Appendix

Letters from Soledad in the Atkins Family Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society

Kathleen López and Rebekah E. Pite

Edwin F. Atkins usually spent the harvest season overseeing his Cuban sugar plantation. The remainder of the time, he ran the plantation from Boston through correspondence with a succession of Soledad estate managers: J. S. Murray from 1884 to 1893, J. N. S. Williams from 1894 to 1898, and L. F. Hughes after 1898.¹ The exchange of letters reveals much about the day-to-day operation of the estate: weather conditions, agricultural field work, plantings, cane grinding, labor supplies, laboratory tests of cane juice, machinery specifications, bookkeeping, requests for materials and provisions, land acquisition, and railroad and building construction.

A careful reading of Soledad’s business correspondence housed at the Massachusetts Historical Society can yield insights into the methods of sugar production from the close of the nineteenth century to the mid twentieth century. The letters demonstrate that the Atkins plantation stood at the forefront of innovations in technology and efficiency in the sugar business but at best played a reluctant role in the transformation from bound to free labor. They also reveal that an entrepreneurial spirit proved no defense against nagging technical breakdowns at the millworks or vexing labor problems with agricultural workers, chemists, and engineers.

Rebekah E. Pite recently completed her Ph.D. in History and Women’s Studies at the University of Michigan with a dissertation entitled “Creating a Common Table: Doña Petrona, Cooking, and Consumption in Argentina, 1928–1983.” In the fall of 2007 she will join Lafayette College as an assistant professor of history.

Kathleen López is assistant professor in the Department of Latin American and Puerto Rican Studies at Lehman College, City University of New York.
Discussing their goal of minimizing production costs and controlling labor, Atkins and his managers reveal the struggles between estate owners, administrators, and workers during the period of final emancipation in Cuba. Their correspondence sheds light on the living conditions of the former slaves and other workers, the dynamics of labor unrest in Cienfuegos, and the general political and economic climate in Cuba.

We have organized our selections from the Atkins correspondence at the Society around two themes that preoccupied Atkins and the managers of Soledad: (1) the system of the patronato that succeeded slavery, including the process of self-purchase and the final decree of emancipation; and (2) the administration of a multiracial labor force. The excerpts transcribed below reflect aspects of these themes as they unfolded across the period of slave emancipation in Cuba’s world of cane.²

Capitalization, punctuation, and grammar appear precisely as found in the original manuscripts. Nonstandard spelling or misspelled words are reproduced as originally written without use of the intrusive “sic.” For clarity’s sake, we have in some cases provided the modern or correct spelling of a word in square brackets. Spanish terms, proper names, and vague or unfamiliar references are also defined and identified.

THE APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM, THE PROCESS OF SELF-PURCHASE, AND EMANCIPATION

E. Atkins & Co. finalized the purchase of the Soledad plantation in 1884. The correspondence in the months that followed between Edwin F. Atkins and newly appointed manager J. S. Murray provides an unusually vivid picture of bound labor at the end of Cuban slavery. Although all slaves had been recategorized by Spanish law in 1880 as patrocinados (apprentices), they continued to owe labor to their former masters, remained under their domination, and received only token “stipends” for their work. As the end of slavery neared, Atkins and his manager reluctantly offered emancipation to those who could pay the government-fixed prices, including some who were entitled to freedom without payment because they had reached the age of sixty.
Letter from J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, June 19, 1884. Murray explained how the law required him to let patrocinados buy their freedom; he provided Atkins with a list of names and deducted wages. See facing page for transcription of the text and table. J. S. Murray letterbook, Atkins family papers, collections of the MHS.
Self-Purchase. “I can’t refuse them.”

J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, June 19, 1884.

Many of the ‘patrocinados’ are buying their liberty and I can’t refuse them as the law permits them to do so, the prices fixed by government are $100.00 for able females and $125.00 for males decreasing per month at the rate of $3.33 1/3 for females and $4.16 2/3 for males. Please note:

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<td>6th Eduvijes</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>119.00</td>
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$578.00

Note: The 1st, 3rd, and 6th are in reality over 60 years of age, therefore free according to law. The cause of so many being able to buy their freedom is the practice here of permitting the negroes to raise or breed hogs. This year they have sold about $800.00 worth, 10% of this goes to the estate and at the end of crop is divided up in [promissories] to the negroes who have worked hardest.

Atkins and Self-Purchase. “free labor is almost as cheap.”

Edwin F. Atkins to J. S. Murray, June 26, 1884.

The question of freedom of the negroes is unavoidable, if they are good hands, better try to keep them on pay, if poor ones the sooner they go the better, free labor is almost as cheap now, and I have alway[s] been favorably inclined to contract work when it could be safely used.

Libertos Rebel. “we are better without them.”

J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, June 2, 1885.

Yesterday all the libertos³ rebeled, as I exacted from them a contract obliging them to work at regular hours and at established prices, and as they would not consent I ordered them all away from the estate, we are better without them as they are now only working when they feel like it, and keeping up a constant loafing during the day in the ranchos.
Limits of Protest. “libertos have come to terms.”  
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, June 4, 1885.

All the libertos have come to terms and all beged to stay, I sent off only the two head men. They now know how they stand with the estate and I don’t intend to loose control of them in the future.

Atkins and the Libertos. “I hope the best of them will submit.”  
Edwin F. Atkins to J. S. Murray, June 10, 1885.

No doubt you have done the best with the libertos and I hope the best of them will submit and return to the estate, others you can well spare.

The Stocks and Freedom. “What do you think of the following.”  
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, August 6, 1885.

I have a good deal of trouble with the negros who want me to pay them at the rate of $3 1/2 per month for having taken from them the raising of pigs for sale, was oblidge to put some of them in the stocks. I pay them the same as in crop season $3 1/4. The number of patrocinados left are 37 men and 18 women, not including those under age.

What do you think of the following: give all the negros their liberty at the price established by the goverment, fixing a salary of from $8 to $10 deducting 50% each month. The price is about $70 and after the first of next May will be less than $50: besides 25% will be free and a greate many will buy their liberty, the price being so low. One or two negros I would like to send off, but can’t do it now as it would only induce others to behave badly. Once all free and all put on the same basis none of the good negros will leave the estate and the bad and lazy ones I will oblige to leave. We could also controll the feeding of them better. Some of those that admit the above proposal may run off before they have complied, but there is nothing to keep them from doeing it at present. This I leave entirely to your judgment as I may be in error, I can and will control them as they are don’t doubt that.

A Matter of Money. “as soon as we can safely do so without loss.”  
Edwin F. Atkins to J. S. Murray, August 14, 1885.

Regarding the negroes I shall be glad when they are all free, but we do not want to lose the bal of Patrocinado a/c [account] as it stands in your ledger; can you arrange to retain their cedulares until you get their value crediting them $8–$10 per month until they work it out? Any arrangement which would secure the value of the a/c would meet our approval & I much prefer to finish entirely with the old system as
Letter from Edwin F. Atkins to J. S. Murray, August 14, 1885. Atkins expressed his concerns regarding the financial implications of emancipation; see facing page for transcription. Edwin F. Atkins letterbook, Atkins family papers, collections of the MHS.
soon as we can safely do so without loss, in this as in other matters you can use your judgement knowing what our views are.

Wages and Freedom. “it is best to let them be free according to law.”
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, August 25, 1885.
I note your views regarding negros as the monthly salaries of these would be but $8 and $10 they would not admit of so large a reduction and once free I am under obligation to hand each one their cedula. Although they are far from being contented from my having taken from them the right to rais[e] pigs, yet I again have them under control and will keep them there and I perfectly agree with you that it is best to let them be free according to law, I have in every way treated them better than any one before me, if they can’t appreciate it it is their own fault.

Self-purchase. “we will have to give them their liberty in a short time.”
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, May 27, 1886.
I hear Parque Alto, Hormiguero and San Lino continue grinding but all laboring under the same difficulty fiew hands, where they have all gone I don’t know and what fiew remain in this district are of a very inferior class.

I have arranged with the fiew patrocinados that remain to pay each $20. those that have not the money, to pay $5. per month out of their wages and hope you will approve as I think I can organize them better when all of one class, besides we will have to give them their liberty in a short time....

I hope to have all departments newly organized for the dead season in a few days and we will see how much we can economize.

A MULTIRACIAL LABOR FORCE

In the 1880s and 1890s, Soledad employed a workforce composed of former slaves and their descendants, former indentured Chinese laborers, immigrants from Spain and the Canary Islands, and free-born Cuban laborers. Workers cleaned the fields and planted new cane in the spring and summer, cleared woodlands during the “dead” season, and cut and transported cane during grinding season, which usually ran from December to May. In his memoir, Sixty Years in Cuba, Edwin F. Atkins viewed the years 1888 to 1894 as a period of growth for his estate, propelled by the 1890 McKinley Tariff Law, the
Letter from J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, May 27, 1886. Murray informed Atkins of his arrangements with the last remaining "patrocinados," noting "we will have to give them their liberty in a short time." See facing page for transcription. J. S. Murray letterbook, Atkins family papers, collections of the MHS.
installation of new machinery, and streamlined labor organization. The cyclical requirements of sugar cane farming shaped life and labor at Soledad, and within those boundaries, Atkins and his managers struggled to increase the plantation's efficiency and extract the most from their laborers.

Beginning in the 1870s, the Cuban sugar industry had been undergoing a transformation as cane cultivation became separated from sugar processing. Independent planters who could no longer afford to maintain their own mills and small-scale colonos (cane farmers) concentrated on growing sugar cane. They sold their harvest to large central factories, centrales, often transporting their cane on the railway lines of large planters and mill owners. The transition to the more specialized and centralized process sometimes proved disruptive. As Soledad began to adapt to the changing circumstances shortly after Atkins took over the plantation, manager J. S. Murray negotiated new contracts with the colonos for the delivery of cane.

Colonos and Contracts. "more trouble than we anticipated."
_J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, May 20, 1884._

The colonos are giving much more trouble than we anticipated, San Pelayo, Roque and Cartagena all refuse to sign new contracts unless we make them large advances, far more than their property is worth.

_Atkins and the Colonos. "pretty troublesome."_
_Edwin F. Atkins to J. S. Murray, May 28, 1884._

I am sorry to hear you are having such trouble with Colonos, they are useful factor on an estate if you can control them but pretty troublesome; it will not do to let them get the upper hand, if they will not come to terms you can keep them short of money and hold them to present contract of $3 per 100 @ [arobas7], they can not hold you for Cacicedo's [of Torriente Brothers firm] verbal promise of more. . . .

Colonos and Cane Work. "their cane never see a hoe."
_P. M. Beal to Edwin F. Atkins, June 30, 1887._

Our Colonos—with exceptions—Rovira and Jose de la Haz—are doing nothing for the interest of the Estate, while they are weeding and caring for their corn and potatoes, their cane never see a hoe, and is getting in a pretty bad condition the Colono of de la Haz is well cared for, his little fields look clean and thrifty—give him all he can take care of.
Paying Cane Farmers. "this class of colonos."
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, April 24, 1888.
In future instead of giving the colonos a fixed amt. monthly, I will advance only on the cane fields under cultivation at prices fixed per caballeria of plowing planting and weeding, mayoral to inspect and report twice a month on their work. I have no doubt you will approve of this plan as the best we can adopt with this class of colonos.

Not Enough. "they can't live in that way."
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, July 5, 1888.
The colonos have all finished their spring plantings and many have already weeded them. The new system obliges them to take better care of their cane. Of course they insist that they can't live in that way and are bothering me every day to give them more money for their personal expenses, but by working themselves they can have something over.

LABOR PROBLEMS

J. S. Murray's letters to Atkins are filled with references to the "labor question." Labor "shortages" plagued Soledad, particularly during holidays and after payday. Intense competition for laborers from neighboring estates, job offers for work on new railroads or on the Panama Canal, and Atkins's resistance to paying higher wages drew men away from Soledad. Although planters made informal pacts to hold down wages, some competitors occasionally raised pay rates to attract new workers. Word of the higher pay quickly spread, compelling other plantation owners to follow suit or risk losing their employees.

Panama Canal. "a number of our men have left."
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, September 17, 1885.
There is an agent in Cienfuegos offering high wages for laborers for Panama Canal and a number of our men have left, I am afraid this will again put up wages and make labor scarce for crop season.
Bad Press Wanted. "a service to his country."
Edwin F. Atkins to J. S. Murray, September 30, 1885.

Sorry to hear that laborers are going to Panama, get our friend ‘Gamboa’ to write up an article the terrible death rate there and uncertainty of pay—which is all true, he will be doing a service to his country.

Competition with Other Estates. "I was obliged to increase wages."
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, December 17, 1885.

I was obliged to increase wages of laborers to keep them here as they are paying on some estates—‘Parque Alto’ one of them—as high as $20. I have agreed to pay $15 and $17 until grinding begins when we will have to pay the same as other estates. I have no doubt I can get plenty of chinamen, but they are poor hands at heavy work, yet they are better than none.

Strikes. "the greater part of them have gone off."
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, January 19, 1886.

Our greatest difficulty in future I fear will be the labor question and our only remedy [is] to pay higher wages as so many laborers have been taken to Panama and St. Yago [Santiago de Cuba]. This morning all the white laborers refused to go to work and the greater part of them have gone off. I have sent to town for more and hope to get them, in the mean time as we are receiving all the cane we can grind I have stopped our carts and put the drivers at work on batey.

Hunting for Workers. "I have tried in every way to obtain laborers."
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, May 18, 1886.

Notwithstanding my constant urging and threatening [Damián] Machado,9 he has not been able to increase his gang in fields, a large number of his men will not work afternoons and what makes it more aggravating is the unusual fine day weather for grinding. I have tried in every way to obtain laborers, as ‘Andreita’ finished grinding Saturday I sent Machado there and he brought 25 men to Cienfuegos where the half of them deserted him, on his arrival here 9 of his old men went off. All week all the men I received from Josefa have left also. Four of our cartmen have gone to haul sugar for Galdos—349 bags to date—and others say their oxen are worn out.

Strike by Firemen. "accede to their demands or stop grinding."
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, January 8, 1887.
Grinding is going on slowly, our greatest difficulty being now, laborers. Yesterday the firemen\(^{10}\) struck for higher wages and I was obliged to accede to their demands or stop grinding, but discharged the ringleaders.

**Greater Scarcity than Normal.** "We are having a great deal of trouble about laborers."

*J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, December 12, 1887.*

We are having a great deal of trouble about laborers, I hear they are offering as high as $23 on the estates on the Damují river. I have appointed an agent in Cienfuegos to obtain men for the estate and I fear we are going to have trouble in that way and of course we will have to pay the same wages as the others. A large number of men have gone to Stgo. Cuba where they are paying higher wages.

The fireman I had engaged went off without my knoledge and I will have to get another.

Of course it is the same every year when grinding begins the men go off where they can get higher wages, but this year there appears to be more scarcity of laborers than any other.

**Incentives.** "good workmen appreciate this."

*J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, July 18, 1889.*

On the Damují river and on the new R. R.s they are advancing wage to $24 and $26 and we will have to do the same if our men become discontented, yet I think I can satisfy them with $22 as we give them better food than in other places, and I am carefull to keep dry and in good order their quarters for sleeping; good workmen appreciate this more than a dollar or two advance in wages.

**Unwillingness to Work.** "they refuse to work saying they want to rest."

*J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, April 26, 1890.*

We are still making poor tareas\(^{11}\) although I am employing all the means available to get cane. A number of Machado’s men went off yesterday saying the days were too long, yet he offered them an increase of $2 per month. . . . There are plenty of men idle in town from estates that have finished, but they refuse to work saying they want to rest. All this and my being confined to the house with a fever for the last 3 or 4 days is quite discouraging, besides the scarcity of water and the crop being so very much shorter than I calculated.
Atkins and his managers proposed various schemes for maintaining a sufficient labor supply, including the use of Chinese workers, government soldiers, and Spanish and Italian immigrants. The first Chinese indentured laborers had arrived in Cuba to work on sugar plantations in 1847. They quickly became an integral component of the labor force. After the end of the “cooler trade” in 1874, those who remained continued to work in agriculture as free laborers, generally under the supervision of Chinese contractors. Soledad depended heavily upon Damián Machado, who negotiated with estate administrators for Chinese labor contracts, supervised and disciplined Chinese workers, and provided their food and lodging.

_Atkins and the Labor Shortage. “more trouble than any other thing.”_  
_Edwin F. Atkins to J. S. Murray, September 23, 1885._

Do not forget that the most serious question which we have to contend with is that of labor, do not place too much reliance upon your Chinaman, I think it would be well to get a few soldiers for batey work, what is your opinion? it would be well also to look up proper Chinamen for the sugar house for I think we would do well to man that department (excepting waggon men) entirely with Chinese; I am satisfied they will give less trouble and better work than any other class which we can get.

We had one good centrifugal man, and Rosario had another if you can find them it would be well to secure both. I make these suggestions now that you may think them over in time, our labor has given, and will continue to give, more trouble than any other thing and calls for a good deal of study, I am of the opinion that we shall have to depend very largely upon Chinamen for field work what do you think? I am also strongly in favor of a moderate number of soldiers for the conductors & other batey work.

_Murray Responds to Atkins. “I think I can get plenty of them.”_  
_J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, October 6, 1885._

Note your suggestions regarding labor and will inquire about soldiers; as a general thing they have not given satisfaction on sugar estates as they are under the orders of an officer who generally expects to be treated with greate consideration and think they should govern the whole estate, yet we can try them. Regarding chinese I think I can get plenty of them and will do the best I can to obtain the one we had last year and the one from Rosario, but it is very uncertain as chinamen are not fond of staying long in one place, but if we can’t get these I have no doubt we can
Letters from Soledad in the Atkins Family Papers

get equally as good if not better. No doubt the labor question the most serious we have to contend with and like you I think we will have to depend a greate deal on chinese. On all estates where they have a chinese contractor they have been more successfull in obtaining and keeping laborers than where they employ other systems, probably like Sarria they do not pay them and they can't get away, one thing I know they always feed their men better than the ordinary white contractor does.

Enlisting Soldiers. “we can hardly take their judgement about soldiers.” Edwin F. Atkins to J. S. Murray, October 16, 1885.

As you know, many planters are unreasonable, and we can hardly take their judgement about soldiers, better use your own & do what you think proper keeping in mind the ever increasing scarcity of laborers, if you have a petty officer on the estate he must understand that his men & himself are subject to our regulations, and that he is to be domiciled and fed like our engineers, we can not afford to relax discipline for any consideration. I make the suggestion only, it is for you to decide as you think proper.


From a conversation I had with Machado this morning he wants to base his price for cutting and loading cane on salarys of $17 and $18, which of course I can’t think of, besides I will invite others to propose for the contract. I think Machado honest as a chinaman and prefer him to an other; he also wishes to bid for sugar house, centrifugals etc. which is well. No doubt it is not for himself, but for some companion.


Machado still refuses to come down in his prices notwithstanding I have proved to him that 3 cane cutters and 2 loaders can cut and load on cane an average of 700 @s per day, which at 60¢ would be $4.20 a profit of 4¢ per day on each laborer. He insists the expenses of employees, bosses etc. are $280 per month and that this profit will not cover that, he will not admit any profit in feeding allowing $8 per month. Two other contractors are to make bids and are now looking at cane fields. . . .

José Hidalgo’s makes one dollar more than Machado for the sugar house, but no doubt will come down, if you prefer him we can give him the contract as I have not closed with either yet. Machado is not as active but I think him more honest.
Italian Laborers. “they are good work men.”
*Edwin F. Atkins to J. S. Murray, June 4, 1886.*

How would it do to send out about 20 Italians with a contractor for batey work next crop as an experiment? We could take them direct from steamer in N. York and ship them to Cienfuegos, they are good work men and come from a hot climate where they are very poor.

*A Good Idea. “We can’t count on the natives.”*
*J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, June 15, 1886.*

Your idea of sending out Italians I think a good one as the labor problem in this Island is becoming very serious. We can’t count on the natives that have small farms after the end of April as they all go off to attend to and prepare for their spring plantings. This is one of the causes of labor being so scarce in May. . . .

*Immigrant Laborers. “that class of people are aclimated.”*
*J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, May 28, 1891.*

All the other estates are still grinding making half tareas as men are scarce everywhere; they go from colonia to colonia asking for higher wages. I suggest we adopt 10 hours as a days field work, which is the time they work in Jany. and Feb. the months we generally can get more cane than we can grind. Some have proposed to bring people from Spain others from the Canarys and I think it possible people would come from central and S. America as wages there are only $9 and $10 per month feeding themselves. How would it do to investigate this from the consuls. Then that class of people are aclimated. They once brought South American indians here, but then it was during slavery and it was a failure as they treated them as slaves.

*Canary Islands. “better results.”*
*Edwin F. Atkins to J. S. Murray, June 9, 1891.*

I think the people from Canary Islands will give us better results than any others, except from Spain, and if you can get people from these better do so.

*A Postwar Labor Scarcity. “no better class of labor.”*
*Edwin F. Atkins to Secretary of State William R. Day, July 28, 1898.*

Laborers in Cuba, will necessarily be scarce, owing to the very high death rate, during the past two years, of the native white population; the return to Spain of large
numbers of Spanish laborers, and the fact that so many of the negroes have been ac-
customed to a roving life with the Insurgents, and will be slow in returning to habits
of industry.

In my experience, I have found no better class of labor than that of the peasants
of the Northern Provinces of Spain and Catalunia, and it is my belief that large
numbers of these people would remain, (as was the case at the conclusion of the ten
years insurrection) once they are assured that their personal and property rights will
be respected.

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RACIAL STEREOTYPES AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR

On plantations throughout western and central Cuba, the technical aspects of
sugar production required highly skilled labor. The Soledad correspondence
demonstrates how plantation administrators used stereotypes and a hierarchy
of prejudice to determine who would be hired and trained for such work. On
the one hand, Atkins and his managers considered Chinese workers “honest”
and “intelligent” and favored them over black workers for the more technical
aspects of sugar production. On the other hand, managers also considered
Chinese to be either “weak” or “tricky” and preferred to train Spanish im-
migrants for the plantation’s supervisory and highly skilled jobs.

Nationality and Work. “all the world to draw skilled labor from.”
Edwin F. Atkins to J. S. Murray, November 5, 1884.

I do not wonder that after your long experience in Cuba you are doubtful about
introducing new systems of working, having in mind the class of employees you
have been used to deal with, but one thing you over-look, you are not dealing with
Spaniards or Cubans as principals, we understand the importance and necessity of
keeping pace with the times regarding all known & tried improvements, and have
all the world to draw skilled labor from; while you will be dependent upon Cuban
labor for field work it is not so to any great extent regarding factory and mill hands.
I would not put any machinery how ever simple in charge of an estate negro, but
would suggest Chinamen for sugar house, both on defecators & centrifugals, ne-
groes as fire men in boiler house, and some white man as machinist and second en-
gineer under Burns to attend pumps etc. under his direction, you can probably find
such a man at a moderate salary for crop season.
Ethnic Preferences. "the best men degenerate here."
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, November 18, 1884.

Of course I appreciate the advantage of working for you that knows the advantage and necessity of skilled labor on machinery such as we have here, but at the same time my very long experience in this country has made me mistrustfull and it appears as if the way of doing work here is contagious and that the best men degenerate here, of course I include myself.

I was thinking if it would not be best to educate two or more of the most intelligent Spaniards for defecators and centrifugals, as chinamen are in general very tricky, if they are more intelligent, I have been talking it over with Rigney and he is of my opinion and will employ Spaniards at 'Parque Alto' . . . .

Chinese Laborers. "all the intelligent looking chinamen."
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, October 29, 1884.

I yesterday engaged a crew of chinamen for boiling houses and centrifugals. The head man appears to be very intelligent if no good we can get others as I keep at work here all the intelligent looking chinamen especially those who say they have worked on centrifugals.
Letters from Soledad in the Atkins Family Papers

White Laborers. “if we can get white men for this work.”
J. S. Murray to Edwin F. Atkins, May 4, 1893.

Last Sunday several chinamen took sick overcome by the heat in pans, yet they were twice filled with cold water and the men entered them 15 hours after the apparatus was stopped. They only worked 5 hours refusing to go back into pans. I will see if we can get white men for this work next Sunday.

Ethnicity, Color, and Labor at Soledad.

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<td>3</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josefa</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martinez</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[TOTAL]</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>1183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCENT</td>
<td>31.78</td>
<td>39.57</td>
<td>10.23</td>
<td>18.43</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are about 200 men in addition to these in outlying districts not classified.

Notes

1. Researchers will find these documents in the Edwin F. Atkins correspondence, also known as series II, within the Atkins Family Papers.
3. The term *liberto*, meaning freed person, was applied to those emancipated under the Moret Law of 1870, which declared free those children born to slave mothers and all persons who reached the age of 60. Murray may also have used it to refer to *patrocinados* who had purchased their full freedom.
4. Placing *patrocinados* in stocks had been prohibited by law in 1883.
5. Atkins is referring here to cédulas, the identity papers for each patrocinado. These would be marked “Libre” when the apprentice achieved his or her freedom.
6. The patronato was abolished and all patrocinados freed by government decree in late 1886.
7. An arroba was a measure of weight, roughly equivalent to 25 lbs.
8. The term batey generally referred to the central mill yard at the heart of the plantation.
9. Damián Machado was a contractor of Chinese laborers.
10. The firemen supplied fuel to the furnaces in the boiler house.
11. Tareas were fixed tasks of work, in this case probably a designated area planted in cane.
12. Centrifugals were used in the refining process, separating sugar crystals from liquid.
13. “Conductors” may have referred to the conveyor belts in the mill.
14. Hidalgo was another contractor of Chinese laborers.
15. A defecator is a huge vat used to clarify guarapo (syrup extracted from sugar cane) by applying heat and skimming off the impurities.
16. Joseph Rigney was a mechanic at Soledad and other area estates.
17. General Bates was in command of Santa Clara province during the U.S. occupation. Belmonte, Rosario, Guabairo, and Josefa were cane properties acquired by Soledad. Their cane was ground at Soledad’s mill.