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Articles

Racial Theory: José Martí, José Vasconcelos, and the Beliefs that Shaped Latin America

By Jose Renteria

Abstract: This essay compares and contrasts the racial theories of José Martí and José Vasconcelos. It analyzes the social conditions each experienced in their respective time period and location, as well as explaining how such exposures led to their racial understandings and political agendas. The study primarily reveals how nationalistic movements developed due to their influential ideologies, and how both intellectuals influenced other prominent Latin American figures. Lastly, it sheds light on the elements of Martí's and Vasconcelos' ideals that continue to survive.

Latin America's vibrant culture and ethnic mixtures have shaped the region's models of cultural and racial understanding presented by prominent intellectuals such as José Martí and José Vasconcelos. The racial theories presented by these two scholars created forms of cultural fusion that confronted traditional ideas about race in Latin America. Furthermore, their ideologies greatly challenged political institutions and socio-economic concepts that helped shape new domestic and international perspectives on race throughout the region. This paper will compare and contrast Vasconcelos' and Martí's racial theories, and examine the nationalistic movements their ideas affected. It will also discuss the influence on other prominent Latin Americans through their personal understanding of racial ideology, as well as examines what elements of their racial theories remain extant in the region.

Contemporary beliefs on how to interpret race have created extensive discussions that have spawned conflicting views. According to Joseph Healy, the present-day definition of race exists as the visibly distinguished, physical characteristics within the human species (i.e., skin color). He also differentiated the idea of ethnicity as being the cultural, customary upbringing that is commonly confused with the definition of race. While race and ethnicity hold two different meanings,

aspects of both may overlap to create social constructions of race.¹ Some may dismiss Healy's interpretations by arguing that no pure race exists, because physical characteristics continue to blend with constant assimilation and mixture within different groups. If so, where can the initial level of a certain race begin in history? Also, due to assimilation and constant alteration in physical characteristics, do races exist as groups that evolve and mix with one another? Certainly, no two people would have the same answer to these questions, but with a better understanding of these concepts, one can begin to distinguish Vasconcelos' and Martí's approach to race, ethnicity, and how such views shaped their theories.

The unique conditions of colonial Cuba contributed to the social experiences that influenced Martí. Racial discrimination in the Spanish colony reinforced the institution of slavery and its impact throughout the region. According to Ada Ferrer, more slaves arrived in Cuba between 1816 and 1867 when compared to the modern United States' entire period of slave trade.² A small percentage of Cuba's population consisted of free slaves, but they too faced restrictions within the social hierarchy that had been strengthened by prevalent racial notions. Such conditions influenced the model for Cuba's social order.

The common "civilized" dynamic played a major role in determining what had been considered "backwards" and progressive in Cuban society. Not only were European fashions, architectures, languages, and etiquettes the perfect models to emulate, but also notions of Yankee superiority had begun to emerge in Cuba by the early to mid-nineteenth century. In the words of Joseph J. Dimock, an 1859 U.S. traveler, "Cubans do not possess the energy and independence of Northern races, but they are brave and generous, and only need an infusion of our Anglo-Saxon blood to make them stand equal to any nation..."³ In other words, the Cuban race was not civilized unless it contained civilized blood. Therefore, notions of proper racial hierarchy had been cemented into acceptable forms of social order that justified racial discrimination in Cuban society.

While Martí encountered the social settings that reinforced Cuba's colonial state, Vasconcelos had been affected by the 1910 Mexican Revolution. The movement emerged as lower classes demanded property reforms and engaged in agrarian land disputes, but following a decade of revolutionary violence, elements of class distinction and racial

¹ Joseph F. Healy, *Diversity and Society: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender*, 4th edition (Los Angeles: Sage Publications Inc., 2014), 18-21.

² Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 2.

³ Joseph J. Dimock, *Impressions of Cuba in the Nineteenth Century: The Travel Diary of Joseph J. Dimock*, ed. Louis A. Perez (New York: SR Books, 2011), 103.

classification developed. Unified Indian consciousness did not exist during the armed phase of the revolution, but pre-determined group categorization created a sense of identity among these lower classes. Alan Knight explained that racial classification among lower classes emerged through caste-like ways of branding the inferior *Indio* and *mestizo* in colonial Mexico. Indigenous groups had been tagged as racially inferior, and this concept reinforced their place in society over time.⁴ Subsequently, the revolutionary agenda manifested significant racial concepts among rural populations. One must note that race did not stand as a contributing element to the revolution, but racial beliefs emerged through prior social labeling. Vasconcelos would help alter the negative association among peasant groups with the development of *indigenismo* and his interpretation of *mestizaje*.

Formulating Racial Theories

Martí has long been regarded as the most prominent Cuban patriot who fought for his country's independence from Spanish rule, and the struggles he experienced contributed to his racial beliefs. Although slavery had been diminishing in Cuba by the late 1870s, negative racial concepts remained highly existent. Ferrer explained that not only were insurgent recruits during the Ten Years' War (the first of three anti-colonial Cuban movements for independence) branded with racial labels, but the female perception in the province of Camagüey, for example, remained loyal to Spanish cultural and racial roots as they signed a public declaration in an effort to preserve White nationality.⁵ Racial perception within Cuban society extended beyond intellectuals and armed revolutionaries, and such views would have an impact on the involvement of a united Cuba. The increased awareness of the "Black threat" within the anti-colonial struggle led to "...thousands of surrendered insurgents [who] signed a public denunciation of the movement in December 1871."⁶ Efforts by the movement's opposition further contributed to Martí's unique theory that promoted a unified Cuba. He believed that "in Cuba, there is much greatness, in both Negroes and Whites,"⁷ and these ideals would greatly influence the struggle for Cuba's independence. Instead of accepting racial distinction,

⁴ Alan Knight, "Race, Racism, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910-1940," in *The Idea of Race in Latin America: 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 75-77.

⁵ Ferrer, 49-50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁷ José Martí, "My Race," in *José Martí Reader: Writings on the Americas*, ed. Deborah Shnookal and Mirta Muniz (New York: Ocean Press, 2007), 174.

Martí knew the independence movement would benefit by their convergence.

While Martí promoted his racial ideals for *Cuba Libre* (free Cuba) in the late nineteenth century, Vasconcelos' ideas emerged through a decade of cultural development for Mexican national identity in the 1920s. The so-called prophet of race became Minister of Education under President Álvaro Obregón. Nationalism played a major role in creating positive concepts of *mestizaje* through the political project of *indigenismo*, which Knight described as unifying, nationalistic, mobilizing, and fitting for the self-image of elites.⁸ *Indigenismo* aimed to attract the masses into a modern realm that would allow the peasant population to unite with the nation, and have their indigenous past promoted. Notions of cultural and ethnic identity also developed with the dismissal of emulated European models replaced by indigenous themed fine arts, cuisine, and fashion. These ideas contributed to new ways of viewing the Mesoamerican past in Mexico. As a result, indigenous groups did not seem so backwards, and Vasconcelos used these evolving interests to reject scientific racism. Scientific racism stood as the widely accepted scientific approach that justified racial categorization and racial superiority among ethnic groups, which prevailed during the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century. Similar to Martí, Vasconcelos relied on emerging interpretations of cultural concepts to develop his racial ideology.

Vasconcelos' opinions on race challenged racial discrimination through his understanding of racial competition in Europe prior to the Spanish conquest. His book, *The Cosmic Race*, stood as the backbone for Latin America's racial reinforcement that gained recognition in the 1920s. It argued against Latin American inferiority by supporting Latin American racial attributes through a description of racial competition between Anglo-Saxons and Latins. Both stood as dominant groups in Europe that carried over an ethnic struggle to the Americas, and this rivalry continued during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹

Latin America developed differently from its northern Anglo-Saxon neighbor. Vasconcelos stated that "the one [the U.S.] wants exclusive dominion by the Whites, while the other [Latin America] is shaping a new race, a synthetic race that aspires to engulf and to express everything human in forms of constant improvement."¹⁰ Due to the influx of different groups in Latin America, racial mixture was unavoidable, and the all-inclusive, cultural fusion created a unique blend of the new and evolving race. Vasconcelos argued that "Spanish

⁸ Knight, 86.

⁹ José Vasconcelos, *The Cosmic Race: La Raza Cósmica*, trans. Didier T. Jaen, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 17-18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

colonization created mixed races, this signals its character, fixes its responsibility, and defines its future.”¹¹ He supported the idea that the Spanish mixed with the Indians and Blacks to develop a progressive race.

Some scholars have questioned Vasconcelos’ mixed race theory by arguing that he later contradicted himself. According to Luis A. Marentes, “During the 1930s Vasconcelos took a sharp turn, as he rejected his early racial theories and became a radical Hispanophile.^{12,13} Marentes viewed this shift as a form of accepting the colonial caste system, but others viewed Vasconcelos’ interpretation of colonization as a way to challenge racial discrimination. As Marilyn Miller put it, the main idea behind *The Cosmic Race* had always been to challenge Social Darwinism. She also argued that Vasconcelos did “...denounce scientifically proven theories of racial superiority by focusing on the spiritual benefit and enrichment of people of mixed descent.”¹⁴ Therefore, Vasconcelos’ central focus in *The Cosmic Race* was that race mixture created a new human race, and to tackle issues of scientific racism by praising indigenous ancestry.¹⁵

Vasconcelos believed that the adaptation of a new race had been significant for Latin America’s future development. As the Anglo Americans of the north sustained themselves with notions of racial purity, the south became the reinforced, mixed region of a new continent. He also depicted a continuous development of race rather than believing one no longer existed due to its evolving process. Vasconcelos noted that “no race returns... The Indian has no other door to the future but the door of modern culture, nor any other road but the road already cleared by Latin civilization.”¹⁶ The large Latin society created an endless path and continuous marker of advancement. Although the Anglos “advanced” from their method of cleansing, Vasconcelos believed the Latin race also progressed from its blend. These ideas began to develop a strong, convincing racial theory with the potential for nationalistic influences.

While Vasconcelos’ concepts supported the idea of a continuous race, this core belief greatly differed from Marti’s views which held that there had been no such thing as race. As he argued in his essay *Our*

¹¹ Ibid., 17-18.

¹² Hispanophile: Accepting of Spain/Spanish elements.

¹³ Luis A. Marentes, *José Vasconcelos: and the Writing of the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 2000), 79-80.

¹⁴ Marilyn Grace Miller, *Rise and Fall of the Cosmic Race: The Cult of Mestizaje in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 42.

¹⁵ While it is necessary to note the criticism, this paper will continue to focus on Vasconcelos’ theory of the 1920s.

¹⁶ Vasconcelos, 16.

America, there was “no racial hatred because there [were] no races.”¹⁷ He understood a form of collective civilization that encompassed global humanity, and created Latin America’s identity. One must consider the impact Social Darwinism had on racial competition during the late nineteenth century. The so-called competition between races had been perceived as an offense against humanity; a problem that significantly burdened Cuba’s struggle for independence.¹⁸ Martí’s belief of universal humanity challenged racially distinguishing justifications present in Cuba. Like Vasconcelos, Martí’s idea of an all-inclusive humanity attempted to reject racism.

Similar to Vasconcelos, Martí also faced criticism for his racial theory. According to Oscar Montero, “...while recognizing and admiring cultural plurality, Martí proposed if not an idealized erasure of racial difference then at least its deferral for the sake of unity in the struggle for Cuban independence.”¹⁹ Therefore, if the merging of Blacks and Whites could not take place for racial ideology, their alliance must occur for Cuba’s independence struggle. This questioned Martí’s two-way strategy by looking beyond the ideological belief, and interpreting it as a true political agenda. Scholars may also view Martí’s expressed notions of Western acceptance in Cuba as a significant contradiction to his anti-colonial ideals. Martí’s motives for racial collectiveness, however, can be understood as an improvement of modern education and intermarriage in Cuban society. Aline Helg described Martí’s principles as a form of progress by stating that “...people of African descent were to embrace Western culture rather than reassert the value of their African Heritage.”²⁰ Martí did not validate a dependent Cuba, but rather presented a method of obtaining equality through a form of cultural unification that would improve Afro-Cubans’ socio-economic status. Helg also argued that “Cuba could not be saved without strengthening its links with the United States and without Anglo-Saxon education based on reason.”²¹ Therefore, similar to Vasconcelos, Martí tackled racism by strategically countering the concepts of racial inferiority through the promotion of Western customs in a nation with a strong Afro-Cuban culture.

¹⁷ José Martí, “Our America,” in *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, and Politics* ed. Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr, and Maria Smorkaloff (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 127.

¹⁸ Oscar Montero, *José Martí: An Introduction* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 62.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

²⁰ Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 45.

²¹ Aline Helg, “Race in Argentina and Cuba, 1880-1930: Theory, Policies, and Popular Reaction,” in *The Idea of Race in Latin America: 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 48.

Martí's political career led him to regions that would reinforce his racial beliefs. Though originally jailed in the Spanish colony of Cuba for treason, Martí's sentence had been converted to exile (from 1869-1894) where he continued his struggle for *Cuba Libre* abroad.²² Martí completed his studies in Spain and worked throughout Latin American countries, such as Mexico and Guatemala. He returned to Havana before being expelled to Spain once more in 1879 for his insurrectional participation. In 1880, Martí arrived in New York City where he became a delegate of the Cuban Revolutionary Committee.²³ During his time in the U.S., Martí recognized racism as a demeaning limitation for all humanity. The struggles of Native Americans and Blacks in North America had been no different than other major movements for racial equality. To progress, however, Martí also believed racial injustices should not be committed by those fighting against such discriminations. Not only had the oppressed been burdened, but racial discrimination also created resentment towards the oppressors, and this mentality produced a two-way distribution of injustices. Additionally, Martí admired Helen Hunt Jackson's 1884 novel *Ramona* because it attempted to save California Soboba Indians from being driven off of their land by the U.S. government. This issue epitomized the Indian situation of the Americas and he applied this example to his efforts. As an "all-inclusive" thinker, Martí examined different struggles, and closely analyzed situations in the U.S. similar to those that led to his exile.

Setting the Stage for Regional Movements

The beliefs of Martí and Vasconcelos built strong nationalistic ideologies. As Minister of Education for Mexico, Vasconcelos entered an era of ethnic revival. As mentioned before, the post-armed phase of the Mexican Revolution set the stage for the intellectual project he had in mind. Vasconcelos promoted the nationalistic ideals of *mestizaje* and *indigenismo* through education. According to Rosario Encinas, "The energy he was to invest into the project spread to a whole generation of teachers and university students who regarded themselves as bearers of good news, and who took to the streets to spread this news with an enthusiasm which has never again been equaled."²⁴ Decreasing illiteracy in Mexico also stood as one of Vasconcelos' main objectives. Native imagery became an instrument in grasping the attention of rural communities while promoting the nation's history. As Encinas put it,

²² Martí, "My Race," 4-5.

²³ *Ibid.*, 5-7.

²⁴ Rosario Encinas, "José Vasconcelos: (1882-1959)," *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* 24, no. 3-4 (1994), 2.

Vasconcelos developed "...a pseudo-philosophical argument according to which a national spirit could only be attained by rediscovering the native values of a people."²⁵ To do so, Vasconcelos turned to pre-Hispanic art in order to encourage native heritage in Mexico.

Muralists, such as Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco, showcased the elements Vasconcelos required for the foundation of *indigenismo*. Interest in Mexican culture, society, and art developed for *Indio* enthusiasm in the 1920s, and attracted many foreign travelers to discover such marvels. Helen Delpar explained that "the harmony and communal orientation [travelers] associated with Indian culture seemed especially appealing in contrast to the selfish individualism of capitalist society and indeed of Europeanized Mexico."²⁶ Travelers sought out the alluring aspects of indigenous Mexico that created positive beliefs in pre-Hispanic culture. In addition, Rivera and Orozco were among many talented artists who traveled to the U.S. for sponsored exhibits and galleries. Their presence, "coupled with the promotional efforts of their supporters, contributed to the explosion of interest in Mexican art."²⁷ Mexican artists gained a sense of international respectability while promoting Mexican national identity.

Mexican nationalism increased with *indigenismo*, and Vasconcelos required recognition of ancestral origins, because Mexican roots ran deeper than the widely accepted forms of its colonial legacy. He explained that *mestizaje* would be nothing without considering the places of Cuauhtemoc and Atahualpa²⁸ (the last Aztec and Inca emperors), both of whom had bravely resisted Spanish *conquistadores* until their dying breath in the sixteenth century. Therefore, Latin America's accomplishments must not be rooted with the freedom struggles of Simón Bolívar, the liberator of the majority modern South America, and Father Miguel Hidalgo, who many still consider the father of Mexican independence.²⁹ Vasconcelos wanted the nation to understand that *mestizaje* ran deeper than Latin America's triumph over colonialism.

As *indigenismo* swept throughout Mexico, Martí's agenda for Cuba struggled in the late nineteenth century after the abolition of slavery, because Afro-Cubans could not unite during the mid-1880s and mid-1890s. According to Helg, "Full participation [in social unification] was, in fact, impossible."³⁰ Afro-Cubans who retained their roots

²⁵ Ibid., 3.

²⁶ Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1992), 25.

²⁷ Ibid., 86.

²⁸ Vasconcelos, 11.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, 33.

confronted a growing Latin world, while those who chose to integrate into Spanish civilization faced a constant life of proving their allegiance to White society. The social divide only increased class and cultural differences. Many Afro-Cubans chose assimilation, which granted them higher social status and allowed them to experience less discrimination. As a result, Afro-Cuban disunity and inequality had a major impact in Cuban society.

Despite such set-backs, in 1892, Martí continued his struggle to unite Cuba where he established a newspaper, *Patria*, in New York City; which became the voice for *Cuba Libre*. He raised political awareness and discussed the social and economic issues that hindered the Cuban struggle through these writings. For example, “My Race” stands as one of Martí’s most persuasive essays. It argued that “it is alleged that slavery does not imply inferiority in the enslaved race, since Gauls with blue eyes and blond hair were sold as serfs with shackles around their necks in the markets of Rome.”³¹ Racism did not prove or disprove rights or inequalities of a certain race, but rather only justified the ignorant political and social agendas of inferior men. Such concepts countered the issues of social unification between different racial groups during the late nineteenth century. Martí’s goal of unifying Cuba, however, did not become his most lasting influence.

Martí’s views gained international support as he warned Cuba of growing U.S. capitalism. His essay, *The Truth about the United States*, described growing materialisms that embodied the U.S. while it defended the cultural character of Latin America. He summed up his argument in the following sentence:

[T]he North American character has gone downhill since the winning of independence, and is today less human and virile; whereas the Spanish-American character today is in all ways superior, in spite of its confusion and fatigue, to what it was when it began to emerge from the disorganized mass of grasping clergy, unskilled ideologists and ignorant or savage Indians.³²

Martí recognized the unwanted values of the U.S. while upholding Latin America’s desirable and civilized character. He shared these concepts with other influential Latin American writers, such as Uruguay’s José Enrique Rodó, another supporter of the values that created a positive representation in Latin American culture, and exposed the evils of the U.S. in his 1900 essay, *Ariel*. Such views would later give charge to one of the most significant contemporary movements in the region.

³¹ Martí, “My Race,” 173.

³² *Ibid.*, 189.

While Martí's writings on Latin American uniqueness were being shared by his contemporaries, acceptance of Vasconcelos' racial theory declined. Encinas argued that by the mid-1930s "...all that remained was worn-out revolutionary rhetoric."³³ The essence of *mestizaje*, however, did not disappear completely, but rather transformed. Miller described *mestizaje* in the twenty-first century as a term describing multicultural elements that transformed from the multiracial makeups Vasconcelos argued.³⁴ The present variation of *mestizaje* appeared to be inevitable considering the changing demographics of Latin and Anglo-Saxon assimilation throughout the adjoining regions of the U.S. and Mexico. The present Chicano development has allowed for more of a cultural interpretation of *mestizaje* rather than one defined by race.³⁵

Vasconcelos' concepts may have influenced the way many view issues on race in Latin America, but no contemporary situation can equate to that of Martí's influence on Castro's Cuba.³⁶ The Cuban Revolution exists as one of the largest anti-capitalist movements in Latin American history. Its core concepts stem from Martí's beliefs on the U.S. imperial system that developed Cuba's economic dependency. His views proved truthful through the 1901 Platt Amendment, which became legally bound to the Cuban constitution of 1901, and made Cuba a protectorate of the U.S. that consented much of its diplomatic dealings (foreign and domestic) in exchange for Cuban sovereignty.³⁷ Although a majority of the amendment's provisions were later abolished in the early 1930s, U.S. influence in Cuba continued well into the mid-twentieth century. Driven by Martí's warnings, a college student named Fidel Castro gained credibility for his failed 1953 attack on the *Moncada* Barracks (a Cuban military facility) in attempt to start an uprising, overthrow President Fulgencio Batista, and end Cuba's economic dependency. Castro defended himself during his trial with the speech "History Will Absolve Me," which presented five laws for a revolutionary government, and referred to Martí as the Apostle of the Revolution.³⁸

³³ Encinas, 6.

³⁴ Miller, 152.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁶ Martí died in 1895 on the battlefield, but this essay continues with his future influence.

³⁷ Louis A. Pérez Jr., "Incurring a Debt of Gratitude: 1898 and the Moral Sources of United States Hegemony in Cuba," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999): 16.

³⁸ Fidel Castro, "History Will Absolve Me," in *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, and Politics*, ed. Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr, and Maria Smorkaloff (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 313.

Castro's desire for a revolutionary government backed by the Cuban people had been driven by a need for reforms in unemployment, education, and land, to name a few.³⁹ He sought to improve the living conditions of peasants, students, and other lower-class social groups. His struggle followed the color-blind concept of Martí that represented a collective movement driven by social equality. Castro was released after a short prison term, and returned from exile to establish a communist regime in 1959 that fought to maintain Cuba's economic independence. Throughout Castro's political career, the legacy of Martí was used to carry the Revolution's agendas. Due to Cuba's prevailing Communist party, the opposition has been silenced, and the apostle's ideals continue to be used as support for the Cuban government.

Conclusion

To this day, José Martí and José Vasconcelos are credited with developing persuasive ideologies and sparking mass movements in Latin America. The cultural fusion of *mestizaje* confronted traditional, colonial forms of viewing race in Latin America that justified racial discrimination, while Martí's ideals of racial unification and political freedom influenced a revolutionary Cuba. Vasconcelos' personal understanding of racial ideology gave rise to *indigenismo*, a philosophy that set the foundation for the contemporary concepts of the new *mestizaje*.⁴⁰ His philosophies have shaped Mexican nationalism, as well as Hispanic heritage beyond Mexican borders. Ilan Stavans noted that although Vasconcelos may have no present-day followers, he has impacted the self-definition of Chicano activists, intellectuals, and political leaders during crucial moments in Mexican history; both north and south of the U.S./ Mexico border.⁴¹ Martí's symbolism and personal understanding of racial ideology left strong, lingering concepts of liberation that greatly influenced Cuba's future movements. As Lillian Guerra put it, "At the center of these struggles, the figure of Martí has remained the central image through which political elites and activist groups have fought over the direction of the nation."⁴² Both men confronted social and political barriers and paved the way for other

³⁹ Ibid., 308-309.

⁴⁰ For a contemporary analysis of *mestizaje*, refer to Maria L. Amado's 2012 essay "The 'New Mestiza,' the Old Mestizos: Contrasting Discourses on Mestizaje."

⁴¹ Ilan Stavans, *José Vasconcelos: The Prophet of Race* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 4-5.

⁴² Lillian Guerra, *The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalism in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 257.

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prominent figures to leave their mark on Latin American history. Many challenged Martí's and Vasconcelos' ideas, but these strong concepts continue to persist with the longstanding legacy they have left behind.

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