critique of his imagery, Martí’s rhetoric integrated white, indigenous, and black positions into a new national discourse, allowing him to make the political claim that there was no more racism in Cuba because there were no more races.¹²²

Like Martí, Maceo attempted to articulate a Cuban identity that moved beyond black and white antipodes. In 1870, Maceo also claimed there were no whites or blacks, only Cubans: “*No hay negritos o blanquitos, solo Cubanos.*”¹²³ Yet in *Negro History in Thirteen Plays*, Maceo becomes emblematic of black heroism—there is no acknowledgement of his attempt to move beyond biracial formulations. The omission of racial designations in the play does not substitute for Maceo’s gesture if only because of the play’s inclusion in a book on Negro history. Moreover, as Jill Lane observes, the articulation of Cuban-ness as something more than black and white still relies on (bi)racial structures. Both Maceo and Martí invoke the rhetoric of race in order to move beyond it; their writings

turn on the same contradiction—there is no racism because there are no races in Cuba, yet the power of the *mestizo* lies precisely in its mixture of races.¹²⁴ And while the rhetoric of *mestizaje* was deployed to fashion a new nationalism, Helg argues that “the ruling white Cubans used a racist ideology together with a myth of racial equality to subordinate and repress Afro-Cubans” even after emancipation.¹²⁵ Helg describes how Cuba’s “social construct of race” is unique in Latin America and the Caribbean in that for almost 100 years “Cubans have perpetuated the mid-nineteenth century notion” of a *raza de color* or *clase de color* “without differentiating mulattoes from blacks and have often referred to both *pardos* (mulattoes) and *morenos* (blacks) as *negros* (black).”¹²⁶ Helg argues that this is unlike the three-tier system that exists in most of Latin America (and in Haiti) and is more akin to US biracialism with one significant difference: “In Cuba, the line separating blacks and mulattoes from whites was based on ‘visible’ African ancestry, not on the ‘one drop rule.’”¹²⁷ But after 1902, the biracial “Mississippi plan” was increasingly overlaid on these already shifting and contested Cuban racial structures.

From 1896 to 1935 racial positions in the USA were ever more fixed within a rigid black/white dichotomy that had roots in the “one-drop rule” of the slaveholding south. In an economy based on slave labor, the rule had been an effective tool for maintaining the largest possible workforce and for minimizing the emergence of a “mulatto class”: a person with but one drop of black blood could be marked and marketed as a slave. After Emancipation, a series of “legal and extralegal Jim Crow devices” maintained the one-drop rule until the SCOTUS decision on *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) formalized the method of racial designation.¹²⁸ The *Plessy* ruling determined that individual states could decide how to classify citizens by race and thereby could claim that any person with one African ancestor was subject to second-class citizenship; namely, it argued that a very light-skinned man from New Orleans who had passed for white for most of his life was in fact a Negro (an octoroon) and therefore did not have full civil rights. This reduced the number of racialized positions that were part of a colonial racial taxonomy (quadroon, octoroon, etc.) and effectively erased the possibility of a mulatto class.¹²⁹ The *Plessy* decision did more than legalize segregation and set back civil rights in the USA, it reified biracialism by legally constraining racially mixed groups and maintaining a strictly black or white legal definition of race that in its focus once again erases other contemporaneous racial and ethnic formations and struggles.

The Plessy decision was concerned with maintaining racial purity through biracial reification—in stark black and white—and with alleviating attendant worries about “invisible blackness” and the emergence of a “composite” race.¹³⁰ In “The Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and the Blacks” (1918), Woodson notes, for example, that “in 1860 mulattoes constituted one third of the Negro population of Pennsylvania”; this and similar scenarios worried slave-owners who believed that a “mulatto race” was a dangerous possibility, especially if freed by their white parents.¹³¹ In the decade preceding the Civil War, the mulatto slave population in the USA increased by 67 percent whereas the black slave population had only increased by 20 percent. It was at this time the concept of hypodescent became popular in the USA.¹³² Concern over a growing mulatto class and interracial “amalgamation” was at the center of a national debate that started well before Emancipation and despite the biracial solution of the Plessy ruling, continued through World War I.¹³³ For much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, “mulatto” was a separate category in the United States Census, but from 1920 onward, the category was removed and “one could only choose between the calcifying borders of whiteness and blackness.”¹³⁴ As Guterl puts it, “race purity and a general disparagement for the idea of the mulatto” are key to the intensified biracialism of the early twentieth century.¹³⁵ Indeed, there could be no effective segregation without the production of biracialism—the liminal figure of the mulatto troubled the clear distinctions that were necessary to maintain racial purity and separation.

Think of the 1915 film, *The Birth of a Nation* in which the mulatto, Silas Lynch, becomes Lieutenant Governor, passes laws that permit interracial marriage, and claims the white woman, Elsie, as his own. In the film’s conclusion, the Ku Klux Klan comes to her rescue—the mixed race villain becomes the very foil for the emergence of the white nation. In order to achieve their similar separatist goals, Marcus Garvey, founder of the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) who argued for the creation of a separate black nation, drew alliances with white supremacist Earnest Cox, whose book *White America* was published by the White America Society in 1923 and again in 1937.¹³⁶ In the same vein, influential Harlem racial theorist and author of *When Africa Awakes*, Hubert Henry Harrison, claimed that a “colored,” or racially mixed, person was less inclined to be open-minded than a white person.¹³⁷ Harrison even recommended that his readers purchase white supremacist, Lothrop Stoddard’s book, *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy*.¹³⁸ Garvey, Cox, Harrison, and

Stoddard all espouse some kind of segregation of the races and each is especially concerned with the position and/or prevention of the racially mixed figure. Indeed, Stoddard thought Garvey and Harrison were praiseworthy examples of what he called “race-consciousness” and dismissed Du Bois, in Guterl’s terms, as “a northern mulatto whose integrationist radicalism hinted at those peculiar mental failings found in mixed-race offspring.”¹³⁹

The boundaries of “black” community were negotiated publicly along such degrees of color, class, and nationality; indeed, George Shepperson has argued the leitmotif “of American Negro political history at this time was the bitter personal feud” between Garvey and Du Bois.¹⁴⁰ Garvey accused Du Bois and the NAACP of setting up what William Edwards calls an “intra-racial caste system,” while according to Guterl, Du Bois “dismissed Garvey’s criticisms as part of a ‘West Indian conception of the color line’ [...]”¹⁴¹ Garvey called Du Bois out as a “lazy independent mulatto” and Du Bois described Garvey as “a little fat black man, ugly, but with intelligent eyes and a big head.”¹⁴² For Du Bois, “the color line was the badge of distinction which was used to maintain racial segregation,” but for Garvey it was “the intragroup distinctions which precluded the development of a collective race consciousness.”¹⁴³ Their feud highlights the stakes of articulating (racing and/or erasing) intra-racial difference in the heavy contestation over the sign of blackness. And in some sense, each man embodied the parameters or limits of the debate: the mixed-race Du Bois’s predominantly middle-class, academic movement versus the dark-skinned Jamaican’s popular mass movement. Nor were these intra-racial distinctions and disputes limited to the USA. By 1920, UNIA was operational in Haiti, but Haitian mulattos mistrusted Garvey because he strongly condemned their privileged position in both the USA as well as in the Caribbean.¹⁴⁴ His criticisms and intensely biracial articulation reminded many Haitians of the racial constructions they had tried to overcome after their revolution and of the lingering racial tensions between blacks and mulattos in Haiti.¹⁴⁵ While Haiti was “indeed a black republic” it “configured its blackness differently,” drawing a color line between blacks and mulattos.¹⁴⁶ Issues of class further complicated this, as “[t]he mulattoes [sic] and the few blacks with money set themselves apart as an aristocracy.”¹⁴⁷ It is in this spirit that in *Christophe’s Daughters* (1935), Amethyst, the youngest daughter of King Henri Christophe of Haiti, declares, “The mulattoes [sic] hate a black king.”¹⁴⁸ What resonance these words take on during Negro History Week events at Douglass High School in the context of the rise of biracialism and the renegotiation of the

sign of blackness in the USA—especially in 1935, which marked the end of the lengthy US occupation of Haiti. I shall say more about the trope of the mulatto in the context of the theme of the Haitian Revolution in Chaps. 6 and 7.

BIRACIAL PALIMPSEST

In her study on whiteness, segregation, and US southern culture from 1890 to 1940, Grace Elizabeth Hale states, “To be American is to be both black and white. Yet to be a modern American has also meant to deny this mixing, our deep biracial genesis.”¹⁴⁹ Writing more recently, Diana Rebekkah Paulin problematizes the “black-white dyad” as a “static formulation of race that erases its complexity and reduces it to one of two narrowly defined, oppositional, and monolithic categories: black or white.”¹⁵⁰ As Frank B. Wilderson III reminds us, for example, the Native American position is crucial to understanding the history of US racial structures and antagonisms.¹⁵¹

To be fair, during the period Hale analyzes, southern whiteness was indeed largely constructed in relation to the culture of segregation and its one-drop racial structures. It is also true that due to the workings of empire, that racist dichotomy was increasingly exported from the southern USA to sites of military and economic occupation. However, it is problematic to project that biracial entanglement back into history as a national genesis. The sheer power of the dynamic to supplant other formations and struggles or to appear transhistorical requires an investigation of its structures and production where it is in frequent use, as I have done with regard to the materials explored in this chapter. For example, while all the financial supporters for *Cuba—A Drama of Freedom* were “society women” of the Twin Cities area, they were categorized biracially in the press and production materials as “Honorary Patronesses” (“all white ladies of the highest standing”) and “Active Patronesses” (“well known representative Afro-American ladies of the Twin cities [sic]”), thus erasing class and color differences within the Twin Cities Afro-American community and making the production of race an elite biracial affair.¹⁵² Think also of Tom’s warning in *Yellow Death* that the “white world” would forget the valor of the Negro soldiers.¹⁵³ Or of Pickens’s 1916 book, *The New Negro*, which was “Affectionately Dedicated to the White and the Black Men of Tomorrow.”¹⁵⁴ The black-white dyad is found in the title of Woodson’s important essay, “The Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks” (1918) as well as in the annual

timing of Negro History Week, which encompassed the birthdays of both Lincoln and Douglass. Think, in particular, of Woodson's 1935 description of Inez M. Burke's children's pageant, *Two Races*, which he uses to drive home the image of a "new America." He is so eager to highlight the biracial gesture of the play that he slightly modifies the title when he refers to it as "The Two Races." In Burke's formulation, the boys in the pageant represent two *among other* races; in Woodson's formulation, the definite article definitively articulates all racial difference in terms of black and white. Indeed, the language of black and white becomes the dominant binary structure of the modern racial language that was produced from the Gilded Age to the Progressive Era.

The term "biracialism," was first used in 1927 by Lothrop Stoddard, proponent of scientific racism, in order to advocate white supremacy and argue for a fully segregated US society.¹⁵⁵ In his 1920 book, *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy*, Stoddard had taken up the language of five color groups in order to create a binary between "whites" and all others (the red, yellow, brown, and black) and thereby consolidate whiteness (more on this in the next chapter).¹⁵⁶ With the coinage of the term "biracialism," he further reinscribes the black-white dyad into national race rhetoric in order to articulate his racist vision for a white US nation. To be sure, the rhetoric of black and white was already in use and for many racial theorists of the period, the Negro/white or black/white dyad was quite productive; for Woodson, Pickens, and especially Du Bois, it is the opportunity to consolidate political power along racial lines and to challenge the structures of racism, whereas for Stoddard, it is a means to secure a segregated, white nation. The concept of a black and white "America" is invented through a binary racial discourse, both legal and cultural, that performs several often contradictory functions. As Paulin notes, the black-white dyad surely condenses and erases other positions—such as the possibility of a legally acknowledged mixed-race class. Through the exportation of racial segregation (the "Mississippi plan"), it also institutionalizes racism via the workings of US imperialism, especially in encounters with people of African descent in places like Cuba and Haiti. However, the black-white dyad also clearly provides the framework for the consolidation of a new version of blackness and for contesting the structures of racism internationally.

Guterl demonstrates that Du Bois was predominant in inscribing the "new language of racial difference into American political culture" and was a major representative of early twentieth-century biracialism.¹⁵⁷ For

Guterl, “Du Bois shed the clumsy imprecision of Romantic racialism and helped to move the lines of racial classification from ‘the fifty races of the world’ to five: the black, brown, red, yellow, and white.”¹⁵⁸ While there is little doubt that Du Bois was key to this shift, it has less to do with shedding imprecision than with forming racialized political and cultural alliances. And while Guterl sees “Conservation of the Races” (1897) as full of the racial romanticism Du Bois would eventually reject, I argue the language is already biracial. Writing a year after Plessy, Du Bois asks, “Am I an American or am I a Negro? Can I be both? Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and be an American? If I strive as a Negro, am I not perpetuating the very cleft that threatens and separates Black and White America?”¹⁵⁹ In each of these four questions, Du Bois establishes a dyad through the use of conjunctions and reinscribes it when he speaks of “white or black skins,” “white and colored people,” “whites and Negroes,” and above all, “Black and White America.” He concludes that the “advance guard of the Negro people—the 8,000,000 people of Negro blood in the United States of America—must soon come to realize that if they are to take their just place in the van of Pan-Negroism, then their destiny as a race is NOT absorption by the white Americans [emphasis in original].”¹⁶⁰ This last statement again clarifies that alliances are to be redrawn in black or white. Tellingly, it is in the same paragraph that Du Bois invokes the figure of the Haitian revolutionary leader, “Toussaint, the Saviour,” to suggest that Negroes themselves constitute “a nation stored with wonderful possibilities of culture.”¹⁶¹

§

Biracial constructions in the USA were increasingly reified via the US occupations of Cuba and Haiti by flattening out their complex racial topographies and instituting southern white racism abroad. They were also reified through the workings of pan-African discourse writ large, which seized upon representations of Cuba and Haiti to articulate the emergent pan-blackness. Indeed, one of the complaints levied against the US government in the Negro press was that only white men from southern states were on military duty in Haiti—Du Bois suggested, for example, that Colored Troops be sent as part of the occupying force. Indeed, the invasion of Haiti by US Marines was an all-white operation, as I discuss in the next chapter on Haiti and the performance of multi-ethnic pan-whiteness.

NOTES

1. Cora Pope, "Cuba—a Drama of Freedom" (unpublished pageant manuscript (nonextant), 1898). On the performance, "'Cuba'—a Drama of Freedom Presented by Local Talent," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, November 5 1898; "'Cuba' Notes," *Globe*, November 9 1898; "Cuba an Ornate Success," *The Daily Pioneer Press*, November 11 1898; "'Cuba' a Drama of Freedom Presented by Local Talent," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, November 12 1898; "'Cuba' Repeated at the Grand—Popular Prices," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, November 19 1898; "'Cuba' Echoes," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, November 19 1898. See also Abram L. Harris, "Historic Background of the Negro Population in Minnesota," in *The Negro Population in Minneapolis: A Study of Race Relations* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Urban League and the Phyllis Wheatley Settlement House, 1927), 8; Dave Riehle, "'300 Afro-American Performers': The Great Cuba Pageant of 1898 and the Struggle for Civil Rights," *Ramsey County History* (1999); Paul D. Nelson, *Fredrick L. McGhee: A Life on the Color Line, 1861–1912* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2002), 61–62; Errol G. Hill et al., *A History of African American Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 200–01.
2. Lynching escalated after Reconstruction. "Lynchings: By Year and Race," University of Missouri, Kansas City Law School, <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/shipp/lynchingyear.html>
3. The four regiments that comprised the United States Colored Troops, or "Buffalo Soldiers," were the 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments and the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments. The pageant ran at the Lyceum Theater on November 3rd and 4th and the Opera House on the 10th. Riehle, "'300 Afro-American Performers,'" 17.
4. "'Cuba' a Drama of Freedom Presented by Local Talent." "'Cuba' Notes."; "'Cuba' a Drama of Freedom.... Benefit of American League of Minnesota to Be Presented at Metropolitan Opera House, St. Paul by '300 Afro-American Performers,'" *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, November 5. The article from the *Globe* dated Nov. 9 refers to "300 colored performers"; the ad in *The Appeal* refers to "300 Afro-American Performers."
5. Nelson, *Fredrick L. McGhee*, 62.
6. "'Cuba' a Drama of Freedom Presented by Local Talent."; ———, *Fredrick L. McGhee*, 61.
7. "'Cuba' Repeated—with Great Artistic Success at the Grand Opera House, St. Paul," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, December 3 1898; "'Cuba' Repeated at the Grand—Popular Prices."; "'Cuba' Echoes."

8. "Cuba' a Drama of Freedom Presented by Local Talent.," "Cuba Notes," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, November 5 1898.
9. "Cuba' a Drama of Freedom Presented by Local Talent." "Cuba an Ornate Success."
10. "Cuba' Notes."
11. Frank Hassall, "A Versatile Musical Drama, Burlesque, and Spectacular and Transformation ... Entitled the World's Champion American Boy," (Library of Congress/American Memory Collection, 1896); Frank Tannehill, "Flags of the World," (Library of Congress/American Memory Collection, 1898).
12. "Cuba' a Drama of Freedom Presented by Local Talent."
13. Ibid.
14. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 145.
15. Riehle, "'300 Afro-American Performers,'" 19. Nelson, *Fredrick L. McGhee*. On ghosting, Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).
16. "Cuba' a Drama of Freedom Presented by Local Talent."
17. See Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); ———, *Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902–1934* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986).
18. Hill et al., *History of African American Theatre*, 91, 150–54.
19. "Cuba' Notes."
20. "Cuba' a Drama of Freedom Presented by Local Talent." J.C. Reid, "A 'Cuba' Criticism," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, December 3 1898. Letters by Reid, McGhee, and Marie L. Armstrong, a high school student, were published weekly in *The Appeal* through December: Marie L. Armstrong, "Cuba Criticisms—Continued," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, December 10 1898; Mattie McGhee, "Cuba Criticisms—Continued," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, December 10 1898; J.C. Reid, "Cuba Criticisms," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, December 17 1898; Mattie McGhee et al., "Cuba Criticisms," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, December 24 1898; Marie L. Armstrong, "Cuba Criticisms," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, December 31 1898; J.C. Reid, "Cuba' Criticisms," *The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper*, December 31 1898.
21. McGhee, "Cuba Criticisms—Continued."
22. Reid, "Cuba Criticisms." By "light," he refers to an intellectual or moral beacon for the race as well as to the racial mixture of the colored elite among Afro-Americans in the Twin Cities and elsewhere.

23. Ibid.
24. McGhee, "Cuba Criticisms—Continued."
25. *The Appeal*, February 9 1899, p. 4, according to Riehle; I have not been able to find it.
26. Reid, "A 'Cuba' Criticism."
27. E. Patrick Johnson, *Appropriating Blackness: Performance and the Politics of Authenticity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 2.
28. Logan uses this term to periodize from the end of Reconstruction in 1877 to the end of WWI. Rayford M. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Collier Books, 1965).
29. Willard B. Gatewood, *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1893–1903* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), ix.
30. Ibid., ix–x.
31. Matthew Pratt Guterl, *The Color of Race in America, 1900–1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 13.
32. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 117.
33. OED defines "body politic" as "a nation regarded as a corporate entity." A.D. Harvey, *Body Politic: Political Metaphor and Political Violence* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007).
34. McGirt (1874–1930), a writer, publisher, and businessman, graduated from Bennett College in 1895 and worked as a manual laborer until 1903 when he moved to Philadelphia. There, he started *McGirt's Magazine* (1903–09), a significant publishing outlet for Afro-Americans. He was inducted into the Literary Hall of fame in 2004 for publishing. <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/james-ephraim-mcgirt>
35. James Ephraim McGirt, *Avenging the Maine, a Drunken A.B., and Other Poems [1899]*, 2nd enlarged ed. (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printers and Binders, 1900), 9.
36. Payne includes works by Dunbar, McGirt, Sutton E. Griggs, James Weldon Johnson, and the "soldier-poet" Charles Frederick White. James Robert Payne, "Afro-American Literature of the Spanish-American War," *MELUS* 10, no. 3 (1983): 20.
37. Riehle, "'300 Afro-American Performers?'" 17.
38. Henry Louis Gates, "The Trope of a New Negro and the Reconstruction of the Image of the Black," *Representations* 24, Special Issue: America Reconstructed, 1840–1940 (1988): 133. See n. 97 below.
39. Col. Alfred M. Waddell, "The Story of the Wilmington, N.C., Race Riots (1898)," (2009), <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/pages/4361>
40. Andrea Meryl Kirshenbaum, "'The Vampire That Hovers over North Carolina': Gender, White Supremacy, and the Wilmington Race Riot of 1898," *Southern Cultures* 4, no. 3 (1998): 6.

41. North Carolina Freedom Monument Project, "The Wilmington Race Riot," (2009), <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/pages/4360>
42. Kirshenbaum, "Vampire," 6.
43. William Pickens (1881–1954) was born to liberated slaves and tenant farmers in Anderson County, South Carolina. He graduated from Yale (1904) and became a professor of Greek and sociology at Talladega College in Alabama. Pickens was involved with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) from its inception (1910), a contributing editor for the Associated Negro Press, and Dean of Morgan College in Baltimore (1915–20). *Who's Who in Colored America, 1930–1932* (New York: Who's Who in Colored America Corp.), 337. William Pickens, *Bursting Bonds: The Autobiography of a "New Negro" [1923]* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005).
44. ———, "The New Negro," in *The New Negro: His Political, Civil and Mental Status, and Related Essays* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1916), 236.
45. *Ibid.*, 237.
46. *Ibid.*, 233.
47. *Ibid.*, 234.
48. *Ibid.*, 232–33.
49. Like Shepperson and Drake, I use Pan-Africanism (with a capital "P") to refer to that of W.E.B. Du Bois and the five Congresses; the First Pan-African Conference in London (1900) was prototypical to this movement because there, Du Bois gave his famous speech on the problem of the color line. A lower case "p" indicates the series of movements in which cultural elements often predominate, such as *Négritude*. Shepperson groups UNIA among the latter because of Garvey's intense feud with Du Bois. George Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism and 'Pan-Africanism': Some Historical Notes," *Phylon* 23 (1962): 346–47; St. Clair Drake, "Diaspora Studies and Pan-Africanism," in *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, ed. Joseph E. Harris (Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1993).
50. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Pan-Africa and New Racial Philosophy," *Crisis* 40 (1933): 247.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.* Du Bois uses the term "economic problem" rather than "global economies," yet he clearly intends such a meaning as in the same paragraph to describe negative impacts on people in Mexico, South America, Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean.
53. Hubert Henry Harrison, *When Africa Awakes [1920]* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1997), 43.
54. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

55. Guterl, *Color of Race*, 7, 13.
56. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil (1920)." (Project Gutenberg, 2005), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15210/15210-h/15210-h.htm>
57. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, "The Conservation of Races (1897)," *The American Negro Academy Occasional Papers*, No. 2 (2004), <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/5685/pg5685.html>
58. Now the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, the ASNLH was co-founded and incorporated by Woodson in 1915. Sister Anthony Scally, *Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985), 9–10.
59. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History Inc. et al., *Negro History Week; a National Celebration Annually Observed Everywhere in the United States the Second Week of February* (Washington, D.C. 1926).
60. Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 71.
61. C.G. Woodson, "Negro History Week," *The Journal of Negro History* 11, no. 2 (1926): 241.
62. May Miller (Sullivan) (1899–1995) was from an educated family in Baltimore. She earned a BA from Howard and studied at American and Columbia Universities. During the Harlem Renaissance, she was an active member of Georgia Douglas Johnson's literary salon and her own home in DC was a meeting place for other writers and poets including Zora Neale Hurston. James V. Hatch et al., eds., *Black Theatre USA: Plays by African Americans: The Early Period 1847–1938* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 334–35.
63. "Negro History Week-the Twelfth Year," *The Journal of Negro History* 22, no. 2 (1937): 143.
64. Willis Richardson (1889–1977) was born in Wilmington, North Carolina. He published widely on the possibilities of "Negro Drama," was supported by Alain Locke and W.E.B. Du Bois in pursuing production of his plays, and was the first Negro playwright to have a nonmusical staged on Broadway. ———, eds., *Black Theatre USA*; Christine Rauchfuss Gray, *Willis Richardson: Forgotten Pioneer of African-American Drama* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999); Fannie E. Frazier Hicklin, *The American Negro Playwright, 1920–1964* (University of Wisconsin, unpub. dissertation, 1965).
65. Helen Webb Harris, "Genifrede: The Daughter of L'ouverture," in *Negro History in Thirteen Plays*, eds. Willis Richardson, et al. (Washington D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1935); May Miller, "Christophe's Daughters," in *Negro History in Thirteen Plays*, eds. Willis Richardson, et al.; Willis Richardson, "Antonio Maceo," in *ibid.*; John Frederick Matheus, "Ti

- Yette,” in *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro*, ed. Willis Richardson (Washington D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1930). Matheus (1887–1992) was born in West Virginia and educated at Case Western Reserve University, the Sorbonne in Paris, and the University of Chicago. He earned a Master’s degree in Romance Languages and Education in 1921 from Columbia University and worked as a professor at Florida A&M. Of his plays, *Cruiter* (1926) has received the most critical attention and is considered a fine example of a one-act “folk play.” Hatch et al., eds., *Black Theatre USA*, 239. His works on Haiti, *Tambour* (1929), *Ti Yette* (1930), and *Onanga: A Musical Drama of Haiti* (1932) are less known.
66. Woodson, “Negro History Week,” 241.
 67. David M. Guss, *The Festive State: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism as Cultural Performance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 12.
 68. Scally, *Carter G. Woodson*, 13.
 69. Communist Party of the United States of America (New York), Educational Dept., *Negro History Week 1953: Peace, Equality*, 2nd ed. (New York: The Party, 1950).
 70. Woodson refers to the play as “The Two Races” and does not name its author. Inez M. Burke, “Two Races,” in *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro*, ed. Willis Richardson (Washington D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1930). In addition to the performance described by Woodson, there is photographic evidence by Villard Paddio that it was staged at the JW Hoffman Junior High School in New Orleans. Randall K. Burkett et al., “The Mind of Carter G. Woodson: As Reflected in the Books He Owned, Read, and Published,” ed. The Library of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (Emory University, 2006), 77.
 71. Carter G. Woodson, “Introduction,” Willis Richardson et al., eds., *Negro History in Thirteen Plays* (Washington D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1935), iii–iv.
 72. “Three Historical Plays Merit High Praise History Week,” *The Afro-American*, February 23 1935. Randolph Edmonds, “Yellow Death,” in *The Land of Cotton and Other Plays*, ed. Randolph Edmonds (Washington D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1942), 180.
 73. This runs regularly through Woodson’s writings. Woodson, “Negro History Week,” 240.
 74. Scally, *Carter G. Woodson*, 9.
 75. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History Inc. et al., *Negro History Week*, 3.
 76. Woodson’s project was integrationist but it is simplistic to dismiss its radicality.
 77. Pérez, *The War of 1898*, x.

78. Arthur A. Schomburg, "The Negro Digs up His Past," *Survey Graphic* (1925): 670. Schomburg (1873–1938) was born Arturo Alfonso Schomburg in Santurce, Puerto Rico.
79. Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, updated ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 46.
80. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History Inc. et al., *Negro History Week*, 1.
81. Woodson, "Negro History Week," 241.
82. Trouillot, *Silencing*, 26.
83. Scally, *Carter G. Woodson*, 14.
84. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History Inc. et al., *Negro History Week*, 2.
85. First published in 1922 and in its 6th edition by 1940.
86. Scally, *Carter G. Woodson*, 12.
87. Eric Hobsbawm et al., eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
88. Mariola Espinosa, *Epidemic Invasions: Yellow Fever and the Limits of Cuban Independence, 1878–1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).
89. "The Yellow Scourge in Cuba," University of Virginia Health System, http://www.healthsystem.virginia.edu/internet/library/historical/medical_history/yellow_fever/cuba.cfm
90. Edmonds, "A Word," vii.
91. "Barton Maclane," (IMDb).
92. Sidney Howard et al., *Yellow Jack: A History* (New York: Dramatists Play Service, Inc., 1933), iii, x.
93. George B. Seitz, "Yellow Jack," (Hollywood: MGM, 1938). "Yellow Jack," (IBDb).
94. Richardson et al., eds., *Thirteen Plays*, iii.
95. Ibid.
96. Edmonds, "Yellow Death," 180, 85.
97. By New Negro movement (with a lower case "m") I refer to a cultural movement from 1892 to 1938 (following Gates's periodization). Henry Louis Gates et al., eds., *The New Negro: Readings on Race, Representation, and African American Culture, 1892–1938* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007). I use the term New Negro Movement (upper case "M") to refer specifically to the organization established from 1916 to 1917 by Hubert Henry Harrison. Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883–1918*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010). Gates writes, "Alain Locke's appropriation of the name in 1925 for his literary movement represents a measured coopting

- of the term from its fairly radical political connotations [...].” Gates, “The Trope of a New Negro,” 135.
98. Edmonds, “Yellow Death,” 196–97.
 99. *Ibid.*, 196.
 100. Willard B. Gatewood, *‘Smoked Yankees’ and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898–1902* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 39.
 101. Edmonds, “Yellow Death,” 186–87.
 102. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 7.
 103. Espinosa, *Epidemic Invasions*, 9.
 104. Ifeoma Kiddoe Nwankwo, *Black Cosmopolitanism: Racial Consciousness and Transnational Identity in the Nineteenth-Century Americas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 88–89.
 105. Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886–1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 41.
 106. Philip S. Foner, *Antonio Maceo: The ‘Bronze Titan’ of Cuba’s Struggle for Independence* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977); “The Spanish-American War,” Library of Congress Hispanic Division, <http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/trask.html>
 107. Richardson, “Antonio Maceo,” 15.
 108. *Ibid.*, 5, 11.
 109. Nwankwo, *Black Cosmopolitanism*, 95.
 110. Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, 40.
 111. *Ibid.*
 112. Sandra Gunning, “Nancy Prince and the Politics of Mobility, Home and Diasporic (Mis)Identification,” *American Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2001): 33.
 113. *Ibid.*
 114. Kenneth W. Warren, “Appeals for (Mis)Recognition: Theorizing the Diaspora,” in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Amy Kaplan, et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 393.
 115. Gatewood, *Black Americans*, 161.
 116. Following Helg, I use, “Afro-Cuban.” Helg, *Our Rightful Share*.
 117. Lynch, qtd. in Gatewood, *Black Americans*, 171–72. Lynch (1847–1939) was born into slavery and freed in 1863. He was the first Negro speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives (1873) and was elected to the US House of Representatives twice (1874–77, 1880s). “Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present” <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=L000533>
 118. ———, *‘Smoked Yankees’*.
 119. ———, *Black Americans*, 175–76.

120. Langston Hughes, "Havana Nights and Cuban Color Lines (1930)," in *The Reader's Companion to Cuba*, ed. Alan Ryan (San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Co, 1997).
121. *Ibid.*, 87.
122. José Martí, "Our America (1891)," in *Our America by José Martí: Writing on Latin America and the Struggle for Cuban Independence*, ed. Philip Foner (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977).
123. Qtd. in Jill Lane, *Blackface Cuba, 1840–1895* (Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 2.
124. *Ibid.*, 5.
125. Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, 3.
126. *Ibid.*
127. *Ibid.* While I point to some differences between racial structures in Cuba and Haiti, my purpose is to analyze how images of Cuba and Haiti mediated/were mediated by US racial taxonomies.
128. Gatewood, *Black Americans*, x.
129. According to the *OED*, "mulatto," refers to a person with one white and one black parent, or more commonly to someone of mixed race "resembling" a mulatto; "quadroon," refers to the offspring of a white person and a mulatto; "octoroon," to a "person who is by descent seven-eighths white and one-eighth black; a person with one white parent and the other a quadroon." Except for "mulatta/o," which remains in usage to some degree, these terms are part of a colonial racial taxonomy that had many more divisions than biracialism.
130. Anne Fleischmann, "Neither Fish, Flesh, nor Fowl: Race and Region in the Writings of Charles W. Chestnutt," *African American Review*, 34, no. 3 (2000): 461–473. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2901384>
131. Carter G. Woodson, "The Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks," *The Journal of Negro History* 3, no. 4 (1918): 349.
132. Bárbara C. Cruz et al., "The American Melting Pot? Miscegenation Laws in the United States," *OAH Magazine of History* 15, no. 4 (2001): 80–81.
133. Tavia Nyong'o, *The Amalgamation Waltz: Race, Performance, and the Ruses of Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Diana Rebekkah Paulin, *Imperfect Unions: Staging Miscegenation in U.S. Drama and Fiction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).
134. Guterl, *Color of Race*, 166.
135. ———, "The New Race Consciousness: Race, Nation, and Empire in American Culture, 1910–1925," *Journal of World History* 10, no. 2 (1999): 351. ———, *Color of Race*.

136. William A. Edwards, "Racial Purity in Black and White: The Case of Marcus Garvey and Earnest Cox," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 15, no. 1 (1987).
137. Harrison, *When Africa Awakes [1920]*, 65.
138. Guterl, *Color of Race*, 139.
139. *Ibid.*, 142.
140. Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism," 347.
141. Edwards, "Racial Purity," 123–24; Guterl, *Color of Race*.
142. Edwards, "Racial Purity," 123–24.
143. *Ibid.*, 127.
144. Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992).
145. *Ibid.*, 122–23.
146. *Ibid.*, 2. ———, "The Afro-American Response to the Occupation of Haiti, 1915–1934," *Phylon* 2005, June 4 (1982).
147. Langston Hughes, "White Shadows in a Black Land," *The Crisis* 39 (1932).
148. Miller, "Daughters," 245.
149. Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890–1940* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), 3.
150. Paulin, *Imperfect Unions*, x.
151. Frank B. Wilderson III, *Red, White and Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).
152. "'Cuba'—a Drama of Freedom Presented by Local Talent.;" Riehle, "'300 Afro-American Performers,'" 17; Nelson, *Fredrick L. McGhee*, 61.
153. Edmonds, "Yellow Death," 196.
154. William Pickens, *The New Negro: His Political, Civil and Mental Status, and Related Essays* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1916), dedication page.
155. "Bi-Racialism: The Key to Social Peace," in Lothrop Stoddard, *Re-Forging America: The Story of Our Nationhood* (New York: Scribner's, 1927).
156. ———, *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy* (New York: Scribner's, 1920).
157. Guterl, "New Race Consciousness," 350. ———, *Color of Race*.
158. ———, "New Race Consciousness," 350.
159. Du Bois, "Conservation."
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Ibid.*

Military Occupation in Haiti: Staging Pan-Whiteness in a World of Color

Haiti is all negro, and has been “free” for generations [sic]. Cui bono? Their “religion” is a mere mummery, and cannibalism a recognized institution.

—Rev. Thomas May Thorpe, 1898 (“White and Black”),
New York Times, (November 27 1898).

Crisis is used as a mechanism to put in motion a series of imperial performatives and performances. The sinking of the *USS Maine*, for example, was a prelude to the War of 1898, the revision of the Cuban constitution via the Platt Amendment, and the implementation of several short military occupations of the island over the next few decades. This approach to achieving the aims of empire is repeated in the case of the almost 20-year-long US military occupation of the Republic of Haiti (1915–34). The required crisis event that set imperial performativity in motion was the public execution of President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam on July 27, 1915. The incident had been witnessed by telescope from the *USS Washington*, which was docked off Port-au-Prince.¹ Under the Roosevelt Corollary, crisis was again used to issue a script for military-imperial performance. But rather than delivering a declaration of war as had been the case in 1898, the USA implemented an armed infiltration of Haitian territory by Marines, seizure of the Haitian customs office, revision of

its constitution, and harsh, prolonged military occupation.² The crisis method of imperial takeover uses events such as the explosion of the *USS Maine* or the execution of a foreign President in order to simultaneously downplay and enact pre-existing imperial motives—in this context, the goal had been to secure control of the Canal Zone and the Windward Passage between Cuba and Haiti, which provided the deepest access for industrial and military shipping to and from the eastern seaboard of the United States, and to minimize the possibility of future revolutions in the two countries. Crisis—perform—repeat.³

STAGING PAN-WHITENESS IN THE CONTEXT OF HAITI

Via military occupation, Haiti became not only a site of US economic imperialism but also for a confrontation with difference that helped consolidate the emergent “multi-ethnic pan-whiteness.”⁴ In the 1920s, “whiteness was reconsolidated” into a single, unitary “Caucasian race” as the idea of different white races was replaced with the idea of a single pan-white group comprised of multiple ethnicities (hence multi-ethnic).⁵ Jacobson argues that this third phase of whiteness in the USA developed because the “crisis of over-inclusive whiteness” had been solved by 1924 immigration legislation and also because of a “new racial alchemy” that he attributes primarily to the movement of African-Americans to the North and West.⁶ However, this newly consolidated whiteness aimed to solve not only problems of difference at home such as white Others and the increased mobility and political power of people of color, but also to stave off a new crisis of whiteness brought on through the anarchy of empire in a world of color. As white supremacist T. Lothrop Stoddard remarked in 1920, “that world of color ... outnumberes the white world two to one.”⁷

Racial dynamics in the context of the US occupation of Haiti were also very different from those in the context of the War of 1898 in Cuba. Most notably, where the US military in Cuba was comprised of Colored and white regiments and included Native Americans in the ranks, the Corps was an all-white organization until 1942. While many “white” US soldiers in Cuba were “not quite white,” the occupation of Haiti by US Marines afforded a leveling out of class and racial *cum* ethnic difference that offered probationary whites immediate, if limited, access to white privilege. The protracted contact zone of occupation also fostered numerous works of literature and film by Americans, many Marines, that shored up US empire and the production of the new pan-whiteness, including Sergeant Faustin

Wirkus's *The White King of La Gonave* (1931), the first zombie horror film, *White Zombie* (1932), and John Houston Craige's *Black Bagdad: The Arabian Nights Adventures of a Marine Captain in Haiti* (1933).

In this chapter, I examine the ways that images of Haiti were used during the occupation in order to discredit the country's political sovereignty and thus achieve the economic, political, and racial goals of empire as well as the ways that Haiti was the *b(l)ackground* that cohered the new pan-whiteness. For many, like Wirkus, Haiti was a place to be foregrounded *as* white within a biracial narrative structure. Almost *any* white-skinned man of European descent from the United States, regardless of class or immigrant background, was just plain "white" in the context of "the black Republic." The militarized contact zone of empire was a powerful mechanism for forging the new pan-whiteness and securing the aims of empire—and in turn, the very "mobility of empire" produced the new pan-whiteness via encounters with difference and became a mechanism for the generative "privilege of white men."⁸ As Jacobson notes, today's liberalism requires that we forget the extent to which US whiteness was produced largely by means of confrontations with various versions of the savage Other.⁹ This chapter sheds some light on this process in the context of the occupation of Haiti.

Military occupation can fruitfully be considered a form of cultural performance in that it has a limited timespan with a beginning and end, an organized program of activity, a place and occasion of performance, and a set of performers and audiences.¹⁰ Understanding the culture of occupation, namely its literature and film, as a performance document or set of scripts that interpellated and articulated the new pan-white male capitalist subject of empire—rather than as its cultural aftermath—provides a more accurate model for understanding the relation between economic imperialism, military occupation, racialization, and texts like *The White King of La Gonave* (1931). This is to read what are normally considered travel narratives as performance documents of occupation. The categorization of these works as travel literature does not fully account for the violence of occupation—after all, authors like Craige and Wirkus, as US military personnel stationed in Haiti—were not exactly tourists, but were on tours of duty situated within the context of military occupation.

The mobility of empire, the new mobility of whiteness, and class mobility link together in the context of occupation. Faustin Wirkus is an excellent example—the man who would temporarily become the "white king" of La Gonave by way of serving in the US Marines and Haitian Gendarmerie

was a “blond, tough Pennsylvania farmer-miner boy” of Polish descent.¹¹ The first chapter of his novel is titled “—And See the World.” In it, he describes how he joined the Marine Corps at age 17 to “get away from the Dupont section of the Pittston coal mining district” because he had been attracted to the promise of the slogan, “Join the Marines and See the World!”¹² It was precisely the promise of adventure and an encounter with difference in the reaches of empire that attracted so many transitioning probationary white groups to the Corps. Indeed, the novel is comprised of three books—“Sergeant,” “Lieutenant,” and “King”—each on one of the roles he performed in the context of the occupation that ultimately produced the newly reconfigured white Wirkus. The first three chapters of Book One are “—_____And See the World,” “I am a Marine,” and “Black Masks.” These titles chart the trajectory of his production of self as white American via the Marines Corps promise of an encounter with difference.

Wirkus’s performance as the white king in a black tropical fairytale was at the center of an entire constellation of related performances, primarily because of the appeal that his story had as a modern US adventure narrative—part race/class fantasy, part “war” story. Wirkus’s tale was first told in William Seabrook’s extremely popular 1929 “travel narrative,” *Magic Island*, which had been the Literary Guild selection when released and was subsequently noted as a distinguished work “in the literature of the American empire” by Carl Van Doren, a professor at Columbia University.¹³ As somewhat of an aside, Seabrook published Wirkus’s address in Haiti so that people could write to the simple boy from Pennsylvania who had become a king. One Pennsylvania schoolteacher assigned her students the project of writing to Wirkus and the 28 letters written by young boys indicate they identified with Wirkus in terms of race and class.¹⁴ That he had had gone on to become a “king” and a Marine suggested they too could have such adventures; his transformation represented the kind of possibilities for adventure as well as for a shift of race/class position that were available to young boys and men via participation in the Corps. Seabrook confirms the story’s mass appeal in his introduction to Wirkus’s book and in no uncertain terms when he compares that, “while perhaps a hundred thousand people had heard of Seabrook and voodoo, at least two-million people had heard of Wirkus and La Gonave, had seen his photograph, had been fascinated by the story of his tropical kingdom, and had wanted to know more about it.”¹⁵

For Seabrook, the popularity of Wirkus’s story was that it “contained the essence of the dreams of small boys and grown men stifled by a too

close-pressing strait-jacket of civilization-limitations,” and showed that a “poor boy from the farms or mines could live an adventure comparable to that of Robinson Crusoe,” or “to that of non-factual persons in the cinema and romantic fiction.”¹⁶

Seabrook elaborates on the storybook romance in order to expand the geography of white masculine privilege:

Every boy ever born, if he is any good, wants, among other things, to be king of a tropical island. Every man enclosed by walls, if he isn't dead on his feet, whether they be shod in expensive spats or sewer-boots, sometimes wants to get out and away. Every man (if he isn't dead on his feet like a zombie) who has seen too many steel buildings and walked (or ridden) too much on asphalt and slept in too soft beds, wants sometimes to be among tree trunks (and not in Central Park or Westchester), wants to walk or ride trails, wants to sleep on the hard ground. Every man also, sometimes, whether millionaire or day laborer, wants to be a king, that is, a supreme ego, wants to be himself, self-dependent and dependent only on himself, instead of being a highly polished or dirty cog in a wheel. Every man (who isn't dead on his feet like a zombie) perhaps wants to be God.¹⁷

Several things are interesting about Seabrook's rhetorical strategy, particularly the progression from “every boy” to “every man,” and the ensuing naturalized corollary between boy's adventure tales and men's imperial military practices. It suggests, too, that “every boy” can access white privilege by means of adventure encounters with difference in the outposts of empire. Seabrook repeats the term “zombie” in this passage to clearly (if parenthetically) mark the category against which white, fully alive, adventurous masculinity is defined, thus reinforcing the notion that the figure of the zombie at least partially represented a fear of the loss of individualism. The need to get “out” and “away,” and to be able to do so despite class difference is directly opposed to the state of being a zombie—the living dead who is forced into labor. Wirkus's first chapter drives home this parallel between having adventures and being fully alive in contrast to his father's grueling labor and his own, from the age of 11, in the coal mines and factories. On the other side of the “rattling collieries,” “grimy shacks” and men who mined “until they died” was the hope for “a world full of thrills and the glory of being fully alive.”¹⁸ In the context of US labor issues, there is also something of communist paranoia in the figure of the zombie even as there is a kind of critique of US labor laws, especially in the “Sugar Mill” scene of *White Zombie*: A group of zombies labor

mechanically in the zombie master's mill while the boss brags that his laborers work long hours without complaint. During the scene, one of the zombies falls into the cane-grinding machine, yet no one stops working to help him. The machine grinds him up without pause and labor continues.

Wirkus's story, for Seabrook, is a kind of modern fairytale that has the power to erase class and ethnic differences among white US men and boys. *Any* white boy, whether rich or poor, has dreamt of being crowned king of a foreign land; and through the workings of the reconfigured pan-whiteness, *any* white man in the USA, whether rich or poor, could share in this inheritance. Seabrook plainly states that being crowned king by a group of Negroes on a tropical island is a form of wish fulfillment and that Wirkus "fulfilled a dream-wish that a lot of other kids have known, but never fulfilled except vicariously in reading dime novels and Horatio Alger books."¹⁹

Wirkus himself takes care to name many of his fellow Marines, thereby reinforcing to the reader that the Corps was a mechanism for becoming white (again, *any* boy...). These include Sergeants O'Brien and Wosnack (9), Lieutenants Moskoff (53) and Bahn (115), as well as Schwartzberg (29), Neuhaus, and Kelly (48). Repeatedly, these ethnically diverse Marines are marked simply as "white man" (53) or "damned white" (66) against the Haitian b(l)ackground. Wirkus performs his own whiteness in three main ways as if to offer a script for proper pan-white performativity: by means of his paternalist relation with his black "subjects," which includes using the tropes of voodoo and cannibalism in order to justify the violence of occupation, through the performance of a proper "white" morality (more on this below), and in particular through enacting what I call military blackface.

Wirkus relates how he typically blackened his "face, hands, and arms" while on patrol, whether day or night, "as a means of concealing the fact that we were a patrol led by a white man."²⁰ Military blackface, a form of "blackface-on-Black violence," not only was a mechanism for masking whiteness but it also theatricalized the military mission and thereby distanced the Marine from acts of violence as if in the carnival setting of minstrelsy.²¹ Wirkus makes this connection himself when he confesses, "I steadied down to my job of popping at black heads, which appeared very much as those behind the 'hit the nigger and get a cigar' games at American amusement parks [...]."²² His description of the violence that ensued from his blackface act was emotionally detached—from noting the way a Haitian man "flopped sideways and never showed any signs of

life again,” to noting, simply, that he had “a little bloody work to do.”²³ As a kind of surrogation of minstrelsy tactics, military blackface offers an anti-conquest performance strategy that dehumanizes the Other in the context of military violence in order to simultaneously minimize Haitian sovereignty and consolidate the new pan-whiteness. Through blackface-on-Black violence, Wirkus performs his whiteness.

Wirkus’s three-part script for staging the new white US masculinity in Haiti is repeated, with some differences, by Marine Captain John Craige. He, too, takes a paternalist position towards Haitians that draws on tropes of cannibalism and voodoo; he too demonstrates his “white” morality vis-à-vis the “black savage,” and although he did not engage in military blackface, he also takes great care to describe the blackface capture of the Caco leader, Charlemagne Péralte. But unlike the Polish miner from Pittston, Craige was “from an old Rittenhouse Square family in Philadelphia” and “related to the Biddles” (this information, along with the story of his adventurous life was proudly boasted on the dust jacket to *Black Bagdad*)—and the men who performed military blackface were not officers but were multi-ethnic enlisted men just as those who performed blackface in the USA were often Jewish or Irish. Said again, the men who performed military blackface were typically not from “old stock” (read Anglo-Saxon) families but were from the new working-class, multi-ethnic white groups: the German, Polish, and Irish miners, farmers, and laborers.

Like Wirkus, who joined the Marines at 17, Craige was the consummate figure of adventure: at sea by the age of 14, he was a gambler who courted jail time, a boxing champion, and a Captain in the Corps. As such, both men perform the kind of adventurous masculinity advocated by Teddy Roosevelt. The new multi-ethnic pan-whiteness required the performative investment of Anglo-Saxon whites and Craige, too, articulates the blackness of Haiti to mark a collective whiteness. Using biracial language, he notes that being “a white man in a black country is in itself a distinction,” and rather than calling out ethnic difference among his fellow Marines, he simply refers to the men collectively as, “we whites.”²⁴

Chapter One of *Black Bagdad* is titled “White Emir,” and describes the Marine’s 1925 return to Haiti, a “strange land of modern Arabian Nights.”²⁵ Craige had been reassigned to serve as an officer in the US-instituted Gendarmerie, or as he put it, as a “sort of white Emir to command the black troops of a province.”²⁶ The term “emir” refers to an independent ruler or commander in Islamic countries and the figures of the white emir or white king offered a dramatic role in which white US

male subjects could act and act out as leaders vis-à-vis what they conceived as their primitive and exotic subjects.

Deploying anti-conquest strategies, Craige, like Wirkus, saw himself in a paternalistic mode even as he was titillated and repulsed by the seething violence he imagined just under the surface of the happily smiling Haitians. Craige describes himself as fond of his “primitive black children,” but also goes to great lengths to describe their cruelty and his fatherly disapproval.²⁷ Wirkus, too, conflated the “jumbled savagery—childlike loveableness” of his Haitian subjects.²⁸ Such tropes served to stabilize and constitute US whiteness as both modern and civilized and also to justify the occupation. For Craige, such savagery “was sometimes pathetic, sometimes humorous, always startling and exotic to the Northern mind.”²⁹ Images of the cruel yet infantilized savage shored up “the Northern mind” *as* civilized. However, the projection of imperialism’s own violence, cruelty, and barbarity onto the racialized other is a kind of surrogation.

Occupation thus offered Marines a way to have encounters with Others in the field of empire that reinscribed the superiority of their own whiteness, modernity, and civilized status; a good deal of the success of both occupation and the production of pan-whiteness was in the ability of the white king, emir, or father to maintain civilization in the face of so-called black primitivism and violence and to successfully avoid “going native.” This was a crucial part of enacting and maintaining proper white performativity in the context of radical difference—and was especially true for enlisted men who served on the edges of occupation more than it was for officers, who were in most cases “old stock” white and/or who had at least some daily contact with other Marines stationed in Haiti simply by nature of their role as officers.³⁰

Wirkus was isolated for long periods of time. In an isolated, single-sentence paragraph for extra emphasis, he notes: “It was five months since I had looked into the face of a white man except in a shaving mirror.”³¹ His isolated whiteness provokes tremendous anxiety in him, thus causing a kind of identity crisis, or as he puts it, “I was not right with myself.”³² Wirkus elaborates, “I felt that I was, as we had a way of saying in the Marines, on the way to ‘go native.’”³³ In a striking performance of the borders of the new pan-whiteness and the claims to morality that patrol it, Wirkus complains about the Marines who become “Beach combers” or “albino Haitian[s],” which he describes as evidence of “moral breakdowns.”³⁴ Later in the book, he tells of having to avoid the temptation of a particular Haitian woman named Marie in much the same terms. Indeed,

there is something of the “albino Haitian” in Marie because she is one of the “white, blue-eyed Haitians of Carzal,”—the descendants of a Polish regiment who had fought against Napoleon in the Haitian Revolution.³⁵ More than once, he describes her white skin, “kinky yellow hair” and blue eyes.³⁶ After several pages about her, he concludes that he must “stay away from Carzal—and Marie”—“Marie, squatting like a Haitian woman.”³⁷ Deeply troubled, Wirkus cannot stop thinking about her and seemingly caught in his own Pygmalion-like fantasy, he confesses to buying the bare-foot woman a pair of “high-heeled blue linen slippers with embroidered flowers on them.”³⁸ This, too, permits the performance of a kind of feudal romance in which he can temporarily, and only in a symbolic way, lift the woman from her class/race position. The problem with Marie, for Wirkus, is that she “seemed white—was white—but the fact remained that her mother was a rotund brown lady who did not know any too certainly who was Marie’s father.”³⁹ Marie’s whiteness loses value for Wirkus because of her brown mother; in his construction, the brown mother’s assumed promiscuity stains the white Marie. By marking his whiteness as *more* white, indeed more “moral” in his world-view than that of the blond-haired, blue-eyed Marie, he performs his new white privilege. By successfully remaining alone for many months on the “frontier” of whiteness and especially by refusing Marie, Wirkus both produces and polices the boundaries of his rather liminal racial position and like a good “new” white, largely avoids “going native.”

Craige’s cautionary tale against “going native” is particularly instructive, although for him, going native doesn’t mean becoming a beach-comber so much as it means criticizing the occupation. Over several pages he relays a story he heard by way of one Sgt. Francis Patrick Kelly about a man named Mike Morris, an “idealist” who had been eaten by Haitian cannibals. Kelly narrates how Morris had “said we have no business in Haiti; that the Occupation was imperialism and tyranny.”⁴⁰ For his trouble, the anti-imperialist Marine was eaten by those he would defend. Craige tells the story as both warning and proof that white men must not identify across the color line or the lines of empire. In form, Craige layers this story, telling it not first hand but through the words of the Irish Sgt. Kelly, not only in order to avoid speaking from the position of established “old stock” whiteness but especially to demonstrate the proper assimilation of former probationary groups by means of their successful avoidance of going native and their refusal to question the workings of empire. Even Wirkus, who is quite sympathetic to the Haitian cause compared to

Craige, confirms, “my beliefs [about the rightness or wrongness of the occupation] have nothing to do with my job.”⁴¹

MORE MILITARY BLACKFACE

In *Cannibal Cousins* (1934), Craige tells how, in 1919, two US Marines, Herman Hanneken and William Button, covered themselves in burnt cork in order to “pass as Cacos” and thereby capture and kill the Haitian resistance leader, Charlemagne Péralte. Péralte was not the bandit portrayed in the US press, but was an educated military man who served in the Haitian National Army at the start of the occupation. After returning home to work his fields, Péralte was picked up by Marines and forced to work on the roads as part of the *corvée*, an archaic Haitian labor law resuscitated by Marines in order to detain Haitian men and force them to perform hard labor, primarily road construction, for extended periods of time.⁴² Péralte escaped into the mountains and organized with other Caco members to battle against the takeover. The Cacos were, as Péralte called them, a “patriot army” fighting against the injustice of occupation and the oppression of the *corvée* system and he was the “High Commander of the Revolution.”⁴³ Péralte invoked the figure of the historic Jean Jacques Dessalines and the Haitian Revolution in his performative “call to arms” to the Haitian people, which he copied by letter to the French minister.⁴⁴

The attack against Péralte was planned for the night of October 31, 1919—the eve of one of the most important holidays in the Vodou religion, the feast of All Soul’s Day, which honors the Gede spirits. The next morning, Péralte’s body was brought into Grande Rivière and put on display for everyone to see. The significance of the date and its importance as one of the celebrations of the spirits of the dead was a statement directed toward the Haitian people, especially as Péralte himself had invoked the spirits of Vodou in his anti-American resistance. Craige bragged,

The death of Charlemagne and the defeat of his army broke the back of the Caco Rebellion. There were two reasons for its significance. In the first place a considerable number of the most energetic and aggressive Cacos were killed. In the second place, and even more important, Charlemagne’s death shattered the chain of superstitious beliefs by which much of the Caco enthusiasm had been inspired. The chief had given out that he was a divinely-inspired Messiah and that he could not be injured by the bullets of the whites. Now he was indubitably dead. His body was captured by the Marine forces and exhibited to all who wished to view it.⁴⁵

Displaying the leader's body on a religious festival dedicated to the Gede spirits was a gesture of white/US dominance over black/Caco resistance. The aim was to destroy the linkages between Vodou and resistance that were established during the Haitian Revolution and reinscribed again by Péralte in his call to arms.

Hanneken, District Commander of Grande Rivière, authored and submitted *The Official Report of the Death of Charlemagne* to the Chief of the Gendarmerie. He describes the 2-month long staging of a false Caco camp aimed at capturing Péralte. This military blackface performance became the center of a Marine mythology and offered a script for other Marines to enact similar performances; moreover, military blackface was a performative enactment of the new pan-whiteness. Indeed, the story of the two white Marines who passed for Cacos and killed the "rebel leader" was widely disseminated as part of Marine lore.⁴⁶ In multiple retellings, the physicality of the racial passing and use of burnt cork were emphasized, making a reference to minstrelsy that audiences surely understood. The 1929 book *A Marine Tells It to You*, by Colonel Frederic M. Wise, for instance, eroticizes the way the two white men "stripped and blackened themselves all over with burnt cork."⁴⁷ Craige similarly invests in the power of military blackface with his description of Button's masculinity and performance skill. For Craige, Button is a "most remarkable" man capable of speaking many "Creole" dialects and passing "as a Haitian of any class." Craige drives home that Haitians themselves read Button's ability as proof of his "uncanny powers" and presumably, by extension, of the superior power of the occupying force.⁴⁸

Military blackface is, like Eric Lott's reading of blackface minstrelsy, a form of racial mimicry based simultaneously on desire (Lott's "love") and in this case, the violence of occupation (similar to Lott's "theft").⁴⁹ Developing Lott's theories, Shannon Steen suggests that blackface minstrelsy began to die out roughly at the same time as the premiere of *The Emperor Jones* because O'Neill's 1920 play constitutes part of a "replacement tradition" in which black actors performed roles written by white authors precisely "in order to express white anxieties."⁵⁰ The military blackface performed by Hanneken and Button, and then by other white Marines in Haiti, constitutes another part of this replacement tradition, violently dispersing blackface practices by means of occupation and military performance. There is a correspondence between "passing" as a "Caco rebel" and the practice of blackface minstrelsy wherein probationary white groups worked through their lack of power and increased it by means of

figuring a racial other of lesser value. Minstrelsy was no longer necessary as a theatrical form in its own right as blackface practices were legitimized as military strategy. By striking coincidence, O'Neill's play opened at the Playwrights' Theatre in New York on November 1, 1920—exactly 1 year after Peralte's body was put on display.

CANNIBALS, *WHITE ZOMBIE*, AND THE ANARCHY OF EMPIRE

The mobility of empire, its imperial geography, and the ensuing encounter with radical difference both builds and threatens whiteness and white political hegemony. Stoddard, a pan-white supremacist who advocated a nationalist white supremacy as the means to “re-forge” the US nation, noted that the “white race” was a numerical minority and had remained the political majority only through the workings of empire.⁵¹ “Instead of a world politically nine-tenths white” in terms of colonial power, he describes the situation after 1917 as “a world of which only four-tenths at the most can be considered predominantly white in blood, the rest of the world being inhabited mainly by the other primary races of mankind: yellows, browns, blacks, and reds.”⁵² The crisis that required the formation of the multi-ethnic pan-whiteness emerged equally from the growing awareness that the white race was outnumbered from a global perspective and that as forms of resistance sprang up in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean, white political hegemony, particularly in the USA, was threatened. At the same time, the geography of empire was the very terrain for staging the new pan-whiteness in order to shore up the ranks of members against what Stoddard called “the rising tide of color.”⁵³ Stoddard, conceived of the five races geographically: “Yellow Man’s Land [sic] is the Far East,” “Brown Man’s Land is the Near and Middle East,” “Red Man’s Land is the Americas between the Rio Grande and the tropic of Capricorn,” and “Black Man’s Land is primarily Africa south of the Sahara Desert.” He neither delimits nor defines “White Man’s Land,” which was not bounded by geography but was already imagined as global.⁵⁴ Here, the anarchy of imperial mobility and the new pan-whiteness lies in its encounter with the very difference that threatens white political hegemony, again collapsing the domestic/international binary according to the logic of the anarchy of empire.

Wirkus’s novel stages the crisis of whiteness and US anxieties about the particular color of Haiti, its revolutionary past, and the contemporary threat of Caco resistance to the occupation. In the chapter, “Into the Hills,”

Wirkus produces a bleak geography of whiteness that he must cross to get to his outpost in Perodin, where he will remain in isolation among dark-skinned Haitians. In barely over two pages, Wirkus uses the word “white” thirteen times to map a dangerous liminal space between the white militarized civilization of occupied Port-au-Prince and the space of Caco resistance he was being sent to police “in the hills.”⁵⁵ He describes the “dusty chalk-white plain” and “white storm” that “burned our skin,” as well as leaves “covered in white deposit,” and a “filmy stream of white” in the river. He rides a “white puffing car” over “white ruts” through the “white rolling plain” and is soon transferred to a “white pack animal” and put at the mercy of the “deviltry of disposition” of the “white mule.” Much is made of the mule, the “white brute”; Wirkus then notes that even “the mules were afraid of that white space.”⁵⁶ Not only the space of his own impending isolation, it is also the very space of Caco military organization.⁵⁷

Images of Haiti in US popular culture mediated the violence of economic imperialism as well as national anxieties about external and internal race and class conflicts. Like Cuba at the turn of the twentieth century, Haiti was typically depicted in white popular culture as requiring paternalist intervention—as incapable of self-determination. Images of cannibals, zombies, and unruly black boys restaged, while simultaneously disavowing, Stoddard’s revelation about the renewed crisis of whiteness as well as the original horror that had embedded in the white national imaginary at the primal scene of the 1791 Haitian Revolution. Since then, Haiti was depicted as a land of cannibals subject to bloodlust and spirit possession, and while these were not new images in the European colonial imaginary or as evidenced by the epigraph at the start of this chapter, they were dusted off in the context of occupation and appropriated by white US journalists, Marines, and filmmakers. A repeatedly performed obsession with “voodoo,” bordering at times on hysteria, was staged in US popular culture for nearly the entire span of occupation in various media from novels and magazine articles to cinema. White US audiences could not get their fill of cannibals, zombies, and voodoo bloodlust from the 1921 *New York American* article, “Why the Black Cannibals of Hayti Mutilated Our Soldiers” and the 1922, “Voodoo Still Has its Worshippers in the Black Republic” to *White Zombie* (1932), the first zombie horror film, Davis Beale’s 1925 novel *The Goat Without Horns* on Haitian cannibalism, and the 1930 pulp fiction, *Voodoo: A Murder Mystery*.⁵⁸

Such images provided a way to imagine the colonized, or more precisely, occupied Other in order to allow for the occupation itself and

to ward off the specter of the Haitian Revolution and the possibility of its repetition by the Caco movement. This twist is achieved precisely because such images of the Other permitted the performance of the civilized, paternalist, and masculine pan-white subject who imagined himself to be superior. As such, the zombie and the black cannibal are national fetishes that stave off the fear of a racialized castration in the US imaginary, even as they permit the illusion of a cohesive and superior pan-white subjectivity.

The cannibal trope is a way to dismiss Haitian agency and political sovereignty and is therefore a way for the US occupation and its white popular culture to consume Haiti. Even as the figure of the cannibal is a way to construct and disparage a “primitive” Other it reveals a fear of being consumed or eaten by the Other; in other words, the trope simultaneously speaks to the fear of being eaten by and the desire to eat the Others of empire. In this sense, the trope of the cannibal exposes the consuming practices of US economic imperialism and the tensions of the anarchy of empire.

The figure of the zombie also expressed white US anxieties over the loss of individuality and labor issues, which were coming to a fore during the Depression. The figure of the “living dead” laborer without agency exposed the capitalist dream of free labor even as it represented growing concerns regarding labor rights, unionization, and the threat of communism—especially as the Russian Revolution (1917) explodes only 2 years into the US occupation and the remainder of the occupation timeline saw increasing communist organization and mobilization in both the USA and internationally. Indeed, Wirkus documents the imperial linkages produced between communism and black resistance via the enforcement structures of the Marine Corps: “Officially we [Marines] were informed that the voodoo cult was the medium of black magic, blasphemy, treason to Haiti and the United States, Communism, and all the other evils that government to-day is believed to be heir to.”⁵⁹ By means of these linkages, all organized political mobilization or resistance in Haiti was dismissed via the rhetoric of voodoo; official reports were required on “all voodoo artists” in order to lead to “criminal punitive action.”⁶⁰ Strategies of infantilization and dehumanization, in that cannibals and zombies are conceived as less than human, were not only part of the official justification for the occupation, but were also performed, played out, by US Marines living in Haiti and documented by means of their occupation narratives.

BEING EATEN: CANNIBALS AND VODOO GORE

The trope of the cannibal has long been used to construct difference between “civilization” and “savagery.” According to Roberto Fernández Retamar, the first usage is from Michel de Montaigne’s 1580 essay, “On Cannibals” (*De los caníbales*), which was translated into English in 1603. Nine years later, Shakespeare popularizes it in his play, *The Tempest*. Retamar notes that Shakespeare named the deformed black slave, Caliban, precisely as an anagram for the term and that this directly inscribed the indigenous Carib of the Americas into the cannibal genealogy such that in the white European imagination, the Carib *was* the cannibal.⁶¹ For Retamar, the term is part of the “ideological arsenal” of colonization and a “degraded vision offered by the colonizer of the man he is colonizing.”⁶²

Images of indigenous Caribbean Islanders—and then specifically black Haitians—as voodoo-worshipping cannibals were thus typical from the early periods of Caribbean colonization, when primarily Spanish, French, and English colonialists returned to Europe with titillating travel narratives for publication. Such practice continued after the Haitian Revolution and through the late nineteenth century. Spenser St. John’s 1884 work titled *Hayti, or the Black Republic* included such accounts of cannibalism, voodoo, and murderous African slaves and was very popular in the USA as was Hesketh Pritchard’s *Where Black Rules White: A Journey Across and About Hayti* (1900).⁶³ By the twentieth century, US economic imperialism and the US occupation of Haiti provided the context for US authors to claim the trope from Europe. A whole body of writing, most of which posed as a kind of journalism or ethnography, emerged in which Haitians were described as primitive natives who became possessed by evil spirits and held strange ceremonies in dark jungles in which they consume human flesh and drum until dawn. A good deal of the justification for the military occupation was the public execution of President Sam, for example, and the incident was immediately described in the press and the literature of occupation using the rhetoric of savagery, primitive rage, and cannibalism. This further supports Retamar’s claim that the trope of the cannibal is part of the colonizer’s toolkit. *New York Times* reporter and novelist, William Seabrook, described the “massacre” of President Sam—“a powerful black negro of the people, a brute in physical strength”—as follows:

They lifted the president in their arms and threw him over the wall to the mob outside. The mob, of course, simply tore him into pieces. Mostly they used their hands. But one woman cut off his head with a machete

and marched with it. Another woman, they say, ripped out his heart and marched, tearing it to shreds with her teeth. Ropes were fastened to the torso, and it was dragged through the streets....⁶⁴

The image of the woman tearing the former President's heart to shreds with her teeth calls forth the figure of the cannibal. Describing the mutilation with writerly glee, Seabrook invokes the figure in order to overshadow the context of and political agency behind the crowd's action: namely that Sam had just implemented the execution of 167 political prisoners and his extreme act of violence caused angry citizens to put an abrupt end to his political slaughter.⁶⁵

Numerous stories by Marines also deployed the trope including Craige's 1934 book, *Cannibal Cousins*. In a chapter that bears the same glib, if intriguing title as the book, Craige describes a Haitian man named "Papa Cadeus" at some length, as "an evil and powerful voodoo *papa-loa*" who consumes human flesh as part of his sacrificial performances.⁶⁶ Craige goes into detail about the bones that Marines found under Cadeus's altar and the cooked human flesh discovered in pots. But it is only in the last two pages of the chapter that Craige reveals the meaning of the title phrase: Craige hints that the impeccably well-dressed and educated Dantès Bellegarde, a Haitian politician and statesman during the occupation, was cousin to this "known" cannibal. Craige describes an affair attended by himself, Bellegarde, and other international guests including a British gentleman who was Craige's friend. As Bellegarde walked past Craige and his English chum, the latter commented, "What a splendidly turned-out colored gentleman."⁶⁷ He proceeded to list Bellegarde's lineage as the great-grandson of a General and Duke under the Haitian Emperor Soulouque, as well as his credentials as a politician and "author of note."⁶⁸ Craige remained silent but "thought of the other Bellegarde in the hills back of Mirebelaise, gibbering over his sackful of infants' bones..."⁶⁹ With this, Craige implies that even a "modern" Haitian statesman wearing the finest suit could be a cannibal. His elision between the modern Haitian state and the figure of the cannibal effectively dismisses Haitian political affairs as so much "voodoo nonsense."

Wirkus also describes human bones found in a ritual "cookhouse" during a raid.⁷⁰ However, rather than developing a full-blown cannibal narrative, he uses the trace of bones to justify and document the brutality of the Marine raids against practitioners of Vodou. As Craige notes above, the religion was key to the organization and effectiveness of the Caco resistance, so the occupation government enforced a no tolerance policy.

Wirkus notes it was standard operating procedure to beat and arrest all practitioners, confiscate all ritual objects and clothing, and steal all food supplies. Prisoners were to be given 1–3 months of jail time. Wirkus numbers 54 prisoners in only one raid—an entire community decimated of its food, clothing, and ritual practice.⁷¹ And in this way the religious persecution of the voodoo raids produced the labor force for the *corvée* and also destroyed local community mechanisms for the organization and mobilization of resistance to the occupation.

Relying on the trope of the cannibal in a wild elision of imperial geographies, ethnicities, religions, and races, Craige's *Black Bagdad* begins as follows:

When I was a very young man, in search of revolutions and excitement, I had visited Haiti. That was in 1912. With me was a huge fellow named Hennessey, a gun-runner by trade and purveyor-extraordinaire of tropical wars. Hennessey was deeply enamored of Port au Prince. "This," he said, "is black Bagdad. These people are still living in the days of the Arabian Nights. You may meet Haroun al Raschid and Giafer, his Grand Wazir, any day, walking arm in arm in the street. You may hear tales as amazing as any Sheherezade [sic] ever told. You may see woolly-headed cannibals and silk-hatted savants side by side. An amazing place."⁷²

Craige's use of the expression "woolly-headed" clearly marks the cannibal's blackness. Pairing the black cannibal of Haiti with the "silk-hatted savant" of orientalist fantasies forces the entire world of difference into one fantastic landscape. For Craige, Haiti is a magical space filled with exotic creatures from both the "Far East" and "West Indies," which *any* adventurous white boy from the USA would want to visit, occupy, or rule. In line with Stoddard's notion of the five colors of the world and their respective lands, Craige's imperial geography demonstrates the boundlessness of whiteness (and "White man's land") as it reduces all difference into over-simplified categories of color: "black, red, yellow, white"—from the "fifty races of the world" to five.⁷³ Indeed, the production of pan-whiteness is part of the reduction of all difference into five main groups.

CONSUMING OTHERS: BY CONQUEST AND PURCHASE

During the US occupation of Haiti, representations of "voodoo" in popular culture were big business. That which could not be acquired through negotiation could be taken in the form of a military occupation justified

using the rhetoric of voodoo gore and mediated in terms of image-capital. Many contemporary critics of the occupation, including James Weldon Johnson and socialists Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman, argued that the events surrounding the death of President Sam were an excuse to take what had not been achieved through negotiations with the Haitian government and that US banking interests were the primary motive for occupation. Occupation was a way to consume Haiti and its resources. To drive home the cannibalizing effects of power, bell hooks describes the white appropriation of blackness and black culture in general as “eating the other.”⁷⁴

The National Bank of Haiti, founded with French capital, had been entrusted with the Haitian treasury since 1881 but in 1910, the bank was reorganized in terms of a new French loan and renamed the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti. In response to this change, the National City Bank of New York and US Secretary of State Knox invoked “dollar diplomacy” and objected to the financial contract between France and Haiti because US banking interests were not represented. Soon after, the US bank purchased all of the assets from the French backers for a total of \$1,400,000. “Thus the National Bank of Haiti became the property of the National City Bank of New York” and the State Department went about securing the safety of the investment. On six separate occasions before the occupation, the Department tried to obtain control of Haitian customs through formal negotiation—but the Haitian government persistently refused, resisting foreign involvement in the administration of its affairs and explicitly forbidding foreign ownership of Haitian property through a long-standing clause in the Haitian Constitution.⁷⁵ Toward the end of 1914, several months before the events of President Sam’s demise and the formal occupation, US Marines landed in Port-au-Prince and headed directly to the vaults of the National Bank of Haiti where they forcibly seized \$500,000. The Marines then carried it aboard the gunboat *Machias*, transported it to New York, and deposited it in the vaults of the National City Bank. The Haitian government immediately protested this violation of sovereignty and property rights and requested an explanation from the USA, but none was given.⁷⁶

In March 1915, the USA sent the Ford mission to negotiate for control of the Haitian customs and again the Haitian government refused to comply; however, the proposal remained on the table in late July when the “revolution” broke out in Port-au-Prince and the USA invoked the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, thereby assuming the

“right” to invade Haiti. Nearing and Freeman note, “The revolution was not the cause for landing marines but merely the ‘awaited opportunity,’ for the marines were landed ‘at the request of the State Department.’”⁷⁷ They conclude that the USA “attempted to force, at the point of marine bayonets, the treaty which the State Department and the National City Bank had failed to obtain through negotiation and through financial pressure.”⁷⁸

The USA then forced Haiti’s governing officials to sign the Haitian American Treaty. As Renda puts it, the USA “installed a puppet president, dissolved the legislature at gunpoint, denied freedom of speech, and forced a new constitution on the Caribbean nation—one more favorable to foreign investment,” and that would specifically allow for foreign ownership of real estate.⁷⁹ The Treaty also provided for the control of the customs, organization of an armed Gendarmerie to be trained and led by Marines, formation of a temporary public works, and implementation of the *corvée*.⁸⁰

As part of this imperialist project, US capitalists also “put the purchase” on images of Haiti, playing out desires for possession in a constellation of performances staged in US courts in which US businessmen from the theatre and film industries attempted to stake legal claims to ownership. In 1932, playwright Kenneth Webb purportedly sued the Halperin brothers, producers of the film, *White Zombie* (1932), claiming legal rights to the term “zombie.”⁸¹ He argued his 1932 play, *Zombie*, gave him ownership, but the Halperins prevailed and completed the film.⁸² In 1936, the Halperin brothers were sued again for use of the term, this time by their former financial backers, the Amusement Securities Corporation (ASC).⁸³ As Rhodes notes, “zombies meant money.”⁸⁴

Similarly, in August of 1938, a headline in *Variety* read “3 Sued for \$25,000 in ‘Theft’ of ‘Haiti.’”⁸⁵ The article described how playwright, William DuBois, director Maurice Clark, and producer, James R. Ullman were defendants in a plagiarism suit by Martin B. Jones and Desmond Halleran, who claimed that DuBois stole the 1938 Federal Theatre Project play, *Haiti*, from their untitled and unpublished 1933 script. The amount of the suit was based on an “accounting of profits made on the play” and “damages,” and the plaintiffs demanded an injunction to prohibit further performances of the hit production, which was then at the Lafayette Theatre in Harlem. The defendants denied the accusation, stating the script was based on historical facts that had “been in the public domain for years.”⁸⁶ The defendants prevailed and performances continued although

the Dies Committee, or House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), soon invoked the play in its argument to permanently shut down the federally funded Theatre Project (see Chap. 7).⁸⁷

THE ZOMBIE AS A PRODUCT OF EMPIRE

White Zombie is the first feature-length “zombie film” in cinema history and is one of the earliest US-made horror films.⁸⁸ Directed by Victor Halperin, it was released 1 year after James Whale’s *Frankenstein* and Tod Browning’s *Dracula*. The film was financially successful, despite mixed critical reviews and the production of numerous “zombie films” followed suit, further embedding the figure in US popular culture.⁸⁹

According to Rhodes, *White Zombie* was influenced by *The Magic Island* (1929).⁹⁰ Indeed, Seabrook’s novel was the first print usage of the term “zombie” as we know it. The earliest published mention in the USA seems to be an 1886 article on slave songs in Louisiana by George W. Cable.⁹¹ While in the same year as Seabrook’s novel, a New Orleans woman, Natalie Vivian Scott, published her award-winning play, *Zombi*, which takes place in mid-nineteenth century New Orleans and focuses on the legendary figure of the racially mixed “Voodoo Queen,” Marie Leveau.⁹² However, Cable and Scott use the figure of the zombie to represent a snake god common to New Orleans, not “the living dead” à la *White Zombie* or *The Magic Island*.⁹³ The zombie and zombie master emerge as new figures in US popular culture during the occupation by means of the film and Seabrook’s book as well as his introduction to *The White King of La Gonave* in which he uses the trope to discuss matters of class, labor, and individualism.

In *White Zombie*, a young “American” couple, Neil Parker (played by John Harron) and Madeline Short (Madge Bellamy), plans to be married. Neil has been away working as a clerk at a bank in Port-au-Prince and Madeline has just arrived by ship from New York to join him. On board, she meets a Haitian aristocrat of French descent named Monsieur Beaumont (Robert Frazer). Enamored with Madeline, Beaumont offers his plantation for the couple’s marriage, although he secretly hopes to seduce her. To further ensnare the couple, he promises Neil a job back in the States.

The film begins with the drumming of tom-toms and stereotypical chanting: “Ooo-wa-wa-wa/Ooo-wa-wa-wa/Oo-aa-oo-aa.” The toms are particularly significant in setting the ominous, exotic mood of the opening

scene, which depicts a group of Haitians performing a burial in the middle of a road. The low-toned, hand-played drums, without the snares associated with Western musical forms, connoted a wide array of racial and ethnic others in early twentieth-century cinema. Intercut with this are images of Madeline and Neil in a carriage on their way to Beaumont's mansion. When they come across the burial, the carriage driver, played by Negro actor Clarence Muse, tells them the locals bury their dead in well-traveled places to protect them from the "men who steal dead bodies." Soon after, the carriage stops again and the "zombie master," Murder Legendre played by Bela Lugosi, first sees Madeline and manages to steal her scarf from around her throat. Suddenly, the carriage driver sees a line of awkwardly moving figures silhouetted against the moonlight on the top of a hillside. He drives away quickly yelling to the horses, "Zombie! Allez, vites, allez" ("Zombie! Go, hurry, go.") As they whisk away, Neil comments to Madeline, "Well, that's a cheerful introduction to you to *our* West Indies." When the couple arrives at Beaumont's mansion, the coachman explains the men on the hillside were zombies: "They are not men, monsieur. They are dead bodies.... Zombies—the living dead. Corpses taken from their graves, who are made to work—sugar mills, fields at night."⁹⁴

The plot is simple. Neil, Beaumont, and the elusive zombie master Legendre all want to possess Madeline. To force her love, Beaumont enlists Legendre to turn Madeline into a zombie. Madeline appears to die on her wedding day and Neil goes mad, especially when the local missionary tells him that she may not be dead but instead may be a zombie in the hands of "natives." Soon, Beaumont begins to regret his actions but Legendre decides to claim Madeline for his own and turns Beaumont into a zombie as well. In the end, the zombie spell is broken and Madeline is restored when Beaumont betrays Legendre and the other zombies throw their master off a cliff and into the sea.

NATIONAL HORROR: IMPERIAL OCCUPATION

Robert Miles theorizes that the Gothic literary form articulates a profound connection between nationalism and "the horrific" and that it expresses "a nationalist sense of the unpure."⁹⁵ According to Miles, the supernatural is nascent with the perceived violation of the "'laws' of the nation."⁹⁶ His observations can be extended to the horror film genre and the zombie subgenre. The impurities of the "nation"—financial strife, class division, conflicts between the desires of economic imperialism and the spirit of

democracy, and violent racism—were mediated in the figure of the zombie from its initial iteration by Seabrook. An attempt to negotiate class and labor issues is indicated in the definition of zombie labor given in the film—especially in the context of labor strikes and unionization, such as the film projectionists strikes in 1931 and 1932.⁹⁷ Tony Williams notes that 1932, the year that *White Zombie* and the largest number of films in the early US horror cycle were produced, marks the low point of the Depression years.⁹⁸

During the 1920s and 30s, xenophobia was growing and the Depression was often blamed on immigrants (white Others). For many, Europeans were to blame for US involvement in WWI, Sacco and Vanzetti were tried and executed for treason, and the Red Scare was a part of the cultural *mise-en-scène*. This xenophobia was in large part due to encounters with “whiteness of a different color.” As Jacobson notes, “By 1920 the ‘white’ foreign-born population was more than 13.5 million, most of whom would not have qualified for Benjamin Franklin’s appellation ‘Saxon’ [...].”⁹⁹ In many ways, the horror film genre addressed these concerns. Several film historians have pointed out that in 1930s and 1940s horror films, the sinister character was usually played by a European foreigner who in the political and cultural climate of the day, signified the mistrustful villainous other. Therefore, although Bela Lugosi is “white” according to the logic of pan-whiteness, the white woman in the film is still at risk from the desires of the dark villain.

Negro actors and “white” actors in blackface portray the zombies in Legendre’s sugar mill. However, Legendre’s zombie bodyguards are performed by actors who would have represented the persistence of “probationary white” status in the context of increasing anger towards immigrants. In this sense, his zombie bodyguards would have been just as terrifying as the ones in the sugar mill—both signs of radical difference in the context of the horror film. Yet in one scene, the Master specifically introduces the group to Beaumont adding another layer to the context of horror. These “white zombies” include Legendre’s own former master, a “witch doctor,” a “rich man” named Von Gerder, the Minister of the Interior, the Brigand Chief, the Captain of the Gendarmerie, and the High Executioner. This is interesting because the Haitian American Treaty formed the Gendarmerie d’Haïti and its Captain would have been a white Marine. The Minister of the Interior and the Brigand Chief also seem to be part of the nomenclature of the occupation government. Finally, Legendre remarks that before he turned them into his zombie slaves he

had been on the Executioner's list. All of these details mark Legendre as an enemy of the state. By making zombies of white governmental leaders and rich men—whether read as twentieth-century US capitalists or old French colonials—Legendre seems to embody several elements of the crisis in whiteness and the challenges to capitalism in the context of the US occupation of Haiti, the 1930s Red Scare, and the Depression. This was a terrifying mix in the context of the horror genre.

Typical of the horror genre is the insertion of the protagonist into a mysterious foreign space—here, two “Americans” in occupied Haiti. Neil works at a bank in Port-au-Prince and is thus part of the imperial apparatus that controls the Haitian economy during occupation. The clearest articulation of this takeover is in Neil's comment to Madeline about “*our* West Indies.”¹⁰⁰ The insertion of white “Americans” into “black space”—as achieved through the horror film convention as well as through military occupation and its literature—put the new pan-whiteness into palimpsestic focus even as it stages a crisis in whiteness that had been exacerbated through the workings of empire.

POSSESSING THE *WHITE ZOMBIE*

A large part of the horror of *White Zombie* for its contemporary audiences was precisely its depiction of a white woman from the USA as the victim of foreign/black lust and deception. One of the catchlines suggested by United Artists in 1932 was “They knew that this was taking place among the blacks, but when this fiend practiced it on a white girl . . . all hell broke loose.”¹⁰¹ When the ad was published on July 28, 1932 in the *Kansas City Star* the catchline was changed slightly to remove the term “blacks” by substituting the figure of the zombie in its stead: “Zombies Stole a White Girl, Then the Fury of Hell BROKE LOOSE.”¹⁰² With this substitution, the zombie becomes a surrogate figure for blackness. One of the film's many posters ultimately read, “They knew this fiend was practicing zombiism on the natives, but when he tried it on a white girl the nation revolted.”

When Neil discovers Madeline may not be dead, but instead a zombie, he becomes hysterical: “Surely you don't think she's alive—and in the hands of natives! Oh no! Better dead than that!”¹⁰³ Here, Madeline is a figure of the crisis of whiteness; the Gothic mediates concerns over purity and the ways that the policing of interracial sexual boundaries map onto each other in the context of empire. As Jacobson notes, “The policing of

sexual boundaries—the defense against hybridity—is precisely what keeps a racial group a racial group.”¹⁰⁴ The fury of hell breaking loose is also an analogy for the workings of the Roosevelt Corollary in general: if you mess with the USA, you will surely pay for your actions (“fire upon this if you dare!”).

In a telling scene soon before she is made a zombie, Madeline prepares for her wedding. One of the maids opens the window and the sound of “voodoo” drums completely fills the room. Madeleine is centered in the shot wearing only white lace undergarments and a long veil that begins to blow as if moved by the force of the drums. Intense lighting overexposes the image, creating a white glow that emanates from her clothing and face. Initially she barely moves, posing in the light as if hypnotized. Seeming to snap out of it, she says, “close it, close it,” and turns her scantily clad body away from the window while holding her hands over her ears, which have become the bodily organ of penetration in the scene.

Throughout the film, lighting is crucial to depicting Madeline’s whiteness as well as its sullied state once she becomes a zombie; indeed, as Richard Dyer argues, lighting facilitated the production of whiteness in early black and white cinema.¹⁰⁵ Her transition to the zombie state, for example, is accomplished by a significant reduction of light on her face. Due to the effect, she changes from glowing white to flat gray at the moment of zombification. She only becomes white again (is re-brightened via lighting) after Neil revivifies her.

Octave Mannoni describes the Prospero complex as a psychological scenario wherein the paternal white male (Prospero) is concerned that the black male (Caliban—the cannibal) wants to have sexual relations with his white daughter (Miranda).¹⁰⁶ Fanon problematizes, however, that Mannoni connects the complex to an inherent inferiority complex on the part of the black man.¹⁰⁷ However, by making Prospero’s fear of black masculinity central, it is possible to shed light on what is at stake in Neil’s comment, “...and in the hands of natives! Oh no! Better dead than that!”¹⁰⁸ Quite simply, Prospero is concerned that Caliban will seduce Miranda, thus reversing the “traditional” power flow of the act of miscegenation, which was typically the “privilege” of white men to rape or seduce black women.¹⁰⁹ This reversal—and the possibility of miscegenation (racial impurity)—constitutes part of a crisis of whiteness such that Neil would rather have Madeline dead than defiled at the hands of “natives” (better dead than *that*, i.e., miscegenated). The Prospero Complex becomes less a reading of the “dependency complex

of colonized peoples” and more of a sign of the crisis of whiteness in the context of empire. The fantasy of his daughter’s seduction at the hands of his deformed black slave allows the white paternal figure to act out a combination of dread and fantasy—he can imagine his daughter’s seduction, making an erotic investment in the black man’s physicality; he can imagine his daughter as defiled even as he can imagine an erotic scenario; and he can act out on this combination of fear and desire by declaring the white daughter at risk to black lust, and under Jim Crow logic, ultimately by declaring the black man a rapist. Images of the cannibal and the zombie not only supported the nation’s imperial projects but also exposed or expressed the crisis of whiteness.

All of this is played out on the figure of Madeline—the white zombie. As Lowry and deCordova note, the film is centered on a “possessor/possessed paradigm” that has resonance with the occupation as well as Vodou religious practices.¹¹⁰ The three leading men in the film wish to own or control her in explicitly sexual ways and the fourth (the paternal American minister) to redeem her. She *is* a substitute for the booty of occupation, the white zombie. As Beaumont aptly noted, “Nothing matters if I can’t have her.”¹¹¹

“BROADCASTING IN BAGDAD” AND “HATCHING A KINGDOM, UNAWARES”: IMPERIAL SURROGATION IN OCCUPATION NARRATIVES

The War of 1898 permitted a kind of imperial succession whereby the USA became a surrogate for colonial power in the hemisphere in order to claim the benefits of empire for itself. The US occupation of Haiti also required that a surrogation of power be performed, although it would require different tactics. According to Roach, “culture reproduces and re-creates itself by a process that can be best described by the word *surrogation* [...]. [T]he process of surrogation does not begin or end but continues as actual or perceived vacancies occur in the network of relations that constitutes the social fabric.”¹¹² In the context of military occupation, there is no single social fabric but more of a palimpsestic overlay of cultures with very uneven distributions of power. Moreover, in occupation, “vacancies” are produced and do not somehow occur on their own. The vacancy produced via military occupation is more akin to the intentional scraping clean (political erasure) and subsequent filling in/substitution (takeover) that constitutes the process of palimpsest.

Some surrogations in the context of occupation are structural, such as the claiming of the customs office, revising the constitution, or the retooling of Haitian governmental buildings, while others are more symbolic. In fact, occupation is a mechanism for a complete geopolitical, economic, and symbolic surrogation. In the chapter, “Broadcasting in Bagdad,” Craige details how the Corps began broadcasting from its newly built radio station in the old *Palais de Ministères*, which had housed the executive branch of Haiti’s government. From this place, Craige performed and transmitted the culture of occupation: a “live” international broadcast one evening a week in both English and French that included live music programming and “exotic” radio stories. According to Craige, it “was heard over most of the length and breadth of the civilized world,” and he received “appreciative postal cards from the United States, Canada, the West Indies and occasionally one from Europe and South America.”¹¹³

Craige notes the building was across the street from the Presidential Palace and the *Autel de la Patrie*, where the Haitians had displayed the bodies of the enemies of state during the Revolution. The assertion of US military power at this site—and his detailed description of it—was not just a symbolic takeover of a strategic political building but was part of a total cultural surrogation. However, it is not just that the US military “replaced” the function of the building across from the Presidential Palace and by extension claimed an entire site of Haitian anticolonial display, but also that—like an old text bleeding through a palimpsest—the surrogation itself and Craige’s narrative made the legacy of the Haitian Revolution foremost in the mind of Marines as well as Craige’s readers. In order to be able to say Marines had claimed the very site of anticolonial power, Craige and other Americans broadly had to both acknowledge and mark (the site of) black anticolonial power, thereby revealing the complex workings of what might be called the anarchy of occupation at the site of surrogation.

Both Craige and Wirkus describe other symbolic acts of surrogation in which they erase the agency of resistance members and convert them into figures of servitude. Each relates how former Caco adversaries were captured and re-vetted in order to demonstrate the power of the occupation. Wirkus tells how, while in blackface, he captured General Estraville’s Captain and then kept him “first as a trusty prisoner and then as my orderly and guide.”¹¹⁴ With more disdain, Craige describes how he “converted” a “Caco chief” into his own “chief chambermaid.”¹¹⁵ The conversion from military chief to chief chambermaid is more than tidy wordplay; it serves to feminize the former adversary as it foregrounds the masculinity of the

Marine occupation and performs the symbolic surrogation necessary for occupation.

Finally, Wirkus creates a narrative in which he is the fated surrogate, not of lost white colonial rule, but of black imperial rule as the reincarnation of the black Haitian Emperor, Faustin Soulouque (1847–59). In a chapter titled “Hatching a Kingdom, Unawares,” Wirkus tells how during his first tour of duty he sat daily on the steps of an old Haitian government building. When he returned 2 years later, he found the building had been demolished and remodeled by Service Hydraulic, and that under the very steps where he sat, Marines discovered the crown of Emperor Faustin I, “the last emperor of Haiti.”¹¹⁶

Wirkus states, “I have never told the subjects of my regency as ‘King Faustin II’ of this crown and the fact that I sat over it for weeks, an innocent Marine recruit, hatching out my royal destiny.”¹¹⁷ He was nonetheless “adopted as the play-king of the people”; they made his “military and temporal authority that of a reincarnation of a past emperor” and took him as “the regent for their sometimes amiable, always efficient, black Queen.”¹¹⁸ In a passage that sounds like a page from Roach on surrogation, Wirkus describes the coronation at which a thousand “black subjects” chant “Le Roi, le Roi, le Roi,” “Faustin!” and “Long live Faustin!” at the sight of the reincarnated black emperor.¹¹⁹

The reclamation of this title and crown—claiming to be the reincarnation of the last black emperor of Haiti—was part of a larger seizing of the discourse of “empire” *away from* Haiti as the occupation destroyed its government and constitution and tried to claim the power once established through Dessalines’ performative declarations of independence. Wirkus whitens this history—in his fantasy, the image of the black emperor is subsumed into his own figuration of the new pan-whiteness.

Renda argues, “once the violence of imperialism had done its work, the literature of empire would invite others to such imaginings.”¹²⁰ Surely, the “literature of empire” invited others, particularly those “back home” to such imaginings and I would add, enactments. However, the situation is not one of cause and effect as indicated by Renda’s use of the term, “once” or the past tense construction. It is not that occupation (the violence of imperialism) had already “done its work” and then a “literature of empire” emerged. Rather, performances and discourses of infantilization, paternalism, and so on, allow for imagining and enacting imperial violence in the first place. The relation between the occupation and its cultural production is not one of cause and effect or reflection, but of mediation.

There is a mutually constitutive relation between military takeover, the production of pan-whiteness, and the sale of images of zombies and cannibals in US popular culture.

NOTES

1. Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 90–91.
2. Frederick Bausman et al., *The Seizure of Haiti by the United States: A Report on the Military Occupation of the Republic of Haiti and the History of the Treaty Forced Upon Her*, ed. The Foreign Policy Association (Washington DC: The National Popular Government League, 1922).
3. “crisis—perform—repeat” is the title of a multi-media performance I gave related to this material at the Northern California Performance Platform, UC Davis, March 2013.
4. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 132.
5. *Ibid.*, 8.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy* (New York: Scribner’s, 1920), 7.
8. Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 187.
9. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 135.
10. Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 71.
11. George Currie, “W.B. Seabrook Returns from Jungle; Wirkus Steps Down from Throne--Books,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 5 1931, 63.
12. Faustin Wirkus et al., *The White King of La Gonave* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1931), 4.
13. Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 6.
14. *Ibid.*, 5.
15. “Introduction,” Wirkus et al., *White King*, xi–xii.
16. *Ibid.*, xii.
17. *Ibid.*, xii–xiii.
18. *Ibid.*, 4.
19. *Ibid.*, xiii.
20. *Ibid.*, 88, 97.

21. What Roediger calls “blackface-on-Black” violence was common in the US from 1837 to 1848. David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working-Class* (London: Verso, 1991), 106.
22. Wirkus et al., *White King*, 68.
23. *Ibid.*, 93, 112.
24. John Houston Craige, *Black Bagdad: The Arabian Nights Adventures of a Marine Captain in Haiti* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1933), 129, 37.
25. *Ibid.*, 2.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, 128, 41.
28. Wirkus et al., *White King*, 3.
29. Craige, *Black Bagdad*, 41.
30. Matthew Pratt Guterl, *The Color of Race in America, 1900–1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 5.
31. Wirkus et al., *White King*, 108.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, 108, 109.
35. *Ibid.*, 115–116.
36. *Ibid.*, 116.
37. *Ibid.*, 123.
38. *Ibid.*, 124.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Craige, *Black Bagdad*, 99, 101.
41. Wirkus et al., *White King*, 167.
42. Renda, *Taking Haiti*, 10–11.
43. Péralte qtd. in *ibid.*, 151. “Bandits or Patriots?: Documents from Charlemagne Péralte,” George Mason University, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4946/>
44. “Bandits or Patriots?”
45. John Houston Craige, *Cannibal Cousins* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1934), 96.
46. Renda, *Taking Haiti*, 343 n. 159.
47. Colonel Frederic M. Wise et al., *A Marine Tells It to You* (New York: J.H. Sears & Company, Inc., 1929), 321.
48. Craige, *Cousins*, 93.
49. Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
50. Shannon Steen, “Melancholy Bodies: Racial Subjectivity and Whiteness in O’Neill’s *The Emperor Jones*,” *Theatre Journal* 52 (2000): 354.
51. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 46. Stoddard, *Rising Tide*, 7.
52. ———, *Rising Tide*, 5.

53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., 17, 54, 87, 104.
55. Wirkus et al., *White King*, 40–41.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., 66–67.
58. “Why the Black Cannibals of Hayti Mutilated Our Soldiers,” *New York American*, February 13 1921; “Voodoo Still Has Its Worshippers in ‘Black Republic’,” *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, May 14 1922; Beale Davis, *The Goat without Horns* (New York: Brentano’s, 1925); John Estevan, *Voodoo: A Murder Mystery* (New York: Doubleday, 1930); Gary D. Rhodes, *White Zombie: Anatomy of a Horror Film* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co. Publishers, 2001), 32.
59. Wirkus et al., *White King*, 137.
60. Ibid., 136–137.
61. Roberto Fernández Retamar, *Caliban and Other Essays*, trans. Edward Baker (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 7.
62. Ibid.
63. Hesketh Pritchard, *Where Black Rules White: A Journey Across and About Hayti* (New York: Westminster, 1900).
64. William Seabrook, *The Magic Island* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929), 281–282.
65. Renda, *Taking Haiti*, 80–81.
66. Craige, *Cousins*, 136–142, 137.
67. Ibid., 144–145.
68. Ibid., 145.
69. Ibid.
70. Wirkus et al., *White King*, 180.
71. Ibid., 179–182.
72. Craige, *Black Bagdad*, 1–2.
73. Ibid., 129. Stoddard, *Rising Tide*, 5.
74. bell hooks, “Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance,” in *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992).
75. Scott Nearing et al., *Dollar Diplomacy: A Study in American Imperialism [1925]* (New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1969), 134–137.
76. Ibid., 136.
77. Ibid., 137.
78. Ibid., 138.
79. Renda, *Taking Haiti*, 10. Nearing et al., *Dollar Diplomacy*, 139.
80. ———, *Dollar Diplomacy*, 138–143.
81. Webb’s play was at the Biltmore in New York in February 1932 and then at the Adelphi in Chicago. Rhodes, *Anatomy*, 85. It does not appear to be extant, but descriptions of a few scenes remain, e.g. Bordman discusses one “creepy scene” in the “lurid” play where a “line of silent, stiff zom-

- bies” surrounds their victim’s “bungalow.” Gerald Bordman, *American Theatre: A Chronicle of Comedy and Drama, 1930–1969* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 48. This imagery seems indebted to the illustrations in Seabrook’s publication.
82. Edward Lowry et al., “Enunciation and the Production of Horror in *White Zombie*,” in *Planks of Reason: Essays on the Horror Film*, ed. Barry Keith Grant (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1984), 386 n.10. While there is no evidence of a suit or trial, there may have been an out-of-court settlement. Rhodes, *Anatomy*, 92.
 83. ———, *Anatomy*, 161, 183.
 84. *Ibid.*, 161.
 85. “3 Sued for \$25,000 in ‘Theft’ of ‘Haiti’,” *Variety*, August 10 1938.
 86. *Ibid.*
 87. Martin Dies Jr. chaired the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), or Dies Committee, until 1945.
 88. Victor Halperin, “White Zombie,” ([Los Angeles?]: United Artists Corporation, 1932). Rhodes, *Anatomy*.
 89. e.g. *Revolt of the Zombies* (1936), *King of the Zombies* (1941), *Revenge of the Zombies* (1943), and *I Walked with a Zombie* (1943).
 90. It is unlikely that Webb’s play had any influence on the film, which was shot in March. Rhodes, *Anatomy*, 111.
 91. George Cable, “Creole Slave Songs,” *The Century Magazine*, April 1886. The zombie legend may be related to an article of Haitian law that considers the use of drugs to simulate death and the burial of living persons as an act of attempted murder. There is little chance it is based on the historical Jean Zombi, who was allegedly instrumental in Haiti’s fight for independence. Rhodes, *Anatomy*, 75. I am not concerned with tracing Haitian origins, but with the cultural currency of the zombie in the USA.
 92. Written in 1927 as *Grand Zombi*, it won a national drama contest and was performed by Le Petit Théâtre in New Orleans in 1928. Published by *Theatre Arts Monthly* in 1929, it won the magazine’s international contest. Natalie Vivian Scott, “Zombi,” *Theatre Arts Monthly* 13, no. 1 (1929): 53. Republished in ———, “Zombi,” in *Plays of American Life and Fantasy*, ed. Edith J. R. Isaacs (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1929). John W. Scott, *Natalie Scott: A Magnificent Life* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2008), 265–67.
 93. Rhodes, *Anatomy*, 75.
 94. Halperin, “White Zombie.”
 95. Robert Miles, “Abjection, Nationalism and the Gothic,” in *Gothic: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, ed. Fred Botting, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 195.
 96. *Ibid.*, 205.
 97. Rhodes, *Anatomy*, 45.

98. Tony Williams, "White Zombie, Haitian Horror," *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media* 28 (1983): 18–19.
99. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 43.
100. Halperin, "White Zombie."
101. Rhodes, *Anatomy*, 46.
102. *Ibid.*, 321 n. 92.
103. Halperin, "White Zombie."
104. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 3.
105. Richard Dyer, *White: Essays on Race and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1997).
106. Octave Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization* (New York: Praeger, 1964).
107. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 83–108.
108. Halperin, "White Zombie."
109. Woodson describes miscegenation as a performance of white masculine privilege. Carter G. Woodson, "The Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks," *The Journal of Negro History* 3, no. 4 (1918).
110. Lowry et al., "Enunciation," 350–351.
111. Halperin, "White Zombie."
112. Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 2.
113. Craige, *Black Bagdad*, 139–140.
114. Wirkus et al., *White King*, 94–95.
115. Craige, *Black Bagdad*, 54.
116. Wirkus et al., *White King*, 29–30.
117. *Ibid.*, 31.
118. *Ibid.*, 33.
119. *Ibid.*, 275, 283. See descriptions of "the king's two bodies" and "The King is Dead—Long Live the King!" in Roach, *Cities*, 38, 68–71.
120. Renda, *Taking Haiti*, 5.

Staging the Haitian Revolution: Performing Blackness and the Role of the Mulatta/o

Haiti is black, and we have not yet forgiven Haiti for being black [applause] or forgiven the Almighty for making her black. [Applause.]

—Frederick Douglass, 1893 (Frederick Douglass, “From Lecture on Haiti. The Haitian Pavilion Dedication Ceremonies Delivered at the World’s Fair, in Jackson Park, Chicago, Jan. 2d, 1893,” in *African Americans and the Haitian Revolution*, ed. Maurice Jackson, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2010), 203).

Long live free and independent Haiti, the pride of the black race of the Western world.

—Marcus Garvey, 1924 (Marcus Garvey, “Letter to President Louis Borno of Haiti,” *Negro World*, August 3 1924).

Well before the US occupation of Haiti, the “Black Republic” was important to reimagining the sign of blackness and throughout the Americas, its long and ultimately successful revolution stoked the possibility of gaining freedom from slavery by force. On January 1, 1804, the once enslaved Jean Jacques Dessalines declared the former colony independent of French rule and in several powerful gestures, marked Haiti’s decolonial stance. He recouped the Taino name for the island, “Haiti,” and in an 1804 proclamation after the “massacre of the white French,” declared,

“I have avenged America.”¹ In a gesture that seemed to thumb its nose at colonial categories of racial difference, he authorized an 1805 constitution that declared all Haitians black, including the Polish population who had helped fight Napoleon.² His performative declarations made a powerful statement not only for the people of the newly formed Republic of Haiti but also for, and against, the international community of nations and empires.³ Yet Dessalines’ performatives were partly “unhappy” within Austin’s formulation of speech acts—neither true nor false, performatives are considered happy or unhappy depending on the outcome or uptake and whether the intended enactment is achieved.⁴ Haiti was indeed free of French rule, but the international community largely refused recognition of its sovereign status and the internal racial and class problems between the formerly enslaved, many of whom had been born in Africa, and the *gens de couleur*, or free people of color, persisted despite his symbolic and political declarations of Haiti’s blackness.⁵

The Haitian Revolution and its triad of heroes, Toussaint L’Ouverture (leader of the Revolution and first Governor-General, 1791–1802), Jean-Jacques Dessalines (second Governor-General; first Emperor, 1804–1806), and Henri Christophe (President, 1807–11; King, 1811–20), inspired others to similar action. Moved by L’Ouverture, an enslaved man named Gabriel unsuccessfully conspired in 1800 to seize the capital city of Richmond, Virginia and abolish slavery in the USA.⁶ In August of 1801, approximately 20 “French Negroes” in New York City rioted in vain to liberate the slaves of an expatriate from Saint Domingue who had fled during the Revolution.⁷ In 1811, over 500 men of African descent marched into New Orleans under the command of Haitian officers—and in Cuba, José Antonio Aponte, a “free black” accused of planning a slave revolt in 1812, had portraits of the three heroes in his home.⁸ Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner organized revolts in 1822 and 1831, respectively, although these too, failed.⁹ By the late nineteenth century, Haiti was the “symbolic center of Pan-Africanist discourse” precisely because of its successful revolution and status as the world’s “Black Republic.”¹⁰ The Revolution’s capacity to be embodied and repeated—not only in acts of rebellion, but also in stories, whether told quietly or performed publicly on street corners or theatrical stages—is part of its rhetorical and performative force (the power of “another Haiti”); Haiti’s official claim to blackness is another. Indeed, while Dessalines’ declaration of Haiti’s blackness may not have unified Haitians along racial and class lines, it had tremendous uptake in the context of growing biracialism in the United States. As discussed in

Chap. 1, Haiti's blackness was useful to Stoddard, Chester, and MacCorkle, all of whom paint the Revolution in stark black and white in order to support US occupation and strengthen white racial and political hegemony. Likewise, in the epigraphs above, Frederick Douglass and Marcus Garvey foreground Haiti's blackness in no uncertain terms, albeit towards different ends. Indeed, as I argue in this chapter, Haiti—its Revolution and its blackness—was symbolically significant to the consolidation of pan-blackness in the USA in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and theatrical performance, particularly dramatic enactments of the Haitian Revolution, constitutes a field of action in which this complicated and palimpsestic process partly unfolded.

The Revolution was itself dramatic.¹¹ Dessalines' declarations were radical gestures on the world stage and their rhetorical and performative force was seized upon not only in acts of rebellion but also in numerous theatrical and performance forms in the USA, from the grandly spectacular to the banal. In 1898, St. Paul Minnesota was not only home to productions of *Cuba—A Pageant of Freedom* but also to the Afro-American Toussaint L'Ouverture Dramatic Club.¹² In 1900, T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the leading Negro newspaper, *New York Age*, and co-founder of the National Afro-American League (1890), performed street oration on Haiti's revolutionary leaders and used the Revolution as a cautionary tale about ongoing racial violence against the American Negro.¹³ Above all, between 1893 and 1938—what Henry Louis Gates periodizes as the New Negro era—approximately 13 plays were written on the subject of Haiti and no fewer than 11 take up its Revolution.¹⁴ All but one of the plays on the Revolution were produced during this period—many repeatedly.¹⁵

William Edgar Easton's *Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale* (1893) and *Christophe: A Tragedy in Prose of Imperial Haiti* (1911) are the first known plays on the Haitian Revolution written in the USA by an author of African descent; they were staged a total of six times before the US occupation of Haiti. In 1893, two performances of *Dessalines* were given; in January, a Negro theatre company organized by Henrietta Vinton Davis staged it at Freiberg's Opera House in Chicago simultaneously with the World's Columbian Exhibition (World Fair) and that spring, Easton and several local men gave a public reading in Galveston Texas, where the playwright then lived.¹⁶ Miss Davis had clerked for Frederick Douglass, former US Minister to the Republic of Haiti (1889–91) and its representative at the Fair, and the performance of *Dessalines* was intended to coincide with events at the Pavilion.¹⁷ While not an official part of the Fair, Errol

G. Hill and James V. Hatch suggest the play was likely “the most noteworthy African American event” held during the exposition.¹⁸ *Dessalines* was published that same year in an edition with the “Oration” given by Douglass at the Pavilion and an essay titled, “A Tribute to Haitian Heroism,” by the Hon. Norris Wright Cuney of the Republican National Executive Committee for Texas.¹⁹ Well-known actress, Fannie S. Hall, restaged *Dessalines* in 1897 with “a company of colored players” at the Ninth Battalion Armory Hall in Chicago and in 1909, Davis directed it at the Trinity Congregational Church in Pittsburgh.²⁰ Easton’s second play on the Revolution, *Christophe: A Tragedy in Prose of Imperial Haiti*, was staged at the Gamut Auditorium in Los Angeles and the Lenox Casino in Harlem—both in 1912 and both under the direction of Davis, who played leading roles in the productions.²¹

It is an understatement to say that the US occupation brought renewed enthusiasm for plays on the Haitian Revolution. Six productions of Easton’s two plays occurred before 1915, but from then until 1938 there were at least 20 productions of his and numerous other plays on the Revolution in several cities across the country. Despite widespread criticism of the occupation in the Negro press, the Revolution remained the predominant theme in plays about Haiti written by Afro-Americans. Only one play in the timeframe takes up contemporaneous events in Haiti. Set in 1911, Matheus’s *Tambour* (1929) tells the story of a “Caco rebellion” against a corrupt Haitian government, but it was neither published nor produced.²²

Maud Cuney Hare, daughter of Norris Wright Cuney, directed the Allied Arts Players in another production of Easton’s *Dessalines* on May 15, 1930, at the Fine Arts Theatre in Boston with the revised title *Dessalines, Black Emperor of Haiti*.²³ John Frederick Matheus and Clarence Cameron White’s opera, *Owanga: A Musical Drama of Haiti* (1932), also about Dessalines, auditioned for the American Opera Society in 1932 at the Three Arts Club in Chicago where it immediately won the Society’s David Bispham Medal.²⁴ In the early 1930s and again in 1937, Elsie Roxborough directed the Roxanne Players in Detroit-based productions of Langston Hughes’s play, variously known as *Troubled Island*, *Emperor of Haiti*, or *The Drums of Haiti*, which again tells the story of the rise and fall of Dessalines while in November 1936, Rowena Woodham Jelliffe directed the Gilpin Players in a production of it at the integrated Karamu Theatre in Cleveland.²⁵ Harris’s *Genifrede: The Daughter of L’Ouverture* was performed by the Howard Players in Washington D.C. on May 27, 1922, and

was published by Associated Publishers (AP) in 1935.²⁶ Morgan College Dramatic Club in Baltimore staged *Christophe's Daughters* as part of its Negro History Week celebrations in 1935 and AP published it the same year.²⁷ Due to their publication in the 1935 collection, *Negro History in Thirteen Plays*, along with their one-act form, the latter two plays are likely to have been staged by non-professional actors in a variety of educational and Negro History Week contexts. There were also large-scale productions on the theme by the Federal Theatre Project (FTP). Negro Units on both coasts staged productions by white playwrights that focused on the historical Henri Christophe: Christine Ames and Clark Painter's *Black Empire* (1932) and William DuBois's *Haiti* (1938).²⁸ The former ran at four theatres in Hollywood and Los Angeles from March through July of 1936, drawing over 20,000 audience members.²⁹ Two years later, the Seattle Negro Unit also staged a smaller version.³⁰ The Harlem Negro Unit staged *Haiti* in 1938 at the Lafayette Theatre where over 77,000 people attended the production.³¹ From there, it moved to Daly's, the "Experimental Theatre" center of the FTP in New York, and then to Boston; the Hartford Negro Unit also presented it in the fall.³²

Like Trouillot, J. Michael Dash argues that the Revolution "so challenged the prejudices of its time," and was "such an unthinkable phenomenon," that "it has been either conspicuously consigned to the margins of modern history or simplified and romanticized as an inspiring narrative of black slave resistance."³³ Its symbolic presence is typically reduced to a story of "racial revenge, heroic uniqueness, or misguided hubris."³⁴ The small but growing body of work on the Haitian Revolution in US theatre continues in a similar vein by glorifying the plays as inspirational narratives and expressions of a pre-existing blackness and/or race pride.³⁵ Yet this is a racialized anachronism that limits our ability to understand these plays and which has implications for the study of historical "black theatre" or "black performance." For example, Sotiropoulos describes how with "Douglass at the helm, *black Americans* took advantage of the fair's international focus, in a sense entering through the doors the revolutionary black republic of Haiti had opened [my italics]" because they were otherwise banned from exhibiting.³⁶ She writes, "*black America* lost little time in turning the Haitian pavilion into a place to gather, to organize politically, and, for some, to sell a song [again, my italics]."³⁷ Even Dash, whose nuanced study of the Revolution calls for us to replace stereotypes of racial revenge with queries into its radical application of universal human rights, reifies a blackness that was very much in formation in the USA when he describes

Haiti as “the most persuasive illustration of a racial *geist*, invoked by many black intellectuals of the New Negro [m]ovement [italics in original].”³⁸

Dessalines’ declaration of Haiti’s blackness and its reputation as the “Black Republic” were indeed symbolically significant to people of African descent in the USA, however analyses that take these plays as expressions of a unified, pre-existing blackness miss that racial meanings were in tremendous flux between 1893 and 1938. Indeed, the “New Negro era” as periodized by Gates and Jarrett is precisely that in which pan-blackness is formulated and it should be reframed and analyzed as such.³⁹ To reify a social process and label it “black America” or “black intellectuals” misses the mass restructuring of the sign of blackness taking place at the time and it especially misses the role that images of Haiti, particularly theatrical productions of its Revolution, had in mediating an emergent pan-black imaginary. Indeed, it minimizes the strategic use of Haiti by racially mixed individuals like W.E.B. Du Bois, Frederick Douglass, William Edgar Easton, T. Thomas Fortune, Norris Wright Cuney, and Langston Hughes, precisely as an image of racial unification under the sign of blackness. To the degree that the plays and performances depict racial pride, they do so not as an effect or expression of a pre-existing homogenous group formation but rather as part of the very mechanism (an affective mechanism—a kind of unisonance) for forging a more inclusive category that would increasingly absorb mixed-race culture.⁴⁰

Consider the 1893 World’s Fair in Chicago and Douglass’s speech, which contains the lines in the first epigraph above.⁴¹ Prior to this, Douglass argues Haiti “is the one country to which we turn the cold shoulder,” and quickly dismisses the excuse that Haiti is “more friendly to France” and other European countries. Instead, Douglass clarifies, “But a deeper reason for coolness between the countries is this: Haiti is black, and we have not yet forgiven Haiti for being black [applause] or forgiven the Almighty for making her black. [Applause.]”⁴²

In applauding, the audience approves Douglass’s candor in boldly stating that Haiti is shunned for its revolution and its blackness. And while the “we” in his formulation is clearly the United States, by cheering for Haiti and its blackness, the audience shifts the “we” to form an alliance among those who are black and by extension, unforgiven. Audience applause at each moment Douglass links blackness with being unforgiven suggests the language strikes a chord with the situation of the Negro in the USA. A moment later, Douglass confirms the connection when he describes how the “black sons of Haiti” were “linked and interlinked with their race, and

striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world. [Prolonged applause.]”⁴³ Here, applause constitutes a form of unisonance, or the shared affective response that accompanies performance in unison and thus produces a sense of community.⁴⁴ The audience performs approval together and in so doing, becomes a “we.” Moreover, prolonged applause is indication of successful uptake in the performative sense—it makes clear that in addition to an appreciation for Douglass’s veracity, Haiti’s blackness is affirmed and a successful alliance enacted.

Douglass, also racially mixed, was in residence in Port-au-Prince as US Minister to Haiti and was very aware of the country’s three-tier racial system in which the *gens de couleur* held the majority of political, economic, and social power, so in a sense, he strategically reiterates Dessalines’ declaration of Haiti’s blackness (“Haiti is black,”) and uses its symbolic power as the Black Republic to strengthen pan-black racial alliances in the USA.⁴⁵ Like Stoddard and others who use the story of the Revolution to strengthen domestic biracialism, Douglass gives a pithy summary of Haiti’s story in dramatic black and white: “[Haiti] has been made the theatre of great events. She was the first of all the cis-Atlantic world, upon which the firm foot of the progressive, aggressive and all-conquering white man was permanently set,” and “[h]appily too, for her, she was the first of the New World in which the black man asserted his right to be free and was brave enough to fight for his freedom and fortunate enough to gain it...”⁴⁶ In order to forge transnational racial alliances in relation to the sign of blackness, he intentionally minimizes the complicated and multiple roles of leaders like L’Ouverture, Dessalines, and Christophe as well as of the *gens de couleur* in the long revolution.⁴⁷

Douglass’s reiteration of Haiti’s blackness and the performativity of the Pavilion in general were intended to speak to the domestic audience as well as the international audience of nations and empires gathered at the Exposition. The Fair was a field of action that embodied the concept of the political *theatrum mundi* and in which different countries put their cultural power on display. Douglass clearly understood the Fair in this way as evidenced in his opening speech at the Pavilion on the 89th anniversary of Haitian independence.⁴⁸ He states, Haiti has “never been ashamed of her cause or of her color” and that she was invited to the Exposition “to be represented among the foremost civilized nations of the earth.” He concludes, “Her presence here today is a proof that she has the courage and the ability to stand up and be counted in the great procession of our nineteenth century civilization.”⁴⁹ The Haitian Pavilion was an arena in

which to declare Haiti's blackness in an international context and through palimpsestic overlay, to situate the emergent pan-blackness in the USA.

The off-site production of Easton's four-act play, *Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale*, was an extension of this arena. Here too, critical analyses tend to focus on it as a representation of race pride. Hatch, Shine, and others describe it as a "militant verse play."⁵⁰ Indeed, one can only imagine the militancy in the physical presence of a Negro actor on stage at Freiberg's as he declares his hatred for the "accursed whites" and speaks of throwing his master to the ground and spurning him like a "snarling, fangless cur."⁵¹ And in the first scene of Act I, early in the morning at the Du Martin Plantation, Dessalines gives a powerful speech to the other slaves, in which he demands to know,

What has made me master here? What will make ye masters here? Is his white tainted flesh invulnerable [sic]? Look upon us! I am as black as the shadows of night, with muscles of iron and a will that never was enslaved! What has he that I have not, save the arrogance of the accursed Caucasian blood? What hath these Franks that we are their household chattel—that we are their beasts? [...] What fetich [sic] have they that sustains their power to rule and ours to serve? We are ten to one their number now in Haiti—perhaps an hundred [sic], it may be. Then is it the strong who rules, or is it the natural sequence of our own inward weakness?⁵²

While not a verse play, its frank questioning of power is surely militant and in several monologues Dessalines takes a strong anti-white stance. However, there are no white characters in the play; Easton specifies it is exclusively for "Negro players."⁵³ All animosity, violence, and collaboration is between "blacks" and "colored" and the list of *dramatis personae* is divided into two columns with respective titles over each.⁵⁴

In Act I, Dessalines indeed agitates against the French colonials and later, in Act III, he defends his violence against the French by saying, "my cause is just and their cause is wrong," however the primary conflict in the play is between black and racially mixed *gens de couleur*, or as Easton puts it in the terminology of the day, "colored."⁵⁵ Indeed, the opening scene depicts the eve of the Revolution not so much in terms of black versus white, but black versus colored. In a dispute with Flavien, Dessalines tosses a dagger at the colored man's feet and challenges, "I'll share my arms with thee and name thee: The platter-licker of thy master's household. Thou claimst race with those who rule, and I, a full blood African, dare thee to mortal combat!"⁵⁶ This makes clear

that the colored characters, as free men of color, align themselves with their white fathers rather than with the enslaved and as such, it offers a more accurate depiction of the complicated revolution. In another scene between Flavien and a black slave named Placide, the former has ordered the latter to be whipped for impertinence. Placide replies, “Had I the chance, I would give thee and every accursed mulâtre—Death.”⁵⁷ Flavien retorts by calling Placide an “infernal black.”⁵⁸ The scene concludes with Dessalines again challenging the racialization of power—but not in terms of black and white: “He half and half, and I full black, and tell me who is master here!”⁵⁹ Indeed, while the character of Dessalines is often used to tell the story of black-on-white violence that his 1804 “massacre” of the French so easily represents, the play focuses more on racial tensions between the black and colored characters and on the romance between Dessalines and the mulatta, Clarisse, who is based on the historical Claire Heureuse.⁶⁰ In this scene, Dessalines also clarifies his position on religion: he hates both the “masters and their gods” and while he finds comfort in the revenge taught by the “African’s gods,” he explains, “I have none.”⁶¹

Scene Two shifts to a private home in Port-au-Prince where colored characters, Lefebre and Rigaud, await news from the French Assembly.⁶² Rigaud argues they should “join the blacks” rather than trust the French, but Lefebre reminds him, “An undying, unquenchable hatred exists, as thou knowest, between the blacks and men of color,” thus convincing Rigaud to stay with France.⁶³ Meanwhile, two black soldiers kidnap Rigaud’s sister, Clarisse, and plan to hold her for ransom, but in the next act, one sells her to Mère Marguerite, a former slave who was banished as a “witch” after the mysterious deaths of her master, partner, and child.⁶⁴ The most primitivist scene of the play is set at nighttime in front of a “hut, before which is fire, with smoking cauldron” and according to stage directions, with an “owl, cat, serpent and [the] usual paraphernalia of witchery around.”⁶⁵ In this “voodoo” scenario complete with lightning strikes, several black slaves dressed as “beasts” attend to Mère Marguerite, who prepares to sacrifice Clarisse. Dessalines enters just in time to save her from death at the hands of the black “witch.”⁶⁶ In the rest of the act, Clarisse begins to convince Dessalines that his view of Christianity is wrong.⁶⁷ He takes it for an enslaving religion when he demands, “for doth not thy good book teach the slave obedience to the master’s will?”⁶⁸ But she counters, “if ‘twere so, could the Israelites, who were His chosen people, thus rebel against their Egyptian masters?”⁶⁹ Dessalines, surprised by her perspective,

softens somewhat, “‘Tis different far then from what the masters taught,” and as an aside, “Methinks they lied.”⁷⁰

Act III begins at the “camp of the mulâtres,” where Rigaud hears from France that 2500 half-starved dogs will be imported to kill the rebels and that “NO QUARTER [shall] be shown the rebellious blacks.”⁷¹ At the news, he regrets aligning himself with the French—by Act IV, when brutal fighting unfolds and colored soldiers report town after town is falling to the formerly enslaved, he declares outright that the men of color were mistaken to side with France.⁷² Meanwhile, even as Dessalines, in another passionate monologue, justifies taking vengeance against French cruelty, Clarisse continues to teach him about Christian forgiveness and the focus of the play shifts. Late in Act II, she convinces Dessalines not to execute her kidnappers and in Act IV, she persuades him to spare her brother, Rigaud, who had challenged Dessalines to a duel; just prior to the final scene, Dessalines meets Clarisse in the church and accepts Christianity.⁷³ The play concludes with Dessalines defending the church from his troops, “I promised ye, this day, the spoils of battle well contested, within the portals of this church. [...] They are yours! Take them, but ere you engage in your work of riot and ruin,—slay Dessalines where now he stands!”⁷⁴ His soldiers respond with cries of, “Never!” and “Vive la liberté!” and after Dessalines once more declares his love for Clarisse, the soldiers march off, singing “La Marseillaise” while the curtain falls with the last verse.⁷⁵

The ending offers a bit of a surprise to the contemporary reader given the historical subject and the play’s reputation as militant. Some scholars justify the conclusion by suggesting the romance was included due to theatrical conventions of the day or as a way to embed the militant rhetoric in a more palatable tale.⁷⁶ Easton seems to support this reading somewhat when he notes that his primary aim was to write a “dramatic tale of the heroic Dessalines,” but that the reader would need to “separate its history from romance.”⁷⁷ However, the historical Dessalines did in fact take a racially mixed consort and Easton did indeed select the most militant of the three revolutionary leaders as the play’s subject.⁷⁸ If Easton wanted to depict forgiveness, he might have written about Toussaint, who preached reconciliation with the whites, was betrayed, and died in a French prison.⁷⁹ Nor did he write this first play about Christophe, who continued to battle against the *gens de couleur* until his suicide prior to the coup that would have overthrown him.⁸⁰ Easton writes instead about the powerful Dessalines, who thoroughly rejected Toussaint’s policy of reconciliation and met violence with violence, and therein is a large portion of the play’s

militancy.⁸¹ Yet, while the historical Dessalines was assassinated in 1806, Easton does not tell that part of the story.⁸² Why end with a romanticized conversion and happy ending rather than with his betrayal and death? Why select Dessalines if only to apparently tone down the militant aim of the play? How shall we make sense of this work?

There are two strategies in use for negotiating these seeming contradictions. One is to ignore the central black-versus-colored conflict of the play and focus on its anti-white militancy.⁸³ Indeed, the historical Dessalines was the most militant of the three heroes and it is the first American play on the Revolution for Negro actors that openly discusses, if not stages, black violence against white colonial power. The other, as mentioned above, is to simultaneously defend and dismiss the romantic ending as theatrical convention.⁸⁴ In both cases, Easton's preface is either ignored or cited in misleading ways. Hatch and Shine, for whom the play is a militant depiction of race pride and an example of black drama, quote a portion: "Indeed, we have had excellent caricaturists of the Negro in his only recognized school of legitimate drama, i.e. buffoonery. But the author of this work hopes to see a happier era inaugurated by the constant production of legitimate drama written exclusively for Negro players."⁸⁵ Here, they add a full stop in the middle of Easton's sentence. By doing so, Hatch and Shine significantly shift the meaning toward something more akin to Du Bois's 1926 notion of theatre as about, by, for, and near the Negro.⁸⁶ However, Easton continues, "and meeting, he hopes, with the full endorsement of the brother in white," or "brother-in-white."⁸⁷ One presumes Hatch and Shine omit this because it weakens the play's militant position—how can a play depict the hatred of black men for white and seek the endorsement of the target of its anger? How can the author articulate the need for Negro drama and vet it toward the approval of the white (br)other?

In the context of "Negro theatre" as articulated somewhat later by Du Bois, or "black theatre" as it emerged in the US academy in the 1960s and 70s, Easton's rhetorical gesture may seem naively integrationist or assimilationist. However, the term "brother-in-white" should not be omitted but rather situated within the context of shifting racial categories. Moreover, reading the play as simplistically militant and black or offering excuses for its romantic "happy ending," obscures the importance of the role of people of color, not only of the *gens de couleur* in Haitian revolutionary history, but primarily in the context of the emergent biracialism in the USA. When situated, the term "brother-in-white," speaks to the very legacies of interracial mixing in the USA by paralleling the

term, “brother-in-law.” Hoping the play meets with the approval of the “brother-in-white” does not necessarily make the work less militant, but within the context of an emergent racial taxonomy, serves to further articulate a pan-black position through the use of the biracial binary.

As noted above, preference for racial purity and a general disdain for racial mixing was key to intensified biracialism.⁸⁸ This is clearly so by the 1920s when, for example, Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois share increased animosity along lines of color and Garvey and white supremacist Cox are in increasing alignment on issues of racial purity and segregation.⁸⁹ However, while frictions of color and class exist in 1893, many people of color, and here I follow Easton’s usage to indicate those who are racially mixed, increasingly aligned themselves with the notion of the “Negro race” and, within the deepening biracial structure of the color line, with the sign of blackness.⁹⁰ Apologetic or simplistically racialized readings of the play miss the complexity of racialization, of people and audiences in this historical timeframe. For example, Easton was a light-skinned colored man whose mother was Haitian and a descendant of one of the generals of its Revolution, and whose father was a descendant of a veteran of the American Revolution.⁹¹ Born in New York, Easton worked as a newspaper editor and Republican politician first in Texas and then in California and was a spokesman for the Negro race politically and culturally, meaning he was active in the reconfiguration of the sign of blackness and that he conceived of dramatic and political performance as a mechanism for such articulations.

In the preface, Easton uses the emergent language of the four or five races of mankind, to argue for the creation of Negro drama.⁹² He notes the “Mongolian” and “Semitic” have their art, music and literature; the “Caucasian” learns, “with pride, of the deeds of his race,” but “[t]he Negro alone fails to immortalize his distinguished dead, and leaves [it] to the prejudiced pen of other races.”⁹³ He laments, “Especially with us has the art of drama writing been neglected.”⁹⁴ Easton conceives of drama as a field of action in which the Negro might articulate a new position among the world’s races and nations and he contributes to it by offering *Dessalines* as a dramatic tale “to lay on the altar of race pride.”⁹⁵

Norris Wright Cuney, author of one of the essays published with Easton’s play, was also racially mixed. The son of a white man, Colonel Philip Cuney, and the enslaved Adeline Stuart, he was born on Sunnyside Plantation near Hempstead Texas. Very light skinned, Cuney could pass for white, but chose to align himself with the Negro cause.⁹⁶ By 1884 he

was considered leader of the Negro vote in Texas and was the Republican state national committeeman from 1885 to 1896. Indeed, from 1867 to 1872, the Republican Party held the majority in Texas and “Negroes were so numerous that during that period and for many subsequent years it was called the ‘nigger party.’”⁹⁷ Cuney’s “rise and fall” in Texas politics is indicative of the late nineteenth-century shift in both Texan and national politics in which citizens of African descent were increasingly segregated and denied political participation.⁹⁸ Indeed, Easton or Cuney did not naively believe in the assimilation of the Negro into US society but were politically savvy men who actively articulated the emergent pan-blackness as a way to counter disenfranchisement and growing white supremacy within their own political party and in their own lives.

Rethinking the points of trouble, namely the role of Christianity, the black-colored conflict, and the relationship between Dessalines and Clarisse is both necessary and productive. Easton, for example, was associated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), a religious organization with a long history of community organizing, anti-slavery then anti-lynching activism, and civil rights agitation. Denmark Vesey had been an AME leader when he planned “the rising” in 1822 and the white community members believed the Charleston AME church was so central to the conspiracy that they destroyed the building. AME was decidedly not the church of an acquiescent Negro—on the contrary. Negroes in the mid-to-late nineteenth century learned more of socialism through debates in the church’s two newspapers “than through all the publications of the various socialist groups combined.”⁹⁹ Rev. James Holly, who advocated emigration to Haiti and lived in Port-au-Prince, published “Socialism from the Biblical Point of View” in an 1892–93 issue of *AME Church Review*.¹⁰⁰ As such, Easton’s Christianity was quite different from the Catholicism used against the enslaved by the French and he would not have depicted Dessalines’ conversion as a loss of racial power but as hallmark of it. Clarisse’s mention of the “Israelites” as God’s “chosen people” is further reference to the tenets of the Negro Israelite religions like the AME.¹⁰¹ Easton’s depiction of religion is thus equally militant and should not be read as a weakening of Dessalines’ racial or political power or as mere mimicry of a generic white culture.

Moreover, the historical Dessalines’ complicated relationship with Christianity and Vodou is well documented. Like Toussaint, Dessalines forbade Vodou and made Catholicism the official religion.¹⁰² Yet while their Catholicism was officially “strict and exclusive,” Toussaint, Dessalines, and

Christophe all practiced Vodou in private, as have many other Haitian heads of state.¹⁰³ This is often misunderstood as a naive mimicry of French culture but Madison Smartt Bell makes a convincing argument that Toussaint and other revolutionary leaders knew well how the “flexible network of Vodouisant communities could function as a cellular structure for rebellion and revolution” and that was why Toussaint, for example, complained about ritual drumming.¹⁰⁴ Accepting Christianity and forbidding Vodou then is not so much or not simply an acceptance of a white man’s god and a rejection of “the African’s gods” but can be understood at least in part as an attempt to limit political instability and mobilization of militant factions.

Above all, Easton’s depiction of black-colored conflict in the play is vital because it allows for tensions to be played out and alternative taxonomies to be articulated. For instance, one of the free men of color, Flavien, asks a group of black slaves: “Knaves, what higher ambition should the slave possess than to infect the master’s blood with the degradation of his own? What prouder title can your mothers bear, than mother to your master’s child?”¹⁰⁵ This is a dialectical pair of questions that carves out part of what is at stake in the emergent biracialism, namely the problem of the colored position and racial mixing. At once, Flavien suggests that the black female slave should be proud to bear the white master’s child even as he suggests the possibility of “infecting the master’s blood.”

The role of the romance is not merely a convention to make the tale more palatable, but is itself a mechanism for racial reconfiguration between black and colored. In the end, Clarisse and Dessalines turn away from their antagonistic racial and social communities: Dessalines forgoes his promise to the black troops and they are no longer allowed to pillage the church as a sign of their victory while Clarisse rejects Rigaud and her privileged status as a woman of color. Her brother’s last words to her are, “Oh, Clarisse, can it be possible thou hath lost thy heart to this black barbarian?”¹⁰⁶ The conflict between Rigaud and Dessalines is never resolved despite the fact that Rigaud acknowledges that the men of color should have aligned themselves with the formerly enslaved. Indeed, this is the heart of the play’s conflict and I suggest a large part of Easton’s and Cuney’s political aims as race men, namely for the colored in the USA to align themselves with and as black within the context of emergent biracialism and intensifying white supremacy. While Rigaud ultimately cannot take this stand in the play, Clarisse does so by joining with Dessalines; romantic love between black Dessalines and the colored Clarisse is the solution provided by the play.

If indeed integration is one of Easton's aims, it is that of black and colored in the context of an environment shared with the brother-in-white. Here, the Revolution is more of a cautionary tale about class and race divisions (Rigaud's realization) and a call to unite colored and black, presumably against white hegemony. Yet this is decidedly not theatre like that described by Du Bois—for one, it was intended for integrated audiences. One reviewer of the Galveston performance noted that the “entertainment was such as has never been witnessed in the United States of America,” and “white people outnumbered the colored at the public reading.”¹⁰⁷ Likewise, Maud Cuney Hare's letter to W.E.B. Du Bois notes that the audience was two-thirds white at the 1930 performance in Boston.¹⁰⁸ Easton's *Dessalines* is primarily a play about the joining of black and colored, which was germane to the shifting biracial taxonomy in the USA as a counter to growing white supremacy.

At the time of the Pavilion and *Dessalines* at Freiberg's, neither “white” nor “black” were stable racial categories but by the end of the occupation in 1940, both would be fully consolidated.¹⁰⁹ Changes in blackness become clearer when we compare Easton's play with the other dramatic works about Dessalines, such as Matheus's libretto for the opera, *Ouanga: A Musical Drama of Haiti* (1932) and Langston Hughes's *Emperor of Haiti* (c. 1930). My method is to focus on the relations between black and colored characters rather than solely on the story of black on white violence so easily evoked by the story of Dessalines.¹¹⁰ I pay particular attention to the points of friction: claims to militancy, the role of religion, the black-colored conflict, and the relationship between Dessalines and the female characters, the mulatta, Claire or Clarisse, and the black woman, Azelia or Defilée (based on the historic Claire Heureuse and Dédee Bazile, respectively), in order to test the increased disparagement of the mulatta/o that is part of the reification of the sign of blackness and also to examine the ways the story of the militant Dessalines was superimposed with growing post-war militancy. I conclude with a sketch of relevant changes in US society after the start of the occupation, namely the emergence of “Negro radicalism,” the Red Summer, and the first two Red Scares in order to frame the plays on the Revolution as a durational militant performance constellation.

THE DESSALINIAN DRAMAS

The basic elements of the Dessalinian drama are his anti-white militancy, his rise from slave to emperor, his rejection of “voodoo,” the romantic relationship(s), the black-colored conflict, and his assassination, although

Easton excludes the latter.¹¹¹ While none of the Dessalines plays stage the black on white violence the historical Dessalines is known for, Hughes, like Easton, includes significant portions of anti-white rhetoric in the opening act, which occurs on the eve of revolution. Act One of Hughes's three-act tragedy, *Emperor of Haiti* (c. 1930), takes place in 1791 at an abandoned sugar mill where Dessalines promises to "wipe out the whites in all this land."¹¹² "Choke the rivers! Ambush the roads!" he instructs his fellow slaves, while raising his cane knife like a sword, to "Kill the whites! Kill to be free!"¹¹³ In contrast, Matheus's *Ouanga* (1932) contains no such rhetoric. Instead, it begins at a post-revolution celebration with talk among the formerly enslaved of Dessalines' forthcoming coronation. While there are no white characters in either *Dessalines* or *Emperor of Haiti*, the opera, *Ouanga*, includes a small role for a French priest who makes the sign of the cross.¹¹⁴

The conflict in all three Dessalinian dramas is between black and colored or among creole and African-born black characters and therefore takes up questions of class, color difference, African heritage, and modernity that were critical to the continued forging of pan-blackness in the USA.¹¹⁵ In *Emperor of Haiti* (hereafter, *Emperor*), Dessalines alienates the blacks by banning voodoo and angers the mulattos "because he has designated Haiti officially as the *Black Empire*" and "they don't like the word *Black*."¹¹⁶ In the end, despite his goals in the play to integrate mulattos and blacks and move the nation forward economically through labor rather than taxation, Dessalines is shot in the back by the mulattos, Vuval and Stenio, who from the start conspire against him with the mulatta "spy," Claire.¹¹⁷ In *Ouanga*, the "Voodoo Priestess," Mougali, puts an "ouanga" curse on Dessalines because he bans voodoo. Because of this and the execution of Mougali at Claire's insistence, Dessalines is ultimately betrayed by Le Bossal, a "gigantic, full-blooded black," and Gerin [sic], "a general of the Haitian army," who set him up to be ambushed by soldiers.¹¹⁸ The conflict between creole and African-born black is depicted early on via the character of Le Bossal; indeed, *bossal* was a term used to describe an "African-born" or "saltwater" slave or more generally, a West African.¹¹⁹ It is Le Bossal who agitates the formerly enslaved: "Dessalines forbids the Voodoo," he boasts, "but I,—I dare disobey the king!"¹²⁰ In *Ouanga*, however, no characters are described as mulatto, including Claire.

Indeed, where Hughes and Easton draw clear lines between black and colored, Matheus does not. In the first act of *Emperor*, Hughes highlights differences between the enslaved and mulattos by drawing connections

to Africa. One slave, Josef, says his mother “still remembers Africa.”¹²¹ The black slave “Congo,” whose name signifies his African origin, says, “I don’t trust them mulattoes, myself,” noting, “the mulattoes think they’re white for sure.”¹²² Azelia, Dessalines’ first love, chimes in that they “look down on us for being black.”¹²³ Congo utterly rejects them, saying “They’re half-men, not black, not white either. Bah!”¹²⁴ Through Congo, Hughes gives voice to the growing concern with racial purity that was part of the emergent biracialism, but through Dessalines, counters it with, “They’re not all alike.”¹²⁵ In Act Two, at Dessalines’ palace several years later, Dessalines further troubles such easy divides when he asks Vuval, “Why did so many mulattos run away to Paris? We black people need you—you were educated. Now we have no teachers [...]”¹²⁶

Nonetheless, in both *Emperor* and *Ouanga*, the mulatta, Claire, is Dessalines’ downfall if not an outright conspirator against him. This is very different from Easton’s version, wherein she is his converter and represents the potential for alliance between colored and black. In *Emperor* and *Ouanga*, Dessalines’ mistake is precisely in rejecting his African roots and the mulatta in both productions is a figure for all things European, imperial, and white. Like rejecting voodoo, selecting Claire as his consort betrays Dessalines’ blackness. Hughes especially represents Dessalines’ desire for all things white as his hamartia: “Violins, not drums!”

On one hand, Hughes depicts Dessalines as a vain man satisfied by a few trinkets—his crown, his castle, his light-skinned queen—all of which he takes as signs he will never be enslaved again. On the other, Hughes depicts him as an intelligent critic of colonialism, race, and labor. In Act One, Dessalines and the slaves perform a poetic critique of slave labor that hits hard in its examination of white comfort and black suffering. “The sacks of sweet white sugar the French ship off to Paris goes stained with our blood!” he bellows; “The soft white cotton the French weave into garments is red with my blood!” He describes the coffee being sipped by the masters in the cool of the evening as thick with blood and after each charge, the slaves retort, “Blood, blood, blood!” Dessalines concludes, “The masters live on blood!” and the slaves clarify by whose blood the colonial machine moves: “Black blood! Black blood! Black blood!”¹²⁷ Nonetheless, in the end, Dessalines is a tragic figure betrayed from all sides but one. The former slave Azelia, whom the soldiers nicknamed Defilée, literally, the defiled one, finds his mutilated body on the street; the play closes with her protecting his remains from would-be scavengers.¹²⁸ The final words are hers, “He was a slave once ... then a King.”¹²⁹

In *Ouanga*, Dessalines also fails in the aftermath of revolution. He again makes the mistake of banning voodoo, but this time it is not so much in blind acceptance of Christianity as it is part of his quest to establish a more fully liberated postcolonial nation. Dessalines' true love, Defilée, however, refuses to denounce the religion in order to marry him; enraged, he takes Claire as his consort. Claire's role is minimal in that she literally has no voice, as hers is not a singing part.¹³⁰ However, she is the one who, through gesture, demands that the Voodoo priestess, Mougali, be executed. This is the moment Le Bossal accuses Dessalines of being a traitor to his people. As such, she is ultimately responsible for his denouement. In a fight toward the end of the opera, Dessalines and the Papaloi grip each other in dramatic conflict while each claims to be the true link with Africa. Dessalines accuses the priest of misleading the people with an outdated practice from a "barbaric" age gone by; Dessalines declares, "Mine is the new time, yours is the old! Yours is the night! My day the future shall unfold!" The Papaloi simply repeats, "Too late," and finishes working the magic to kill Dessalines.¹³¹ Musically, the libretto describes how a "passionate sweep of strings and wood-winds" is to "sound the theme of conflict between the old customs and the new, as Dessalines would have them."¹³²

In *Ouanga*, Defilée holds the key to history and the future. Just prior to the ambush that kills him, Dessalines meets with her once again: "Sing to me again, O Defilée, the songs our people crooned in Africa," he cries, "My soul is rent in twain!" But the conspiracy is already in motion. The opera concludes with Defilée kneeling at his body, stretched toward the mountains with clenched fists. "With a cry of despair," she yells, "Ouanga!" While the black Defilée is absent from Easton's version, she is crucial to *Emperor* and *Ouanga*. In both, she emerges in the final scene as the heroine who tragically bears the sacrifice of Haiti's independence. This is not the trope of the tragic mulatta who would rather die than have one drop of black blood but of the tragic, ever-loyal black woman, and she has the last word. She is a fairly clear representation of a race woman, like the "New Negro Woman" or the Garveyite "Race Mother."¹³³ In "Women as Leaders Nationally and Racially," for example, Garvey argues that women "have as great a part to play in the development of their particular group as the men."¹³⁴

The conflict between black and mulatto and the satire of Dessalines' social pretensions in *Emperor* are consistent with Hughes's perspectives about race and class in the 1930s; for example, he criticized the academic

nature of racial philosophy and the New Negro movement in particular for having an elitist sensibility that excluded “ordinary Negroes.”¹³⁵ His “criticism of the Haitian bourgeoisie and his identification with the working class are consistent with his objection to the black élite in the United States.”¹³⁶ In Haiti, Hughes “deliberately avoided contact with the élite” and therefore, his time there was “startlingly different” from that of his contemporaries, Matheus, White, and Johnson.¹³⁷ In *Emperor*, the limits of pan-blackness not only remain contested, but are further complicated by Hughes’s intersectional reading of color, labor, and class. Indeed, while Hughes’s play is more historically accurate than *Dessalines* or *Ouanga* and offers a fairly complex depiction of post-revolutionary challenges, it is equally a socialist critique of the situation of the Negro in the USA. Hughes’s decision to use a rural southern dialect for the formerly enslaved black characters while Dessalines, who we discover is illiterate, uses the equivalent of British English, further drives home this reading.¹³⁸ The overlay of the American Negro in Jim Crow south with that of the Haitian peasant whether in colonial Saint Domingue or post-colonial Haiti combined with the overlay of the US colored elite with that of the mulatta class in Haiti would not have been lost on the play’s audiences in the 1930s. Where for Easton, the black/colored conflict was partly resolved as a way to call for unification, the larger problem for Hughes is the conflict of class that divides them—and Hughes drives home that choosing the wrong side of the class/color line has tragic consequences.

In *Ouanga*, by contrast, pan-blackness appears to be more fully consolidated if only because no characters are described as racially mixed. The primary conflict is between old and new versions of blackness (Papaloi versus Dessalines, African versus creole, primitive versus modern). To draw out these tensions and cater to the predominantly white audiences that would have attended the opera, Matheus draws on tropes of the exotic. The opera opens with what the libretto describes as “a primitive African dance.” Matheus describes “full-blooded black” men and “buxom peasant” girls dancing like “grotesque birds,” and notes the “muscular contortions” of the female dancers.¹³⁹ Each scene begins and ends with a “celebration of a primitive African dance,” which borrowed from traditional Haitian instrumentation while using modern staging techniques. For example, the “entr’act” contains a “Congo Dance,” performed in silhouette “by two solo dancers and projected by light on screen,” as well as a “Cadenza for three Voodoo drums, pebble shaker and struck steel bar.”¹⁴⁰ The entire third act takes place in the ceremonial hall of the voodoo priestess complete

with a “Curse snake dance” during which a “voodoo spell” is cast against Dessalines.

White and Matheus traveled to Haiti together in 1928 to research Haitian musical forms, which they saw as “pure, unadulterated African music.”¹⁴¹ The music and chants were touted as “authentic,” but as middle-class Americans (White was a professional composer and Matheus a university professor), the two were received largely by the colored élite in Haiti and due to Haitian President Borno’s restrictions against Vodou, they had limited access to its traditions.¹⁴² Many of the ceremonies they attended were staged performances, yet White’s music is generally described as “authentic” folk music. Robert Hayden describes the aesthetics of the New Negro movement as a “self-conscious modernism,” both “sophisticated and urbane” even as it relied on the “Negro vogue,” and in the manner of modernist primitivism, often depicted “an exotic flavor, a tropical lushness.”¹⁴³ However, modernism relies on the primitive not merely as a source for formal imagery, but also as a way to mark its limits. White’s appropriation is partly a form of cultural reification in which a “folk” tradition becomes a kind of repertoire for constituting of a new version of modern blackness. Conceptualized as a project in ethnomusicology and the search for “virgin” African origins or what White described as “going into a virgin field in search of folk music,” their project used scientific discourse to articulate what was ultimately a spectacle for mostly white audiences funded through white philanthropic institutions.¹⁴⁴ Such sponsorship may partly explain the exoticizing tone of some of the work. Hughes, for example, made his second trip to Cuba at the suggestion of his Park Avenue patron, who encouraged him to go in search of “genuinely racial motifs.”¹⁴⁵ Hughes confirms, “She wanted me to be more African than Harlem—primitive in the simple, intuitive and noble sense of the word. I couldn’t be, having grown up in Kansas City, Chicago and Cleveland.”¹⁴⁶

Nonetheless, there is an inherent militancy in the staging of the Haitian Revolution during the occupation, particularly for integrated audiences. Despite the easy-to-consume exotic imagery, *Ouanga* would have been unsettling to a predominantly white opera audience: Defilée is an atypical heroine not only because she is black but also because she remains faithful to voodoo. Through her, *ouanga* power remains intact, a potential threat. Likewise, imagine what it might have been like to be in the audience at the “inter-racial” Karamu Theatre for the 1936 production of *Emperor*, as the enslaved cried, “The whites must pay! Make ‘em pay! Make ‘em pay!

Oh, make ‘em pay!” and Dessalines confirmed, “We have no choice but to kill!”¹⁴⁷ In the context of the occupation and the disenfranchised civil status of the American Negro, these cries were deeply layered in connotative meaning. Hughes has the African drum beat out the signal to revolt as the stage directions note, “Afar off, a drum begins to beat ... until the whole island is throbbing with drum-beats ... moans and shouts, hysterical sobs, curses, cries, and a crush and a swirl of movement.” The night of the revolution, one of the slaves declares: “The drum’s a black man’s heart-a-beatin’ . Tonight that beatin’s goin’ to set the Frenchmen’s hair on end,” and the response is: “This is our night.”¹⁴⁸ These meanings would not have been lost on the audience—the very image that caused fear in the white imagination was the image of black resistance. Indeed, plays on the Revolution work on multiple levels of uptake depending on the racial position of the audience member, and this further reified the growing biracialism. As Dash notes, “If the Haitian revolution was white America’s nightmare, it fulfilled the most passionate dream of black Americans.”¹⁴⁹ Said somewhat differently, the story of the Revolution interpellated audience members in biracial terms, thereby forging a broader and more inclusive category of blackness that either absorbed or rejected mixed-race culture.

STAGING REVOLUTION DURING THE OCCUPATION: BLACKNESS, REDNESS, AND NEGRO RADICALISM

During the long occupation, dramatizing the Revolution resonated with significant social changes such that the plays took on a deeply layered set of meanings. “Negro radicalism,” the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, two Red Scares in 1919 and again in the 1930s, the Red Summer of 1919 and growing racial violence in which Negroes defended themselves, and mounting criticism in the 1920s of US involvement in Haiti, all came together to create a palimpsestic overlay wherein to stage the Haitian Revolution was to invoke some or all of the others in varying degree. Increased militancy—by which I mean willingness to meet violence with violence (à la Dessalines) and engagement with various discourses such as Garvey’s “black nationalism” and socialism—along with increased reification of the sign of blackness within the hardening biracial taxonomy, synergized depictions of the Revolution and vice-versa.

Philip Foner attributes “postwar black militancy” precisely to “the tragic gap between expectation and reality” as Negro soldiers returned from World War I only to encounter heavy unemployment and violent

racism.¹⁵⁰ During the summer of 1919, when violent Caco resistance to the occupation was at its peak, seven major race riots exploded in Charleston, Washington, Knoxville, Omaha, Chicago, Longview, and Elaine, Arkansas. Sparked by allegations of attacks on “white” women or the unfortunate crossing of territorial boundaries by young Negro men, in every case, violence was initiated by “white” mobs, as was common in race riots of the period. More precisely, groups of “dingy whites” further whitened themselves by bursting into violence that left many Afro-Americans dead and wounded.¹⁵¹ The difference during the Red Summer as compared with previous anti-Negro riots was that “the Negro responded by fighting back.”¹⁵² Records from Chicago show that in 13 days, 38 people were killed and 537 wounded: 15 of the dead and 178 of the injured were white.¹⁵³ Indeed, it was called the Red Summer partly because it was the first time that American Negroes responded with equal violence and Negro self-defense was almost immediately sutured to concerns about socialism, militancy, and Bolshevism—blackness with redness (Red Summer, Red Scare). “So novel was the idea of black resistance that the New York State legislature, the Justice Department, Representative James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, and much of the nation’s press all insisted that it could only be explained by Bolshevik influence.”¹⁵⁴

Eight bombings in June and the establishment of two Communist parties in September brought the first Red Scare to a climax in late 1919.¹⁵⁵ And while Red Scare investigations focused on “white ‘Bolshevik’ and ‘Anarchist’ activities, the Negro came under equal suspicion.”¹⁵⁶ Investigations into Negro radicalism included Palmer’s Report to the Senate Judiciary Committee (1919) in which the Attorney General accused the Negro of “seeing red” and targeted the militant Negro press as the site of dissemination; the Lusk Committee, which sought out “revolutionary radicalism” in New York; and the National Civic Federation Report, the only private investigation of the three. The Lusk Committee considered all Negro leaders “to the left of Booker T. Washington” as “potential Bolsheviks” and made special note of Johnson’s 1920 essay in *The Crisis*, which condemned the US occupation of Haiti.¹⁵⁷ A similar conflation of Negro radicalism with Bolshevism appear in the NCF Report when the author concludes “the real danger” is the demand for equality by Negroes—“that sometime in the near future they will by some measure come into the fullest and most complete equality with the whites.” None of the reports defined terms such as radicalism, subversion, socialism, or Bolshevism.¹⁵⁸

While a critical, socialist voice is present in some nineteenth-century AME publications and in Fortune's highly influential *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South* (1884), which was the first vigorous critique of class conflict and articulation of common interests among workers by a Negro in the USA, it dramatically intensified in the early twentieth century.¹⁵⁹ Hubert Henry Harrison, considered the "father of Harlem Radicalism," joined the New York Socialist party in 1909, founded the Colored Socialist Club in 1911 and in 1916–17, the political New Negro Movement which demanded political equality, an end to segregation and lynching, and above all, justified armed self-defense when necessary.¹⁶⁰ Socialism among Afro-Americans intensified after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Garvey, who had arrived in New York from Jamaica in 1916, first applied the Marxist discourse of class-consciousness to race ("race consciousness") and Harrison further developed it as the "new race-consciousness," which was instrumental to the growing biracial rhetoric.¹⁶¹ In August, during the height of the "Red Summer," the *Baltimore Afro-American* ran an editorial titled "Listening to Socialism," in which the party pledged equal justice and opportunity "for all men, black and white."¹⁶² Socialism was important in the development of the Niagara Movement (1905) and Foner argues a handful of socialists in New York City provided the impetus for the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Du Bois's respect for their stance on the Negro question influenced his decision to ally the Niagara Movement with these and other "white" people to create the organization and Du Bois himself, was for a time, socialist.¹⁶³ In the 1920s, Marcus Garvey's blend of Booker T. Washington's belief in economic self-empowerment with his notion of a separatist black nationalism further reified the sign of blackness.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, his United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), with its millions of members, was the largest organized political movement among people of African descent in the world.¹⁶⁵ Meanwhile, the "soapbox" tradition brought numerous ideas to Harlem on a steady basis between 1910 and 1930. In a stroll along Lenox Avenue, one would likely encounter several speakers engaged in "fiery political rhetoric," including Harrison, Fortune, and George Padmore. The financial crisis of 1929, ongoing racial violence, increased labor conflict, and socialist and communist agitation in the context of the Depression further exacerbated these conditions and helped foment the second Red Scare in the 1930s.

In this historical context and given the scale and number, plays on the Haitian Revolution also constitute a larger cultural phenomenon that can be analyzed as a whole—a kind of spectacle that saturated US popular culture with images of Negro militancy. As I have shown, between 1915 and 1938, images of the Haitian Revolution and in particular the figure of the “black emperor” inundated Harlem and other cities across the USA, including Boston, Hartford, Washington D.C., Baltimore, Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Galveston, and Chicago, thereby producing a sustained cultural performance that intended to articulate Negro agency and resistance to pan-white supremacy. Moreover, the numerous productions had impacts beyond each proximate locale because announcements and reviews circulated nationally. For example, information about the 1936 Gilpin production of *Emperor* was distributed by the Associated Negro Press (ANP) and news of the Howard Players’ 1922 production of *Genifrede* in Washington D.C. was published in the *Chicago Defender*.¹⁶⁶

At the center of this militant spectacle was the black emperor, or “Black Napoleon,” a tropic figure that generically references either Dessalines or Christophe. The figure of the black emperor was used repeatedly in marketing plays on the Revolution (namely in subtitles and posters). As noted, the 1930 Boston production of Easton’s play changed the title from *Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale* to *Dessalines, Black Emperor of Haiti*. At least part of the time, Hughes uses the trope for the title of his play on Dessalines and a similar subtitle was added to the posters for the Harlem and Boston Federal Theatre Project productions of the play, *Haiti*, calling it “A Drama of the Black Napoleon.” Garvey, who was often seen around Harlem in full regalia with plumed bicorne hat and was compared to L’Overture in the UNIA paper, also embodied the trope. In August 1920, under his direction, 25,000 Negroes convened for a UNIA convention in upper Manhattan at the Liberty Hall and Madison Square Garden.¹⁶⁷ During this event, which included a massive parade headed by a fifty-piece band, Garvey, like Dessalines, seized hold of the performative acts that typically worked to “advance, restage, and seal” colonialism and empire.¹⁶⁸ He established a Negro Bill of Rights and a UNIA flag, which was divided into three equal bands: red to symbolize the unified blood of people of African descent, black for the color of their skin, and green for Africa itself. On the second day of the conference, Garvey proposed to elect a “President of Africa, a leader for the negro people of America and a leader for the negro people of the world.”¹⁶⁹

The poster for the Boston production of *Haiti* depicts the face of a very dark-skinned man; he is framed between two palm trees, which he dwarfs with his size—they seem to grow from his mountainous shoulders.¹⁷⁰ The scale of the facial features and the face-to-face encounter demands that the viewer make eye contact with the man in the poster. The image of “The Black Napoleon,” as the poster reads, confronts the pan-white viewer in an almost insolent manner, demanding recognition—demanding to be seen, and this would have been a direct challenge to proscriptions against “reckless eyeballing,” which since slavery referred to a person of African descent making eye contact with a “person of authority.”¹⁷¹ Given the association of all things “red” with communism in 1938, when the Dies Committee began its hearings, and the suturing of red and black in the social imaginary, the simplicity of using red, black, and tan was perhaps more than good design. The palette also evokes the UNIA colors.

The black emperor was already a figure of terror in the white imagination. In his 1914 Harvard dissertation, Stoddard describes the “chief figure” in the “grim tragedy” of the loss of France’s greatest colony as “the black leader Toussaint Louverture [sic].”¹⁷² Stoddard laments the “progress of black supremacy” that issued from the Haitian Revolution, claiming its danger was “personified in the career of Toussaint.”¹⁷³ However, for a viewer of African descent, the face-to-face relation presented in the poster offered an instance of recognition and interpellation under the sign of blackness that would evoke a kind of viewer’s unisonance. In a sense, all of these stagings of the Haitian Revolution shift signifiers in order to access a kind of radical articulatory power; repeated citation of the black emperor in plays, posters, and in Garvey’s public persona, operate together in a chain of citational practices, infusing US culture with the very figure of Negro militancy. The constellation of performances served up a persistent spectacle that seized the trope of “another Haiti” and thrust it into the public sphere.

Clare Corbould suggests that plays on the Revolution after 1915 sought to raise awareness of the occupation.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, Negro leaders who differed on other matters agreed on and spoke out against the takeover, including Du Bois, Harrison, Johnson, and Garvey.¹⁷⁵ While agitation in the press had positive impacts, namely Johnson’s series in *The Nation*, which helped initiate US Senate hearings on torture and other crimes committed against Haitians by Marines, there is little evidence of the efficacy of the plays in such terms. And while they may have depicted Haiti’s revolution partly as a sign of its capacity for self-government, a more

immediate aim was to reclaim the successful slave revolution as a “vantage point” from which to produce alternative racial narratives and renegotiate the constraints of blackness in the USA.¹⁷⁶ The Republic’s revolutionary history, its performative claims to blackness via Dessalines’ decree, and its large racially mixed population made it symbolically significant to the consolidation of the category of blackness both before and after the US occupation. The figure of the mulatto/a in the plays, in particular, permitted the articulation of pan-blackness and the acting out of debates on interracial mixing. Equally useful was harnessing the successful Revolution to the growing willingness to meet violence with violence in the USA. Yet while Negroes increasingly fought back in the context of riots as well as in politics, the majority was not interested in socialism or other theories of social agitation—many felt it was simply too dangerous to be both “Black and ‘red.’”¹⁷⁷ Indeed, only a small portion were, but Red panic was well-sutured to concerns about racial uprising as well as racial mixing and this is played out in growing concerns about staging the Revolution, as I shall demonstrate in the following chapter on the Federal Theatre Project plays, *Black Empire* (1932) and *Haiti* (1938).

NOTES

1. J. Michael Dash, *The Disappearing Island: Haiti, History, and the Hemisphere*, CERLAC Colloquia Paper (2004), 2. Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004). Dessalines declared Haiti independent on November 29, 1803 and more famously on January 1, 1804; the statement of avenging America was made in a proclamation after the “massacre of the white French” in the spring of 1804. Philippe R. Girard, “Jean-Jacques Dessalines and the Atlantic System: A Reappraisal,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (2012): 569–70; 580.
2. Dash, *Disappearing Island*, 2; Girard, “Reappraisal,” 570.
3. Girard describes Dessalines as a savvy international statesman who was “well aware of the naval, commercial, and diplomatic requirements for victory” and who did not wage war on nearby slave-owning colonies, but promised non-aggression in exchange for weapons and other trade. ———, “Reappraisal,” 569.
4. J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
5. See Chap. 1, above. France recognized Haiti in 1825 on the condition that Haiti pay 150 million gold francs as reparations for lost “property.”

- Philippe R. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian War of Independence 1801–1804* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2011), 342. The US granted recognition in 1862. Laurent Dubois translates *gens de couleur* as “free people of color” or “free-coloreds.” The term was favored by politically active members of that group in Haiti in the late eighteenth century and as Dubois notes, was a more complicated designation than the term, “mulatto.” Dubois, *Avengers*, 6, 70.
6. Michael L. Nicholls, *Whispers of Rebellion: Narrating Gabriel’s Conspiracy* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); Douglas R. Egerton, *Gabriel’s Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Maurice Jackson et al., “Fever and Fret: The Haitian Revolution and African American Responses,” in *African Americans and the Haitian Revolution: Selected Essays and Historical Documents*, ed. Maurice Jackson, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2010), 14. According to the latter, L’Overture influenced Gabriel.
 7. Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763–1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 147–51.
 8. On 1811, see Daniel Rasmussen, *American Uprising: The Untold Story of America’s Largest Slave Revolt* (New York: Harper, 2011); Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). On Aponte, Dubois, *Avengers*, 305; Sibylle Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 41–56.
 9. This is only a sample of how the Revolution inspired action in the US over the next few decades. John Lofton et al., *Denmark Vesey’s Revolt: The Slave Plot That Lit a Fuse to Fort Sumter* (Kent: Kent State University, 2013); David F. Allmendinger Jr., *Nat Turner and the Rising in Southampton County* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Patrick Breen, H., *The Land Shall Be Deluged in Blood: A New History of the Nat Turner Revolt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
 10. Matthew Pratt Guterl, “The New Race Consciousness: Race, Nation, and Empire in American Culture, 1910–1925,” *Journal of World History* 10, no. 2 (1999).
 11. J. Michael Dash, “The Theater of the Haitian Revolution/the Haitian Revolution as Theater,” *Small Axe* 18 (2005).
 12. Dave Riehle, “‘300 Afro-American Performers’: The Great Cuba Pageant of 1898 and the Struggle for Civil Rights,” *Ramsey County History* (1999): 19.
 13. “Crisis for Negro Race: T. Thomas Fortune Declares It Is Coming to His People. Southern Whites the Cause Declares at John Brown Anniversary

- That the Negro Should Die for His Rights, If Need Be,” *New York Times*, June 4 1900. Fortune (1856–1928) was born in Florida to enslaved parents of African, Native American, and Irish ancestry. In 1923, he became editor for the UNIA organ, *Negro World*. He advocated use of the term, “Afro-American.” Rayford M. Logan et al., *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1983), 236–38.
14. William Edgar Easton, *Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale; a Single Chapter from Haiti’s History* (Galveston: J.W. Burson Co. Publishers, 1893); ———, *Christophe: A Tragedy in Prose of Imperial Haiti* (Los Angeles: Press Grafton Publishing Company, 1911); Helen Webb Harris, “Genifrede: The Daughter of L’Ouverture,” in *Negro History in Thirteen Plays*, ed. Willis Richardson, et al. (Washington D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1935); Leslie Pinckney Hill, *Toussaint L’Ouverture: A Dramatic History* (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1928); Langston Hughes, “Emperor of Haiti” in *Black Heroes: Seven Plays*, ed. Errol Hill (New York: Applause Books, 1989); William Grant Still, *Troubled Island: An Opera in 3 Acts / by William Grant Still; Libretto by Langston Hughes* (New York: Leeds Music Corp., 1949); John Frederick Matheus, “Tambour [1929],” *Black Drama: Alexander Street Press*; ———, “Ti Yette,” in *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro*, ed. Willis Richardson (Washington D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1930); ———, “Ouanga: A Musical Drama of Haiti,” (1932); May Miller, “Christophe’s Daughters,” in *Negro History in Thirteen Plays*, ed. Willis Richardson, et al. (Washington D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1935); Christine Ames et al., “Black Empire: A Drama in a Prologue and Three Acts,” (Fairfax: Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Archives at George Mason University, 1932); William DuBois, “Haiti,” in *Federal Theatre Plays*, ed. U.S. Federal Theatre Project, et al. (New York: Random House, 1938); C. L. R. James, *Toussaint Louverture: The Story of the Only Successful Slave Revolt in History; a Play in Three Acts [1934]*, ed. Christian Hogsbjerg (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013). I count Hughes’s play as a single work under several titles, but take the opera, *Troubled Island: An Opera in 3 Acts* (1949), as a distinct work. On New Negro era periodization, see Henry Louis Gates et al., eds., *The New Negro: Readings on Race, Representation, and African American Culture, 1892–1938* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
 15. Hill’s *Toussaint L’Ouverture: A Dramatic History* (1928) appears to be the only unstaged play on the Revolution.
 16. “Public Reading of the Book of Dessalines,” *Freeman*, April 22 1893. On Freiberg’s, Errol G. Hill et al., *A History of African American Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 138.

17. Douglass was US consul to Haiti when the US tried to acquire the Mole. Karen Sotiropoulos, *Staging Race: Black Performers in Turn of the Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 26. Hill et al., *History of African American Theatre*, 88; William Seraile, "Henrietta Vinton Davis and the Garvey Movement," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 7 (1983). Davis became a famous actress/orator and a major UNIA leader who regularly presided over the "monster rallies" at Madison Square Garden and Carnegie Hall. Louis J. Parascandola, *Look for Me All around You: Anglophone Caribbean Immigrants in Harlem* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 17–18, 39 n.11; Seraile, "Henrietta Vinton Davis and the Garvey Movement."
18. Hill et al., *History of African American Theatre*, 138. Some mistakenly claim it was performed at the Pavilion. James Hatch, "Some African Influences on the Afro-American Theatre," in *The Theater of Black Americans: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Errol Hill, 14; Bernard L. Peterson Jr., *Early Black American Playwrights and Dramatic Writers: A Biographical Directory and Catalog of Plays, Films, and Broadcasting Scripts* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1990), 7, 76.
19. Frederick Douglass, "Oration of Hon. Frederick Douglass, Ex-United States Minister Resident to the Republic of Haiti. Delivered on the Occasion of the Dedication of the Haitien [sic] Pavilion at the World's Fair," in *Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale*, ed. William Edgar Easton (Galveston: J.W. Burson Co., 1893); Hon. Norris Wright Cuney, "A Tribute to Haitian Heroism," in *Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale*, ed. William Edgar Easton (Galveston: J.W. Burson Co., 1893).
20. "Chicago Theatrical Notes. Colored Artists of the Concert and Vaudeville Stage by Cue," *Illinois Record*, November 20 1897. Hill et al., *History of African American Theatre*, 138.
21. Easton, *Christophe*. Peterson Jr., *Early Black American Playwrights*, 76. A 1910 article in the *Indianapolis Freeman* states Easton wrote the play for Davis to direct and perform the role of Valerie. Another *Freeman* article from 1912 claims Davis was producing the play in New York. R.W. Thompson, "Short Flights," *Freeman*, February 19 1910; Sylvester Russell, "Musical and Dramatic," *Freeman*, March 2 1912. Hill mentions a performance at Harlem's Lenox Casino (1912), likely the Davis production. Errol Hill, *Black Heroes: Seven Plays* (New York: Applause Books, 1989), 4. Hill et al., *History of African American Theatre*, 88, 139.
22. Matheus, "Tambour [1929]."
23. An event program gives the revised title. See also Maud Cuney-Hare, "Letter from Maud Cuney Hare to W.E.B. Du Bois, May 28, 1930," (1930), <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b054-i047>. Maud Cuney Hare was a *Crisis* music columnist, author of *Negro Musicians*

- and *Their Music* (1936), and founder of the Musical Art Studio in Boston, part of the Little Theatre Movement. Logan et al., *Dictionary* 152. Hill et al., *History of African American Theatre*, 216, 222–30. W.E.B. Du Bois, “Krigwa Players Little Negro Theatre: The Story of a Little Theatre Movement,” *The Crisis* 32 (1926).
24. Matheus, “Ouanga.” According to the Black Drama site, Matheus published the play privately in 1931. On the 1932 audition, Vernon H. Edwards et al., “Clarence Cameron White,” *The Black Perspective in Music* 9, no. 1 (1981): 61. A *NYT* article dated May 29, 1932, reports it was scheduled for Paris with an “all-Negro cast, and if successful may be given in America.” “Cincinnati Summer Opera,” *New York Times*, May 29 1932. The Illinois Symphony Orchestra performed the prelude in February 1938. Edwards, et al., “Clarence Cameron White,” 64. It was first produced and staged by the HT Burleigh Musical Association in June 1949 in South Bend Indiana. *Ibid.* Concert versions were given at Carnegie Hall and the National Negro Opera Company in New York (1956). Michael Largey, “*Ouanga!*: An African-American Opera About Haiti,” *Lenox Avenue—A Journal of Interartistic Inquiry* 2 (1996): 35. American Society of Composers Authors and Publishers, ASCAP *Biographical Dictionary* (New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1980), 539. “Clarence Cameron White,” in *Notable Black American Men*, ed. Jessie Carney Smith (Detroit: Gale Research, Inc., 1999), 1207.
25. Hughes, “Emperor.” The play’s title and production history are complex: written c. 1930, Hughes confirms the play was performed in Detroit after he returned from his 6-month stay in Haiti (1932), although he does not give a title. Hughes confirms he revised the play based on the Detroit production; the revision was performed at Karamu in 1936 (he mistakenly says “about 1935”). ———, “‘Troubled Island:’ The Story of How an Opera Was Created,” *The Chicago Defender*, March 26 1949. Probably drawing from Hughes’s 1949 article, Hill claims the play was first staged in 1935 as *The Drums of Haiti* and was published (1936) as *Emperor of Haiti*. Hill, *Black Heroes*, 75. Another source mentions a production by Roxborough in Detroit as *The Drums of Haiti* (April 15 1937). Joseph McLaren, *Langston Hughes, Folk Dramatist in the Protest Tradition, 1921–1943* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997), 101. In the 1949 article, Hughes claims the Karamu production was staged as *Emperor of Haiti*, but a 1936 review gives the title, *Troubled Island*. “Gilpin Players Stage Life of Emperor,” *The Capitol Plaindealer*, November 22 1936. In 1949, it was produced as an opera, *Troubled Island: An Opera in 3 Acts*, with music by William Grant Still, the first Negro to conduct a professional symphony in the US. The premiere was March 31 at the City Center of Music and Drama, New York. Olin Downes, “Halasz Presents

- New Still Opera,” *New York Times*, April 1 1949. Hughes confirms white performers in blackface sang the leading roles. Langston Hughes et al., *Black Magic, a Pictorial History of the Negro in American Entertainment*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), 147. Hill et al., *History of African American Theatre*, 185.
26. Harris, “Genifrede”; “Howard Players Appear in Their Own Plays,” *Chicago Defender*, June 3 1922.
 27. Miller, “Daughters”; “Three Historical Plays Merit High Praise History Week,” *The Afro-American*, February 23 1935.
 28. Ames et al., “Black Empire”; William DuBois, “Haiti,” ed. National Service Bureau (Fairfax: Federal Theatre Project Records, George Mason University, 1938); ———, “Haiti.”
 29. It ran for 16 performances from March 16 to 19 at the Mayan Theatre in LA for over 5000 audience members; at the Lincoln Theatre in LA for three shows in April for almost 1500; the Playhouse in Hollywood for 16 shows in May for over 4500; and the Greek in LA for 7 shows in July with over 10,000 in attendance. Georgia S. Fink et al., “Synopsis and Production Notes for ‘Black Empire’,” in *Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Archive* (Fairfax: George Mason University, 1936).
 30. John O’Connor et al., “Haiti and Black Empire,” in *Free, Adult, Uncensored*, ed. John O’Connor, et al. (Washington D.C.: New Republic Books, 1978), 118.
 31. “‘Haiti’ Viewed by 74,000,” *Daily Mirror*, May 22 1938. Library of Congress, “Federal Theatre Project Collection: A Register of the Library of Congress Collection of U.S. Work Progress Administration Records [Finding Aid],”(2005), <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/eadmus.mu995001>. John O’Connor et al., *Free, Adult, Uncensored: The Living History of the Federal Theatre Project* (Washington D.C.: New Republic Books, 1978), 117.
 32. ———, “Haiti and Black Empire,” 118. On Daly’s: “Two Plays Ending Runs Here Tonight,” *New York Times*, July 9 1938; “Featured in WPA Play,” *The Capitol Plaindealer*, August 5 1938; Lorraine Brown, “Federal Theatre: Melodrama, Social Protest, and Genius,” Library of Congress: American Memory, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/fedtp/ftbrwn05.html>. “Final Performance of ‘Haiti’ Tonight at Avery Memorial,” *Hartford Courant*, October 29 1938. While outside the scope of this study, American actor, Paul Robeson, also played the lead in C.L.R. James’s 1934 play, *Toussaint Louverture*, which was staged at London’s Westminster Theatre in 1936. John H. McClendon, *CLR James’s Notes on Dialectics: Left Hegelianism or Marxism-Leninism?* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2004), 8. First published in 2013, James, *Toussaint Louverture*.

33. Dash, "Theater," 18.
34. *Ibid.*, 19–20.
35. Clare Corbould, "At the Feet of Dessalines: Performing Haiti's Revolution During the New Negro Renaissance," in *Beyond Blackface: African Americans and the Creation of American Popular Culture, 1890–1930*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brandage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Kate Dossett, "Commemorating Haiti on the Harlem Stage," *The Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 22, no. 1 (2010); Clare Corbould, *Becoming African Americans: Black Public Life in Harlem 1919–1939* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Dash, "Theater.,"; VèVè A. Clark, "Haiti's Tragic Overture: (Mis) Representations of the Haitian Revolution in World Drama (1796–1975)," in *Representing the French Revolution: Literature, Historiography and Art*, ed. James Heffernan (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1992). See also Hill et al., *History of African American Theatre*, 87–89; 138–39; 317.
36. Sotiropoulos, *Staging Race*, 26.
37. *Ibid.*, 28.
38. J. Michael Dash, *Haiti and the United States: National Stereotypes and the Literary Imagination* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 55. While Dash capitalizes "Movement," I have changed it to distinguish between the political/social organization known as the New Negro Movement, established by Hubert Henry Harrison (1916–17) and the largely apolitical literary and cultural movement (with a small "m") associated with Alain Locke and which, for Gates, runs from 1892 to 1938. Dash is discussing the latter.
39. Gates et al., eds., *The New Negro*.
40. Matthew Pratt Guterl, *The Color of Race in America, 1900–1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 166.
41. Douglass, "From Lecture on Haiti."
42. *Ibid.*, 203.
43. *Ibid.*, 208.
44. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 145.
45. Waldo E. Martin Jr., *The Mind of Frederick Douglass* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 3.
46. Douglass, "From Lecture on Haiti," 206.
47. L'Ouverture and Dessalines fought with the Spanish as well as the French revolutionary army, and for all of his documented militancy, Dessalines did not initially forsake France. Girard, "Reappraisal," 555, 566. Nor did the *gens de couleur* immediately or always side with the enslaved; they initially aligned themselves with their French fathers. Nonetheless, the

- narrative is often reduced to a binary conflict. Even in Haiti, after the 1802 defection of most officers of color from the French Army, the story becomes increasingly reified as a “binary conflict” of black and mixed-race rebels versus the white French. *Ibid.*, 564.
48. Douglass names the 90th anniversary, but Haiti became independent on January 1, 1804.
 49. Douglass, “Oration,” 133.
 50. James V. Hatch et al., eds., *Black Theatre USA: Plays by African Americans: The Early Period 1847–1938* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 2. Described as a verse-play in *IBID.*; Dickson D. Bruce Jr., *Black American Writing from the Nadir: The Evolution of a Literary Tradition, 1877–1915* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989); Hill et al., *History of African American Theatre*, 138.
 51. Easton, *Dessalines*, 8–9.
 52. *Ibid.*, 13.
 53. ———, “Preface,” in *Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale* (Galveston: J.W. Burson Co., 1893), vii.
 54. ———, “Dramatis Personae,” in *Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale* (Galveston: J.W. Burson Co., 1893), xi.
 55. ———, *Dessalines*, 81–82.
 56. *Ibid.*, 11.
 57. *Ibid.*, 4.
 58. *Ibid.*, 5.
 59. *Ibid.*, 11.
 60. Marie-Claire Heureuse Félicité, Dessalines’ consort and Empress of Haiti, 1804–06.
 61. Easton, *Dessalines*, 9, 10.
 62. Rigaud refers loosely to André Rigaud, a leader of the *gens de couleur*. Dubois, *Avengers*, 119–22.
 63. Easton, *Dessalines*, 22.
 64. *Ibid.*, 26–27, 52–53.
 65. *Ibid.*, 51.
 66. *Ibid.*, 57.
 67. *Ibid.*, 62.
 68. *Ibid.*, 61.
 69. *Ibid.*, 62.
 70. *Ibid.*
 71. *Ibid.*, 74–75.
 72. *Ibid.*, 89.
 73. *Ibid.*, 113.
 74. *Ibid.*, 116.

75. *La Marseillaise* is the French national anthem; it was adopted as the Republic's anthem in 1795 and therefore represents the idea of liberty and revolution, even in the context of Haiti. Since 1904, the Haitian national anthem is "*La Dessalinienne*." Easton, *Dessalines*, 117.
76. Robert J. Fehrenbach, "William Edgar Easton's *Dessalines*: A Nineteenth-Century Drama of Black Pride," *CLA Journal* 19 (1975): 83.
77. Easton, "Preface," vii.
78. Girard, "Reappraisal."
79. Dubois, *Avengers*, 296–97.
80. *Ibid.*, 303.
81. C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 256.
82. Dubois, *Avengers*, 306. There is no evidence to confirm manner or location of Dessalines' death, but it is generally accepted that his men and mulatto rivals were responsible.
83. Hatch and Shine describe the work as "militant." Hatch et al., eds., *Black Theatre USA*, 2.
84. Fehrenbach, "Easton's *Dessalines*," 83. Hill and Hatch call it "romantic melodrama." Hill et al., *History of African American Theatre*, 138.
85. Hatch et al., eds., *Black Theatre USA*, 2. The preface is not available through the Black Drama website.
86. Du Bois, "Krigwa," 134.
87. Easton, "Preface," vii.
88. Guterl, "New Race Consciousness," 351, n.85. ———, *Color of Race*.
89. William A. Edwards, "Racial Purity in Black and White: The Case of Marcus Garvey and Earnest Cox," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 15, no. 1 (1987); George Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism and 'Pan-Africanism': Some Historical Notes," *Phylon* 23 (1962).
90. Guterl, *Color of Race*.
91. Delilah Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (Book Jungle, 2007), 258–59; Hill et al., *History of African American Theatre*, 139; Fehrenbach, "Easton's *Dessalines*."
92. Easton, "Preface," v.
93. *Ibid.*, v–vi.
94. *Ibid.*, vi.
95. *Ibid.*, vii.
96. Anthony W. Neal, "Maud Cuney-Hare: Lifting the Race through the Arts," *The Bay State Banner* (2012), <http://baystatebanner.com/news/2012/nov/07/maud-cuney-hare-lifting-the-race-through-the-arts/>
97. Logan et al., *Dictionary*, 151.
98. *Ibid.*

99. Philip S. Foner, *American Socialism and Black Americans* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977), 85. Socialism emerged in the US from the antebellum communitarian movements in the decades preceding the Civil War; Marxism “arrived” in November 1851, “when Joseph Weydemeyer landed in New York.” *Ibid.*, 3, 5. In 1879, George Mack was the “first colored man to wear the red badge” in New York. *Ibid.*, 58. The US Socialist Party was established in 1901. *Ibid.*, 93.
100. *Ibid.*, 85.
101. Jacob S. Dorman, *Chosen People: The Rise of American Black Israelite Religions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
102. James, *Black Jacobins*, 309; Madison Smartt Bell, *Toussaint Louverture: A Biography* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007), 195.
103. Vodou was not recognized as Haiti’s legitimate and official religion until the 1990s under President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. ———, *Toussaint Louverture*, 289.
104. *Ibid.*, 195.
105. Easton, *Dessalines*, 6.
106. *Ibid.*, 102.
107. “Public Reading.”
108. Cuney-Hare, “Letter.”
109. Guterl, *Color of Race*; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).
110. Guterl, *Color of Race*, 5–6.
111. All three plays use the term *voodoo* therefore I use it in this section. On the “Dessalinian imaginary” in French language plays: Marie-Agnes Sourieau, “Dessalines in Historic Drama and Haitian Contemporary Reality,” *Small Axe* 9, no. 2 (2005).
112. Hughes, “Emperor,” 14.
113. *Ibid.*, 31.
114. Matheus, “Ouanga,” 2, 21.
115. By creole, I refer to the enslaved born in the colony as opposed to those kidnapped from Africa.
116. Hughes, “Emperor,” 48.
117. *Ibid.*, 72, 40.
118. Matheus, “Ouanga,” 2.
119. Jay Dearborn Edwards et al., *A Creole Lexicon: Architecture, Landscape, People* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 2004), 221, 219, 248.
120. Matheus, “Ouanga,” 15.
121. Hughes, “Emperor,” 10.
122. *Ibid.*, 18–19.
123. *Ibid.*, 19.

124. *Ibid.*, 24.
125. *Ibid.*, 20.
126. *Ibid.*, 34.
127. *Ibid.*, 30.
128. *Ibid.*, 65.
129. *Ibid.*, 74.
130. Matheus, "Ouanga," 2, 22–23.
131. *Ibid.*, 16.
132. *Ibid.*, 3.
133. Parascandola, *Look for Me*, 17.
134. Qtd. in *ibid.*, 125.
135. Langston Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain [1926]," *The Nation* (2002), <http://www.thenation.com/article/negro-artist-and-racial-mountain>; Kenneth W. Warren, "Appeals for (Mis)Recognition: Theorizing the Diaspora," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Amy Kaplan, et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 397.
136. Dash, *Haiti and the United States*, 53.
137. *Ibid.*, 52–53.
138. McLaren, *Langston Hughes, Folk Dramatist*, 103–04.
139. Matheus, "Ouanga," 3.
140. *Ibid.*
141. Largey, "An African-American Opera," 50.
142. *Ibid.*, 42.
143. Alain Locke, ed. *The New Negro (1925)* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), xi–xii.
144. Qtd. in Largey, "An African-American Opera," 50. The Julius Rosenwald Fund frequently sponsored White's travels and the Harmon Foundation supported his trip to Haiti with Matheus. Rosenwald was the longtime president of Sears, Roebuck, and Company. White real estate developer, William E. Harmon established the Harmon Foundation to recognize the cultural achievements of Negroes.
145. Hughes qtd. in the editor's introduction, Langston Hughes, "Havana Nights and Cuban Color Lines," (1930) in *The Reader's Companion to Cuba*, ed. Alan Ryan (San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Co, 1997), 80–81.
146. Hughes qtd. in *ibid.*, 82.
147. ———, "Emperor," 30, 31.
148. *Ibid.*, 23.
149. Dash, *Haiti and the United States*, 11.
150. Foner, *American Socialism*, 289.
151. Guterl, *Color of Race*, 6.
152. Foner, *American Socialism*, 291.
153. *Ibid.*, 292.

154. Ibid.
155. Ibid., 312. These were the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party. Ibid., 304.
156. Ibid., 288.
157. Ibid., 298, 292–302. In reference to James Weldon Johnson, “The Truth About Haiti,” *The Crisis* 20 (1920). Johnson’s mother was of racially mixed Haitian ancestry. Logan et al., *Dictionary*, 353.
158. Foner, *American Socialism*, 301.
159. Fortune’s treatise was widely distributed among Negro farmers. Ibid., 89–90. Logan et al., *Dictionary* 236–38.
160. Harrison was born in the Danish West Indies. ———, *Dictionary* 292–93; Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883–1918*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); Parascandola, *Look for Me’*.
161. “The New Race-Consciousness,” in Hubert Henry Harrison, *When Africa Awakes [1920]* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1997).
162. Foner, *American Socialism*, 302.
163. Ibid., 195. Parascandola, *Look for Me’*, 132.
164. ———, *Look for Me’*, 15.
165. Edwards, “Racial Purity,” 117.
166. “Howard Players.”
167. “25,000 Negroes Convene: International Gathering Will Prepare Own Bill of Rights,” *New York Times*, Aug 2 1920.
168. Jill Lane, “On Colonial Forgetting: The Conquest of New Mexico and Its *Historia*,” in *The Ends of Performance*, ed. Peggy Phelan, et al. (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 54.
169. “25,000 Negroes.”
170. See the poster, “‘Haiti’ a Drama of the Black Napoleon by William Du Bois with the New York Cast,” (Boston: Federal Theatre Project, 1938), loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3f05469/
171. Nicholas Mirzoeff, “‘Reckless Eyeballing’: Why Freddie Gray Was Killed,” <https://wp.nyu.edu/howtoseetheworld/2015/05/30/auto-draft-46/>
172. T. Lothrop Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), viii.
173. Ibid., ix.
174. Corbould, “Feet of Dessalines.”
175. W.E.B. Du Bois, “Hayti,” *The Crisis* 10 (1915); “Our Policy in Haiti Scored in Debate,” *New York Times*, December 22 1929; ———, “Haiti (1920),” in *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader*, ed. David Levering Lewis (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995). Hubert Henry Harrison, “The Cracker in the Caribbean,” in *When Africa Awakes [1920]* (Baltimore:

- Black Classic Press, 1997); ———, “Help Wanted for Hayti,” in *When Africa Awakes [1920]*; ———, “‘Hands across the Sea,’ *Negro World* (September 10, 1921),” in *A Hubert Harrison Reader*, ed. Jeffrey B. Perry, (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2001). James Weldon Johnson, “Self-Determining Haiti. I. The American Occupation,” *The Nation*, August 28 1920; ———, “Self-Determining Haiti. II. What the United States Has Accomplished,” *The Nation*, September 4 1920; ———, “Self-Determining Haiti. III. Government of, by, and for the National City Bank,” *The Nation*, September 11 1920; ———, “Self-Determining Haiti. IV. The Haitian People,” *The Nation*, September 25 1920. Rayford M. Logan, “James Weldon Johnson and Haiti,” *Phylon* 32, no. 4 (1971). Garvey, “Letter to President Louis Borno of Haiti.” See also Brenda Gayle Plummer, “The Afro-American Response to the Occupation of Haiti, 1915–1934,” *Phylon* 2005, no. June 4 (1982).
176. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 44.
177. Parascandola, ‘*Look for Me*’, 24.

Biracial Palimpsests: Racing and Erasure in *Black Empire* and *Haiti*

Two of the most popular plays on the Haitian Revolution, drawing over 100,000 audience members between them, were Federal Theatre Project (FTP) productions about Henri Christophe: *Black Empire* (1932) by Christine Ames and Clark Painter and *Haiti* (1938) by *New York Times* journalist, William DuBois.¹ The Los Angeles Negro Unit produced *Black Empire* in 1936 and the Seattle Negro Unit staged a smaller version in 1938. That same year, the Harlem Negro Unit opened *Haiti* at the Lafayette.² Over several months, *Haiti* also ran at Daly's in New York, in Boston (with the New York cast), and at the Avery Memorial where the Hartford Negro Unit staged it.³ Of all the plays on the theme of the Revolution, only *Haiti* staged any of the anti-white violence for which the historical event is typically emblematic.

Black Empire and *Haiti* present several provocative problems because they trouble the limits of Negro theatre—issues of authorship, actor training, directorial control, and authenticity are highly contested in discussions of the Negro Units.⁴ Indeed, the complex racial genealogies of these two plays make them exemplars for examining the late 1930s phase of biracial reconsolidation in which pan-whiteness and pan-blackness became dominant as well as for exploring the strategies that have been used to situate these plays within the context of Negro theatre. In a sense, the plays are biracial palimpsests wherein each layer contests and obscures others and wherein racing and erasure along lines of black and white is not only a matter of historical fact (i.e. the reification of pan-blackness and

pan-whiteness) but also of ongoing production. This chapter is itself structured by the various layers of racing and erasure at work in and around *Black Empire* and *Haiti*. In each section below, I follow the places of trouble where misreadings of the plays in contemporary scholarship and the archive impinge upon our understandings of the stakes of racial articulations and collaborations in the 1930s. To challenge such misunderstandings, the chapter examines each play and in particular, traces *Haiti*'s deeply racialized provenance in order to put forward an alternative view of interracial collaboration in Negro Unit productions and to demonstrate the ways that the legacies of biracialism often constrain scholarship. The chapter concludes with an alternative reading of the mulatta, Odette, in *Haiti*—one in which she claims the final word and in which she is simultaneously symbolic of both pan-blackness and the disruptive capacity of miscegenation.

RACING AND ERASING *BLACK EMPIRE*

Numerous problems emerge when we analyze Negro Unit productions by non-Negro playwrights because of the tendency to think of the Units as examples of Negro theatre and to draw hard lines between black and white. One approach by scholars that is consistent with Dash's criticisms is to romanticize the Revolution as "an inspiring narrative of black slave resistance."⁵ In his discussion of *Haiti*, for example, Loften Mitchell downplays any interracial aspects in either plot or performance in order to focus exclusively on the theme of the "black nation's uprising." Highlighting this militant aspect, he notes it was "the first time Harlemites sat in a theatre and saw Negroes beating up whites and getting away with it."⁶ Like Mitchell, Glenda L. Gill foregrounds the theme of the Revolution as an articulation of the play's blackness.⁷ Gill suggests, "even though William DuBois, who wrote *Haiti* was a white newspaperman, he seemed to have captured the essence of a black hero, unlike O'Neill who portrayed black men who failed or lost."⁸ More recent scholarship tends to reject both plays because of their white authorship. Corbould claims that *Black Empire* and *Haiti* confirm "old stereotypes about black people's propensity to mysticism and savagery," even if they depict "strong black male leaders."⁹ Rux criticizes that in general the FTP approved plays by white playwrights and rejected those by African-Americans. As proof, he compares *Black Empire*, which he describes as "a play about the negativity of Haitians and voodoo," with Hughes's *Emperor of Haiti/Troubled*

Island, which had been rejected.¹⁰ By describing *Black Empire* in such terms, Rux indicates that white FTP producers, playwrights, and directors preferred flat racist stereotypes; he concludes that the Project did nothing to support the “resurrection of the ‘Negro theatre’.”¹¹

But Negro Units were not part of the little theatre movement as articulated by W.E.B. Du Bois.¹² While Negro FTP playwrights explored “Negro life” and Unit theatres were located in predominantly Negro neighborhoods, the FTP required that audiences be integrated; if a theatre refused to comply, the FTP canceled performances. While the Lafayette Theatre, home to the Harlem Unit, may have been the first NY theatre to desegregate in that by 1912, Negro theatregoers were permitted in orchestra seats instead of segregated to the balcony, by the 1930s, only two other local companies had integrated audiences: the Group Theatre and the Theatre Union.¹³ Under the FTP, Negro and white performers also received equal pay and Negro stagehands were admitted to the union.¹⁴ Langston Hughes notes that previously, even “Negro-owned theatres” had to hire white stagehands and likewise, colored cinema or vaudeville houses could only hire “white operators” to run motion picture projectors or spotlights, but in the FTP, “Negroes could do all these things.”¹⁵ The Project quickly became the largest employer in Harlem and the largest single theatrical agency in the world.¹⁶

Negro Unit administration was also under the co-direction of actress Rose McClendon and the white theatre producer whom she recommended for the position, John Houseman.¹⁷ While no collaborations are free from relations of power, my point is simply that from the start, and in almost all ways, the Negro Units fostered opportunities for integration and a level of interracial collaboration that had not been experienced previously, either in New York or on a national scale. The Negro Units were never intended to be a little theatre movement and it is misleading to judge them by such criteria. Moreover, it was not so much the blackness of the Negro Units that put fear and anger in the heart of the Dies Committee as it was their visible interracial mixing and alleged “leftist” political viewpoints. Such activity, above all, caused the Committee to demand closure of the FTP.

Given the stakes of such collaboration, Negro Unit productions should not be evaluated by little theatre criteria and moreover, “preferred readings” about the function of race in and around these plays need to be challenged.¹⁸ For example, both Corbould and Rux use the same secondary source as the basis for their claims and in so doing each omits a section that acknowledges political reform was an equally important theme in

Black Empire.¹⁹ The omission drives home that white authors mainly cared about depicting voodoo savagery and that Negro Unit audiences were primarily interested in dramatizations of Haiti's revolution because the theme offered strong figures of black masculinity. The conclusion seems to be that Negro Unit audiences, actors, directors, and playwrights were uninterested in having conversations about racism, political reform, racial alliances, or self-government. Indeed, as I shall show below, *Black Empire* turns out to be quite similar to Hughes's play—no more or no less critical of Haiti and very focused on the aftermath of revolution. Given the similarity, the FTP probably should have selected Hughes's play over *Black Empire* but to suggest that a Negro Unit play by a white playwright necessarily depicts racist stereotypes caters to a very flat notion of Negro Unit productions and audiences in the 1930s and a very thin understanding of the ways that depictions of the Haitian Revolution worked to mediate racial positions in US society.

A close reading of the play and historical reviews makes clear that *Black Empire* is not a negative piece about Haitians or voodoo nor was it understood as such at the time of its production. A review by William Pickens, sociology professor and dean at Morgan College and author of *The New Negro: His Political, Civil and Mental Status* (1916), begins:

Look out, Broadway! Jess Brooks is a coming: He is playing Christophe—King Henry the first of Haiti, at Hollywood Playhouse, and he and the colored and white players co-operating with him have thrilled audiences with their reproduction of the court and the character of 'The Black Napoleon.'²⁰

Pickens takes care to describe how he traveled to Haiti in order to help "research" his review and it is no small thing when the important Negro scholar calls *Black Empire* and its production "the first noble historical play of Negro life on the American stage—and there is no mere caricature in it." He concludes, "It should take Broadway.—May it mark the opening of an epoch for Negro plays and players."²¹

What a world of difference between Rux, Corbould, and Pickens. Unlike the contemporary scholars, Pickens's historical review highlights the interracial collaboration of the players; he has no trouble imagining that two white playwrights and a white director could have participated with the integrated cast in creating "the first noble historical play of Negro life on the American stage." Like Easton and Woodson, Pickens was hopeful about the capacity for radical democracy based on a new relationship between "the races."²²

The play consists of a prologue and three acts set over a 2-month period in the spring of 1821. Rather than staging the eve of revolution or the final battle against Napoleon's men, the play, not unlike *Emperor of Haiti*, takes up the long aftermath of revolution and the problems of postcolonial reform. The prologue, set in an abandoned house on the island of St. Helena, stages the decline of the white emperor and lays out the play's plot. Napoleon, exiled, wears a "faded uniform devoid of decorations," and appears "pale" and "very weak" (P-1). He has solicited the young Frenchman, Jacques LeBlanc, to locate the "12 million gold francs" kept by Emperor Henri Christophe, the "Black Napoleon" of Haiti (P-5). Napoleon's goal is not to reclaim the former colony but to purchase his own freedom. The three acts that follow are set in Haiti where Jacques has been sent to spy on Christophe, but he ultimately comes to admire and serve the man he is supposed to trick. Jacques sees the honor in Christophe and his political cause and ultimately refuses to betray him. *Black Empire*, like *Haiti*, hinges on the transformation of a non-black character; by the end of the play, the white Jacques has formed an alliance with the Black Napoleon and forsaken the white one.

The relationship between the prologue and main acts draws a strategic connection between Napoleon and Christophe—one of surrogation, which is further developed throughout the play. Both men are age 52 and both die in the course of action—Napoleon from illness, still in exile in Act II, and Christophe, who vowed never to die a prisoner, takes his own life in Act III. The play, as rightly noted by FTP historians John O'Connor and Lorraine Brown, takes on tough political issues that not only had relevance in 1930s Haiti, but in the USA as well.²³ Christophe is depicted as a great man—a slave who became Emperor. But he is also criticized for his methods of leadership: Act I dramatically depicts daily executions of "voodooists," exhausted laborers, and enemies of state who plan to overthrow him (I-18).

In another telling scene, Christophe's black wife and the white voodoo priestess debate his labor policies and ideas on racial reform:

MARIE [wife]: Emperor Henri loves them! He wants them to be equal to the whites! He builds the palaces for them to look at with pride!

CECILE: (bitterly) Palaces! Their poor eyes close with weariness! They cannot see them!

MARIE: Oh Ti Mamaloi! I'm afraid! The Voodooists must not hate the Emperor. They will pray death to him—destroy him!

CECILE: He condemns them to living death—their poor minds and bodies are numb—the only sensation left them is hatred for him who causes it! (I-19)

This conversation between the *mamaloï* and the empress is hardly the stuff of voodoo stereotype. Marie makes the case that his cruelty is for the good of a people caught in the legacy of slavery and racism while the white Cecile speaks on behalf of the suffering laborers who build Christophe's castles.

But Christophe can neither be written off as a tyrant nor can his achievements be denounced; his character is ultimately warm and intelligent and wins the admiration of both Jacques and audience. In the final scene, just after Christophe's suicide, Jacques declaims, "I came to rob and ridicule a Negro, my brave Henri! I leave your unhappy Empire paying tribute to a great man!" These are the play's final words while the new revolution is heard building outside the palace walls (III-17). To drive home the political power of Christophe, the poster tagline read, "The Black Magic of Haiti in the story of the only man Napoleon feared..."²⁴

How, then, is the play anti-Haitian or about voodoo? On one hand, it uses Haitian drumming and dance and contains several allusions to the impending human sacrifice and cannibalization of the white man, Jacques (II-11, II-31). But according to the script and addendum materials, the score and choreography were based at least in part on the study of Haitian forms and did not trope in racist stereotypes like works by other white authors such as *Cannibal Cousins* or *White Zombie*.²⁵ More poignantly, voodoo is not the driving point of the play—instead, many stereotypes of it are challenged. While there is drumming, dancing, and the threat of human sacrifice, there is quite an upset to the primitivist logic typically at work in depictions of voodoo: the mulattos are its primary practitioners, the *mamaloï* is white, and the black Christophe is an atheist (I-14-15). Indeed, here, as in the Dessalinian dramas by Negro playwrights, the mulattoes are the "trouble-makers" of the play (II-30). The villain is not the white Napoleon, who serves only as pretext, but the mulatto Rigaud, who mobilizes against Henri in order to claim power for himself and his conspirators. If we see the hand of white authors, perhaps it is in the depiction of Cecile's would-be virtuousness as she defends the poor Haitians—a kind of white do-goodism—or in the titillation of her "going native" as a vodou practitioner.

Nonetheless, rejecting the production because of white authorship misses an opportunity to develop more nuanced understandings of race and FTP theatre. Given the risks involved in interracial collaboration during the second Red Scare, scholars have an obligation to question the function of race in Negro Unit productions, to rethink inherited plot summaries and descriptions, and to provide more than simplistic “black” or “white” readings of the work. The use of preferred readings that reinscribe contemporary investments in race and racialization limits the capacity to see the collaborative experiments that were attempted within the deeply racist structures of the early twentieth century and overlooks the crucial role of the mulatta/o in plays on the Revolution.

FTP, HUAC, AND THE HIGH STAKES OF INTERRACIAL COLLABORATION

In 1938, the FTP was brought under FBI scrutiny and targeted in Senate hearings by the newly formed House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). Senator Dies (R-TX), its chair, believed that Communism promoted “discontent among Negroes” and that the Federal One projects were “Trojan Horses” of that ideology.²⁶ More than any other Federal One project, HUAC targeted the FTP; in its hearings, FTP director, Hallie Flanagan, was repeatedly asked if the arts, especially theatre, were weapons for social change and communist propaganda.²⁷ Indeed, the aim of the HUAC witch-hunt was not only to root out communism, but also to police Negro resistance and interracial relationships, and to limit the use of the arts for implementing social and economic reform. The success of Negro Unit productions, equal pay regardless of race, and integration of casts and audiences were viewed by HUAC as additional signs of communist influence.²⁸ Senator Robert R. Reynolds (D-NC) claimed the FTP spread “the cardinal keystone of Communism—free love and racial equality” and that it did so “at the expense of the god-fearing home-loving American taxpayer.”²⁹ As O’Connor and Brown note, “any [play] where blacks and whites worked together to overcome oppression automatically signaled Communist propaganda.”³⁰

“Un-American” activities specifically included the interracial collaboration and desegregation the FTP exemplified and it was common for the FBI, HUAC, and the Department of Investigation (DOI) to target Negro Unit projects for harassment.³¹ Testimony that sutured stories of interracial mixing and radicalism were prominent in the highly theatrical HUAC

hearings. One informant described a party where young Negro men and “white” girls danced together and speeches were made praising the Workers Alliance.³² A FTP actress testified that a Negro actor in the company asked her on a date and one newspaper exaggerates the story with the headline, “Reds Urged ‘Mixed Date’ Blonde Tells Dies Probers.”³³ The Committee hearings themselves constituted a kind of national drama, with thousands of column inches appearing in newspapers within the first few weeks; one journalist called it a “performance” that was “made to order” for both press and US public.³⁴ The linkages of anti-communism, racism, and misogyny in HUAC testimonies created a public culture of shaming and suspicion. Senator Theodore Bilbo (D-MS), for example, formally castigated Ellen Woodward, director of Federal One, on the Senate floor for attending a racially integrated party for the FWP. Dramatically, he warned that a lynching would have occurred had the party been in his home state.³⁵

UN-AMERICAN *HAITI*

Within this climate, the cast and crew of *Haiti* were followed, arrested, and threatened. The theatrical and rehearsal spaces of the Negro Units in general were penetrated through acts of surveillance by the same government that funded its productions. DOI informant William J. Riley singled out *Haiti* for its lurid racial mixing. He testified that the “white woman” who played the role of the mixed-race Odette lived with one of the Negro actors, visited various nightclubs with him, and had been arrested for disorderly conduct. According to Riley, *Haiti* was closed at the Lafayette for these reasons.³⁶

Haiti, set in 1802, tells the story of the final turning point in the long Revolution. Napoleon has sent more troops to reclaim the former colony and traveling with them is Odette, who at first appears to be a French lady in Pauline Bonaparte’s entourage. During the course of the play, Napoleon’s men capture and betray Toussaint but Christophe and his men defeat them in the play’s magnificent climactic scene. Meanwhile, Odette discovers that her father is the mulatto adjutant to Toussaint, Jacques, and that her deceased mother was an “octoroon” who had successfully passed for white: “Lovely—rich—white. Her parents were well-buried in Martinique.”³⁷ Once Odette learns of her shifting racial position, she must choose between her albeit threatened white privilege and her newly discovered blackness. Her final radical act at the play’s conclusion is to stay in Haiti and embrace her future as a woman of color.

On July 27, 1938, Congressman and Dies Committee member, J. Parnell Thomas (R-NJ), declared *Haiti* “un-American” due to its “communistic leanings.”³⁸ Undoubtedly, *Haiti* was subversive in theme and content: by physically staging black-on-white violence and by extension, rehearsing racial revolution, it mediated heated racial and political issues. But perhaps above all, *Haiti* caused panic through its interracial collaboration and depiction of miscegenation (both staged and real), audience desegregation, and salary equity. The Negro Units were a powerful tool for economic, social, cultural and political change and had produced images that threatened and exposed existing power relations. It makes sense that the FTP was the first of the Federal One projects targeted by HUAC and that the Negro Units figured prominently in the investigations. After all, during Shakespeare’s day theatres closed not only for the plague, but also out of fear of large assemblies of people, which always have the potential to burst into riotous threat. *Haiti* was ultimately evidenced in the successful argument for closing the FTP, which shut its doors in early 1939.

It is clear from HUAC receptions that the play’s interracial aspects constituted a significant portion of its political significance and dangerousness. Yet in spite of the stance, risk, and costs of interracial collaborations, most of the limited scholarship on *Haiti* obscures the play’s racial complexities in some startling ways in order to align it within the structures of “Negro theatre.” While recently, *Black Empire* has been simply, if erroneously, dismissed as racist stereotype—as too white perhaps to be considered Negro theatre at all—*Haiti* has been “blackened” in a sense to fit the category, primarily through racialized misattribution and the story of its great revision. Indeed, *Black Empire* and *Haiti* are particularly instructive, not only as experiments in interracial collaboration but also as examples of the ways such collaborations are silenced through contemporary racialized logics in scholarship and the archive.

MISATTRIBUTING *HAITI*

As I have demonstrated elsewhere, *Haiti* has been repeatedly misattributed to W.E.B. Du Bois and analyzed as an example of his concept of Negro theatre even though a southern white man who has been described as an “anti-miscegenist” and “a real cracker” was its author. The Library of Congress, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture at the New York Public Library, the British Library, WorldCat, and several

individual scholars make the misattribution.³⁹ Most notable, perhaps, is a 1983 French translation of the play, which contains a critical introduction that situates the work within Du Bois's theory of theatre: "*L'oeuvre dramatique de Du Bois, Haïti (1938) participe de cet art militant.*" [Du Bois's dramatic work, *Haiti*, participates in this militant art.]⁴⁰ Moreover, both the French (mis)translation and erroneous library catalogs are sources for a growing phantom body of scholarship on *Haiti* by W.E.B. Du Bois—a play that does not exist other than through its theorization and racialization in scholarship and the archive.⁴¹

The source of confusion is not merely a similarity in names, but a biracialized logic which assumes that a play on the revolution of the Black Republic staged by a Negro Unit *must* be written by an African-American author.⁴² The translator has imagined the racialized content and context in such a way that she has projected the "blackness" of the topic, as she reads it, onto the playwright. In order to grapple with the conflicts that inhere in white-authored Negro Unit plays, the complexity of the interracial dynamics on and off stage are simply erased in the misattribution scenario in order to present a tidy representation of Du Bois's definition of little theatre. By converting the play into a little Krigwa piece by W.E.B. himself, both its "anti-miscegenist" white origins and its interracial collaborations are cleanly erased; the play's blackness is a kind of restored behavior—a restoration of a version that never was. And yet that process of restoration began right from the start. As it turns out, the misattribution first appeared in Negro newspapers on February 25, 1938—several days before the play even opened—when Alvin J. Moses' New York theatre column "Footlight Flickers," which was syndicated by the Associated Negro Press in Chicago, erroneously declared, "A never to be forgotten scene is the opening curtain of our own W. Burghardt Du Bois's 'Haiti,' a WPA drama playing at the old Lafayette."⁴³ In later reviews, there is no more mention of W.E.B. and William DuBois is correctly credited as author.⁴⁴

REVISING *HAITI*

In a 1978 interview with O'Connor and Brown, New York director, Maurice Clark, tells of revising the play's final scene so that he could "bring forth the underlying dramatic story of the struggle for racial identity and self-determination for black Haiti."⁴⁵ According to Clark, DuBois was "a real southern Cracker," and the original script was "about miscegenation, which excited him terribly."⁴⁶ Clark told the playwright, "Look, this play

should be done in Harlem, but if it is [...], I can tell you one thing. They will come right over the footlights and tear us to pieces.” Clark describes how the two then “went to work,” and “rewrote this play from top to bottom.”⁴⁷ For emphasis, he specifies that DuBois only agreed to the revisions on the single condition that no black and white hands would be allowed to touch during the production.⁴⁸ With great flourish, Clark describes how “during the play the white and black actors didn’t touch, but the encore was mine. When the curtain came up for the encore, the whites were among the blacks, holding hands, and that’s how they took their bows.”⁴⁹

Clark, also white, distances himself politically from the author by referring to him as a racist Cracker who is excited (read both aroused and made anxious) by miscegenation. The northern director also makes clear that he assumes a kind of authorial power at the end of the play by denying the southern playwright’s one condition and offering in its place a strong image of the racial integration and possible miscegenation that so consternated the Dies Committee: the linked black and white hands. The image of integration was picked up in the press; a review in *Time* used similar rhetoric to describe how the “half-white, half-Negro cast” took their first bows while holding hands before a wildly enthusiastic, “half-white, half-Negro audience.”⁵⁰ The half-and-half-ness—repeated for both cast and audience—is a rhetorical trope that drives home the point of integration at every level.

One might assume the playwright was enraged at this gesture. Yet in a *NYT* article soon after opening night, the playwright describes the production in some detail and there is none of the response one might expect from a racist “cracker.”⁵¹ Instead, DuBois enthusiastically conveys his experience with the Negro Unit and his respect for the FTP.⁵² He tells how Ullman, who had rejected the script the year before, contacted him with the idea of staging it at the Lafayette. Moreover, DuBois also rejected the Shubert brothers when they offered to take *Haiti* from the Lafayette to Broadway. The playwright explained he was “extremely reluctant” to accept their offer and doubted whether a “commercial producer could or would do as well by it.”⁵³ DuBois clarifies the FTP “did well indeed” by his play, which had been rejected by 33 Broadway producers and “never would have seen the light of day without the Federal Theatre.”⁵⁴ One might expect that a racist, anti-miscegenist playwright would sell to the Shuberts right away in order to get the work in the hands of a white producer so the “original” tale could be told and the bodies kept separate both onstage and off. Indeed,

the Shubert brothers had the most prominent US theatre empire in the early twentieth century; on the eve of the Depression, they “owned, operated, managed or booked close to a thousand houses across the United States.”⁵⁵ His response to the Shuberts makes no sense if we believe Clark’s somewhat inflammatory rhetoric—yet DuBois never sold.

Nonetheless, the overly reductive editorial summary that accompanies Clark’s interview has subsequently become the preferred reading of the play. In it, the revision is Clark’s alone.

Actually, southerner DuBois’ original script focused on the evils of miscegenation, but New York director Maurice Clark was able to rewrite enough of it to bring forth the underlying dramatic story of the struggle for racial identity and self-determination for black Haiti.⁵⁶

I do not doubt a revision was needed to make the play right for the moment and for Harlem, but since 1978, most scholarship on the play simply amplifies the story of the script’s epic revision.⁵⁷ One scholar elaborates how the play “had been utterly transformed. No longer a play about the tragic demise of the French, it was now a dramatization of the black struggle for freedom.”⁵⁸ Another describes how it had been “resuscitated from a miserable script about miscegenation into a celebration of the anticolonial revolution.”⁵⁹ Each subsequent reiteration relies more on inherited readings and less on primary sources or historical reviews (an increasingly mannerist scholarly method). One author exaggerates that DuBois stipulated, “no white person should touch a black person in performance” before “granting rights” to *any* of “his plays.”⁶⁰ Another copies the bit about the play being “a warning against the dangers of miscegenation,” while exaggerating the racial makeup of the Negro Unit by converting it much too easily into “an all-black troupe.”⁶¹

Yet the original script is non-extant. Neither Princeton, George Mason, the Billy Rose Theatre Collection, nor the Library of Congress have manuscripts other than the 1938 Random House publication, a 1938 National Service Bureau copy, and a version titled “Complete Working Script”; all are versions of the collaborative revision.⁶² Not even the William DuBois Collection at Boston University has the original.⁶³ With the story of the epic revision in mind, it may seem logical to attribute certain moments in the 1938 Random House publication to the racist author, such as Odette’s horror when she discovers she is part black—or other moments to the revision, such as Odette’s ultimate action at the end of the play

where she embraces her blackness and remains in Haiti. Then again, these are the kinds of biracial logics that permit racialized misattribution and overly simplistic readings of the play. Indeed, like the cinematic fantasies of the Rough Riders in Cuba, the story of the epic revision also relies on a kind of restored behavior of a past that never was—in this case, on a white racist original that seems to have totally disappeared from the archive.⁶⁴

In all, dramatic difference is overproduced between the racist original and the racialized revision. Somewhat like the misattribution, the story of the great revision is another mechanism for blackening *Haiti* in subject matter and provenance. Moreover, Clark's position in the process is so aligned with "black Haiti" and so against that of the "southern cracker," that several scholars, including myself, have misidentified him as Negro.⁶⁵ What is consistently erased from the story of the great revision is the participation of the integrated cast in shaping the production as well as that of the diverse Harlem community in providing feedback even before the production hit the stage. In a lecture at the Lafayette weeks before the opening, for example, Arthur Schomburg, "noted curator and outstanding Negro historiographer, acquainted listeners with historical background information" on the Revolution and some community members with expertise were invited to read the script in advance.⁶⁶ As Adrienne Macki rightly reminds us, actors, audiences, and communities shape the theatre-making process.⁶⁷ Above all, what is ultimately missing from the scholarship on *Haiti* is a close reading of the ways race is staged in the production and an acknowledgment of the play as a critically miscegenated text—by that I mean one that was racially integrated in terms of cast, audience, and collaborative authorship but also one that raised questions about racial alliances through the very figure of miscegenation: Odette, the mulatta who can pass for white.⁶⁸

STAGING *HAITI*

When *Haiti* first opened at Harlem's Lafayette Theatre on March 2, the original cast included Louis Sharp as an aging Toussaint L'Ouverture, Alvin Childress as Jacques, Elena Karam as his estranged daughter, Odette, and Rex Ingram as Christophe. The play was very well received by the racially integrated audience, which according to the stage manager, Thomas Brooks, demanded eight curtain calls on opening night.⁶⁹ In the following days, white critics praised the play as a "rousing," "very colorful," and "lusty show."⁷⁰ Brooks Atkinson, the most powerful critic

in New York theatre at the time, writes, “Out of the bloody records of the Negro insurrection of 1802,” Mr. DuBois “has fashioned a roaring melodrama.” Atkinson concludes, “Nothing so good has exploded in the midst of Harlem since the racy nights of [voodoo] ‘Macbeth’” and that “[i]f [the Haitian Revolution] is a tale that made the hair of the French Army curl, it does the same for the toupee [read white] theatergoer.”⁷¹ John Anderson from *Journal American* similarly warns would-be audience members that “European civilization” is left “standing on the beach [...] with quaking knees, and probably getting its feet wet.”⁷² With these comments, both critics highlight anxieties about the Haitian Revolution’s dramatic “reversal of the master–slave relationship.”⁷³

Writing for the Associated Negro Press, Alvin Moses is somewhat more ambivalent. In a preview article, he refers to Christophe as a “despot” but in a review several weeks later, he describes him as a “military genius who thwarted the dreams of the French emperor” and praises the “mixed cast” for putting together the “FINEST PLAY PRODUCED IN NEW YORK IN RECENT YEARS.”⁷⁴ He rated it four stars, “with a recommendation that BROADWAY get over its scare-phobia [sic] as to how ‘NEGROPHOBES’ might receive this mighty spectacle of ... BLACK ISLAND DOMINANCE... and give ‘Milky Way’ theatre-goers an opportunity to view some grand acting.”⁷⁵ [Capitalization in original.] Reviews in Negro newspapers tended to celebrate the historical theme of the play as much as its spectacle—especially the historical leaders depicted in the production. An article in the Norfolk *New Journal and Guide* notes that Schomburg was “very enthusiastic” on the points in his lecture that dealt with the “courage and heroism of Toussaint L’Ouvverture and Christophe.”⁷⁶ Another article titled “Heroes of Haiti Live in WPA Theatre Play,” begins “Toussaint L’Ouvverture! Christophe! Dessalines! Liberators of Haiti! Martyrs for Freedom! Slaves who have received the greatest tributes ever paid to mortals by the pens of famous writers will soon live again in one of the most stirring dramas yet produced by the WPA Federal Theatre Project.”⁷⁷ Al Monroe describes the play’s subject as “the lives of Toussaint L’Ouvverture and Christophe, martyrs for the cause of black justice” and Ingram as its “stellar attraction.”⁷⁸ Only one review in a Negro newspaper seems to have criticized the play’s historical inaccuracies and accused it of misrepresenting “the Blacks” because it “shamefully” depicted Toussaint as “tired” rather than as a “great captured general” and because it was Dessalines, not Christophe, who defeated Napoleon in 1802.⁷⁹

The provocative *Haiti* surely thrilled audiences with its unprecedented depictions of interracial violence. By the end of the second act, for example, Christophe uses guerrilla techniques to kill Odette's cruel French husband, Boucher; stage directions suggest that the audience should see Christophe's arm "whipping out of the gloom like a black python" and "dragging Boucher" behind a screen. Moments later, Christophe returns alone with Boucher's gun in hand.⁸⁰ On one hand, the Frenchman's offstage death minimizes the violence of the act making it more palatable for non-Negro audience members, but on the other, the guerrilla method invokes terror precisely because it cannot be anticipated. The play also made substantial impact with its epic scale as it had "a cast of eighty, including a fifteen-piece off-stage orchestra, a nineteen-voice choir for voodoo songs, and a stalwart mob to swarm in at the finish."⁸¹ One reviewer describes the power of the "rising crescendo of battle, until the very end, when the entire mob of Haitians, shouting and screaming, rush madly onstage."⁸² *Time* magazine commented that although the play avoided political heavy-handedness, one "modern meaning" was immediately evident in the audience's physical response to this scene: "When the Haitians win their freedom from the French at the end, the Negroes in the audience burst into frenzied, deep-throated applause" and shouted, "Hit him again!" "Give him a lick for me!"⁸³

Issues of race and power were negotiated both on stage and in various audience receptions—and the content of the play in the context of Harlem was essential to this dynamic. As the *Herald Tribune* review noted, *Haiti* "would still be good melodrama in the vicinity of Forty-second Street, but the smashing climax, with Christophe coming down from the mountains to drive the French into the sea, takes on heightened intensity before a predominantly Negro audience."⁸⁴ Indeed, the "heightened intensity" is precisely the capacity for "another Haiti." The play's radicality lies not only in theme and plot, but also in the spectacle of response. When Atkinson suggests that the content of the play may make the white theatregoer's toupee curl, he acknowledges that the anti-white discourse in the play could easily make the jump from stage to street. Despite the attempt on the part of the white press to downplay the political or racial content of the play, it seems hard to imagine that theatregoers could miss that within the first few moments of dialogue, Christophe makes two direct comments regarding race and freedom. Referring to the slogan of the French Revolution, Christophe states, "'Liberty, equality, fraternity'—if your skin is white enough," and a few short lines later, "Must we belong to France forever? Why not to ourselves?"⁸⁵ Indeed, the irony present in the reviews

by white theatre critics is that the revolution could only be read as such when the Negro audience responded fervently.

For many white critics, any anxiety over theme was couched sufficiently in the erotic desire that was evident in their reviews; terms like “sultry,” “throbbing,” and “racy” were quite common. In general, the pan-white press downplayed the modern racial, anticolonial, or political aspects of the play and opted instead to highlight physical action or romanticize the physicality of the Negro actors. Atkinson, for example, describes how Ingram played the chief part “like a huge cannonball” and led the “the insurgents to victory with all the black force his huge body contains.”⁸⁶ Typical of this approach is Arthur Pollock’s review in the *Brooklyn Eagle*,

This is no modern, realistic treatment of social or race problems. The dramatist has no great yearning to help any underdogs. He is out to make a show, and Henry [sic] Christophe, the indomitable black hero of Haiti’s war with French invaders is just the man for him. Bring the play down to Broadway and present it in the conventional manner and it would be obvious hokum. Up in Harlem, done with picturesque Negro players in the roles of heroic Haitians [...] it is something of a knockout of color and action.⁸⁷

Pollock disavows any social or racial issues in the play by suggesting that the playwright seeks only to entertain and that the story of the “indomitable black hero” simply fits the bill. Pollock then deploys what Trouillot calls a “formula of banalization” in order to ultimately dismiss the play as mere “hokum” and safely locate revolutionary blackness within the field of the picturesque, thereby removing any sense of threat and negating political content.⁸⁸ Focusing on the erotic power of black male actors and the primitive-picturesque permitted pan-white audience members to disavow direct political or racial overtones even as the presence of a responsive Negro audience threatened this perspective.

Reviews in the Associated Negro Press’s “Footlight Flickers” likewise devoted numerous lines to Ingram’s physicality. One notes the “stalwart leading man” had caused “many a feminine heart to skip a beat as he paraded up and down the playhouse’s entrance ten minutes before the curtain time.” One reviewer writing for Moses’s column asserts, “I’d call Rex Ingram ‘PUHlenty man in my lingo, and we’re not given over much to raving about the opposite sex unless such merit is completely justified.”⁸⁹ Yet another praises him as the “possessor of a physique that would have inspired a Phidias and with a brain that enabled him to win the coveted Phi Beta Kappa key for scholastic excellence [...]”⁹⁰

MISCEGENATED *HAITI*: ODETTE AND THE FINAL SCENE

As was the case with the Dessalinian dramas by Negro authors, the character of the mulatta is crucial to the play. Indeed, Odette wastes no time with superficial talk but from her first entrance raises the question of self-government that had been at the fore of debates on the US occupation of Haiti when she asks a French soldier and her would-be suitor if he believes France will really offer freedom to Haiti. When he answers that protection is a better word, she responds “Protection! You mean, an iron on their necks again.” When he questions, “Can we let them govern themselves?” her terse response is, “We might let them try.”⁹¹ Later in the same scene, she eloquently defends the right of the enslaved to claim their freedom:

In those days, there were nearly a hundred slaves to each white master.... Human beings ... starved, shackled, driven like cattle from barracks to cane-field. Can you blame them for seizing their freedom? Why should they give it back to us ... to anyone? It's a clear-cut case, Michel. Far more important than black against white. It's injustice, masquerading as brotherly love. It's a brand-new tyrant, come to take away another people's right to live.⁹²

Her concerns for the people of Haiti may have been given within the frame of the Haitian Revolution, but spoken from a stage in 1938 Harlem, the words resonated with criticisms that the Negro press had levied against the US occupation of Haiti and even more so with the growing frustration at the disenfranchised status of the Negro at home.⁹³

Odette is no tragic mulatta. In fact, the conversations she has with Christophe comprise the most directly critical discourse in the play. When Christophe ultimately reveals her family secret to her she indeed cries, “You're lying! For the love of God, tell me you're lying!” but where the tragic Zoe in Boucicault's *The Octoroon* (1859) poisons herself to avoid a fate she cannot endure, Odette is shown at the close of the play standing fearlessly on her own.⁹⁴ After the last of the French are driven from the island or killed, Christophe bursts onstage and announces victory—“Haiti is ours forever, my people! We are *free!*”—but the play does not end with the crowd of Haitians cheering this news.⁹⁵ Instead, the final scene belongs to Odette. Once Christophe announces victory, he sees her kneeling by her father's body and as stage directions indicate,

Christophe stops, bows his head, giving her a look of pity and understanding. The cheering stops, and the black world clustered around him looks at Odette without a sound as she slowly rises, facing her future unafraid.⁹⁶

Here, the “black world” bears witness to her racial transformation; the curtain closes on this scene, marking Odette’s rather fearless acceptance of her fate as a woman of color.

Yet despite Odette’s direct confrontation with issues of colonization, occupation, and oppression as well as her prominent position in the play’s final scene, she is all but absent from the Negro press and the white reviewers tended to whitewash her character or minimize the presence of miscegenation in the play. Some white critics refused to acknowledge Odette as a racially mixed figure altogether and categorized her within the biracial framework. Atkinson refers to her simply as a “French lady.”⁹⁷ Meanwhile, the *Herald Tribune* review seems to apply Plessy when it claims that Odette’s small amount of “Negro blood makes her sympathize instinctively with Christophe.”⁹⁸ Odette clearly believes in the equality and freedom of the enslaved before she learns of her own racial heritage, but with this perspective, her actions are reduced to a racial instinct—which is no action at all: “Why does Odette love the Haitians so well? Because she is the black Jacques’s only daughter. He was the lover of her lovely white mother!”⁹⁹ A review in *The New Republic* refers to her simply as “half-black” and theatre critic Joseph Krutch, writing in *The Nation*, as the “bastard daughter of an ancient ex-slave.”¹⁰⁰ The pan-white reviewers in general tended to erase distinctions into biracial categories: Howard Barnes assumes that Odette’s mulatto father was black, the review in *Time* refers to him as a “Negro,” and Arthur Pollock takes Odette’s octoroon mother for white.¹⁰¹

As HUAC investigations make clear, racial mixing was considered a substantial threat, yet only one of the opening night reviews in the mainstream press mentioned miscegenation directly.¹⁰² Writing in the *Daily News*, Robert Sylvester brings up as somewhat of an afterthought that *Haiti* “is also miscegenation, off-stage gunfire and even a little ‘White Cargo.’”¹⁰³ The latter is a reference to Leon Gordon’s controversial play, which ran at the Greenwich Village Theatre for 257 performances in 1923 and 1924 and was allegedly the first Broadway production to depict interracial marriage between a “white” man and a Negro woman.¹⁰⁴ Another reviewer refers to it somewhat euphemistically as the “racial question,” when he notes,

The whole racial question is raised, without being labored, when an officer’s wife finds that her father was black. These are minor variations, though, on a major theme. The play is at its best when Christophe is throttling a sentry

and escaping the trap laid for him and Toussaint L'Ouverture or when he is storming the last French stronghold with his black followers triumphantly waving the tri-color.¹⁰⁵

The review moves quickly from Odette's mixed status to refocus on Christophe, again, emphasizing blackness and masculine bravado. Eric Lott has argued convincingly that the preoccupation with miscegenation was a "kind of shorthand" for "white male attraction to and repulsion from the black penis," but with the white critical response to *Haiti*, we see a kind of reversal of this dynamic—the focus on Ingram's physicality becomes a way to avoid the topic of miscegenation altogether.¹⁰⁶

When the reviewer suggests the "racial question" was "raised" without being "labored," he confirms that while present thematically, the topic was not depicted in a way that troubled anti-miscegenist sensibilities. This is largely because Odette's gesture at the end of the play reconciles her position within the dominant biracial framework—that is, she chooses to align herself with the Negro cause. This safely marks her previously "invisible blackness," thereby reducing some concern on the part of pan-white anti-miscegenists even as her gesture is also symbolic of the successful formation of pan-blackness in that the mulatta becomes a kind of race woman when she embraces her position within the "black world." Indeed, Odette is a figuration of both the absorption of the mixed-race figure within the category of pan-blackness and the ongoing disruptive capacity of miscegenation—a kind of anarchy of biracialism.

By tracing the racial position of the figure of the mulatta, from Claire or Clarisse in the Dessalinian dramas to Odette in *Haiti* we clearly see the arc of shifting racial taxonomies and the reification of pan-blackness that occurred from the 1890s through the late 1930s. In Easton's *Dessalines*, Clarisse is the revolutionary leader's confidante and as an interracial couple, they challenged existing antagonisms between "black" and "colored." In *Ouanga* and *Emperor of Haiti*, Claire is depicted as a full-blown race traitor and Dessalines' downfall, mapping neatly onto debates on racial purity that were at the heart of the growing biracialism. In these two productions, the heroine is the loyal and formerly enslaved black woman—the only one who mourns the loss of Dessalines at the end of each play. Odette is strikingly different; indeed, even before she knows of her African blood, she is an ally, not a traitor. And while there is some unification between black and racially mixed in *Haiti* as there was in Easton's *Dessalines*, the direction of it is very different: Clarisse does not

join Dessalines and his troops as much as he joins her in the Church and sends his troops away. Odette, however, moves in the other direction—towards Christophe and the “black world” that witnesses and embraces her transformation.

NOTES

1. “William Dubois, 93, Playwright and Editor,” *New York Times*, March 19 1997.
2. Georgia S. Fink et al., “Synopsis and Production Notes for ‘Black Empire’,” in *Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Archive* (Fairfax: George Mason University, 1936), 7. John O’Connor et al., “Haiti and Black Empire,” in *Free, Adult, Uncensored: The Living History of the Federal Theatre Project*, ed. John O’Connor, et al. (Washington D.C.: New Republic Books, 1978), 118. Claude Miller directed in LA; Esther Porter Lane in Seattle. *Ibid.*, 119.
3. Library of Congress, “Federal Theatre Project Collection: A Register of the Library of Congress Collection of U.S. Work Progress Administration Records [Finding Aid],” (2005), <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/eadmus.mu995001>. O’Connor et al., “Haiti and Black Empire,” 117.
4. Rena Fraden, *Blueprints for a Black Federal Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 181.
5. J. Michael Dash, “The Theater of the Haitian Revolution/the Haitian Revolution as Theater,” *Small Axe* 18 (2005): 18.
6. Loftin Mitchell, *Black Drama: The Story of the American Negro in Theatre* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1967), 102–103.
7. Glenda Eloise Gill, *White Grease Paint on Black Performers: A Study of the Federal Theatre, 1935–39* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988).
8. *Ibid.*, 97.
9. Clare Corbould, “At the Feet of Dessalines: Performing Haiti’s Revolution During the New Negro Renaissance,” in *Beyond Blackface: African Americans and the Creation of American Popular Culture, 1890–1930*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brandage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 279–280.
10. Carl Hancock Rux, “A Rage in Harlem: Is the Classical Theatre of Harlem a Black Theatre Company? Does It Matter?,” *American Theatre Magazine* 2004.
11. *Ibid.*
12. W.E.B. Du Bois, “Krigwa Players Little Negro Theatre: The Story of a Little Theatre Movement,” *The Crisis* 32 (1926): 134.
13. Susan Quinn, *Furious Improvisation: How the WPA and a Cast of Thousands Made High Art out of Desperate Times* (New York: Walker &

- Company, 2008), 99. "Harlem 1900–1940: Schomburg Exhibit Lafayette Theatre," The New York Public Library, <http://exhibitions.nypl.org/harlem/>
14. Quinn, *Furious*, 111.
 15. Langston Hughes et al., *Black Magic, a Pictorial History of the Negro in American Entertainment*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), 119.
 16. Quinn, *Furious*, 102. Anne Blumquist, "The Federal Theatre Project: Stock Is Taken of the First Year's Activities of the Government's WPA Theatre Program," *Social Work Today* IV, no. 2 (1936): 17.
 17. US Congress established the FTP in 1935 as a Depression era relief program. It was organized into five regional centers and included 16 Negro Units. Elizabeth Osborne, "A Nation in Need: Revelations and Disaster Relief in the Federal Theatre Project," *Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 20, no. 2 (2008): 52 n. 12. McClendon, a leading actress in the 1920s, was founder of the Negro People's Theatre and briefly co-directed the Harlem Unit before she passed away in 1936. Dennis Kennedy, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Theatre and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
 18. Shannon Rose Riley, "Mistaken Identities, Miscegenation, and Missing Origins: The Curious Case of *Haiti*," *Performing Arts Resources* 28 (2011).
 19. O'Connor et al., "Haiti and Black Empire," 118.
 20. William Pickens, "Black Empire," *The Capitol Plaindealer*, May 29 1936.
 21. Ibid.
 22. ———, *The New Negro: His Political, Civil and Mental Status, and Related Essays* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1916).
 23. O'Connor et al., "Haiti and Black Empire," 120.
 24. Ibid.
 25. Christine Ames et al., "Black Empire: A Drama in a Prologue and Three Acts," (Fairfax: Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Archives at George Mason University, 1932); Fink et al., "Synopsis." The script references appendices on ritual choreography, drumbeats, and costumes, but they cannot be located in the GMU archives.
 26. Martin Dies, *The Trojan Horse in America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Company, 1940). Quinn, *Furious*, 243.
 27. "Statement of Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, National Director, Federal Theater Project," in *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938).
 28. Quinn, *Furious*, 247.
 29. Qtd. in *ibid.*, 279.

30. John O'Connor et al., *Free, Adult, Uncensored: The Living History of the Federal Theatre Project* (Washington D.C.: New Republic Books, 1978), 20.
31. Judith Ellen Brussell, "Government Investigations of Federal Theatre Project Personnel in the Works Progress Administration, 1935–1939 (the Show Must Not Go On!)" (City University of New York, 1993), 222.
32. Quinn, *Furious*, 247.
33. *Journal American*, August 21, 1938, qtd. in *ibid.*
34. Marquis Childs, *I Write from Washington* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942), 92.
35. Jerry Mangione, *The Dream and the Deal: The Federal Writers' Project, 1935–43* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1972), 225.
36. From the 1939 FBI Report on Federal Project One. Conspiracy to Defraud the United States, File 46–72 (1-30-39) in 117–11, DOJ, RG 60, NNFJ-J, National Archives. Brussell, "Government Investigations," 274–305.
37. William DuBois, "Haiti," in *Federal Theatre Plays*, ed. U.S. Federal Theatre Project, et al. (New York: Random House, 1938), 21, 11.
38. "Theatre Project Faces an Inquiry," *New York Times*, July 27 1938.
39. Riley, "Mistaken Identities"; ———, "Racing the Archive: Will the Real William Du Bois Please Stand Up?," *English Language Notes (ELN)* 45, no. 1 (2007).
40. W. B. Du Bois, *Haiti*, trans. Nicole Vincileoni, CEDA Theatre (Abidjan: Editions CEDA, 1983), 17.
41. Riley, "Racing the Archive."
42. In order to avoid confusion, I consistently spell W.E.B.'s family name with a space and William's without, while retaining the capitalization of the "B" in each: e.g. W.E.B. Du Bois and William DuBois.
43. "Footlight Flickers," *The Plaindealer*, February 25 1938.
44. Alvin Moses, "Footlight Flickers," *Philadelphia Tribune*, March 17 1938; ———, "Footlight Flickers," *Atlanta Daily World*, March 21 1938.
45. O'Connor et al., "Haiti and Black Empire," 117.
46. Clark qtd. in *ibid.*, 119. The term "cracker" has been used to refer to whites from the south with racist attitudes or to signify someone poor and white, particularly from Georgia ("The Cracker State") or Florida. OED and Hubert Henry Harrison, *When Africa Awakes [1920]* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1997), 37, 38, 51, and 105–106.
47. Clark qtd. in O'Connor et al., "Haiti and Black Empire," 119.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. "New Plays in Manhattan," *Time* 31, no. 10 (1938): 34.
51. William DuBois, "Thanks to the Federal Theatre," *New York Times*, March 20 1938.

52. Ibid.
53. "Shuberts Want 'Haiti'," *New York Times*, March 10 1938.
54. DuBois, "Thanks," 150.
55. Shubert Foundation, 11 Dec. 2010 <http://www.shubertfoundation.org/about/brothers.asp>
56. O'Connor et al., "Haiti and Black Empire," 117.
57. One historical review describes the revision. "A Climactic Scene of a Big Battle Gave Him a Fight: The Playwright Provided a Little Dialogue; the Rest Was up to the Director," *Herald Tribune*, March 27 1938.
58. Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 286.
59. Corbould, "Feet of Dessalines," 279. To document these claims, Corbould uses secondary sources. Ibid., 287, n.77, n.80, n.81. Nor does she cite from the play. Ibid., 281-282, n.2.
60. Errol G. Hill et al., *A History of African American Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 318-19.
61. Kate Dossett, "Commemorating Haiti on the Harlem Stage," *The Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 22, no. 1 (2010): 84.
62. William DuBois, "Haiti," ed. National Service Bureau (Fairfax: Federal Theatre Project Records, George Mason University, 1938); ———, "Haiti.,"; ———, "Complete Working Script of 'Haiti' by William Dubois," (New York: Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (unpub.), 1938).
63. William DuBois Papers (Boston University: Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center).
64. Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 38.
65. Quinn, *Furious*, 232; Renda, *Taking Haiti*, 286; Riley, "Racing the Archive"; ———, "Mistaken Identities."
66. "Schomburg Addresses WPA Players on Haiti," *New Journal and Guide*, February 5 1938. "Technique of Play Flayed by Reader," *The New York Amsterdam News*, February 26 1938.
67. Adrienne Macki, "(Re)Constructing Community and Identity: Harlem Experimental Theatre and Social Protest," *Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 20, no. 2 (2008).
68. Diana Rebekkah Paulin, *Imperfect Unions: Staging Miscegenation in U.S. Drama and Fiction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).
69. DuBois, "Complete Working Script."
70. Howard Barnes, "'Haiti' Play by William Dubois Produced in Harlem," *Herald Tribune*, March 3 1938; Arthur Pollock, "The Theatre: Rex

- Ingram and the Federal Theater Make a Picturesque and Exciting Show out of 'Haiti' at Harlem's Lafayette," *Brooklyn Eagle*, March 3 1938; John Anderson, "'Haiti' a Vivid, Exciting Picture of Rebellion," *Journal American*, March 4 1938.
71. Brooks Atkinson, "The Play: William Dubois's 'Haiti' Opens in Harlem," *New York Times*, March 3 1938.
 72. Anderson, "Vivid, Exciting."
 73. Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 36.
 74. "Footlight Flickers," February 25; Moses, "Footlight Flickers," March 21.
 75. ———, "Footlight Flickers," March 21, 2. Another of his reviews, dated March 17, uses less inflammatory rhetoric but is otherwise similar. Namely, there is no capitalized font and the term "Neighbors" is used instead of "Negrophobes." ———, "Footlight Flickers," March 17.
 76. "Schomburg Addresses WPA Players on Haiti."
 77. "Heroes of Haiti Live Again in WPA Theatre Play 'Haiti'," *New Journal and Guide*, February 12 1938.
 78. Al Monroe, "Harlem WPA Players Hear Haiti's Early Tilt," *Chicago Defender*, February 5 1938.
 79. "Technique of Play Flayed by Reader."
 80. DuBois, "Haiti," 58.
 81. ———, "Thanks."
 82. "Climactic Scene."
 83. "New Plays in Manhattan," *Time* 31, no. 10 (1938), 36. Mitchell, *Black Drama*, 103.
 84. Barnes, "'Haiti' Play by William Du Bois."
 85. DuBois, "Haiti," 6–7.
 86. Brooks Atkinson, "Anatomy of a Comedy Mind," *New York Times*, March 6 1938; ———, "The Play."
 87. Pollock, "The Theatre."
 88. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 96.
 89. "Footlight Flickers," *The Capitol Plaindealer*, May 6 1938.
 90. "Footlight Flickers," February 25.
 91. DuBois, "Haiti," 23.
 92. *Ibid.*
 93. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Haiti (1920)," in *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader*, ed. David Levering Lewis (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995), 466.
 94. DuBois, "Haiti," 58–59. Dion Boucicault, "The Octoroon (1859)," in *American Drama: Colonial to Contemporary*, ed. Stephen Watt, et al. (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1995), 129.

95. DuBois, "Haiti," 80.
96. Ibid.
97. Atkinson, "The Play."
98. Ibid. Barnes, "'Haiti' Play by William Du Bois."
99. Pollock, "The Theatre."
100. Stark Young, "To Keep the Wind Away," *The New Republic* 94, March 23 (1938). Joseph Wood Krutch, "In the Grand Style," *The Nation* 146, March 12 (1938): 309.
101. Barnes, "'Haiti' Play by William Du Bois." "Review of 'Haiti.'" Pollock, "The Theatre."
102. Matthew Pratt Guterl, "The New Race Consciousness: Race, Nation, and Empire in American Culture, 1910–1925," *Journal of World History* 10, no. 2 (1999): 351, n.85.
103. Robert Sylvester, "WPA's 'Haiti' Exciting and Well Staged," *Daily News*, March 3 1938.
104. Du Bois spoke very critically of the racial stereotypes used in the play. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Criteria of Negro Art," *Crisis* 32 (1926): 296–297. In 1930, a British film based on the play was released in New York and was considered indecent due to the racial content. "White Cargo (1942)," Internet Movie Database (IMDb), <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0035553/>
105. Barnes, "'Haiti' Play by William Du Bois."
106. Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 59.

Palimpsest-Postscript: Tracing the Past in the Present

The biracial taxonomies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in which pan-blackness and pan-whiteness became dominant and were sutured to particular images and ideologies, have left traces that erupt in moments of crisis. Several years ago, for example, a digitally manipulated image of President Obama superimposed with a Hollywood iteration of the Batman villain, The Joker, surfaced in posters and circulated on the internet—the single word “socialism” along the bottom of the frame reinscribed linkages between black and red in the national imaginary.¹ The whiteface makeup overlaid on the face of the first President of African descent reads as a disturbing reversal of blackface strategies while the bloodied, smiling, wound of a mouth simultaneously invokes the makeup of a nightmarish clown and the zombie-like figure of the socialist undead, or as one blogger put it, “a zombie cannibal blood-mouth malevolently committed to bringing socialism to America.”² Anxieties about socialism and race revolution are simultaneously exposed and disavowed in the figure of Obama as the socialist undead. With its whiteface racism, the image is undoubtedly vindictive, but at the same time, the figure of the zombie-black-man-as-socialist-President betrays a recurring nightmare of conservative white America that has its roots in Haiti as the site of black revolution and remains deeply concerned about the possibilities of black political power in any context.

As I have written the final chapters of this book, legacies of dysfunctional biracialism seem to erupt in reiterations that are almost engrams in

the national imaginary. The murders of several black community members and leaders at the AME church in Charleston by a white supremacist and the subsequent burning of six black churches within 1 week seems scripted right out of 1822—in the case of the shooting massacre, same church, different racist.³ And as the book went to press, seven more churches with primarily black congregants or in primarily black communities were burned near Ferguson, Missouri.⁴ The white supremacy that is re-emergent in the USA today is fully pan-white in that it encompasses economically disenfranchised white supremacy groups and individuals as well as wealthy presidential hopeful, Donald Trump.⁵ Meanwhile, Bernie Sanders is to appear on the cover of *Time* with the headline, “Bernie. Socialize *this*, America.” Sanders would have been “not-quite-white” during the period discussed in this book—and perhaps in part because of this still-somewhat-liminal position as white other (socialist Jew), can we see the legacies of biracialism and the possibilities of interracial collaboration play out in his campaign: from the Black Lives Matter protests that silenced him in August 2015 in Seattle to Cornel West’s open endorsement of “brother” Bernie Sanders, language that is not only part of the discourse of socialism but is also reminiscent of Easton’s “brother-in-white.”⁶

And what of Haiti and Cuba in terms of US empire? Haiti is perhaps the best example of the new form of surrogate occupation. Since 2004, it has been under military occupation by the UN—a “peacekeeping mission” put into place because of the country’s alleged inability to establish a peaceful democracy and successfully maintain the practices of cultural and economic modernity. However, the notion of a peacekeeping mission is itself a tidy piece of nomenclature that works to erase the imperialism and militaristic display required for the forceful occupation of any country. The speedy transformation of US involvement in the 2004 coup that removed Haitian President Aristide, from an act of US aggression into a situation of necessity on the part of the UN, was a slick erasure of US involvement in the affairs of a sovereign nation.⁷ Coup as invented crisis; coup as crisis that permits intervention—again. Crisis—perform—repeat.

Even before the January 2010 earthquake, Haiti was described regularly as “the poorest country in the hemisphere,” and this declaration—especially when accompanied by the alleged proof of photographic images—seems to demonstrate that Haiti is somehow essentially different and perhaps deserving of its fate. Haiti is imagined in the USA, if not in much of the world today, as outside modernity and as a nation that cannot be trusted to handle its own finances or plan for its own development. Images

of post-earthquake Haiti seem to finally confirm this status. The country is increasingly imagined as the permanently disenfranchised and radically un-aidable, despite the sea of NGO encampments that seem to have taken over the capital of Port-au-Prince.⁸ Its former tropical lushness razed and transformed into a kind of post-apocalyptic landscape in the US imagination: in ruins from earthquake, ecological crisis, and ongoing corruption. All of these imaginings are buttressed by what is usually misrepresented as the nation's penchant for political violence in coup after coup. What is missing from this account is precisely what Dubois calls the "aftershocks of history"—the erasure of its revolution and the way the country was so quickly harnessed with debt and ongoing destabilization.⁹ Like Douglass said, we have not yet forgiven Haiti for being black. This time, silence.

Finally, August 14, 2015 brought the return of Old Glory in Cuba after many decades of absence. *The New Yorker* ran an article titled "An American Flag in Cuba," which describes the "sentimental and somewhat surreal affair" in front of the newly reopened US embassy in Havana and elaborates how three former Marines who had lowered the last US flag on Cuban soil in 1961 had "vowed to one day return to Havana and raise Old Glory again."¹⁰ The image that accompanies the article shows a young Marine preparing to hoist the US colors while a group of officials prepares to salute. Old Glory is foregrounded in the center of the image while in the distance and to one side, the Cuban flag hangs from an apartment balcony. Once again, this is a kind of staging of surrogation, at least in terms of size and placement and once again, numerous pictures circulated of the US flag being raised in Cuba, many accompanied by nostalgic narratives.¹¹ The timing of this gesture, synchronized with the return of limited trade and business relations between the two countries after many decades of embargo, suggests that the trope of Old Glory in Cuba is again the metaphor for everything to be gained through business relations with Cuba. Once again, the flag is a kind surrogate and precursor for the US businessman who seeks to claim that power. It seems that "cocktail time in Cuba" is about to resume.

NOTES

1. Firas Alkhateeb, a college student, created the superimposed image in 2009. He uploaded it to his Flickr site where it was downloaded and modified by an unknown person who added the word "socialism" and distributed it as a poster. "Creator of Barack Obama 'Joker' Image was Bored Student," *The Telegraph*, August 18 2009.

2. Santi Tafarella, "Rush Limbaugh Wants President Obama Dead, Doesn't He?," <http://santitafarella.wordpress.com/tag/rush-limbaugh/>
3. Lindsey Bever, "Six Predominantly Black Southern Churches Burn within a Week; Arson Suspected in at Least Three," *The Washington Post*, June 29 2015.
4. Greg Botelho, "7th St. Louis-area Church Fire in Recent Weeks Blamed on Arson," *CNN*, October 22 2015.
5. Randy Blazak, "Donald Trump Is the New Face of White Supremacy," *CounterPunch* (2015), <http://www.counterpunch.org/2015/08/28/donald-trump-is-the-new-face-of-white-supremacy/>
6. Sophia Tesfaye, "Cornel West Formally Endorses 'Brother' Bernie Sanders: 'A Long-Distance Runner with Integrity in the Struggle for Justice'," *Salon* (2015), http://www.salon.com/2015/08/25/cornel_west_formally_endorses_brother_bernie_sanders_a_long_distance_runner_with_integrity_in_the_struggle_for_justice/
7. The rhetoric of a "peacekeeping mission" carries all of the connotations of a missionary project, including the invocation of a higher power, and as irony would have it, the official acronym for the formal UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti is MINUSTAH. The English-speaking reader perhaps cannot help but perform a certain mistranslation, noting a similarity between the English term "minister" and the French acronym.
8. Paul Farmer, *Haiti after the Earthquake* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011); Jonathan M. Katz, *The Big Truck That Went By: How the World Came to Save Haiti and Left Behind a Disaster* (New York: Palgrave, 2013).
9. Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History* (New York: Picador, 2012).
10. John Lee Anderson, "An American Flag in Cuba," *The New Yorker*, August 14 2015.
11. Dan Lamothe, "These Marines Took Down the U.S. Flag in Cuba in 1961. Today, They Raised It Again," *The Washington Post*, August 14, 2015.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Althusser, Louis. 2001. Ideology and ideological state apparatus. In *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*, 85–126. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Ames, Christine, and Clarke Painter. 1932. *Black empire: A drama in a prologue and three acts*. Fairfax: Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Archives at George Mason University.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Austin, J.L. 2003. *How to do things with words*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Beaty, Thomas R. 1898. *Old glory in Cuba, a drama in four acts*. 1 pam. Clyde: Ames Pub. Co.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1999. *The arcades project*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bernardi, Daniel (ed.). 1996. *The birth of whiteness: Race and the emergence of United States cinema*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Bruce, John. 1893. *Uncle Sam*. Library of Congress/American Memory Collection. Pittsburgh, PA
- Buck-Morss, Susan. 2009. *Hegel, Haiti, and universal history*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Burke, Inez M. 1930. Two races. In *Plays and pageants from the life of the Negro*, ed. Willis Richardson, 295–304. Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, Inc.
- Carlson, Marvin. 2003. *The haunted stage: The theatre as memory machine*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Carter, Julian B. 2007. *The heart of whiteness: Normal sexuality and race in America, 1880–1940*. Durham: Duke University Press.

- Cooper Alarcón, Daniel. 1997. *The Aztec palimpsest: Mexico in the modern imagination*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Corbould, Clare. 2009. *Becoming African Americans: Black public life in Harlem 1919–1939*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Craige, John Houston. 1933. *Black bagdad: The Arabian nights adventures of a marine captain in Haiti*. New York: Minton, Balch.
- Craige, John Houston. 1934. *Cannibal cousins*. New York: Minton, Balch.
- Cuney, Hon Norris Wright. 1893. A tribute to Haitian heroism. In *Dessalines: A dramatic tale*, ed. William Edgar Easton, 121–128. Galveston: J.W. Burson Co.
- Dash, J. 1997. *Haiti and the United States: National stereotypes and the literary imagination*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Dash, J. 2004. *The disappearing island: Haiti, history, and the hemisphere*, Colloquia paper. Toronto, York University CERLAC.
- Dies, Martin. 1940. *The Trojan horse in America*. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Company.
- Dillon, Sarah. 2007. *The palimpsest: Literature, criticism, theory*. London: Continuum.
- Dossett, Kate. 2010. Commemorating Haiti on the Harlem stage. *The Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 22(1): 83–119.
- Douglass, Frederick. 1893. Oration of Hon. Frederick Douglass, Ex-United States Minister Resident to the Republic of Haiti. Delivered on the occasion of the dedication of the Haitian [sic] Pavilion at the World's Fair. In *Dessalines: A dramatic tale*, ed. William Edgar Easton, 131–138. Galveston: J.W. Burson Co.
- Douglass, Frederick. 2010. From lecture on Haiti. The Haitian Pavilion dedication ceremonies delivered at the World's Fair, in Jackson Park, Chicago, Jan. 2d, 1893. In *African Americans and the Haitian Revolution*, ed. Maurice Jackson and Jacqueline Bacon, 202–211. New York: Routledge.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1915. Hayti. *Crisis* 10: 291.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1926a. Criteria of Negro art. *Crisis* 32: 290–297.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1926b. Krigwa players little Negro theatre: The story of a little theatre movement. *Crisis* 32: 134–136.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1933. Pan-Africa and new racial philosophy. *Crisis* 40: 247, 262.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1995. Haiti (1920). In *W.E.B. Du Bois: A reader*, ed. David Levering Lewis, 466. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 2004. The conservation of races (1897). *The American Negro academy occasional papers*, no. 2, Project Gutenberg.
- Dubois, Laurent. 2004. *Avengers of the new world: The story of the Haitian revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- DuBois, William. 1938a. In *Haiti*, ed. Bureau National Service. Fairfax: Federal Theatre Project Records, George Mason University.
- DuBois, William. 1938b. Haiti. In *Federal theatre plays*, ed. U.S. Federal Theatre Project and Pierre de Rohan, 3–80. New York: Random House.

- DuBois, William. 1938c. Complete working script of 'Haiti' by William DuBois. New York: Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (unpub.).
- Dumont, Frank. 1899. *The Cuban spy: A comedy-drama in four acts*. Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Co.
- Dyer, Richard. 1997. *White: Essays on race and culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Easton, William Edgar. 1893. *Dessalines: A dramatic tale; a single chapter from Haiti's history*. Galveston: J.W. Burson Co. Publishers.
- Easton, William Edgar. 1911. *Christophe: A tragedy in prose of imperial Haiti*. Los Angeles: Press Grafton Publishing Company.
- Edmonds, Randolph. 1942. Yellow death. In *The land of cotton and other plays*, ed. Randolph Edmonds, 180–204. Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, Inc.
- Edwards, William A. 1987. Racial purity in black and white: The case of Marcus Garvey and Earnest Cox. *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 15(1): 117–142.
- Espinosa, Mariola. 2009. *Epidemic invasions: Yellow fever and the limits of Cuban independence, 1878–1930*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Fanon, Frantz. 1967. *Black skin, white masks*. New York: Grove Press.
- Fehrenbach, Robert J. 1975. William Edgar Easton's *Dessalines*: A nineteenth-century drama of black pride. *CLA Journal* 19: 75–89.
- Fink, Georgia S., and Cyrilla P. Lindner. 1936. Synopsis and production notes for 'Black Empire'. In *Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Archive*. George Mason University. New York: FTP Play Bureau.
- Fischer, Sibylle. 2004. *Modernity disavowed: Haiti and the cultures of slavery in the age of revolution*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Foner, Philip. 1972a. *The Spanish-Cuban-American war and the birth of American imperialism, 1895–1902*, vol. 1: 1895–1898. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Foner, Philip. 1972b. *The Spanish-Cuban-American war and the birth of American imperialism, 1895–1902*, vol. II: 1898–1902. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Foner, Philip. 1977a. *American socialism and black Americans*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Foner, Philip. 1977b. *Antonio Maceo: The 'Bronze Titan' of Cuba's struggle for independence*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1990. *The history of sexuality*, vol. 1. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fraden, Rena. 1994. *Blueprints for a black federal theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gates, Henry Louis, and Gene Andrew Jarrett (eds.). 2007. *The new Negro: Readings on race, representation, and African American culture, 1892–1938*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gatewood, Willard B. 1971. *'Smoked Yankees' and the struggle for empire: Letters from Negro soldiers, 1898–1902*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

- Gatewood, Willard B. 1975. *Black Americans and the white man's burden, 1893–1903*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Geggus, David Patrick (ed.). 2001. *The impact of the Haitian revolution in the Atlantic world*. Columbia: University of South Carolina.
- Genette, Gérard. 1997. *Palimpsests: Literature in the second degree*. Trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Gill, Glenda Eloise. 1988. *White grease paint on black performers: A study of the federal theatre, 1935–39*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Girard, Philippe R. 2012. Jean-Jacques Dessalines and the Atlantic system: A reappraisal. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69(3): 549–582.
- Guss, David M. 2000. *The festive state: Race, ethnicity, and nationalism as cultural performance*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Guterl, Matthew Pratt. 1999. The new race consciousness: Race, nation, and empire in American culture, 1910–1925. *Journal of World History* 10(2): 307–352.
- Guterl, Matthew Pratt. 2002. *The color of race in America, 1900–1940*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hale, Grace Elizabeth. 1998. *Making whiteness: The culture of segregation in the south, 1890–1940*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Harris, Helen Webb. 1935. Genifrede: The daughter of L'ouverture. In *Negro history in thirteen plays*, ed. Willis Richardson and May Miller, 219–237. Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, Inc.
- Harrison, Hubert H. 1997 [1920]. *When Africa awakes*. Baltimore: Black Classic Press.
- Hassall, Frank. 1896. A versatile musical drama, burlesque, and spectacular and transformation ... Entitled the world's champion American boy. Library of Congress/American Memory Collection.
- Hatch, James V., and Ted Shine (eds.). 1996. *Black theatre USA: Plays by African Americans: The early period 1847–1938*. New York: The Free Press.
- Helg, Aline. 1995. *Our rightful share: The Afro-Cuban struggle for equality, 1886–1912*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Hill, Errol. 1989. *Black heroes: Seven plays*. New York: Applause Books.
- Hill, Errol G., and James V. Hatch. 2003. *A history of African American theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hughes, Langston. 1989. Emperor of Haiti. In *Black heroes: Seven plays*, ed. Errol Hill, 1–74. New York: Applause Books.
- Hunt, Alfred N. 1988. *Haiti's influence on antebellum America: Slumbering volcano in the Caribbean*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Huyssen, Andreas. 2003. *Present pasts: Urban palimpsests and the politics of memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ignatiev, Noel. 1995. *How the Irish became white*. New York: Routledge.

- Jackson, Maurice, and Jacqueline Bacon. 2010. *African Americans and the Haitian revolution: Selected essays and historical documents*. New York: Routledge.
- Jacobson, Matthew Frye. 1998. *Whiteness of a different color: European immigrants and the alchemy of race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- James, C.L.R. 1963. *The black Jacobins: Toussaint L'ouverture and the San Domingo revolution*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Johnson, E. Patrick. 2003. *Appropriating blackness: Performance and the politics of authenticity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Johnson, James. 1920a. The truth about Haiti. *Crisis* 20: 217–224.
- Johnson, James. 1920b. Self-determining Haiti. II. What the United States has accomplished. *The Nation*, September 4, 265–267.
- Johnson, James. 1920c. Self-determining Haiti. III. Government of, by, and for the National City Bank. *The Nation*, September 11, 295–297.
- Johnson, James. 1920d. Self-determining Haiti. IV. The Haitian people. *The Nation*, September 25, 345–347.
- Johnson, James Weldon. 1920. Self-determining Haiti. I. The American occupation. *The Nation*, August 28, 236–238.
- Kaplan, Amy. 2002. *The anarchy of empire in the making of U.S. culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lane, Jill. 1998. On colonial forgetting: The conquest of New Mexico and its *historia*. In *The ends of performance*, ed. Peggy Phelan and Jill Lane, 52–69. New York: New York University.
- Logan, Rayford M., and Michael R. Winston. 1983. *Dictionary of American Negro biography*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Lott, Eric. 1993. *Love and theft: Blackface minstrelsy and the American working class*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- MacAloon, John J. (ed.). 1984. *Rite, drama, festival, spectacle: Rehearsals toward a theory of cultural performance*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
- MacCorkle, William A. 1915. *The Monroe doctrine in its relation to the Republic of Haiti*. New York: Neale Publishing.
- Mannoni, Octave. 1964. *Prospero and Caliban: The psychology of colonization*. New York: Praeger.
- Matheus, John Frederick. 1932. *Ouanga: A musical drama of Haiti*. Privately published, Charleston, WV.
- McClintock, Anne. 1995. *Imperial leather: Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest*. New York: Routledge.
- Miller, May. 1935. Christophe's daughters. In *Negro history in thirteen plays*, ed. Willis Richardson and May Miller, 242–263. Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, Inc.

- Mitchell, Lofton. 1967. *Black drama: The story of the American Negro in theatre*. New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc.
- Monroe, James. 1902. Seventh annual message, Dec. 2, 1823. In *Writings of James Monroe*, vol. VI, 1817–1823, ed. Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, 325–342. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.
- Murphy, Gretchen. 2005. *Hemispheric imaginings: The Monroe doctrine and narratives of U.S. Empire*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Musser, Charles. 1990. *The emergence of cinema: The American screen to 1907*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Nearing, Scott, and J. Freeman. 1969 [1925]. *Dollar diplomacy: A study in American imperialism*. New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks.
- Nwankwo, Ifeoma Kiddoe. 2005. *Black cosmopolitanism: Racial consciousness and transnational identity in the nineteenth-century Americas*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Nyong'o, Tavia. 2009. *The amalgamation waltz: Race, performance, and the ruses of memory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- O'Connor, John, and Lorraine Brown. 1978. *Free, adult, uncensored: The living history of the Federal Theatre Project*. Washington, DC: New Republic Books.
- Paulin, Diana Rebekkah. 2012. *Imperfect unions: Staging miscegenation in U.S. drama and fiction*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Pease, Donald E., and Amy Kaplan (eds.). 1993. *Cultures of United States imperialism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Pérez, Louis A. 1986. *Cuba under the Platt amendment, 1902–1934*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Pérez, Louis A. 1998. *The war of 1898: The United States and Cuba in history and historiography*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Pérez, Louis A., Jr. 2008. *Cuba in the American imagination: Metaphor and the imperial ethos*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press.
- Perry, Jeffrey B. 2010. *Hubert Harrison: The voice of Harlem radicalism, 1883–1918*, vol. 1. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Pickens, William. 1916. *The new Negro: His political, civil and mental status, and related essays*. New York: Neale Publishing Company.
- Plummer, Brenda Gayle. 1992. *Haiti and the United States: The psychological moment*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Pope, Cora. 1898. *Cuba—a drama of freedom*. unpublished pageant manuscript (nonextant).
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*. New York: Routledge.
- Quinn, Susan. 2008. *Furious improvisation: How the WPA and a cast of thousands made high art out of desperate times*. New York: Walker & Company.
- Renda, Mary. 2001. *Taking Haiti: Military occupation and the culture of U.S. imperialism, 1915–1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Retamar, Roberto Fernández. 1989. *Caliban and other essays*. Trans. Edward Baker. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Richardson, Willis. 1935. Antonio Maceo. In *Negro history in thirteen plays*, ed. Willis Richardson and May Miller, 3–28. Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, Inc.
- Richardson, Willis, and Miller May (eds.). 1935. *Negro history in thirteen plays*. Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, Inc.
- Riley, Shannon Rose. 2007. Racing the archive: Will the real William Du Bois please stand up? *English Language Notes (ELN)* 45(1): 103–110.
- Riley, Shannon Rose. 2011. Mistaken identities, miscegenation, and missing origins: The curious case of *Haiti*. *Performing Arts Resources* 28: 252–262.
- Roach, Joseph. 1996. *Cities of the dead: Circum-Atlantic performance*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Roediger, David. 1991. *The wages of whiteness: Race and the making of the American working-class*. London: Verso.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. 1899. *The rough riders*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. 2007. State of the union address, December 6, 1904. In *State of the union addresses of Theodore Roosevelt*, 84–115. Middlesex: The Echo Library.
- Schechner, Richard. 1985. *Between theater and anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Seabrook, William. 1929. *The magic island*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Sotiropoulos, Karen. 2008. *Staging race: Black performers in turn of the century America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Stoddard, Lothrop. 1914. *The French revolution in San Domingo*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Stoddard, Lothrop. 1920. *The rising tide of color against white world supremacy*. New York: Scribner's.
- Stoddard, Lothrop. 1927. *Re-forging America: The story of our nationhood*. New York: Scribner's.
- Tannehill, Frank. 1898. *Flags of the world*. Library of Congress/American Memory Collection. New York.
- Taylor, Diana. 2003. *The archive and the repertoire: Performing cultural memory in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 1995. *Silencing the past: Power and the production of history*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Williams, Raymond. 1978. *Marxism and literature*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, Eric. 1984. *From Columbus to Castro: The history of the Caribbean 1492–1969*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Wirkus, Faustin, and Taney Dudley. 1931. *The white king of La Gonave*. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc.
- Woodson, Carter G. 1918. The beginnings of the miscegenation of the whites and blacks. *The Journal of Negro History* 3(4): 335–353.

INDEX

A

- action, field(s) of, 43, 60, 68, 80. *See also* cultural performance; enactment
“palimpsest of race” and, 26, 92, 114, 175, 179, 184
theory of, 20–21
- Adelphi Theatre (Chicago), 170n81
- African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), 185, 195, 238
- Afro-Americans, 5–8, 22, 110, 125–129, 132n22, 142, 175–176, 185, 194, 237
Cuba and, 65–66, 87, 89, 101–106
FTP and, 211–230
Haiti and, 10, 178, 196–198
Pan-Africanist discourse and, 10, 16, 111–117, 121–123, 130, 134n49, 174, 188, 195–196
as term, 25, 199n13
- The Afro-American*, 115, 195
- Afro-Cubans, 3, 11–13, 16, 43, 101–103, 106, 121–125, 129, 174
as term, 138n116
- Afro-pessimism, 49
- Aguinaldo, Emilio, 11–12
- Alarcón, Daniel Cooper, 17–18
- Allied Arts Players (Boston), 176
- Althusser, Louis, 73
- American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia), 1, 8
- American Law Enforcement League of Minnesota, 101, 109
- American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, 69
Roosevelt’s Rough Riders (film), 90
- American Opera Society (New York), 176
- American studies, 4, 24–25
- Americas, the, 10, 48, 124, 152, 155, 173. *See also under individual countries*
Monroe Doctrine and, 37
US imperialism, 37, 64
- Ames, Christine: *Black Empire* (play), 23–24, 177, 198, 211–217, 219
- Ames Publishing Company (Clyde, OH), 75

- Amet, Edward, 69
 Amusement Securities Corporation (ASC), 159
 anarchy of empire, 5, 8, 103, 142, 152, 154. *See also* Kaplan, Amy
 Anderson, Benedict, 43, 46, 55n34, 67, 103. *See also* social imaginaries
 Anderson, John, 224, 239
 Anglo-Saxon identity, 87, 147
 Anglo-Saxon Protestants, 29n28, 56n58
 hegemony of, 61–63
 position of, 79, 81–84;
 US culture and, 40–41, 66
 annexation, 40, 43, 47
 “another Haiti” trope, 3, 6, 8, 10, 47, 51, 121, 174, 197, 225
Antonio Maceo (play), 16, 106, 114, 120–127. *See also* Maceo, Antonio
 Apache Wars, 86–87, 89
 Aponte, José Antonio, 174
The Appeal: A National Afro-American Newspaper, 101
 appropriation, 87–88, 114, 137n97, 153, 158, 192
 Aristide, Jean Bertrand, 207n103
 armory theatres
 Ninth Battalion Armory Hall (Chicago), 176
 St. Clair Armory (St. Clair), 75–76
 Arnold, A. James, 17
 Associated Negro Press (ANP), 134n43, 196, 224
 “Footlight Flickers,” 220, 226
 Associated Publishers (Washington DC), 19, 112–113, 117, 177. *See also* Woodson, Carter G.
 Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH), 18–19, 112–113, 116–117, 122, 135n58. *See also* Associated Negro Press; Negro History Week; Woodson, Carter G.
 Astwood, H.C.C., 123
 Atkinson, Brooks, 223–226, 228
 audiences, 33n100, 73–75, 101, 177, 203n29, 211, 216
 imperialism and, 15, 39, 42, 46, 66–71, 103, 143
 race and, 104, 109, 113–114, 151, 153, 163, 178–179, 184, 187, 191–193, 213–214, 217, 221, 223, 225–226
 Auerbach, Jonathan, 72–74
 Austin, J.L., 36, 77, 174
Avenging the Maine, A Drunken A.B., and Other Poems, 65–66, 108–110
 Avery Memorial Theatre (Hartford), 211
- B**
 b(1)ackground
 military occupation and, 6, 22, 143, 146
 multi-ethnic pan-whiteness and, 6, 22, 143, 146
 Barnes, Howard, 228
Battleships Iowa and Massachusetts (film). *See* Battleships Maine and Iowa
Battleships Maine and Iowa (film), 70
 Bazile, Dédecé, 187
 Beale, Davis: *The Goat Without Horns* (literature), 153
 Beard, George, 61–62, 85
 Beaty, Thomas
Old Glory in Cuba, a Drama in Four Acts (play), 5, 21, 61, 63, 74–83
 Bellamy, Madge, 160
 Bellegarde, Dantès, 156
 Bell, Madison Smartt, 186
 Bilbo, Theodore, 218
 Billy Rose Theatre Collection, 222

- Biltmore Theatre (New York),
170n81
- Biograph film series, 69–70, 90
- biracialism, 21–26, 122–128,
139n129, 143, 179, 186–187,
189, 229, 237–238
- biracial palimpsest, 18–19,
128–130, 211–230
- bi-racialism, 8–10, 126–127, 129,
175, 179. *See also* black-white
dyad; Stoddard, Lothrop
- biracialization. *See also* black-white
dyad
- biracial imaginary, 16, 21
- pan-blackness and, 106–109,
112–116, 129, 184–195, 211
- pan-whiteness and, 8–11, 16, 129,
147, 174–175, 211
- The Birth of a Nation* (film), 18, 116,
126
- Black Bagdad: The Arabian Nights
Adventures of a Marine Captain
in Haiti* (literature), 6, 16, 22,
143, 147–150, 157, 166
- black drama/black theatre, 25,
34n105, 135n64, 177, 183–184.
See also Negro theatre
- black emperor figure, 167, 176,
196–197
- Black Empire* (play), 23–24, 177, 198,
211–217, 219
- blackface, 104, 162, 202n25, 237
- blackface-on-Black violence,
146–147, 151, 169n21
- military blackface, 146–147,
150–152, 166
- Black Lives Matter, 238
- blackness, 3, 6, 8, 12–15, 17–19,
28n16, 34n108, 48–50, 88–89,
105, 120–121, 124–126,
139n129, 148, 167, 173–177,
181–183, 213–215, 217–228,
230, 238–239
- biracialization and, 7–10, 16,
25–26, 106–109, 112–116,
127–130, 184–195, 211
- cannibal figure and, 4, 11, 22,
146–147, 153–158, 164–165,
216
- pan-blackness, 5, 16, 21–25, 51,
106–107, 110–117, 122–123,
130, 178–180, 184–185, 188,
191, 198, 211–212, 229, 237
- zombie figure and, 11, 22,
145–146, 152–165, 237
- Black Power movement, 25
- Black Republic, 4, 6, 8, 28n16, 48–50,
121, 127, 143, 155, 173–174,
178–179. *See also* Haiti, Republic
of
- black-white dyad, 6, 8, 10–11, 25,
128–130. *See also* biracialism;
bi-racialism
- Blake, Henry, 10. *See also* Blake; or the
Huts of America
- Blake; or the Huts of America*
(literature), 10–11, 31n61
- Bolshevik Revolution, 3, 7, 193, 195
- Bolshevism, 194
- Bordman, Gerald, 170n81
- Borno, Louis, 173, 192
- Boston Negro Unit, 177, 196–197,
211
- Boucicault, Dion
- The Octoroon* (play), 227
- Boyer, Jean-Pierre, 49
- Brody, Jennifer DeVere, 47
- Brooklyn Eagle*, 226
- Brooks, Daphne A., 89, 91
- Brooks, Jess, 214
- Brooks, Thomas, 223
- Brown, Lorraine, 215, 217, 220
- Bruce, John
- Uncle Sam* (burlesque/vaudeville
show), 21, 38, 42, 67
- Buck-Morss, Susan, 48

Buffalo Soldiers, 87, 117, 131n3. *See also* US Army: Colored Troops
 Burke, Inez
Two Races (pageant), 115, 129, 136n70
 burlesque, 21, 38–39, 68, 72
 Button, William R., 150–151
 Byrnes, James F., 194

C

Cable, George W., 160
 Caco Rebellion, 147–154, 156, 166, 176, 194
 Cacos, 147–154, 156, 166, 176, 194
 patriot army, 150
 Canal Zone, 1–2, 4, 142. *See also* Panama Canal; Windward Passage
Cannibal Cousins (literature), 150–152, 156–157, 216
 cannibal figure, 4, 11, 22, 28n18, 141, 146–147, 149, 152–158, 164–165, 216, 237
 capitalism, 1, 3, 36, 50, 63, 79–82, 143, 154, 158–159, 163. *See also* class
 Carter, Julian B., 61–62, 79
 castration anxiety, 78–79, 90, 154. *See also* fetishism
 Catholicism, 84, 185
 Césaire, Aimé
Notebook of a Return to the Homeland (poetry), 17
 chants, 160, 167, 192
 patriotism and, 38, 45, 59–60
 “Remember the *Maine!* To hell with Spain!”, 21, 43–47, 50, 52, 59–60, 67
 Charmion, 72
 Chester, Colby M., 1, 8, 10, 175
Chicago Defender, 196

Chicago Inter Ocean, 12
 Chicago World’s Fair
 Douglass’s speeches at, 10, 173, 175–179, 205n48, 239
 Childress, Alvin, 223
 Christianity, 124, 181–182, 190. *See also* African Methodist Episcopal Church; Anglo-Saxon identity: Anglo-Saxon Protestants; Catholicism; Negro Israelite religions
 Vodou and, 185–186
Christophe: A Tragedy in Prose of Imperial Haiti (play), 175–176, 201n21
 Christophe, Henri, 11, 23, 174, 177, 179, 182, 186, 196, 211, 214–216, 218, 223–230. *See also* *Black Empire* (play); *Haiti* (play)
Christophe’s Daughters (play), 114–115, 127, 177
 cinema, 63, 78, 96n59, 145, 153, 160–165. *See also* Cineograph; film; Vitascoper; *individual films*
 imperialism and, 5, 11, 21–22, 223
 intermediality and, 71–72
 patriotism and, 5, 11, 21–22, 63, 69–72
 reality effects and, 72–74, 91, 96n57, 97n67
 theatre and, 71–74, 213
 War of 1898 and, 5, 11, 21–22, 63, 69–72
 Cineograph, 72. *See also* cinema; film
 citizenship, 4, 31n66, 47, 60–62, 65–66, 69, 73, 80–84, 110, 112, 115, 125, 156, 185. *See also* naturalization
 Civil War (US), 25, 45, 47, 65–66, 126. *See also* Reconstruction
The Clansman (play), 18
 Clark, Maurice, 159, 220–223

- class, 7, 49, 66, 103, 160–161, 192, 195
 class mobility and whiteness, 63, 142–147, 149
 intersections with race, 8, 62–63, 80–82, 84–86, 104, 127–128, 151, 153, 174, 184, 187–191, 195
 labor, 47, 162
 mulatto class, 8–9, 121, 125–126, 129, 191
Cleveland Plain Dealer, 12–13
 “cocktail time in Cuba,” 51, 124, 239
 Colby, Jason, 4
 colonialism, 7, 21, 36, 39, 78, 125, 139n129, 152–153, 167, 183, 189, 196. *See also* genocidal erasure; imperialism; military occupation; postcolonialism
 anticolonialism, 12, 103, 111, 115, 166, 222, 226
 colonial fantasies, 47, 72
 decolonial stance, 173–174
 French colonials, 8–9, 155, 163, 180
 murky zone, 51–52
 neocolonialism, 81, 165
 postcolonial reform, 26, 48, 190–191, 215;
 Spanish colonialism, 43, 47, 64, 70, 80, 121, 124, 155
 Columbus, Christopher, 40
 comedy, 72, 74–77, 82–83. *See also under individual plays*
 communism, 145, 154, 194–195, 197, 217–219. *See also* Communist Party; Marxism; Red Scare(s); socialism
 Communist Labor Party (US), 209n155
 Communist Party (US), 114, 209n155
The Conquerors: The Black Troops in Cuba (poem), 107
 contact zone, 5, 28n24, 105, 123, 142–143. *See also* Pratt, Mary Louise.
 Corbould, Clare, 197, 212–214
corvée, 150, 157, 159
 Cox, Earnest, 7, 126, 184
 Craige, John H.
Black Bagdad: The Arabian Nights Adventures of a Marine Captain in Haiti (literature), 6, 16, 22, 143, 147–150, 157, 166
Cannibal Cousins (literature), 150–152, 156–157, 216
 crisis, 195, 237
 blackness and, 105
 imperialism and, 43–45, 75, 78, 120, 141–142, 238–239
 of whiteness, 7–9, 142, 148, 152–153, 163–165
 “crisis—perform—repeat” (multimedia performance), 168n3
The Crisis, 194, 201n23
Cuba—A Drama of Freedom (pageant), 5, 16, 22, 101–106, 109, 131n3, 175
 “Cuba Libre” (song), 66
 Cuban Army of Independence, 40, 120
 Cuban Constitution, 2, 141. *See also* Platt Amendment
 Cuban Independent Party of Color, 13
 “Cuban National Air” (song), 40
The Cuban Spy: A Comedy-Drama in Four Acts (play), 5, 22, 61, 63, 76–77, 81–83, 102
 Cuban War for Independence (*La Guerra de Independencia de Cuba*), 3, 5, 13–14, 39–41, 43, 47, 50, 64, 67, 80, 93, 102–106, 120–122. *See also* Grito de Baire

- Cuba, Republic of, 30n60, 111–112.
See also Guantánamo Bay Naval Base; War of 1898
- Platt Amendment, 2–3, 13, 36–37, 51, 57n76, 141
- US culture and, 5, 10–12, 16, 18–19, 21–24, 31n61, 39–47, 50–52, 59–93, 96n53, 101–110, 114–115, 117–128, 131n3, 175, 177, 198, 211–217, 219
- US embargo of, 239
- US interests in, 1–4, 11, 15, 24, 38, 43–44, 46–48, 50–52, 71, 74–75, 101–102, 141–142, 238–239
- US racial taxonomies and, 4, 8, 12–19, 25–26, 79–93, 103–107, 109, 114–115, 118–125, 128–130, 139n127, 142
- cultural performance, 21–24, 44, 60, 89, 106, 113–117, 196. *See also* action, field(s) of; enactment theory of, 20
- culture, 49, 74, 78, 124, 137n97, 179, 204n38, 208n144, 218, 238. *See also* Cuba, Republic of: US culture and; Haiti, Republic of: US culture and; pan-Africanist movements (cultural)
- culture of occupation, 26, 143, 166–167
- mediation and, 20–21, 38, 44–45, 68, 72, 74, 91, 153, 158, 162–163, 167, 178, 219
- performance and, 3, 5, 15–16, 20–24, 38, 43–45, 55, 60–62, 66, 89, 102–104, 106, 112–118, 143
- popular culture, 11–12, 15, 24, 60, 66–67, 80, 101, 116, 153–154, 157–158, 160, 168, 196
- as process, 8, 20, 24, 45, 165
- racialization and, 6–8, 11, 16–18, 20, 24, 39, 84–90, 104–106, 111–118, 128–130, 134n49, 153–154, 157–158, 160, 162, 166, 168, 171n91, 178, 185–186, 192–193, 196–197, 219
- Cuney, Norris Wright, 176, 178, 184–186
- Cuney, Philip, 184
- Cushman, Gregory T., 45, 55n34, 67
- D**
- Daily News*, 228
- Daly Theatre (New York), 67, 177, 211
- dance, 45–46, 191–192, 216, 218
 cakewalk, 102–105
- Dash, J. Michael, 3, 177, 191, 193, 204n38, 212
- Davis, Henrietta Vinton, 175–176, 201n17
- de Kruiif, Paul
Yellow Jack (play), 19, 118, 120
- Delaney, Martin Robinson
Blake; or the Huts of America (literature), 10–11, 31n61
- Democratic Party (US), 110, 112
- Department of Investigation (DOI), 217–218
- Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale* (play), 6, 10, 23, 175–176, 180–191, 196, 229–230
- Dessalines, Jean Jacques, 10, 23, 150, 167, 173–176, 178–193, 196, 198, 204n47, 206n82, 216, 224, 227, 229–230
- diaspora, 103, 105–106, 113, 115–117, 122–123
- Dies Committee. *See* House Committee on Un-American Activities

- Dies, Martin, Jr., 171n87, 217
- dime novels, 88, 146
- discourse, 15, 20, 62–63, 79, 195, 238
- Haitian Revolution discourses, 48–49
- imperialism and, 44, 82, 91–92, 120, 167, 192
- nondiscursive performance, 96n36
- racial discourses, 10, 117, 129–130, 174, 193, 225–227
- Dixon, Thomas, Jr.
- The Clansman* (play), 18
- dollar diplomacy, 158
- Dominican Republic (DR), 31n64, 31n66, 51–52, 56n60
- as Santo Domingo, 9, 11, 27n13
- Donahy, J.H.
- “Golly. I’ve gone an’ did it again!,” 12–13
- Douglass, Frederick, 113, 129, 201n17
- speeches at Chicago World’s Fair, 10, 173, 175–179, 205n48, 239
- drama, 11, 42, 65, 105, 171n92, 196, 218, 220, imperialism and
- black drama/black theatre, 25, 34n105, 135n64, 177, 183–184
- comedy dramas, 5, 22, 61, 63, 76–77, 81–83, 102
- drama programs, 33n87
- musical dramas, 21, 23, 38, 42–43, 102, 135n65, 165, 176, 187–193, 202n24, 229
- war dramas, 75
- dramatic literature, 19, 118
- Dramatists Play Service, 118
- The Drums of Haiti* (play). *See also*
- Emperor of Haiti* (play)
- The Drums of Haiti* (play), 176, 202n25
- Dubois, Laurent, 198n5, 239
- Du Bois, W.E.B., 103, 134n52, 135n64, 178, 183, 187, 195, 197
- biracial rhetoric and, 129–130
- the color line, 7, 127
- dispute with Marcus Garvey, 127, 134n49, 184
- misattribution of Haiti to, 219–220
- Pan-Africanism and, 111–112, 134n49
- DuBois, William
- collaboration with Maurice Clark, 159, 220–222
- Haiti* (play), 23–24, 159–160, 177, 196–198, 211–212, 215, 218–230
- miscegenation and, 220–222
- Dumont, Frank
- The Cuban Spy: A Comedy-Drama in Four Acts* (play), 5, 22, 61, 63, 76–77, 81–83, 102
- Dunbar, Paul Laurence, 133n36
- The Conquerors: The Black Troops in Cuba* (poem), 107
- Dyer, Richard, 164
- E**
- Easton, William Edgar, 18, 178, 214, 238
- AME and, 185
- Christophe: A Tragedy in Prose of Imperial Haiti* (play), 175–176, 201n21
- Dessalines: A Dramatic Tale* (play), 6, 10, 23, 175–176, 180–191, 196, 229–230
- Republican Party and, 184
- Edison Manufacturing Company, 39, 69–70, 91. *See also* cinema; film; Vitascope

- Edison, Thomas
Raising Old Glory over Morro Castle
 (film), 21, 61, 70–71
- Edmonds, Randolph, 33n87
Yellow Death (play), 16, 18–19,
 106, 115, 117–120, 128
- Edwards, William, 127
El Capitan (play), 67
- emancipation, 81, 106, 121–122,
 125–126
- The Emperor Jones* (play), 151–152
- Emperor of Haiti* (play), 23, 176,
 187–193, 196, 200n14, 202n25,
 212–214, 229. *See also* *The Drums*
of Haiti (play); *Troubled Island*
 (play)
- enactment, 5, 11, 15–16, 21, 23, 38,
 44, 151, 167, 174–175
 reenactments, 22, 69–73, 91–92
- Enloe, Cynthia, 116
- erasure, 43, 52, 64, 70–71, 74, 80, 87,
 92, 165, 238. *See also* genocidal
 erasure
 archives and, 47, 212, 220, 223
 historical production and, 19, 23,
 47, 106, 108–109, 119–120
 palimpsest and, 17, 19, 23, 46,
 211–230
 race and, 8–9, 14–24, 48–49, 88, 106,
 108, 110, 117–118, 122–123,
 125, 127–129, 146, 166
 silences and, 15, 47, 117, 239
- Espinosa, Mariola, 120
- Ethiopia, 115
- ethnicity
 ethnic groups, 17, 25, 84, 103, 125,
 157
 multi-ethnic pan-whiteness, 5–6, 8,
 10, 16, 21–22, 24–25, 61–63,
 83–85, 93, 112, 130, 141–168,
 196–197, 211–212, 226,
 228–229, 237–238
versus race, 63, 122–123
- ethnomusicology, 192
- Experimental Theatre, 177
- F**
- Fallon, Joseph A., 51
- Fanon, Frantz, 78, 164
- Faustin I (Faustin Soulouque), 167
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI),
 217
- Federal One projects, 217–219. *See*
also Federal Theatre Project
- Federal Theatre Project (FTP),
 231n17
Black Empire, 23–24, 177, 198,
 211–217, 219
 blackness of, 212–213, 217–219
 Boston Negro Unit, 177, 196–197,
 211
Haiti, 23–24, 159–160, 177,
 196–198, 211–212, 215,
 218–230
 Harlem Negro Unit, 177, 211, 213,
 231n17
 Hartford Negro Unit, 177, 211
 integration and, 23, 213–214,
 217–218, 221
 Los Angeles Negro Unit, 211
 Seattle Negro Unit, 177, 211
- Ferguson, Missouri, 238
- fetishism, 77–79, 89, 154. *See also*
 castration anxiety
 commodity fetishism, 67
- Fifth Avenue Theatre (New York), 67
- Fighting in Cuban Waters, or The Haps*
and Mishaps of a Young Gunner
 (children's literature), 93
- film, 18–19, 43, 96n53, 116, 118,
 126, 142, 235n104. *See also*
 cinema; Cineograph; Edison,
 Thomas; Hollywood; Vitascope;
individual films
 actualities, 69, 71–72

- counterfeits, 69, 71, 73
 projection technology, 39, 69,
 72–74, 162
 reenactments, 22, 69–73, 91–92
 as restored behavior, 22, 91–92, 223
 war films, 21–22, 59, 63, 69–75,
 90–92, 99n124
 zombie horror films, 11, 22,
 143–144, 153, 159–165,
 171n90
 Fine Arts Theatre (Boston), 176
 Finlay, Carlos J., 120
 First Gulf War, 44
 First United States Volunteer Cavalry.
 See Rough Riders
 Fischer, Sibylle, 48
Flags of the World (burlesque/
 vaudeville show), 21, 38–42, 67,
 77, 102
 Flanagan, Hallie, 217
 Foner, Philip, 193, 195
 foreign policy, 4–5, 24, 26, 28n23, 36,
 41, 44, 66. *See also* Monroe
 Doctrine; Platt Amendment
 as performative, 21, 38, 60
 Fortune, T. Thomas, 175, 178, 195,
 199n13, 209n159
 Foucault, Michel, 15
 Frederick Douglass High School, 19,
 113, 115, 127–128
*The Freeman, An Illustrated Colored
 Newspaper*, 66
 Freeman, Joseph, 36, 81, 158–159
 Freiberg's Opera House (Chicago),
 175, 180, 187
*The French Revolution in San
 Domingo*, 9, 197
 Freud, Sigmund, 78
- G**
- Gabriel, 10, 174
 Gamut Auditorium (Los Angeles), 176
 Gaonkar, Dilip, 20
 Garvey, Marcus, 7, 111, 126, 173,
 175, 190, 193, 195–197. *See also*
 United Negro Improvement
 Association
 dispute with W.E.B. Du Bois, 127,
 134n49, 184
 Gates, Henry Louis, 6, 110, 137n97,
 175, 178, 204n38
 Gatewood, Willard, 35, 66, 105,
 123–124
 gender, 4, 72, 77, 79–80, 119, 122.
 See also homosociality;
 masculinity; mulatta/o figure
 Genette, Gérard, 17, 73
*Genifrede: The Daughter of
 L'Ouverture* (play), 114,
 176–177, 196
 genocidal erasure, 87
gens de couleur, 49, 174, 179–180,
 182–183, 198n5, 204n47. *See
 also* mulatta/o figure
 German immigrants, 94n21
 whiteness and, 6, 26, 80, 82–83,
 147
 Gill, Glenda L., 212
 Gilpin Players (Cleveland), 176, 196
 Gilroy, Paul, 122
Globe, 102
The Goat Without Horns (literature),
 153
 “God Bless our Country” (poem),
 65–66
 Gómez, Máximo, 40, 77
 Gordon, Leon: *White Cargo* (play), 228
 Gothic, the, 161, 163
 Grajales, Mariana, 121
 Grandin, Greg, 51, 57n70
 Grand Opera House (New York), 68
 Grant, James C., 115
 Grau San Martín, Ramón, 52, 57n76
 Great Depression, 154, 162–163, 195,
 222, 231n17

- Great Migration, 7, 26
 Greek Theatre, The (Los Angeles), 203n29
 Greenwich Village Theatre (New York), 228
Grito de Baire, 47. *See also* Cuban War for Independence
 Group Theatre (New York), 213
 Guantánamo Bay Naval Base, 50
 Gunning, Sandra, 122
 Guss, David, 20
 Guterl, Matthew Pratt, 5–6, 8, 26, 112, 126–127, 129–130
- H**
- Haiti* (play), 23, 177, 196–198, 215, 221–222, 224–226
 biracialization and, 24, 223, 228
 misattribution of, 219–220
 mulatta/o figure and, 24, 212, 218, 223, 227–230
 as palimpsest, 211–212
 Haitian American Treaty, 162
 Haitian Constitution, 141–142, 158–159, 166–167
 Haitian Gendarmerie, 143–144, 147, 151, 159, 162
 Haitian Revolution, 11, 19, 48, 50–51, 114, 150–151, 173, 175–178, 180–183, 185, 188, 190–192, 213–228, 230. *See also* Christophe, Henri; Dessalines, Jean Jacques; L'Ouverture, Toussaint
 biracialization and, 8–10, 18, 127–128, 130, 174, 179, 184, 186–187, 189, 193, 211–212, 229
 impacts of, 3, 6, 10, 22–23, 153–155, 166
 Haiti, Republic of, 27n13, 28n16, 56n60, 112, 125, 135n65, 170n31, 170n81, 171n90, 171n91, 198n5, 202n24, 204n47, 205n48, 206n75, 207n103, 208n144, 240n7. *See also* Haitian American Treaty; Haitian Constitution; Saint Domingue
 “another Haiti” trope, 3, 6, 8, 10, 47, 51, 121, 174, 197, 225
 2010 earthquake, 238–239
 pan-African discourse and, 11, 106, 115, 130
 US culture and, 6, 10, 16, 22–24, 114–115, 127, 143–153, 156–157, 159–166, 170n31, 175–177, 180–193, 196–198, 200n14, 201n21, 202n25, 211–230
 US interests in, 1–4, 17, 25, 47–52, 193, 201n17, 238–239
 US occupation of, 2–6, 10–12, 15–16, 22–24, 26, 50–52, 57n70, 64, 93, 111, 116, 128, 130, 141–168, 173, 175–176, 187, 192–194, 197–198, 227–228
 US racial taxonomies and, 4–6, 8–10, 12, 14–17, 19, 21–23, 25–26, 93, 127–130, 139n127, 141–168, 174–175, 177–179, 183–184, 190–191, 193, 214, 228–230, 237
- Hale, Grace Elizabeth, 25, 128
 Halleran, Desmond, 159
 Hall, Fannie S., 176
 Halperin brothers, 159
 Halperin, Victor, 159–160
 Hanneken, Herman, 150
 Hanny: “I’m in for Something Now” (cartoon), 14
 Hare, Maud Cuney, 176, 187, 201n23
 Harlem Negro Unit, 177, 211, 213, 231n17
 Harlem Renaissance, 23, 135n62

- Harmon Foundation, 208n144
Harper's Weekly: Journal of Civilization, 64
- Harris, Helen Webb
Genifrede: The Daughter of L'Ouverture (play), 114, 176–177, 196
- Harrison, Hubert Henry, 112, 126–127, 197, 209n160
 New Negro Movement and, 7, 195, 204n38
- Hartford Negro Unit, 177, 211
- Hassall, Frank
The World's Champion American Boy (musical drama), 21, 38, 42–43, 102
- Hatch, James V., 176, 180, 183, 206n83, 206n84
- Hayden, Robert, 192
Hayti, or the Black Republic, 155
- Hearst, William Randolph, 44
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 48
- hegemony, 4, 8–10, 47, 49–51, 62, 66, 78–79, 152, 175, 187
- Helg, Aline, 121–122, 125
Herald Tribune, 225, 228
- Heureuse, Claire, 181, 187
- Hill, Errol G., 175–176, 201n21, 201n23, 202n25, 206n84
- historiography, 223
 erasure and, 46–47, 109, 117, 120, 123
 imperialism and, 35, 46–47
 memory and, 46–47
 palimpsest and, 46–47, 109
 pan-African historiography, 113, 115–117, 123
 production of power and, 47
 War of 1898 and, 35, 109, 120
- history, 3, 15, 17, 28n24, 72, 102, 159–160, 162, 196, 223, 239. *See also* film: reenactments; *Negro History in Thirteen Plays*
 Negro History Week, 11, 18–20, 22–24, 106, 112–118, 127, 129, 177
 as palimpsest, 17–19, 46, 107–112, 118, 128–130
 race and, 6, 8–9, 18, 23, 25–26, 49, 86–92, 108–124, 127–128, 167, 177, 182–185, 190–191, 198, 211–214, 224
 role in imperialism, 20–21, 35–36, 43–52, 75, 167
- Holly, James, 185
- Hollywood Playhouse Theatre (Los Angeles), 203n29, 214
 “Home Sweet Home” (song), 103
- homeroetics, 78, 86
- homosociality, 78, 86
- House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), 160, 171n87, 197, 213, 217–219, 221, 228
- Howard Players (Washington DC), 176, 196
- Howard, Sidney: *Yellow Jack* (play), 19, 118, 120
- Hughes, Langston, 18, 124, 178
The Drums of Haiti (play), 176, 202n25
Emperor of Haiti (play), 23, 176, 187–193, 196, 200n14, 202n25, 212–214, 229
Troubled Island (play), 176, 202n25
- hypodescent
 miscegenation laws and, 126
- I
- immigration, 6–8, 26, 39, 61–63, 83, 85, 94n21, 142–143, 162. *See also* naturalization
- Immigration Act of 1924 (Johnson-Reed Act), 5, 94n11, 142
- Immigration Commission (US), 39

- imperialism, 28n24, 174–176, 179, 189, 196. *See also* anarchy of empire; colonialism; dollar diplomacy; military occupation
 anti-imperialist movements, 9, 12, 66, 115, 149, 212
 economic imperialism, 11, 36–37, 43, 63, 142, 153–155, 159, 161, 163, 337
 imperial masculinity, 62–63, 78–92, 145
 imperial surrogation, 42, 46, 52, 60–61, 63–64, 66, 71, 74, 82, 88, 92, 147–148, 163, 165–167, 238–239
 murky zone, 51
 US imperialism, 1–6, 8, 11–12, 15–17, 20–22, 24, 26, 31n64, 31n66, 35–52, 57n70, 59–93, 103, 105–106, 108–109, 119–120, 128–129, 141–145, 148–163, 165, 167, 238
- indexicality, 71, 74
Indianapolis News, 69
Indigénisme, 111–112
 Ingram, Rex, 223–224, 226, 229
In Menelik's Court (play), 115
- intermediality
 imperialism and, 72
 reality effects and, 71
- International Theatre (New York), 118
- interpellation, 143. *See also* Althusser, Louis
 patriotism and, 68, 73
 racialization and, 114, 193, 197
- interracial collaboration, 24, 212–214, 217–220, 238
- intertextuality, 17, 73
- intra-racial caste system, 127
- Irish immigrants, 94n21, 147, 199n13
 whiteness and, 5–6, 16, 26, 39, 61–62, 80, 82–86, 112, 149
- Iromagaja, 88
- Italian immigrants
 whiteness and, 5, 26, 39, 112
- J**
- Jacobson, Matthew Frye, 5–6, 17–20, 26, 29n28, 56n58, 61–62, 85, 112, 142–143, 162–164
- James, C.L.R.
Toussaint Louverture, 203n32
- Jarrett, Gene Andrew, 178
- Jefferson, Thomas, 48–49
- Jelliffe, Rowena Woodham, 176
- Jewish immigrants, 94n11, 147
 whiteness and, 5, 61, 85–86, 112, 238
- Jim Crow, 95n25, 105, 125, 165, 191. *See also* Mississippi plan; segregation
- Johnson, Charles S., 16
- Johnson, E. Patrick, 105
- Johnson, Georgia Douglas, 135n62
- Johnson, James Weldon, 133n36, 158, 191, 194, 197, 209n157
- Jones, Martin B., 159
- Journal American*, 224
- journalism, 3–4, 153, 155, 211, 218
 yellow journalism, 44, 60, 67, 69
- Julius Rosenwald Fund, 208n144
- Junior Order of United States Mechanics (St. Clair), 76
- JW Hoffman Junior High School (New Orleans), 136
- K**
- Kansas City Star*, 163
- Kaplan, Amy, 5, 28n23, 89. *See also* anarchy of empire
- Kaplan, Louis, 97n67
- Karam, Elena, 223

- Karamu Theatre (Cleveland), 176, 192, 202n25
 Keith's Theatre (Philadelphia), 69
 Knox, Philander C., 158
 Kreyòl (language), 28n18
 Krigwa Players Little Negro Theatre (Harlem), 33n87, 220
 Krutch, Joseph, 228
 Ku Klux Klan (KKK), 7, 81, 95n25, 126
- L**
 "La Dessalinienne" (song), 206n75
 Lafayette Theatre (Harlem), 159, 177, 211, 213, 218, 220–221, 223
 "La Marseillaise" (song), 182, 206n75
 Lane, Jill, 36, 124
 Lenox Casino (Harlem), 176, 201n21
 Leveau, Marie, 160
 liberalism, 143
 Library of Congress, 45, 75, 222
 Lincoln, Abraham, 66, 113, 129
 Lincoln Theatre (Los Angeles), 203n29
 Lindsay-Poland, John, 4
 Literary Guild, 144
 literature, 10–11, 17, 24, 31n61, 46, 109–110, 167, 184. *See also* dime novels; memoir; travel narratives
 children's literature, 93
 occupation literature, 6, 16, 22, 142–157, 160, 162–163, 166, 170n31, 216
 Little Theatre Movement, 201n23, 213. *See also* Krigwa Players Little Negro Theatre; Negro theatre
 Locke, Alain, 135n64, 137n97, 204n38
 Logan, Rayford, 3, 133n28
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth
 The Revenge of Rain-in-the-Face (poem), 88
 Los Angeles Negro Unit, 211
 Lott, Eric, 87, 151, 229
 L'Ouverture, Toussaint, 114, 130, 174–175, 179, 182, 185–186, 196–197, 199n6, 204n47, 218, 223–224, 229
 Lowry, Edward, 165
 Lugosi, Bela, 161–162
 Lusk Committee, 194
 Lyceum Theater (Minneapolis), 101, 131n3
 lynching, 81, 101, 105, 123, 218
 anti-lynching activism, 101, 185, 195
 Lynch, John Roy, 123, 138n117
- M**
 MacAloon, John J., 15–16
 MacCorkle, William A., 3, 8, 10, 16, 26n1, 175
 The Monroe Doctrine in Its Relation to the Republic of Haiti, 1–2, 4, 49–50
 Maceo, Antonio, 11, 40, 102–103, 105–106, 109, 120–127. *See also* *Antonio Maceo* (play)
 Maceo, Marcos, 121
 Machado, Gerardo, 57n76
 Macki, Adrienne, 223
Macon Telegraph, 75
The Magic Island (literature), 144–146, 155–156, 160, 162, 170n31
The Maine after the Explosion (film), 69
The Maine and Iowa (film), 69–70
 Mannoni, Octave, 164
A Marine Tells It To You (literature), 151
 Marshall, 86, 88–89
 Martí, José, 124
 Martin Beck Theatre (New York), 118

- Marxism, 81, 195, 207n99. *See also* Bolshevik Revolution; communism; Red Scare(s); socialism; Weydemeyer, Joseph
- Marx, Karl, 7, 78, 109
- masculinity. *See also* homosociality
blackness and, 164, 214, 229
imperial masculinity, 42, 63, 166
Theodore Roosevelt and, 62, 83–90, 147
whiteness and, 76–89, 92, 145, 147, 151, 154, 172n109
- Matheus, John Frederick, 208n144
Ouanga (opera), 23, 135n65, 165, 176, 187–193, 202n24, 229
Tambour (play), 135n65, 176
Ti Yette (play), 114, 135n65
- Mayan Theatre (Los Angeles), 203n29
- McClelland, Rose, 213, 231n17
- McClintic, Guthrie, 118
- McClintock, Anne, 60, 67, 78–79
- McGhee, Fredrick, 102–105, 109
- McGhee, Mattie, 104
- McGirt, James Ephraim, 18, 133n34, 133n36
“Avenging the Maine” (poem), 108–110
Avenging the Maine, A Drunken A.B., and Other Poems (poems), 65, 108–110
“God Bless our Country” (poem), 65–66
- McGirt’s Magazine*, 133n34
- McKinley, William, 3, 42, 66
- mediation, 16, 20–22, 121, 139n127, 214, theory of. *See also* culture; Williams, Raymond
of culture, 20, 38, 44–45, 68, 72, 74, 91, 153, 158, 162–163, 167, 178, 219
- melodrama, 91, 206n84, 224–225
neurasthenia and, 63
patriotism and, 76–77, 102
whiteness and, 63, 76–77
- memoir, 11, 22, 26, 61, 84–85, 88–90, 108, 120. *See also The Rough Riders*
- memory, 3, 9–10, 17–19, 120, 189
amnesia and US foreign policy, 21, 44, 64
faulty memory, 21, 35–52
imperial forgetting, 21, 35–36, 43–51, 108–109, 143
re-membering, 106–117
“Remember the *Maine!*” trope, 21, 43–47, 50, 52, 59–60, 67
role in imperialism, 44–46, 50, 52, 71, 101, 108
role in nationalism, 44–46, 105, 108, 118
- mestizaje*, 124–125
- mestizos*, 121, 125
- Metropolitan Opera House (New York), 92
- militarism, 102, 143, 238
- military occupation, 2–4, 24, 37–38, 50–51, 93, 111, 124, 173, 227–228, 238
anarchy of empire and, 5, 152, 154, 166
as cultural performance, 20, 22, 44, 143
culture(s) of, 6, 11–12, 15–16, 22–23, 26, 28n18, 45, 73, 91, 115, 142–157, 160, 162–163, 166, 170n31, 216
racialization and, 6, 10, 16, 20, 22, 128, 130, 141–168, 175–176, 187, 192–194, 197–198
- Miller, Kelly, 83–84, 98n102
- Miller, May, 113, 135n62
Christophe’s Daughters (play), 114–115, 127, 177
Negro History in Thirteen Plays, 114–115, 118, 121, 124, 177
- minstrelsy, 13–14, 34n105, 76, 87, 102, 104, 146–147, 151–152. *See also* blackface

- misattribution
 archive and, 219–220, 223
 racialized logics of, 23–24,
 219–220, 223
- miscegenation, 61, 126, 129, 164,
 172n109, 212, 219–223,
 228–229
- Mississippi plan, 105, 124–125, 129.
See also Jim Crow; segregation
- Mitchell, Lofton, 25, 212
- mobility, 142
 class mobility, 143–144
 of empire, 143–144, 152
 of whiteness, 143–144
- modernism, 192
- Mona Passage, 52
- Monroe Doctrine, 39
 recognition criteria and Haiti in,
 48–50, 56n60, 158
 Roosevelt Corollary, 2–3, 21,
 28n18, 36–38, 50–51, 141,
 158, 164
*The Monroe Doctrine in Its Relation to
 the Republic of Haiti*, 1–2, 4,
 49–50
- Montaigne, Michel de, 155
- Monumental Theatre, 33n87
- Morgan College Dramatic Club
 (Baltimore), 115, 177
- Moses, Alvin J., 20, 224, 226
- mulatta/o figure, 17, 48, 198n5,
 206n82, 216–217. *See also* gens
 de couleur
 mixed race figure, 6, 8, 24, 126,
 139n129
- mulatta/o position, 8, 121–122,
 125–127, 191
 in plays about Haitian Revolution,
 22, 24, 128, 181, 187–191,
 198, 212, 218, 223, 227–230
 racially mixed figure, 22, 126, 198,
 228–229
- Mulvey, Laura, 78
- Murphy, Gretchen, 36
- Muse, Clarence, 161
- music, 24, 39–41, 43–46, 59–60,
 65–69, 77, 92, 102–103,
 160–161, 166, 182, 184,
 201n23, 206n75, 225. *See also*
under individual songs
 folk music, 192
 musical dramas, 21, 23, 38, 42,
 135n65, 165, 176, 187–193,
 202n24, 229
 opera, 23, 135n65, 165, 176,
 187–193, 202n24, 202n25,
 229
- N**
- Napoleon Bonaparte, 149, 174, 196,
 215–216, 218, 224
- National Afro-American League, 175
- National Association for the
 Advancement of Colored People
 (NAACP), 127
- National Bank of Haiti, 158
- National City Bank of New York City,
 158
- National Civic Federation Report, 194
National Geographic, 8
- nationalism, 42, 44–45, 60, 78, 106,
 117, 121, 124–125, 161. *See also*
 patriotism
 black nationalism, 31n61, 193, 195
 white nationalism, 7
- National Service Bureau, 222
The Nation, 197
- Native Americans, 86–89, 128, 142,
 199n13
- naturalization
 law of 1790, 29n28, 62
- Nearing, Scott, 36, 51, 81, 158–159
Negrismo, 111–112
Négritude, 111, 134n49
- Negro Bill of Rights, 196
Negro History in Thirteen Plays,
 114–115, 118, 121, 124, 177

- Negro History Week (NHW), 11,
18–20, 22–24, 106, 112–118,
127, 129, 177
The Negro in Our History, 117
*The Negro in the Discovery and
Exploration of America*, 117
- Negro Israelite religions, 185
Negro Labor in the United States, 117
Negro People's Theatre (New York),
231n17
- Negro radicalism, 7, 127, 193–198,
217–218
The Negro Soldier, 117
- Negro theatre, 175, 183, 211–212,
219. *See also* Krigwa Players Little
Negro Theatre
versus Federal Theatre Project
Negro Units, 23–24, 213
Little Theatre Movement, 201n23,
213
- Negro vogue, 192
- Nelson, Paul D., 101
- neurasthenia
imperialism and, 82
imperiled masculinity and, 61–63,
89–92
whiteness and, 61–63, 79–80,
84–85
- New Jersey National Guard, 91
New Journal and Guide, 224
- New Negro era, 6, 23, 106, 110–111,
178
- New Negro Movement, 7, 119, 128,
191–192, 195, 204n38. *See also*
Harrison, Hubert Henry
versus New Negro cultural
movement(s), 137n97, 178
- New Negro Woman figure, 190
The New Republic, 228
New York Age, 175
- New York Colored Socialist Club, 7,
195
The New Yorker, 239
New York Journal, 44
New York Socialist Party (US), 195
New York Times, 92, 155, 211
New York Tribune, 67
New York World, 44
- Niagara Movement, 103, 195
1984 (literature), 46
- 9th and Arch Dime Museum
(Philadelphia), 72–73
- Ninth Battalion Armory Hall, 176
Notebook of a Return to the Homeland
(poetry), 17
- Nwankwo, Ifeoma, 122
- Nyong'o, Tavia, 126
- O**
- Obama, Barack, 237
- O'Connor, John, 215, 217, 220
The Octoroon (play), 227
Old Glory (film), 69, 96n53
“Old Glory” (song), 66
Old Glory in Cuba (play), 5, 21, 61,
63, 74–83
- Old Glory in Cuba trope, 11, 21,
59–93, 239
- “Old Glory, the Blue and the Gray”
(song), 65
- one-drop rule, 125, 128, 190
- O'Neill, Eugene
The Emperor Jones (play),
151–152
- Orwell, George
1984 (literature), 46–47
- Ouanga* (opera), 23, 135n65, 165,
176, 187–193, 202n24, 229
- P**
- Padmore, George, 195
- pageants, 11

- Cuba—A Drama of Freedom* 5, 16, 22, 101–105, 109, 131n3, 175
Two Races, 115, 129, 136n70
 Painter, Clark: *Black Empire* (play), 23–24, 177, 198, 211–217, 219
 Paley, William: *Roosevelt's Rough Riders Embarking for Santiago* (film), 90
 palimpsest, 26, 72–73, 105, 165–166, 175, 193
 acts of palimpsest (marking and unmarking), 18–19, 22, 84
 e-racing, 107–128
 national memory and, 46, 50
 “palimpsest of race,” 17, 20
 production of history and, 107–112
 racialization and, 9, 17–21, 23, 107–112, 118, 123, 128–130, 163, 180, 211–230
 re-membering, 106–117
 re-racing, 22, 101–130
 theories of, 17–18
 Palmer, A. Mitchell: Report to the Senate Judiciary Committee, 194
 Pan-African Congresses, 111, 134n49
 Pan-African Movement (of Pan-African Congresses), 111, 134n49
 pan-Africanist movements (cultural), 10, 111, 174. *See also*
 Indigénisme; Negrismo;
 Négritude; United Negro Improvement Association
 Panama Canal, 38, 46. *See also* Canal Zone; Windward Passage
 importance of Cuba and Haiti to, 1–4, 11, 24, 50, 52
 patriotism, 11, 21, 38, 43–47, 59–93, 101–103, 106, 108–111, 113, 115, 117, 119–120, 124, 150. *See also* nationalism
 superpatriotism, 6
 Paulin, Diana Rebekkah, 25, 128–129
 Payne, James Robert, 109, 133n36
 Péralte, Charlemagne, 147, 150–152
 Pérez, Louis A., Jr., 3, 35, 41, 45, 50–51, 81, 92–93
 performance, 156, 161, 240n7. *See also* blackface; burlesque; cultural performance; dance; music; tableaux vivants; theatre; vaudeville; whiteface
 imperialism and, 3–4, 6, 11, 13, 16, 20–24, 49–52, 59–93, 101–103, 109, 119–120, 141–144, 149, 151, 154, 159, 165–167, 196, 238
 performance culture, 3, 5, 16, 20–24, 38, 43–44, 59–93, 104, 106, 112–117, 196
 race and, 5–6, 9, 13, 15–25, 34n105, 50, 61, 63–64, 72, 76, 79–93, 101, 103–106, 109–110, 112–120, 130, 144, 146–149, 151, 153–154, 162, 172n109, 173–198, 212–213, 218–230
 stage directions and, 42–43, 76, 225, 227
 theory of, 15–16, 20–21, 33n100
 performance studies, 21, 24–25
 performative(s). *See also* Austin, J.L.
 call to arms, 150
 Dessalines and, 9, 150, 167, 174–175, 198
 enactment of pan-whiteness, 79, 83–84, 146–147, 151
 foreign policy as, 21, 38, 60
 imperialism and, 36–37, 44, 51, 61, 77, 90
 investment in whiteness, 79, 83–84, 146–147, 151
 performative space, 51
 race and, 19, 83, 105, 110, 196, 198
 uptake of, 179

- performativity, 73, 96n36
 blackness and, 9, 19, 105, 110,
 146–147, 174–175, 179, 198
 imperial performativity, 36–38, 44,
 47, 51, 61, 63, 77, 141
 neurasthenia and, 63, 79
 pan-white performativity, 79,
 83–84, 146–147, 151
 racial performativity, 19, 83, 105,
 110, 196, 198
The Perils of Pauline (film), 63
Philadelphia Inquirer, 44–45, 69, 75
The Phonoscope, 70
 photography, 11, 21, 64, 66, 71,
 136n70, 144, 238
 Pickens, William, 110–111, 119,
 128–129, 134n43, 214
 Platt Amendment, 2–3, 13, 36–37,
 51, 57n76, 141
 plays, 67, 155, 228. *See also* dramatic
 literature; performance; theatre;
 individual plays
 about Cuba, 5, 16, 18–19, 21–24,
 61, 63, 74–83, 102, 106,
 114–115, 117–128, 177, 198,
 211–217, 219
 about Haiti, 6, 10, 23–24, 114–115,
 127, 135n65, 151–152, 159,
 170n81, 171n90, 175–177,
 180–193, 196–198, 200n14,
 201n21, 202n25, 211–230
 about US racial politics, 18, 115,
 129, 160, 227
*Plays and Pageants from the Life of the
 Negro*, 114
 Playwrights' Theatre (New York), 152
Plessy v. Ferguson, 125–126, 130, 228
 Polish Haitians, 9, 149, 174
 Polish immigrants, 144
 whiteness and, 5–6, 39, 61, 82, 147
 political cartoons, 11–17, 13–14
 Pollock, Arthur, 226, 228
- Pope, Cora
 Cuba—A Drama of Freedom
 (pageant), 5, 16, 22, 101–105,
 109, 131n3, 175
 Pope, Z.A., 101–102
 popular culture. *See also* chants;
 cinema; dime novels; film; music;
 theatre
 performance and, 24
 racialization and, 116, 153, 160,
 168
 US imperialism and, 5, 11–12, 15,
 60, 80
 postcolonialism, 48, 190, 215
 Pratt, Mary Louise, 28n24, 46
 Prospero complex, 164
 psychoanalysis, 78. *See also* castration
 anxiety; fetishism; Freud,
 Sigmund; Mannoni, Octave;
 Prospero complex
 Pulaski Volunteers (Hawkinsville), 76
 Pulitzer, Joseph, 44
- Q**
 Quiroga, José, 17–18
- R**
 race, 2, 9, 13, 28n23, 33n87, 50–51,
 63, 66, 81, 95n25, 98n102,
 132n22, 204n47, 238. *See also*
 biracialism; bi-racialism;
 biracialization; blackness;
 black-white dyad; emancipation;
 hypodescent; mestizaje;
 miscegenation; Mississippi plan;
 mulatta/o figure; one-drop rule;
 Plessy v. Ferguson; racism;
 whiteness
 color line, 7, 123–124, 127,
 134n49, 149, 191

- Cuba and, 10, 30n60, 102, 121
 culture and, 5–8, 11, 16–18, 20, 24, 39, 84–90, 104–106, 111–118, 128–130, 134n49, 153–154, 157–158, 160, 162, 166, 168, 171n91, 178, 185–186, 192–193, 196–197, 219
 e-racing, 107–112, 120–128
 erasure and, 15–21, 49, 118, 211–230
 Haiti and, 1, 3, 8–10, 48–49, 114, 173–174, 177, 180–182, 185–189, 191–193, 197–198, 204n47, 212, 215–216, 224, 227–229
 histories of, 6, 11, 18–20, 22–24, 106, 112–118, 127, 129, 177
 performing race, 15–24, 119, 142–168, 173–198, 235n104
 race-as-color, 8
 race-consciousness, 7–8, 10, 16, 105, 115, 127, 195
 racialization, 1, 4, 6, 12, 14, 16–19, 24–25, 39, 72, 79–80, 91–92, 106, 108, 114, 122, 125, 130, 143, 148, 154, 177, 181, 184, 212, 217, 219–220, 223
 racial solidarity, 103, 105, 111
 racial taxonomies, 5–8, 15–17, 25–26, 39, 61–62, 83–86, 111–112, 122, 125–126, 129–130, 139n127, 139n129, 142, 152, 155, 160, 162, 165, 174, 184, 186–187, 193, 199n13, 207n115, 229, 237
 racing, 15–16, 19–20, 22–23, 101–130, 211–230
 racism, 7, 11, 15–18, 46, 80, 105, 112, 116, 118, 124–125, 128, 130, 162, 194, 213–214, 216–223, 232n46, 237–238. *See also* blackface; genocidal erasure; Jim Crow; Ku Klux Klan; lynching; minstrelsy; segregation; whiteface; white supremacy; xenophobia
 scientific racism, 72, 129
 Rafael, Vicente L., 4
Raising Old Glory over Morro Castle (film), 21, 61, 70–71
 “Raising the American Flag on the Casa Municipal” (photograph), 64
 reality effects. *See also* Auerbach, Jonathan
 cinema and, 71–74, 91, 96n57
 the reel/the real, 997n67
 US imperialism and, 74
 whiteness and, 91
 Reconstruction, 65, 81, 87, 95n25, 131n2, 133n28. *See also* Jim Crow
 Red Scare(s), 162–163, 187, 193–195, 217
 Red Summer, 8, 187, 193–195
Re-forging America: The Story of Our Nationhood, 9–10
 Reid, J.C., 104–105
 religion, 4, 16, 28n18, 36, 103, 112, 122, 141, 151, 156–157, 165, 181, 185, 187, 190. *See also* African Methodist Episcopal Church; Catholicism; Christianity; Negro Israelite religions; Vodou; voodoo
 “Remember the *Maine!*” (advertisement), 44–45
 “Remember the *Maine!*” (cocktail), 52
 “Remember the *Maine!*” (song), 45, 59
 “Remember the *Maine!* To hell with Spain!” (chant), 21, 43–47, 50, 52, 59–60, 67

- “Remember the *Maine!*” trope, 21, 43–47, 50, 52, 59, 67
 Renda, Mary, 27, 159, 167, 222
 Republican National Executive Committee for Texas, 176
 Republican Party (US), 112, 184–185
Requerimiento, 38
 colonial forgetting and, 36
 resistance, 3, 10, 23, 41, 66, 95n25, 177, 193, 196, 217. *See also* Caco Rebellion; Cacos
 Afro-alienation acts, 89
 anti-American resistance in Haiti, 150–152, 154, 156–158, 166, 194
 anti-imperialist movements, 9, 12, 66, 115, 149, 212
 anti-lynching activism, 101, 185, 195
 civil rights agitation, 185
 racial solidarity, 103, 105, 111
 restored behavior
 blackness and, 220
 film and, 22, 91–92, 223
 whiteness as, 22, 89–92
 Retamar, Roberto Renández, 155
The Revenge of Rain-in-the-Face (poem), 88
 Reynolds, Robert R., 217
 rhetoric, 19, 81, 87, 111, 119, 124–125, 145, 154–155, 158, 174–175, 182–183, 188, 221–222, 234n75
 biracial rhetoric, 10, 106, 129, 195
 imperialism and, 28n18, 35–38, 41, 71, 80, 92, 108–109, 240n7, 4662
 Richardson, Willis, 135n64
 Antonio Maceo (play), 16, 106, 114, 120–127
 In Menelik’s Court (play), 115
 Negro History in Thirteen Plays, 114–115, 118, 121, 124, 177
 Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro, 114
 Riley, Shannon Rose
 “crisis—perform—repeat” (multimedia performance), 168n3
The Rising Ride of Color Against White World Supremacy, 7–9, 87, 126–127, 129, 142, 152–153, 157
 Roach, Joseph, 21, 45, 64, 165, 167
 Robeson, Paul, 203n32
 Roediger, David, 169n21
 Rogin, Michael, 44
Roosevelt’s Rough Riders (film), 90
Roosevelt’s Rough Riders Embarking for Santiago (film), 90
 Roosevelt, Teddy, 98n95, 109. *See also* Monroe Doctrine: Roosevelt Corollary
 Cuba and, 5, 11, 18, 22, 50, 59–60, 62–63, 82–92, 120
 masculinity and, 62–63, 83–92, 147
 The Rough Riders (memoir), 11, 16, 22, 26, 60–61, 63, 65, 83–92, 108, 120
 whiteness and, 16, 22, 26, 62–63, 83–92
 Windward Passage and, 50–51
 Root, Elihu, 50
 Rough Riders, 5, 11, 16, 22, 26, 59–63, 65, 69, 83–92, 108, 120, 223
The Rough Riders (memoir), 11, 16, 22, 26, 60–61, 63, 65, 83–92, 108, 120
 Roxanne Players (Detroit), 176
 Roxborough, Elsie, 176, 202n25
- S**
 Saint Domingue, 9, 27n13, 48–49, 174, 191. *See also* Haiti, Republic of
 Sam, Vilbrun Guillaume, 14
 Sanders, Bernie, 238

- Schechner, Richard, 91
- Schomburg, Arthur A., 116, 137n78, 223–224
- Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 219
- Scott, Natalie Vivian
Zombi (play), 160
- Seabrook, William, 155–156
The Magic Island (literature), 144–146, 160, 162, 170n31
- Seattle Negro Unit, 177, 211
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky, 78, 86
- segregation, 87, 125–129, 184–185, 195. *See also* Jim Crow; Mississippi plan
 desegregation, 213, 217, 219
- sexuality, 42, 78, 86, 151, 226. *See also* homoerotics; miscegenation; mulatta/o figure
 discourse and, 15
 sexual boundaries and racial purity, 163–165
- Shakespeare, William, 219
The Tempest (play), 155
- Sharp, Louis, 223
- Shepperson, George, 127, 134n49
- Shine, Ted, 180, 183, 206n83
- Showalter, Elaine, 78
- Shubert brothers, 221–222
- Siboney Yellow Fever Hospital, 99n119, 117–118
- Skirmish of Rough Riders* (film), 61, 91
- slavery, 47, 65, 95n25, 98n102, 104, 110, 125–126, 134n43, 138n117. *See also* emancipation
 slave revolts, 10, 49, 174, 198, 212
- Slotkin, Richard, 85
- soapbox tradition, 195
- social imaginaries, 106, 197. *See also* Anderson, Benedict
 biracial imaginaries, 16, 21
 colonial imaginaries, 153
 cultural performance and, 16, 21, 106
 image-capital, 158
 national imaginaries, 12, 67–69, 92, 153–154, 238
 performance-capital, 46, 68
 print-capital, 67, 117
 symbolic-capital, 67
 theory of, 20
- socialism, 7, 158, 185, 191, 193–195, 198, 207n99, 237–238, 239n1.
See also Bolshevik Revolution; communism; Marxism; New York Colored Socialist Club; Red Scare(s)
- Socialist Party (US), 112, 207n99
- Sotiropoulos, Karen, 177
- sovereignty, 5, 16, 50–51, 92, 143, 147, 158, 174, 238
- Spanish–American War. *See* War of 1898
- stage directions, 42–43, 76, 225, 227
- “The Star-Spangled Banner” (song), 42, 67–69, 77
- Steen, Shannon, 151
- stereotypes, 4–5, 11–12, 16, 80, 104, 116, 160, 177, 212–214, 216, 219, 235n104
- Steward, Theophilus, 99n119, 117
- St. John, Spenser
Hayti, or the Black Republic, 155
St. Joseph News-Press, 14
- St. Paul Metropolitan Opera House, 101, 131n3
 as “Grand Opera House,” 131n7
- Stoddard, Lothrop, 18, 175, 179
The French Revolution in San Domingo, 9, 197
Re-forging America: The Story of Our Nationhood, 9–10
The Rising Ride of Color Against White World Supremacy, 7–9, 87, 126–127, 129, 142, 152–153, 157
- Stuart, Adeline, 184

Supreme Court of the United States (SCOTUS), 125
 surrogation, 215
 imperial surrogation, 42, 46, 52, 60–61, 63–64, 66, 71, 74, 82, 88, 92, 147–148, 163, 165–167, 238–239
 Sylvester, Robert, 228

T

tableaux vivants, 68, 76–77, 102
 Taino (language), 9, 173
Tambour (play), 135n65, 176
 Tannehill, Frank, 53n13
 Flags of the World (burlesque/ vaudeville show), 21, 38–42, 67, 77, 102
 Taylor, Diana, 96n36
 theatre, 21, 39, 43, 60, 66–69, 71–75, 101, 116, 118, 131n3, 152, 159, 175–176, 179, 187, 192, 203n29, 213, 219–220, 222–226. *See also* dramatic literature; Federal Theatre Project; Little Theatre Movement; Negro theatre; performance; individual theatres
 black drama/black theatre, 25, 34n105, 177, 183
 theatre of war, 85, 90, 92, 105
 Theatre Union (New York), 213
The Tearing Down the Spanish Flag (film), 70
The Tempest (play), 155
 Thomas, J. Parnell, 219
 Thorpe, Thomas, 141
 Three Arts Club (Chicago), 176
Time, 225
Ti Yette (play), 114, 135n65
 Tony Pastor's Theatre (New York), 68

Toomer, Jean, 6
Toussaint Louverture (play), 203n32
 Toussaint L'Ouverture Dramatic Club (St. Paul), 175
 transnationalism
 race and, 25, 102, 179
 US imperialism and, 3–5
 travel narratives, 11, 144–146, 155–156, 160, 162, 170n31
 tours of duty, 165–167
 Trinity Congregational Church (Pittsburgh), 176
 tropes, 15, 43, 103, 109, 128, 190, 196, 221
 “another Haiti,” 3, 6, 8, 10, 47, 51, 121, 174, 197, 225
 of blackness, 17, 146–148, 154–157, 160, 191, 216
 the Cuban spy, 102
 new Negro, 6, 23, 106, 110–111, 119, 128, 178, 190–192
 Old Glory in Cuba, 11, 21, 59–93, 239
 “Remember the *Maine!*,” 21, 43–47, 50, 52, 59, 67
Troubled Island (play), 176, 202n25.
 See also *Emperor of Haiti* (play)
 Trouillot, Michel-Rolph, 19, 23, 47–48, 108, 116, 177, 226
 Trump, Donald, 238
 Turner, Nat, 10, 176
 Twain, Mark
 The War Prayer (poem), 60
The Two Orphans (play), 67
Two Races (play), 115, 129

U

Ullman, James R., 159, 221
Uncle Sam (burlesque/vaudeville show), 38, 42–43, 67

- Uncle Sam figure, 12, 15, 35–36, 38, 41–44, 47, 67–68, 111
- “Uncle Sam’s New Class in the Art of Self-Government” (cartoon), 12
- “Uncle Sam, Tell Us Why You Are Waiting” (song), 68
- Uncle Tom figure, 89
- unisonance
- patriotism and, 46, 60, 73, 103
 - race and, 103, 178–179, 197
- United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), 240n7
- United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), 7, 29n39, 111, 126–127, 134n49, 195–197, 199n13, 201n17
- United States of America, 7, 94n11, 98n86, 113
- Cuba and, 1–5, 10, 21–24, 26, 31n61, 38–48, 50–52, 57n70, 59–93, 95n24, 96n53, 101–110, 114–115, 117–128, 131n3, 141–142, 175, 177, 198, 211–217, 219, 238–239
 - economic imperialism, 11, 36–37, 43, 63, 142, 153–155, 159, 161, 163, 337
 - foreign policy, 2–3, 13, 21, 24, 26, 28n18, 28n23, 36–39, 41, 44, 48–51, 56n60, 57n76, 60, 64, 66, 141, 158, 164
 - Haiti and, 1–6, 10–12, 14–17, 21–26, 28n18, 47–52, 57n70, 64, 93, 111, 114–116, 127–128, 130, 141–168, 170n31, 173–178, 180–194, 196–198, 200n14, 201n17, 201n21, 202n25, 211–230, 238–239
 - US colonialism, 1–6, 8, 11–12, 15–17, 20–22, 24, 26, 31n64, 31n66, 35–52, 57n70, 59–93, 103, 105–106, 108–109, 119–120, 128–129, 141–145, 148–163, 165, 167, 238
- US Army, 31n61, 85. *See also* Buffalo Soldiers
- Colored Troops, 87–88, 101, 117–118, 130, 131n3
- US Boy Scouts, 87
- US Census, 4, 6, 126
- US Infantry Supported by Rough Riders at El Caney* (film), 61, 91
- US Justice Department, 194
- US Marine Corps
- occupation of Cuba, 13–15, 239
 - occupation of Haiti, 3, 6, 50, 64, 130, 141–159, 162, 166–167, 197
 - whiteness and, 10, 16, 22, 130, 141–151, 162
- US Navy, 45, 54n26, 64
- US Senate, 1, 26n1, 66, 197, 217–218
- Judiciary Committee, 194
- US State Department, 94n11, 158–159
- USS Maine*, 21, 43–47, 50–52, 59–60, 65, 67–70, 75, 102, 108–110, 141–142
- USS Washington*, 141
- US Troops in Cuba* (film), 69
- Utset, Marial Iglesias, 67
- V**
- Van Doren, Carl, 144
- Variety*, 159
- vaudeville, 21, 24, 35–52, 61, 68–69, 71–72, 80, 83, 213.
- See also* *Flags of the World* (burlesque/vaudeville show); *Uncle Sam* (burlesque/vaudeville show)
- Vesey, Denmark, 10, 174, 185

- violence, 3, 10, 14, 48–49, 51, 121, 143, 148, 153, 156, 167, 180, 183, 187–188, 198, 211, 219, 225, 239. *See also* genocidal erasure; lynching; racism; slavery; white supremacy
 against Negro communities, 8, 13, 105, 110, 162, 175, 181–182, 193–195
 blackface-on-Black violence, 146–147, 151, 169n21
 visual culture, 13, 42, 66–67, 69–72, 92. *See also* blackface; burlesque; dance; film; minstrelsy; performance; political cartoons; tableaux vivants; theatre; vaudeville
 Vitascope, 39, 69. *See also* cinema; film
 Vodou, 4, 28n18, 150–151, 156, 165, 185–186, 192, 207n103, 216. *See also* voodoo
 voodoo, 4, 11, 16, 28n18, 144, 146–147, 153–158, 160, 164, 181, 187–192, 207n111, 212, 214–216, 224–225. *See also* Vodou
Voodoo: A Murder Mystery (literature), 153
- W**
 War of 1898, 10, 31n66, 121, 123. *See also* Platt Amendment
 patriotic performance and, 38, 43–47, 59–93, 101–102, 119–120
 US imperialism and, 2–4, 11–12, 21, 26, 35, 39, 43–52, 59–93, 119, 141–142, 165
 US popular culture and, 5, 16, 19, 21–22, 26, 39, 43–52, 59–93, 101–112, 118–120, 131n3, 175
The War Prayer (poem), 60
 Warren, Kenneth W., 122–123
 Washington, Booker T., 194–195
 “We are Coming with Old Glory” (song), 59, 92
 Webb, Kenneth
 Zombie (play), 159, 170n81, 171n90
 West, Cornel, 238
 Westminster Theatre (London), 203n32
 Weydemeyer, Joseph, 207n99. *See also* Marxism
 White America Society, 126
White Cargo (film), 235n104
White Cargo (play), 228
 White, Clarence Cameron, 191, 208n144
 Ouanga (opera), 23, 135n65, 165, 176, 187–193, 202n24, 229
 whiteface, 237
 White, James H.
 Skirmish of Rough Riders (film), 61, 91
 US Infantry Supported by Rough Riders at El Caney (film), 61, 91
The White King of La Gonave (literature), 6, 16, 22, 143–149, 152–154, 156–157, 160, 166–167
 whiteness, 4, 12, 17, 19, 26, 40, 47, 49–50, 74, 104–105, 108–111, 115, 117, 119–121, 123, 126–129, 139n129, 173, 175, 177, 179–193, 195, 198n1, 202n25, 204n47, 215, 217, 220, 222–225, 232n46
 acting and, 61, 63
 class mobility and, 63, 82, 142–147, 149
 crisis of, 7–9, 76–79, 142, 148, 152–153, 163–165
 historical phases of, 29n28, 29n34, 39, 56n58, 61, 112, 142

- monolithic whiteness, 61–62, 128
 multi-ethnic pan-whiteness, 5–6, 8,
 10, 16, 21–22, 24–25, 61–63,
 83–85, 93, 112, 130, 141–168,
 196–197, 211–212, 226,
 228–229, 237–238
 patriotism and, 6, 21, 61, 65–66,
 69, 77–79, 81, 101
 performance of, 16, 61, 63, 69,
 79–93, 146–147, 151
 privilege and, 25, 85, 142–143,
 145, 149, 164, 172n109, 218
 probationary white groups, 5, 8, 61,
 82–86, 112, 142, 144, 149,
 151, 162
 racism and, 7, 16, 18, 80, 105, 112,
 116, 118, 124–125, 162, 194,
 213–214, 216, 219, 221, 223,
 232n46, 237–238
 as restored behavior, 22, 89–92
 variegated whiteness, 22, 61–64, 69,
 83, 85
 white supremacy, 7–10, 18, 66, 83,
 110, 126, 129, 142, 184–187,
 196–197, 238
White Zombie (film), 22, 143,
 145–146, 153, 159–165
 Wilderson III, Frank B., 49, 128,
 Williams, Eric, 49
 Williams, Herbert P., 3–4
 Williams, Raymond, 20
 Williams, Tony, 162
 Windward Passage, 1–2, 50–51, 64,
 142
 Wirkus, Faustin
 The White King of La Gonave
 (literature), 6, 16, 22,
 143–149, 152–154, 156–157,
 160, 166–167
 Wise, Frederic M.
 A Marine Tells It To You (literature),
 151
 Woodford, Stewart, 3
 Wood, Leonard, 90, 123
 Woodson, Carter G., 18, 112–118,
 126, 128–129, 172, 214. *See also*
 Associated Publishers; Association
 for the Study of Negro Life and
 History; Negro History Week
 The Negro in Our History, 117
 Woodward, Ellen, 218
 Workers Alliance, 218
The World's Champion American Boy
 (musical drama), 21, 38, 42–43,
 102
 World War I, 6, 25, 126, 193
- X**
 xenophobia, 162
- Y**
 “Yankee Doodle” (song), 41, 67–68
Yellow Death (play), 16, 18–19, 106,
 115, 117–120, 128
 yellow fever, 9, 19, 87, 93n3,
 117–118, 120. *See also* Siboney
 Yellow Fever Hospital
Yellow Jack (play), 19, 118, 120
A Young Volunteer in Cuba, or
Fighting for the Single Star
 (children’s literature), 93
- Z**
Zombi (play), 160
 Zombi, Jean, 171n91
Zombie (play), 159, 170n81, 171n90
 zombie figure, 28n18, 145–146, 168.
See also White Zombie (film)
 blackness and, 146, 153–154,
 162–165, 216, 237
 Haitian folklore and, 171n92
 horror film genre, 11, 22, 143–144,
 153, 159–165, 171n90