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LOS PITIRRES Y EL GUARAGÜAO

VICTORY, STALEMATE AND DEFEAT DURING THE SPANISH
CARIBBEAN INSURGENCIES OF 1868-1878

by

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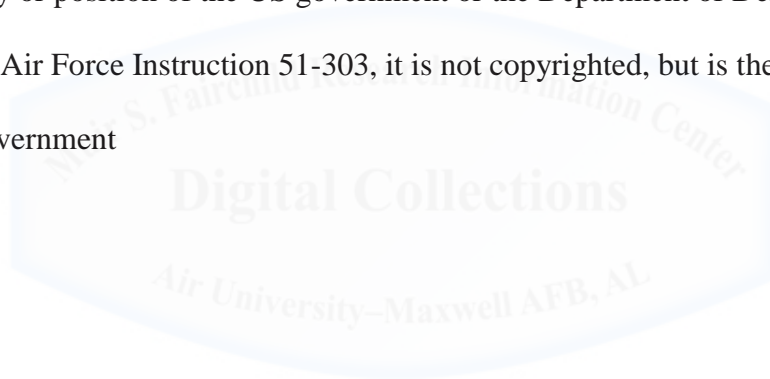
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Abstract

Under similar initial conditions on almost every aspect, Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic underwent insurrections against Spain but each had different outcomes. Although there are multiple accounts and interpretations on what happened during the individual insurgencies, there is no work that studies what made the insurgencies successful or not.

This research paper argues that there is one central factor that ultimately determined success. The single factor that is common across all three insurgencies is military experience or military training. The Puerto Rican insurgency carried out by a mass of peasants and slaves failed almost immediately. The 10 year Cuban insurgency resulted in a stalemate carried out by trained belligerents. The Dominican insurrection was aided by trained veterans and ultimately resulted in victory. Conclusively, the insurgents who possessed military experience and training were able to achieve victory, those who did not, failed.

No previous study on this specific topic was found. This study is the first to analyze what made the insurgencies of the Spanish Caribbean effective or not, and shows how they relate to each other. Therefore, the study serves two purposes. First, it provides a military historical perspective of the Spanish Caribbean insurgencies. Second, it serves as a case study for the military professional on island insurgencies against colonial Spain.

Introduction

A peculiar battle is commonly seen over the skies of the Greater Antilles of the Caribbean. As the *Guaragüao* (Hawk) crosses an invisible boundary, the territory's much smaller inhabitants, the *Pitirres* (Kingbirds) surge to repel the invader. With an incessant and protracted battery of bites and body blows, the small *Pitirres* manage to defeat the much larger *Guaragüao*. Much like the *Pitirres* and the *Guaragüao*, the colonies of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic engaged in protracted battles against imperial Spain from 1861 to 1878, which ultimately led to the collapse of the Spanish colonial empire in the Caribbean.

Under similar initial conditions on almost every aspect, Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic underwent insurrections against Spain but each had different outcomes. Although there are multiple accounts and interpretations on what happened during the individual insurgencies, there is no work that studies what made the insurgencies successful or not.

The research material for this study comes from literature available from the period of the insurrections to studies made in the 2000s. There is an abundance of work available that describe the Dominican and Cuban insurrections however, most of the information is contained within history books that concentrate more on the socio-political aspects than the insurgency element per se. In the case of Puerto Rico's revolt, there are specific works available solely dedicated to the event that provide researched conclusions.

The most in depth available literature was done by third party observers and not by the belligerents themselves. Some of the works that were written in English were done so via translations of letters, journals, and government documents. In regards to sources in the original Spanish, I accomplished the translations from the works.

As a baseline, the terminology and theoretical framework in this paper stem from David Galula's *Counterinsurgency Warfare*. The terms insurrection and insurgency (insurgents) will be utilized interchangeably establishing the assumption that all insurrections portrayed in the study comply with Galula's definition of insurgency: "An insurgency is a protracted struggle conducted methodically, step by step, in order to attain specific intermediate objectives leading finally to overthrow the government."¹

Galula's prerequisites for a successful insurgency will be used as criteria for evaluation during this study. According to Galula, the success of an insurgency depends on four broad factors. First, the insurgency must have a strong cause, that it is not only germane to the insurgents but to the general population.² Second, the weakness or strength of the counterinsurgents.³ Third, geographic conditions that include, location, size, configuration of the country, international borders as it relates to sanctuary, terrain and climate.⁴ Fourth, external support for the insurgency, be it moral, politically, economical or military.⁵ As an additional factor not included by Galula, the strength or weakness of the insurgents as it pertains to military factors such as training, weapons and troop levels will be considered.

Ultimately, victory will be defined in this study as a combination of complete expulsion of the Spanish regime and insurgent control of the local population. Stalemate will be defined as continued regime, with a cease in kinetic activity from both sides. Defeat, will be defined as continued regime control with either the annihilation of all insurgents or a cease of kinetic and non-kinetic activity from the insurgents.

Although all the factors above will be utilized, this research paper argues that there is one central factor that ultimately determined success. The single factor that is common across all three insurgencies is military experience or military training. The Puerto Rican insurgency

carried out by a mass of peasants and slaves failed almost immediately. The 10 year Cuban insurgency resulted in a stalemate carried out by trained belligerents. The Dominican insurrection was aided by trained veterans and ultimately resulted in victory. Conclusively, the insurgents who possessed military experience and training were able to achieve victory, those who did not, failed.

No previous study on this specific topic was found. This study is the first to analyze what made the insurgencies of the Spanish Caribbean effective or not, and shows how they relate to each other. Therefore, the study serves two purposes. First, it provides a military historical perspective of the Spanish Caribbean insurgencies. Second, it serves as a case study for the military professional on island insurgencies against colonial Spain.

The scope of this paper is specific to the period of 1861 to 1898 in the particular cases of the Dominican Republic during the Restoration War, Puerto Rico during the *Grito de Lares* (War Cry of Lares), and Cuba during the *Grito de Yara* (War Cry of Yara) and subsequent Ten Years War. Research is limited to the available resources at Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base to include the library share program and online database sources. Additionally, sources were found via Google Books and the United States Library of Congress American Memory website. Although a succinct conclusion can be drawn from the sources utilized, it is imperative to further this study with archival research in Spain, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic.

A Review of Literature

The following literature review spans from first-hand accounts of the insurgencies to secondary and tertiary research accomplished over the past hundred years by scholars, academics, politicians, and journalists. There has been some academic research done for each of

the wars but mostly in the socio-political context. Research on the military aspects of the insurgencies although present in most texts, has not been a point of emphasis.

This literature review is divided by each insurgency in chronological order. Each insurgency is addressed by the previously prescribed criteria for evaluation, followed by the assessment of the particular author, if any, on the success or failure of each insurgency. The conclusions that are drawn in regards to causal factors for victory or defeat are those of the authors and do not present the overall assessment of the insurgencies as a group. The overall assessment will be presented during the analysis and conclusion portions of this paper. The existing literature does not draw parallels or commonalities among the insurgencies, which will be also addressed in the analysis section of this paper.

The following literature review expounds on the factors and events that led to the success of the insurgency. Attention is paid to the relevance to each of these sources as well as any connections or parallels between accounts. The conclusions presented are those of the authors which will be further analyzed later in the paper.

The Dominican Restoration War of 1861-1865

After years of independence, most recently at the outcome of an insurgency against Haiti in 1849, the Dominican Republic was once again colonized by Spain in 1861. This political loss of autonomy and the social and economic implications that come with colonial rule sparked an insurgency in the Dominican colony to restore their previous independence. From 1861 to 1865, the *Guerra Restauradora* (Restoration War) ensued. Ultimately, the insurgents were victorious and the Dominican Republic was re-established.

Sumner Welles was the Chief of the Latin America division for the United States Department of State and was the American commissioner to the Dominican Republic from 1922 to 1925. His account for the 1844 to 1925 period in the Dominican Republic, *Naboth's Vineyard*, is one of the most highly regarded accounts and is cited in virtually every literature that was researched. His writings are his own personal accounts or taken from letters from American commercial envoys to the Dominican Republic during the period.

The period Welles examined consisted from the early independence of the republic in 1849, the Spanish occupation and subsequent Restoration War. His writings are in painstaking detail. He is clear on his disdain of the Spanish government and continuously asserts that “the Spanish government was incredibly inept,” which was a determining factor on the success of the insurgence.⁶ The account effectively covers minor skirmishes to larger battles from the first revolt to the sailing away of the Spanish forces in 1865. Welles does not draw conclusions through the first years of conflict but he ultimately does for the most decisive period at the end of the war.

In March 1864, Spain sends General de la Gandara, one of their top commanders in the Caribbean to take over as the Captain-General. He will lead an augmented force of over twenty-one thousand troops in one last push to quench the insurgency.⁷ De la Gandara ultimately proved unsuccessful which Welles attributes to two factors: supply and climate. Welles argues that the Spanish did not prepare the environment in order to provision the Spanish forces. The author describes that the Spanish forces “landed in a devastated region where no supplies could be obtained.”⁸ Second, Welles attributes the defeat to “the inability of the Spanish troops to withstand the climate.”⁹ The failure of the Spanish to care, feed and rearm their troops, resulted in a great number of casualties due to yellow fever, smallpox, and black water fever that was

only exacerbated by the rainy season. Ultimately, although facing a much smaller and supposedly inferior adversary, in a matter of months, Spanish forces were cut in half.¹⁰ Other authors derived their work from the Welles account.

Seldam Rodman was an American writer and poet who became interested in the Dominican Republic at the time of Rafael Trujillo while living in Haiti. Although Rodman draws a large amount of information from Welles' book, he comes to his own conclusions on the outcome of the insurgency. Like Welles, he argues that disease ravaged the Spanish forces. Also, he points out the poor condition of Spanish war material and vessels to include ships "dispatched from Cuba to blockade northern harbors that were rotten."¹¹ He also argues the importance of terrain as a means of sanctuary. Due to the rugged terrain and in some cases cactus jungles, the insurgents could easily retreat behind a formidable natural barrier that seemed impenetrable to Spanish troops. Finally, he argues that the Spanish veteran troops and the green conscripted Dominican auxiliaries were no match to the experienced guerrillas.¹²

In his book *The Dominican Republic*, Englishman Ian Bell, who served as part of the British Diplomatic Service in Santo Domingo, provides the military and insurgent background of the Dominicans. With particular emphasis on the 1822 to 1844 Haitian occupation, Bell paints a picture of the military capacity and experience the Dominicans possessed. Ironically, one of the heroes of the insurgency against Haiti was Pedro Santana, who seventeen years later would give up the independence he fought so hard to achieve from Haiti to their previous colonial master, Spain.¹³ As the account progresses, Bell introduces the Restoration War. His accounts mirror those of Welles and Rodman but he concentrated his efforts on a series of revolts, which by his analysis were perhaps the definitive points in the evolution from revolt to insurgency. Bell introduces the role of sanctuary provided by the border with Haiti. The Dominican leaders

utilized the Haitian border as refuge and crossed the border at will whilst gathering support as they moved east.¹⁴ Finally, the author draws no definitive conclusions on what warranted the success. However, he does argue that “there were no great battles, only a steady wearing down of the Spanish forces in numbers and morale, with disease.”¹⁵

On the angle of the political external influence in the Dominican Republic, Kryzanek and Wiarda attempt to “weave together” the interactions between internal and external factors in the development of the nation. The authors are research scholars specializing in Caribbean politics and U.S. foreign policy in Latin America. Their analysis mostly covers the political development of the Dominican Republic from their independence from Haiti to modern times. However, their analysis is important to this research paper because it further cements the cause for insurgency of the Dominican people. It illustrates the internal struggle within Dominican politics and the influence of the Spanish that ultimately leads to the re-colonization of the Dominican Republic.¹⁶ The authors do not draw conclusions on why the insurgency was successful or not. However, they provide context to why the cause for independence resonated throughout the civilian population. The recolonization of the Dominican Republic and the abuses by the Spanish on the population resulted in a de facto internal support for the insurgency.

In *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic*, Peguero conducts a thorough study on the military history of the Dominican Republic. She traces the interaction of the military and the civilian population from the Spanish re-colonization to the Trujillo era. The book is germane to this research because it provides the unique background and training of the Spanish military forces and Dominican militia before, during, and after the Restoration War. Peguero does not draw conclusions on the effectiveness of one side or the other but does point out the strengths and flaws for both organizations. Particularly, she argues that the Dominican

restoration army's morale due to their nationalistic sentiment eclipsed that of Spanish regulars and auxiliaries who were fighting in a foreign land or in the case of the auxiliaries, forced to fight against their own.

Luis Alvarez-Lopez describes the political fallout in the Spanish Caribbean following the annexation of the Dominican Republic by the Spanish in 1861. Alvarez-Lopez analyzes in detail the events surrounding the annexation, the successful insurrection and Restoration War, and the effect on the political situations of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Alvarez-Lopez contends that the defeat of the Spanish army by the Dominican forces began a revolutionary cycle in the Spanish Caribbean ultimately leading to the defeat of Spain by the United States in 1898. Alvarez-Lopez also argues that the Restoration War was the result of a class alliance with the common political objective of the restoration of the Republic.¹⁷ This unified goal provided the Dominican leaders of the Restoration War the support of the peoples of the nation.

Alvarez-Lopez also examines the Dominican insurgents' tactics. Facing a trained and better armed Spanish army, the Dominican fighters resort to guerrilla warfare.¹⁸ The Dominicans used their knowledge of the land to capitalize on the element of surprise. Furthermore, they benefitted their natural resistance to the local tropical diseases that affected most of the peninsular Spaniards. As the author illustrates, one of their most effective tactics was inducing sleep deprivation on the Spanish "so that the illnesses wreak[ed] havoc on them more so than our firearms."¹⁹

Alvarez-Lopez argues that there is a long-term historical controversy in regards to the Spanish army during the period of annexation and subsequent Restoration War. "The controversy is characterized by the argument that Spanish troops were never defeated in the new annexed territory. That the tropical climate, diseases, and changes in temperature were the

reason for the abandonment of the Dominican territory after five years.”²⁰ The author contends that the historical conclusion that the Spanish army was not defeated by the Dominican forces, but by nature is “a totally wrong conclusion.”²¹ The author’s defense of this argument contends that although disease debilitated the Spanish, the Dominican insurgents’ guerrilla tactics were the central reason for the defeat of the Spanish army.

A series of factors affected the outcome of the Dominican insurgency. The review of available literature shows most of the authors attribute the insurgent victory to their ability to capitalize on their military training and previous insurgency experience and on their resistance to tropical diseases that decimated the Spanish peninsular forces. Another prominent factor found that the vast majority of the people of the country wanted to regain their autonomy. Therefore, the insurgent cause for independence resonated within the population. The deep level of internal support for the insurgents outweighed their lack of external support. On the other hand, the Spanish soldiers were ill-supported by the Spanish, although they did receive support from the colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Finally, the role of geographic conditions such as the ruggedness of the terrain and the international border with Haiti, provided the insurgents sanctuary to regroup at will.

The *Grito de Lares* and the Puerto Rican Insurrection of 1868

Under the colonial rule of Spain for almost four hundred years, Puerto Rico saw its first and only insurrection in 1868. As the island continued to endure harsh political, social, and economic maladies, the rest of the Spanish colonies obtained their independence. A revolutionary movement surged, which culminated in the revolt at the town of Lares in September 1868. Although the insurgents were able to take the town of Lares, the insurrection was effectively stopped at their next target by Spanish forces and loyalists.

The following literature review expounds on the factors and events that led to the defeat of the Puerto Rican insurgency. Attention is paid to the relevance of each source as well as any connections or parallels between accounts. The conclusions presented are those of the authors, which will be further analyzed later in the paper.

Perhaps the most used secondary source by scholars and historians interested in the Lares insurrection is the Jose Perez Moris account of 1872. The author writes to the Spanish government to provide assurances that the events in Lares were nothing more than a small mutiny led by ungrateful peasants and foreigners. Perez Moris' account is rich in detail and takes accounts from both Spanish and insurgents to include members of government. Although severely biased against the insurgents, the account provides the most detailed narrative of the events leading to, during and after the revolt.

Perez Moris is very critical of the organization of the insurgents. As a factor for the failure of the insurgency he notes that for every "important man" that joined the ranks, they brought by force with them three or four slaves and peasants.²² He repeatedly mentions the demonstrated cowardice of "those who insurrect against Spain."²³ As an example, he brings forth the insurgent attack on Pepino where two-hundred insurgents charged to be repelled by just twelve Spanish soldiers.²⁴ Finally, Perez Moris concludes that the insurgents failed for three reasons: that they lost the element of surprise and began the revolt before it was planned, that they had poor organization and no means of communication between insurgent cells, and that the superior strength of the Spanish government on the island was able to crush any insurrection.²⁵

Jimenez de Wagenheim provides a modern analysis of the insurrection in Lares and offers her own interpretation of the events surrounding the revolt. She analyzes in detail the political, social, and economic environments surrounding the insurrection. The author argues

that that the insurrection failed due a re-colonization process that took place too late in comparison to the rest of Spanish America. De Wagenheim claims that traditionalists, to include Perez Moris, attribute the insurgents' failure to liberate the island to the obvious factors: that the revolt began before it was planned, that external support was kept from coming to their aid, and that the mountains of the island were not big enough to offer adequate cover for guerrilla warfare.²⁶ However, she claims that the reasons for the failed insurgency are found in the re-colonization process. First, re-colonization did not allow the time, resources or the opportunity for a creole elite to emerge strong enough to oust Spain as in the rest of Spanish America. Second, the insurgents' impoverished condition made it difficult for them to enlist social support, gather war material, or finances. These difficulties were exacerbated by the fact that not one wealthy landowner joined the revolution. Those who volunteered quickly abandoned the ranks as soon as the armed struggle became difficult. Finally, de Wagenheim finds that the discovery of the insurgent plot, the seasoned Spanish troops that had just returned from Santo Domingo and the comprehensive Gamir counterinsurgency plan crushed the revolution.²⁷

Providing international context, Lida and Zavala write a detailed account of the Spanish *Gloriosa Revolucion* (Glorious Revolution) of 1898. Although primarily concentrated on what is happening in Spain, it does provide tangents that extend to the two remaining Spanish colonies in the Caribbean. The authors write a chapter on the *Grito de Lares* insurrection in Puerto Rico. While it does not go into depth, it does paint the overall picture of the revolt, its leaders and the environment surrounding it. They do not draw any conclusions for the failure of the insurrection, other than they were "dominated" by the Spanish troops, but they do present the external support argument. The authors contend that it is possible that the revolts in Puerto Rico and later Cuba may have been tied to the Spanish peninsular revolution.²⁸ Furthermore, they

conclude that the leaders of the Puerto Rican insurrection had studied in Madrid and Paris and were exposed to the “most radical nucleus of Spanish politics.”²⁹

As an attachment to their work, Lida and Zavala reproduce a letter from the mayor of the city of Ponce, Puerto Rico directed to the governor. The content of the letter pertains to statements taken by the insurgents in custody and processed by the Spanish troops. Mayor de Navascues illustrates the actions of the night of the *Grito de Lares* as well as the demographics of the insurgents. He provides detailed information on number of troops, armament, and some of the tactics. Although no conclusion is drawn on this account, the letter provides first hand insight on the event and participants of the revolt.

In his proclamation to Spain following the attacks, Governor Pavia discredits the event and the participants of the insurrection. Nevertheless, he provides details on Venezuelan and Dominican participation with the insurgents. These foreigners provided the insurgents with much needed military experience. However, he argues that after the insurgents were able to take Lares, the overall insurrection failed due to the “lazy lifestyles” of those who betrayed the Spanish.³⁰ Although extremely biased towards the Spanish, the proclamation provides insight on the character and military bearing of the insurgents.

The first modern military history narrative on Puerto Rico is commissioned by the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture in San Juan. In his work, Negroni provides a full account of the military history of Puerto Rico from Spanish conquest to the 1970s. Negroni argues that “multiple obstacles prevented an armed revolution in Puerto Rico.”³¹ He contends that the most prominent obstacles were the “geographical narrowness, the prevailing military regime and the lack of Puerto Rican leadership.”³² He provides a detailed account of available weapons, personnel, and circumstances surrounding the revolt. Negroni draws attention to the

disproportionate military chain of command of the revolutionaries. For example, the insurgent army only had four-hundred men; however, they had twelve General officers.³³

Negroni draws two conclusions for the defeat of the insurgents; the lack of military direction, training, and weapons of the insurgents; and the strength of the cause of the revolutionary movement.³⁴ The author notes that both the actual participants and the population did believe in the revolution. For the belligerents, when it was time to risk their lives for the cause they became reluctant. The author argues that it “was too much to ask, that you could erase three-hundred years of conditioned obedience.”³⁵ Likewise, when the attacks began, the general population looked at the participants with disdain.³⁶

A series of factors affected the outcome of the Puerto Rican insurgency. The review of available literature shows most of the authors attribute the insurgent defeat to the superior strength of the Spanish counterinsurgency forces and the lack of military character, training, organization, and insurgent leadership. Other salient factors include the lack or poor external support, meager means of communication between insurgent cells, and unfavorable geographical features for the insurgents. Finally, most of the modern authors note that the strength of the cause was lacking, therefore the insurgents were unable to elicit internal support from the population of the island.

The *Grito de Yara* and the Ten Years War 1868-1878

In October 1868, less than a month after the insurrection in Puerto Rico, a group of Cuban nationalists met near the town of Yara and proclaimed the start of the liberation of Cuba from the Spanish rule sparking a war that would last ten years. The *Grito de Yara* and the ensuing Cuban Ten Years War ultimately resulted in a stalemate between the Spanish colonial government that led to the capitulation of the insurgent forces.

The following literature review expounds on the factors and events that led to a stalemate of the insurgency. Attention is paid to the relevance of each of these sources as well as any connections or parallels between accounts. The conclusions presented are those of the individual authors, which will be further analyzed later in the paper.

In his massive volume that spans over fifteen-hundred pages, Thomas illustrates the history of Cuba from Spanish colonial rule to the Cuban Revolution. He introduces the leader of the insurgency, Carlos Manuel Cespedes, who had spent most of his young adult life taking part in revolutionary activity in Paris and Spain.³⁷ In October 1868, Cespedes and his men rise up and commence the revolution with the *Grito the Yara*. Although he starts with just a few hundred men, by the end of the month Cespedes amasses an army of twelve-thousand and captures multiple cities.³⁸ On the other hand, the government of Cuba only had seven-thousand troops on island resulting in an almost a two-to-one disadvantage. In addition, as part of the preparations of the insurgent army, the leaders turned to “a number of exiles from the Dominican Republic who had fought the Spaniards,” during their Restoration War.³⁹ The experience brought by the veterans not only positively affected daily operations but also the training of new recruits.

The tide turns for the Spanish when civilian *Voluntarios* (volunteers) loyal to Spain start militias that rise to twenty-thousand infantry and thirteen-thousand-five-hundred cavalry.⁴⁰ Although the insurgents are able to hold their ground, the war settled into a stalemate that separated the island between loyalist west and insurgent east.⁴¹ By 1876, insurgent commanders “were beginning to admit the possibility of defeat.”⁴² The insurgent external supply and financial support commenced to dry up and the morale of the insurgent army was very low after eight years of conflict.⁴³ Additionally, the Spanish continued to send reinforcements, that by the end of the conflict numbered in over seventy-thousand troops. Thomas does not provide his specific

opinion on the outcome of the war, but does provide milestones during the progression of the war.

Mostly a book about Cuban politics, Suchliki's *Cuba from Columbus to Castro* describes the Ten Years War from the socio-political perspective while at the same time highlighting the pure military aspect of the war and its participants. His account provides insight on the internal strife that rotted away the insurgent leadership. Suchliki argues that the failure of the Ten Years War was due to internal dissention, lack of internal organization, and poor external support that resulted in "chronic shortages of supplies and ammunition."⁴⁴ He adds that, by the end of the war, the insurgents were fighting a well organized, trained, and equipped Spanish army that was steadily supplied and reinforced.⁴⁵ Finally, the Spanish controlled the seas, which prevented the insurgents from getting supplies and reinforcements from abroad thus enabling the stalemate.

In his history book that mostly concentrates on the much later Cuban revolution led by Castro, Marshall utilizes the *Grito de Yara* and the Ten Years War as a parting point for the Cuban independence movement. Although he does not provide conclusions on the failure of the insurgents, he argues that the stalemate and eventual peace agreement between the insurgents and the government was due to the overwhelming number of Spanish troops that were sent to Cuba.⁴⁶ His account provides specific insights on key military and political actors during the revolution. It also illustrates the transition from conventional, column versus column warfare to guerilla warfare adopted by the insurgents.

British freelance writer Geoff Simmons provides a journalistic point of view of the history of Cuba. Simmons provides us further data on the role of the loyalist volunteers during the counter-insurgency. He argues that the barbaric tactics used by the volunteers, instead of crushing the insurrection, fomented further insurgency throughout the island.⁴⁷ Simmons also

describes the tactics that the Spanish and *voluntarios* used against the insurgents. The utilization of concentration camps, torture and executions became commonplace.⁴⁸ He contends the superiority in numbers and the barbaric tactics of the Spanish eventually rendered the insurgents useless.⁴⁹ Due to the pressure and the loss of ground, the insurgent leader Cespedes is blamed for the failures and removed from power.⁵⁰ This begins further strife and factional division within the insurgent camp.⁵¹ Simmons argues that the failure of the insurgency ultimately was due to the vigorous Spanish offensive and the exploitation of political divisions within the insurgent camp.⁵²

One of the most influential leaders and advocates of Cuban autonomy, Jose Marti was just a schoolboy when the Ten Years War started. However as time progressed he became an influential figure for the independence movement until his death. Marti provides us his firsthand accounts of the revolution. In a series of personal letters and interviews from 1888 and 1893, he describes the weaponry and the resourcefulness of the insurgent soldiers in the face of dwindling resources.⁵³ He also describes the ferocity of the insurgents and the overwhelming internal support from the Cubans.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, this collection of works from Marti does not provide us with his assessment of the outcome of the Ten Years War.

Knight provides us with an in depth analysis of the terrain of the island with relation to the ability to wage war. He argues that the “difficult terrain and dense forest” of the eastern part of the island provided an excellent medium for guerrilla warfare.⁵⁵ He draws parallels between the insurrections in Puerto Rico and Cuba, then argues that the insurrection in Puerto Rico failed because it was “merely sectional dissatisfaction.”⁵⁶ In contrast, the Cuban cause revealed “important cross-cutting cleavages in the society as a whole,” which legitimized their cause.⁵⁷ The author concludes that ultimately the stalemate of the insurrection was due to a failure of

“accommodating the differences in political ideology and military strategy” in the insurgent camp.⁵⁸ He argues that there was a gross lack of coordination and indecision fueled by political strife.⁵⁹ Finally, the inability of the insurgents in gaining external support from the United States and Great Britain proved beneficial to Spain.⁶⁰

A series of factors affected the outcome of the Cuban insurgency. The review of available literature shows most of the authors attribute the stalemate of the insurgency to a shift of power from one side to another. At the beginning of the Ten Years War, it is observed that the insurgent camp had overwhelming internal support from the people that manifested itself in large troop recruitment for the insurgent army. The insurgent army leadership was militarily trained and had recent experience in revolutions in Europe and the Dominican Republic. Additionally, the Spanish colonial government was not prepared to wage a counterinsurgency due to a lack of troop numbers. Finally, the Cuban terrain provided a physical barrier that separated the insurgent east from the Spanish west thus providing sanctuary for the insurgents to regroup.

The positions change between the insurgents and Spaniards by the end of the war. The counterinsurgents ramp up their external support from Spain, grow their troop numbers and block the seas thus preventing logistical movements for the insurgents. In addition, the loyalist militia boosts their numbers and affect great losses on the insurgent camp. The overwhelming number of troops, their tactics, and the ensuing insurgent losses drive strife and factional division within the insurgent camp. The insurgents capitulate and the leadership signs an accord to end the violence thus ending the Ten Years War.

Analysis

Stemming from the literature reviewed the following analysis will focus on factors that affected the three colonies while engaging Spain in their revolutions. As a baseline, the following are common attributes across the colonies: a) Colonies of Spain for more than 300 years; b) Spanish speaking population; c) European, African, Amerindian (Taino) and mixed ethnicities; d) Island nations; e) Tropical climate, heavy rainfall and associated jungle flora and fauna; f) Similar topography; coastal plains and mountainous interior; g) Natural deep water ports.

Conversely, the following factors will be compared and contrasted as based on Galula's guiding principles for a successful insurgency; Strength of the cause, external support, strength and weaknesses of the insurgent force to include troop numbers, military training, and experience, geographic factors and strength of the counterinsurgency. Each factor will compare and contrast insurgent versus counterinsurgent as well as colony versus colony. Each section concludes with a summarized findings statement for each factor.

The Strength of the Cause for Insurrection

The colonies of Cuba, Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico all shared the same cause; independence and autonomy from Spain. Some historians argue that the Spanish peninsular revolution of 1868 was tied to the insurrections in Cuba and Puerto Rico, mostly due to the timeframe coinciding with the insular revolutions. It is no coincidence that insurgent leaders from the colonies had worked in Madrid and Paris and had been in contact with some of the most radical elements of Spanish politics leading to the revolution.⁶¹ The Spanish revolution brought the hope of autonomy to the colonies.⁶² News of the revolution vitalized the insurgent leaders into action and posed a precarious period for the colonial master. The collapse of the Spanish

monarchy in 1868's "Glorious Revolution," presented an invaluable opportunity for revolutionary action in the colonies.⁶³

The Dominican Republic had declared its independence from Haiti in 1844 and until 1861 continued to fight off annexation attempts.⁶⁴ The hero of the Haitian-Dominican War and subsequent battles, General Pedro Santana, committed the ultimate act of treason by inviting Spain to re-annex the Dominican Republic. The Spanish government was inept in their actions. The military was plagued with cronyism as Spanish officers streaming in from Cuba, Puerto Rico and Spain flocked to the Dominican Republic to take office on prestigious posts thus retiring Dominican to more menial jobs.⁶⁵ The Spanish authorities increased levied taxes on the Dominican population and furthered the impoverishment of the inhabitants.⁶⁶

In Puerto Rico, similar sentiments abounded against the Spanish. The continuous lack of Puerto Rican officials in government caused great resentment in the population as all benefits were postulated towards Spaniards. However, as noted by Negroni, 300 years of colonial rule, led to inevitable conditioning of the masses that when the time came for armed revolution the population capitulated to their colonial masters.⁶⁷

Mostly on the western part of Puerto Rico, underground revolutionary "juntas" were assembled which would form the basis for the logistical and manpower of the revolution. The juntas were to receive weapons, equipment, and men recruited from the Dominican Republic that never materialized.⁶⁸ Interrogations of rebels after the revolts showed a further lack of support from the civilian population, as demonstrated by instances of rebel leadership coercing civilian to join the revolution or risk being shot. For example, rebel leader Manuel Rojas reportedly shot a youth in the back for refusing to join the rebels.⁶⁹

In Cuba, ruthless Spanish captain-generals suppressed political meetings and readings of newspapers and books from 1834-1869. This led the Cuban population to become increasingly alienated from the Spanish rulers and ultimately questioned Spain's ability to govern.⁷⁰ The centers of rebellion were the masonic lodges in Oriente (eastern Cuba) and New York City.⁷¹ In Cuba, wealthy Creoles established revolutionary centers in masonic lodges all over the Oriente region. In addition, lodges in Havana supported the revolution in non-military ways.⁷² When the war broke out in October 1868, planters and slaves from the Oriente region rapidly pledged their support thus growing the rebel army from 147 to 12,000 men in less than a month.⁷³

Findings: It is plausible that the 1868 Spanish Revolution catalyzed the insurrections in Puerto Rico and Cuba, however it had little effect on the Dominican insurrection. The Spanish treated the population of each island in the exact same way thus cultivating longstanding disdain toward the government. The populations in Cuba and the Dominican Republic clearly aligned with the cause for independence as noted by their heavy involvement in the insurrections. However, the Puerto Rican population did not adopt the cause as their own, starving the rebellion from much needed support.

External Support

During the Dominican Restoration War, Haiti supported the rebellion during the initial phases until the growing number of Spanish troops arriving to the Dominican Republic ultimately intimidated Haiti President Geffard. To cement the disengagement from Haiti, on July 1861 the Spanish Navy anchored their colonial fleet in Port-au-Prince. Nevertheless, rebel access to the border regions of Haiti although not condoned, was not impeded as they conducted guerrilla hit and run tactics and retreating towards Haiti.⁷⁴

The Spanish received continued support from the colonies of Puerto Rico and Cuba during the Restoration War in the way of troops, weapons, and equipment.⁷⁵ Wounded soldiers were sent to Puerto Rico for care. However as the war evolved, Spain lost interest and stopped sending reinforcements to the Dominican Republic.⁷⁶

In Puerto Rico, external support from foreign fighters was readily apparent but minimal. Amongst the most notable foreign fighters, was Venezuelan Manuel Rojas, owner of the hacienda where the main body of the Lares insurrection assembled and the military leader of the revolution American Mathias Bruckman.⁷⁷ Support lobbied by exiled leaders from the Dominican Republic never materialized, nor expected support from Venezuela and Mexico.

In Cuba, political exiles from the Dominican Republic who had fought the Spaniards during the Restoration War joined the fight.⁷⁸ Monetary support was continuously collected in New York by the reformers and supplies were steadily shipped by sea from the United States. For example, the Spanish off the coast of Oriente intercepted a rebel ship named the *Virginus*. The ship's American captain, as well as other American and British citizens were executed due to their collaboration with the rebels.⁷⁹ Eventually support from the United States dwindled down as the war reached its latter years.⁸⁰

The 1868 Spanish Revolution affected the amount of support the Spanish troops received in Cuba and Puerto Rico. It is uncertain what support would have been given to those in Puerto Rico if the insurrection had lasted more than two days. Nevertheless, the first two years of the Ten Years War in Cuba was engaged by mostly in-country Spanish troops or reinforcements coming from Puerto Rico. Eventually, once the Spanish crown was reinstated, the full support of the Spanish came to bear on Cuba.⁸¹

Findings: In the Dominican Republic, the lack of substantial external support for the insurrection did not hamper the rebels. Their previous experience and training permitted the insurgents to slowly bleed out the Spaniards, who in turn had their support from Spain and the colonies suspended. Ultimately, the lack of external support from Spain hampered any counterinsurgency plan of action the Dominican annexationists had.

In Puerto Rico, minimal external support presented in the way of a few foreign fighters was insignificant towards achieving the insurgent goals. At the same time, the Spanish troops did not need any support from the exterior to quell the small insurgency.

In Cuba, external support was pivotal for both parties during the Ten Years War. As the war progressed, the side which had the most support from the exterior had the ultimate upper hand. Even when the rebels had support from the United States and the Caribbean, the Spanish regulars were able to block their lines of communication and starve off the logistical chains.

Strength of the Insurgent Troops

The Dominican army consisted of experienced combatants who cut their teeth during the war of independence against Haiti in 1844 and the subsequent battles through 1861. However, it was far from a professional army. Officers were appointed due to their social status; if you could buy a uniform, you could be an officer. Whereas peasants made up most of the infantry, barefoot and without uniforms.⁸² Nevertheless, in 1844 under the new constitution, mandatory service for all men between 15 and 40 years of age was implemented. The Dominican regular army reached 10,000 men that year.⁸³ Reservists were to report to their local military stations for training once a week. Local militia chiefs became prominent members of their society to the point that they became godfathers of many children. This relationship enabled further recruiting.⁸⁴

During the Restoration War, some Dominican regulars remained in the army, now supporting its new master Spain, but most joined the rebellion to fight the annexation. The Restoration rebel government demanded that all males of 16 years of age or older, joined the insurrection for the good of the fatherland; this resounded on the population and developed into tremendous support and enlistment from the population.⁸⁵

The Spanish dispatched over 10,000 troops from Spain to the Dominican Republic in conjunction with acclimatized troops from Cuba and Puerto Rico.⁸⁶ Over 6,000 soldiers from Cuba and Puerto Rico were garrisoned by midsummer 1861.⁸⁷ In addition to land troops, the Spanish navy anchored 12 ships on Dominican harbors. Regardless of troop numbers, the failure of Spain to gain some ground led to massive desertions from their ranks. Over 20,000 Spanish troops were involved in the war. Of those, 1,000 were killed in action and 9,000 succumbed to disease.⁸⁸

It is estimated that during the *Grito de Lares*, the Puerto Rican rebels numbered around 400 men. Also it is noted that for those 400, there were 12 generals.⁸⁹ Resolve from the rebel troops was tested at Pepino. When the rebels encountered armed resistance, after a few hours of battle, they retreated into the mountains to the disdain of their leaders. The Spanish army had garrisons of 50 to 100 men established in every town with major depots regionally distributed. Overall, the Spanish army was a professional and seasoned force that knew the terrain and environment for the past 300 years.⁹⁰

In Cuba, Creole landowners in Oriente, in conjunction with some lawyers and professionals organized and directed the war, however the bulk of the fighters were peasants, slaves and Chinese workers.⁹¹ The leader of the rebellion, Carlos Manuel Cespedes, studied law in Spain and France thus bringing with him the ideas of the French Revolution.⁹² Cespedes was

exiled to France and then extradited and imprisoned back in Spain, eventually sailing to Cuba where he continued his revolutionary mindset.⁹³ Other leaders such as Antonio Maceo, son of a free black Venezuelan merchant unified both white and black peasants as one group; “aqui no hay negritos ni blanquitos, aqui hay Cubanos (there are no whites or blacks here, just Cubans).”⁹⁴ The rebel Cuban army was initially no match for the well-trained, organized, and equipped Spanish regulars while engaging in conventional tactics. However, once they switched to guerrilla warfare they became virtually unbeatable.⁹⁵ Under Maceo, a company of 250 men decimated a 5,000-man brigade of Spanish regulars.⁹⁶

Initial Spanish troop numbers at the outset of the *Grito de Yara* were around 7,000 men. Captain-General Lersundi, at the time did not consider the rebels from Oriente a threat and concentrated his troops in the prosperous plantation western part of the island. Lersundi's plan left the field open for the rebels to develop a full-blown insurgency. In order to counter Lersundi's blind side, landowners and middle class creoles formed a powerful volunteer militia that by 1869 amounted to 20,000 infantry and 13,500 cavalry.⁹⁷ The Volunteers also attracted a large amount of Spanish mercenaries looking for adventure and easy fortune. Eventually, by 1876, eight years after the outset of the insurrection, Spain reinforced the regulars with 70,000 men across eight commands.⁹⁸ By the end of the war, Spain had deployed over 250,000 men to quench the insurrection.⁹⁹

Increasing numbers of Spanish troops were countered by veterans from foreign wars that provided military leadership, experience, and much needed training for the rebel army. Amongst the veterans were General Manuel de Quesada who had fought in the Mexican-American war, Dominican expats Luis Marcano and Modesto Diaz who would train the rebels on tactics and strategy learned during the Dominican Restoration War and General Federico Cavada, a member

of the United States volunteer service during the U.S. Civil War.¹⁰⁰ Regardless, of the support by the end of the war, the Spanish vastly out-manned the insurgents.

Findings: Troop numbers and experience were a defining factor during all the insurgencies. In the case of the Dominican Republic, rebel and Spanish forces were essentially matched experience wise. Nevertheless, when the Spanish outnumbered the rebels, the rebels were able to adapt and counter the asymmetry by changing tactics. Ultimately, as Spain abandoned their annexation plan, the eventual lack of replacement troops from Spain left those remaining in the Dominican Republic vulnerable and weak against a resolved insurrection.

Puerto Rico's rebels were definitely outnumbered as well as ill prepared. The lack of experience in warfighting made the rebels an easy target for the counterinsurgency forces.

The Cuban insurrection showed two opponents that capitalized on their numbers as the war progressed. Experience from foreign fighters provided the rebels an edge over the Spanish regulars. However, as more and more troops arrived from Spain and their colonies to help the counterinsurgency, the rebels could not even sustain their guerrilla campaign.

Training

The Dominican Republic Restoration War faced two opponents with equal training and experience. Although the Spanish troops arriving in theater had little experience in the Dominican Republic, General Santana and the rest of the annexationists had fought alongside the insurgents. Ironically, General Santana who distinguished himself while battling the Haitians and had become a national hero, now was fighting the insurgency.¹⁰¹ On the rebel side, Gregorio Luperon, a freed slave leader, was the most outstanding leader of the Restoration War and presented a formidable match against Santana.¹⁰²

In Puerto Rico, the rebels received little to no training as many of them were recruited on the days leading to the revolt. Their lack of military training and experience was apparent when confronted by any sort of military force. For example, when the rebels attempted to take Pepino, they were met with Spanish regulars and townsfolk militia. As soon as they took some losses, they disbanded and retreated to the mountains.¹⁰³ On the other hand, the Spanish regulars demonstrated they were a well-trained force.

In Cuba, revolutionary leader Cespedes had spent most of his youth in Spain learning and participating in revolutionary activity. Cespedes eventually assumed the civilian leadership of the insurrection.¹⁰⁴ Dominican General Maximo Gomez assumed the command of the military. His recent experience against the Spanish in the Dominican Restoration war was invaluable toward the Cuban cause. He was a master of guerrilla warfare. Gomez organized and trained the Cuban rebels into highly mobile small units that operated independently and continuously harassed the Spanish troops.¹⁰⁵

Findings: Training and experience of the belligerents played a definitive role in the success of either side. In the case of the Dominican Republic, combatants from each side had the same baseline experience and training at the onset of the Restoration War thus resulting in protracted battle only to be concluded not because of who was better trained but of who could sustain combat longer.

In Puerto Rico, the rebel forces' ignorance of bare basics military tactics and strategy led to their immediate demise against a professional Spanish army,

In Cuba, any lack of military experience on the rebel side was mitigated by training provided by veteran foreign fighters. However, the loyalist Volunteers gave the Spanish an edge over the rebels in numbers and equally pivotal combat experience.

Tactics

Dominican Republic rebels soon adopted guerrilla warfare as their modus operandi. Guerrilla warfare debilitated the Spanish troops. The Dominican revolutionaries submitted the Spaniards to a continuous campaign of hit and run attacks, sabotage and sniper fire. They were able to intercept mule supply trains thus leaving the Spanish soldiers starved of supplies and weapons.¹⁰⁶ The revolutionaries evacuated and burned every town they could not hold, thus leaving the Spanish no way to maintain themselves.¹⁰⁷

There were no great battles during the Restoration War, instead a steady wearing down of the Spanish troops by guerrilla attacks and an incessant plague of tropical diseases. Yellow fever and other diseases devastated the Spanish armies. The rebels capitalized on their illness and harassed the Spanish by inducing sleep deprivation thus not permitting the recovery of their ill.¹⁰⁸ Even the acclimated soldiers from Cuba and Puerto Rico could not stand the wrath of the Dominican diseases.

The Spanish attempted a counterinsurgency. General Jose de la Gandara planned on the occupation of the northern seaports thus cutting off lines of communication of the rebel capital in Santiago from the outside world. The plan did not work as there was no plan to adequately resupply the Spanish troops that would be on the front lines of the rebel stronghold. In addition, the lack of medical treatment options for those forward deployed resulted in the death of over 9,000 men from fevers and smallpox.¹⁰⁹

Puerto Rico's rebel tactics were limited to the clandestine recruiting and organizing of the rebel forces, no military tactics were devised or executed. On the other hand, the Spanish executed the Gamir counterinsurgency plan. This plan was put in effect immediately after the 23 September revolt in Lares. Consisting of cutting off the insurgents from external lines of

communication, the Spanish troops occupied every seaport. In addition, they massed troops from San Juan into the rebel concentrations in the west of the island encircling them from every direction. The plan proved very efficient as by 27 September they had captured 475 insurgents and effectively ended the insurrection.¹¹⁰

Cuban rebels demonstrated to be masters of guerrilla tactics. Rebels infiltrated the eastern part of the island and burned down sugar plantations in order to affect economically the Spanish central government.¹¹¹ In addition, by burning down the plantations the rebels freed the slave workers, many of which then joined the insurrection. As external support dwindled, smaller units were used infiltrate behind Spanish lines to conduct sabotage missions. However, the outpouring of Spanish reinforcements proved too much for the shrinking rebel force, much of it that had to flee to Jamaica.

The Spanish loyalist Volunteers utilized a policy of ruthless extermination.¹¹² Independently from the regular army, the Volunteers declared their version of martial law on the eastern part of the island to crush the insurrection. Those who failed to cooperate with the Volunteers were summarily executed. Although at first the Spanish regulars distanced themselves from the Volunteers, as the insurrection got out of control, the Spanish government acquiesced to the Volunteers and followed their tactics. The Spanish generals fought the rebel guerrillas by defense of cities, imposing martial law and by building a fortified *trocha* (ditch) that ran the width of the island at the narrowest point, thus separating the Oriente region from the rest of the island.¹¹³ Furthermore, the use of concentration camps in Santiago, Manzanillo, Bayamo and Puerto Principe, provided a reminder of the constant brutality that could be levied against inhabitants and would be rebels.¹¹⁴

Findings: Guerrilla tactics were utilized by both Dominican and Cuban insurgents. Similar methods of hit-and-run, sniping and sabotage proved very effective against Spanish regulars. The Puerto Rican rebels, who had no training and limited experience did not demonstrate any tactics. Spanish regulars utilized similar counterinsurgency tactics against all three rebel groups. Concentrating on the control of sea lines of communication to starve off logistic lines to the rebels, they were effective against the Cubans and Puerto Ricans. However, the limited number of naval assets made available to those in the Dominican Republic proved ineffective against the Dominican rebels. The defining tactic used against the Cuban rebels was done by the Spanish loyalist Volunteers. Their brutal extermination campaign in conjunction to the use of concentration camps physically and psychologically affected the insurgents.

Weapons

At the beginning of the Dominican Restoration war, the revolutionaries were mostly armed with machetes. Nevertheless, their experience and training led them to overpower more heavily armed Spanish forces eventually taking over Spanish weapon depots. For example in 1863 the rebels captured a depot of supplies containing, 70 mules, 500 arms, 2 cannons, 60,000 rounds of ammunition.¹¹⁵

During the Puerto Rican *Grito de Lares*, some infantry had rifles and shotguns with limited ammunition and the cavalry had sabres and some handguns.¹¹⁶ Machetes and other farming equipment were the preponderance of weaponry. In both Dominican and Puerto Rican insurgencies, the Spanish regulars outgunned the rebels.

In the early stages of the Cuban Ten Years War, rebels mostly equipped with machetes became experts at close quarters combat, however the Volunteers were as proficient wielding the weapon.¹¹⁷ Other weaponry included muzzle loading rifles and rusty revolvers. Home-made

incendiary devices such as kerosene soaked cotton balls were used during envelopments of depots and Spanish barracks.¹¹⁸ The rebels were also adept on making improvised cartridges for their rifles, made out of paper, sap, and scrap iron. On the other hand, as soon as the monarchy in Spain was reinstated, the crown provided the counterinsurgency with formidable arms. For example, Spain sent 14 warships with Krupp artillery pieces, and a fleet of 50 smaller vessels armed with 400 guns around Cuba in order to minimize the supply chain of the rebels.¹¹⁹

Findings: The Spanish regulars outgunned the rebels on every island. Nevertheless, both Cuban and Dominican insurgencies were able to hold off much better armed opponents for more than five years in the Dominican Republic and almost ten years in Cuba.

Geographic Factors/Sanctuary

As islands, sanctuary was only available in the way of natural barriers. The Dominican Republic's impenetrable cactus brush on the northern and western frontiers made it impossible for the Spanish to chase down the rebels. Haiti's withdrawal of support to the insurgency prevented the rebels from crossing over and fully using Haiti for sanctuary.

Although the island of Puerto Rico is mostly mountainous, the narrowness of the island, being only 35 miles at its widest point did not provide the rebels enough terrain to hide.

There are vast topographical differences between Cuba's west and eastern parts of the island. The Sierra Madre mountain range with its rugged peaks, precipitous valleys, and dense jungles are representative of the Oriente eastern regions. Whereas the western districts of the island are large plains and rolling terrain perfect for agriculture. The topographical features provided the rebels a natural barrier that could be defended when retreating.

Findings: The topographical natural barriers of northern Dominican Republic and western Cuba, provided suitable sanctuary for rebel forces to regroup. Puerto Rico's size and narrowness did not provide the rebels suitable sanctuary.

Conclusion

		Dominican Republic 1861-1865	Puerto Rico 1868	Cuba 1868-1878
Strength of the Cause	Insurgents	Superior	Moderate	Superior
	Population	Superior	Marginal	Superior
External Support		Marginal	Marginal	Superior
Strength of the Insurgent Troops	Numbers	Adequate	Marginal	Adequate
	Experience	Superior	Marginal	Adequate
	Training	Adequate	Marginal	Adequate
	Weapons	Marginal	Minimal	Adequate
Geographic Factors/Sanctuary		Adequate	Marginal	Adequate
Strength of the Counterinsurgency		Superior to Adequate	Superior	Adequate to Superior
		Victory	Defeat	Stalemate

Table 1. Summary of Findings.

The period of 1861 to 1878 provides a rare look on parallel insurgencies happening under the same initial conditions but with different outcomes. Table 1 depicts a summary of the findings of this research paper as it pertains to Galula's basic factors for a successful insurgency. A simple three tiered scale of Marginal-Adequate-Superior describes this author's assessment of the facts from the insurrections. Items ranked as marginal indicate that they barely possessed of each item to sustain a minimal fight. Adequate indicates that a prolonged fight could and was able to be waged against an opponent. Superior indicates that they were as good as or better than their opponents were. The table is oriented towards the rebels; hence the Strength of the Counterinsurgency depicts Superior as a negative.

In the case of Puerto Rico, it is easy to conclude that the rebels had no chance against the Spanish. In almost every aspect, the Puerto Rican insurgency was deficient. Of note was the tepid to negative response of the population towards supporting the insurgency. Furthermore, the superior Spanish forces were able to contain almost immediately the insurgency.

On the other hand, Cuba and the Dominican Republic paint an interesting picture. Based purely on the data represented by Table 1, the Cuban insurgency should have succeeded. All of the factors demonstrate that the insurgent forces were at a minimum adequate for prolonged war. The Ten Years War resulted in the capitulation of the rebel leadership from open armed conflict. Although, major hostilities ended, the independence movement continued until it culminated in the 1895-1898 Cuban War of Independence and the Spanish-American war in 1898, hence a stalemate.

In the case of the Dominican Republic, the data can lead one to believe that the Restoration War was more likely to end in a stalemate or defeat than in rebel victory. The Dominican Republic rebels had marginal external support, marginal weaponry, and a formidable opponent, wagging an organized counterinsurgency. Nevertheless, the inferior insurgent forces outlasted the Spanish regulars and after five years of war, regained their independence.

If we compare the Cuban and Dominican insurgencies, purely basing it on the Galula model, the Dominican rebels should have lost and the Cubans should have won. Out of five factors, the Cuban insurgency was a favorable four-out of-five, the Dominican insurgency had a slightly less favorable outcome of three-out of-five. The results show that perhaps that not all factors are of equal value and that perhaps some factors bring more weight to the insurgency than others.

The purpose of this paper was to pinpoint a single central factor that ultimately determined the success of an insurgency. The initial argument singled out that military experience and or military training would inevitably prove to be the defining factor. Although it was demonstrated that it was an important factor, it did not surface as the determining factor. Instead, one can more easily attribute that the success of an insurgency does not necessarily lie on the insurgent, but on the counterinsurgent. On all three insurrections, if the Spanish troops executed counterinsurgency plans, backed up by a robust logistical mechanism, they were able to crush the insurrections. In the Dominican Republic, the fade away of support from Spain drained the counterinsurgency thus enabling the rebels. In Puerto Rico, the robust Gamir plan crushed the insurrection almost immediately. Finally, in Cuba, the eventual surge of troops and logistical supplies proved too much for the insurgents who capitulated in laying down their arms. Therefore, it is plausible that one can forecast the outcome of an insurgency based on the strength and effectiveness of the counterinsurgent force. As demonstrated by the Cuban insurgency, a well-trained, organized, equipped insurgency with natural and permanent sanctuary can be defeated by an effective counterinsurgent force.

This paper was limited in scope to a very specific period that placed belligerents under similar conditions against the same opponent. For the insurgencies in the Spanish Caribbean, it would be prudent to extend this paper to include the Cuban War of Independence in order to contrast the results from the 1868-1878 war to the 1895-1898 war. For other insurgencies around the world, the concept of analyzing insurgencies side by side based on Galula's principles is simple enough to practice in a larger scale and complex enough to provide military planners a strategic bird's eye view of multiple insurgencies.

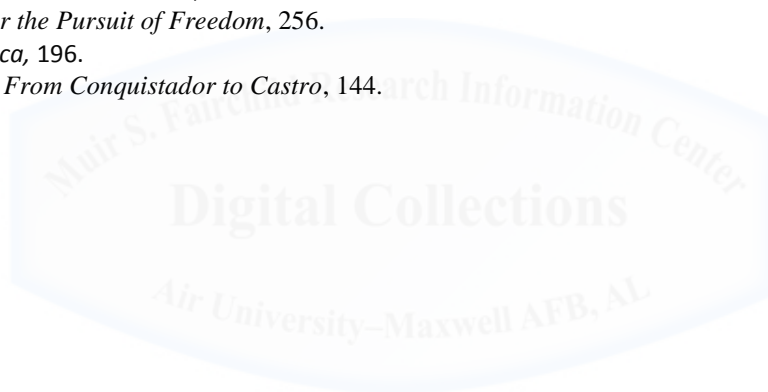
End Notes

(All endnotes appear in shortened form. For full details, see the appropriate entry in the bibliography.)

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- ⁸³ Peguero, *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic*, 18.
- ⁸⁴ Peguero, *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic*, 19.
- ⁸⁵ Peguero, *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic*, 20.
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- ⁸⁷ Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard*, 262.
- ⁸⁸ Rodman, *Quisqueya: A History of the Dominican Republic*, 81.
- ⁸⁹ Negroni, *Historia Militar de Puerto Rico*, 299.
- ⁹⁰ Negroni, *Historia Militar de Puerto Rico*, 299.
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- ⁹² Marshall, *Cuba Libre: Breaking the Chains?*, 23.
- ⁹³ Simmons, *Cuba: From Conquistador to Castro*, 140..
- ⁹⁴ Marshall, *Cuba Libre: Breaking the Chains?*, 24.
- ⁹⁵ Marshall, *Cuba Libre: Breaking the Chains?*, 24.
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- ⁹⁸ Thomas, *Cuba, or the Pursuit of Freedom*, 266.
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- ¹⁰⁰ Simmons, *Cuba: From Conquistador to Castro*, 141.
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- ¹⁰⁵ Suchliki, *Cuba: From Columbus to Castro*, 69.
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- ¹⁰⁹ Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard*, 275.
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- ¹¹¹ Suchliki, *Cuba: From Columbus to Castro*, 69.
- ¹¹² Simmons, *Cuba: From Conquistador to Castro*, 142.
- ¹¹³ Thomas, *Cuba, or the Pursuit of Freedom*, 260.
- ¹¹⁴ Thomas, *Cuba, or the Pursuit of Freedom*, 256.
- ¹¹⁵ Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard*, 263.
- ¹¹⁶ de Navascues, "Parte de la Alcaldia," 499.
- ¹¹⁷ Thomas, *Cuba, or the Pursuit of Freedom*, 256.
- ¹¹⁸ Marti, *Our America*, 196.
- ¹¹⁹ Simmons, *Cuba: From Conquistador to Castro*, 144.



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