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# The Allure of Technology: Photographs, Statistics and the Elusive Female Criminal in 1930s Cuba

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In 1929, a book entitled *La delincuencia femenina en Cuba (Female Delinquency in Cuba)* presented its readers with an unprecedented collection of photographs of incarcerated women. Its author, Cuban criminologist Israel Castellanos, had assembled 400 images, from the front and in profile, of women convicted of crimes and serving sentences in Havana's prison. He arranged them in alphabetical order: the faces of hundreds of women of all ages, deemed 'black', 'white' or 'mestiza' by the anonymous authors of the accompanying captions, filled page after page of the book. Castellanos also provided statistics on the number, frequency and types of crimes committed, and listed the educational and marital status of women whose lives had intersected at one time or another with Cuba's criminal justice system.<sup>1</sup> In two volumes, the first of which bears a dedication to Gerardo Machado, president of Cuba at the time of publication, this book announces its aspiration to be the most complete, up-to-date pronouncement on criminology's neglected arena, female delinquency.

This is an unusual text in several ways. Among dozens of criminological studies published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, very few had focused on female criminality.<sup>2</sup> The relative lack of interest derived from a presumed weakness of the female propensity to crime. Most criminologists subscribed to views of crime as principally a male enterprise, understanding women as occasional, and not terribly interesting, offenders. At the same time, narratives about female criminality were very much part of popular and official discourses in Latin America as well as Europe and North America. Women as prostitutes, hysterics, committers of infanticide and shoplifters were the targets of reform movements, the stars of the tabloid press and the subjects of psychoanalytic theory.<sup>3</sup> While gender, morality and criminality were in some ways deeply implicated in one another, criminologists of the early twentieth century paid very little attention to the category of the female criminal. Castellanos's study reflects this contradictory phenomenon as the lone text on female delinquency in Cuba even as it affirms that the subject merited close attention.<sup>4</sup>

It is the staggering amount of photography and statistical charts and graphs, however, which make these volumes so unusual for a criminological text. Abroad, both

Cesare Lombroso and W. I. Thomas had included photographs and statistics in their work, but not to the extent found in Castellanos's volumes. Closer to home, Havana police chief Rafael Roche y Monteagudo's *La policía y sus misterios en Cuba* (*The Police and their Mysteries in Cuba*) (1925) and renowned Cuban criminologist and ethnographer Fernando Ortiz's book on 'black witches', *La hampa afro-cubana: Los negros brujos (apuntes para un estudio de etnología criminal)* (*The Afro-Cuban Underworld: Black Witches*, originally published in 1906 and reissued in 1917), included photographs, but far fewer in number, and of very few women.<sup>5</sup> Castellanos himself had written extensively on various aspects of physiognomy and anthropometry and their relationship to criminality, but he had never before used so many images in his texts.<sup>6</sup>

Collectively, the statistics and photographs pose the question of their purpose in the text. Were they intended to confirm and illustrate Castellanos's assertions about female criminality? Were they included in order to lend empirical weight to the text, placed there with an understanding of photography as truth and with confidence in the capacities of technologies of measuring and seeing to provide new and definitive evidence in support of criminological endeavours? The notion of complicity offers one way to understand the use of photography and statistics in criminology. As John Tagg has argued, photography was introduced to such institutions of social control as the police and prisons as a complicit partner that reinforced emerging regimes of knowledge and power.<sup>7</sup> Institutions were able to claim greater objectivity and neutrality in the representation of criminals or delinquents and expand their capacities for surveillance, repression and control.<sup>8</sup> However, a closer look at the statistics and photographs in Castellanos's volumes suggests that they are much more, and much messier, than straightforward reflections or illustrations of Castellanos's claims about female criminality. If this is the case, then the notion of complicity may tell part of the story, but it does not do justice to the multiple relationships among text, images and numbers. In dialogue with both recent works on gender and criminality and on photography, this essay seeks to problematise notions of the coherence of a repressive state apparatus.<sup>9</sup> More generally, it seeks to understand modernity and the reach of visual and state regimes as incomplete projects by arguing that the very tools and technologies – namely, photography and statistics – that were meant to keep criminology at the cutting edge of modernity undermined its power as a totalising discourse. I argue that Castellanos was more fascinated by the tools and their implementation than he was in reinforcing or illustrating criminological theories. In the end, statistics and photography proved insufficient tools, as they only revealed (for Castellanos) a bewildering array of criminal women, rather than serving to encase them into a series of well-defined types.

Castellanos became Cuba's most powerful criminologist, in part as the result of political developments in republican Cuba. President Gerardo Machado, elected in 1924 on a wave of nationalist and anti-imperialist sentiment, elaborated a programme meant to both buttress nationalism and accelerate modernisation in Cuba.<sup>10</sup> His plans included support and encouragement of scientific and social scientific activity. In a speech delineating his ambitions for Cuba, the production of knowledge occupied a prominent role: 'We must stimulate literary and scientific production . . . since we have received so much knowledge from the rest of the world, we must participate and reciprocate with our own contributions'.<sup>11</sup> More specifically, he looked to those social

scientific endeavours that had practical application and could be put to use as part of a particular modernising project.

Of the social sciences, criminology enjoyed the most support from Machado's administration. Part of the reason for this interest was criminology's utility in keeping track of and repressing political opponents. But criminology also met Machado's ambitions to propel Cuba into the community of modern nations. Criminology was one of the social sciences most engaged in developing new technologies and updating its theoretical foundations. In implementing his modernising vision, Machado asked Fernando Ortiz, a lawyer and politician as well as ethnographer, to write a proposal to replace the penal code, in use since the colonial era, with a new one that incorporated all the newest scientific theories. Ortiz complied and in 1926 created a proposal informed by the assumptions of Italian criminology and its recent shift of focus onto the criminal rather than the crime.<sup>12</sup> More effective repression of crime required, according to Ortiz, thorough analysis of physical and psychological characteristics rather than (as had been previously thought), social factors. Ortiz's proposal, presented to congress later that year, laid out plans for the creation of new institutions in which these studies would take place. Ortiz envisioned a centralised *Junta Nacional de Prevención y Represión de la Delincuencia* (National Committee for the Prevention and Repression of Crime), staffed by government officials and experts, whose role it would be to direct not just the repression of crime, but also the acquisition of knowledge. Since the criminal was at the centre of cutting-edge criminological theory, it would be necessary to study him or her carefully. A significant aspect of the proposal involved the collection and systematisation of information, including statistics, measurements and 'psychological' data.<sup>13</sup>

If Ortiz was the first to suggest these reforms in the penal system, his friend and colleague Israel Castellanos would become fully involved in their implementation, as director of the evolving penal apparatus and devoted student of the delinquent body. In 1921, he was appointed director of the Cuban National Bureau of Identification, an institution that had been established in 1909 for the purpose of identifying criminals. By 1928, he was also director of the Laboratory of Penitentiary Anthropology, a laboratory created as part of Machado's project of penal reform and designed to gather, record and analyse anthropological data from inmates. He would remain at this post, weathering the political turmoil of the 1930s (not without twice resigning after facing considerable opposition) until the end of 1958, when he was forced to flee the country as nationalist revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro brought Fulgencio Batista's regime to an end.<sup>14</sup> Castellanos clearly supported and was supported by both Machado and Batista, for it was only when their power was imperilled that his faltered as well. He must have been deeply implicated in the many campaigns of surveillance and repression during both Machado's and Batista's regimes. His precise role and influence are difficult to gauge, due to the difficulty of finding police or penitentiary records for this period. His prolific writings, however, demonstrate his lasting interest in the biological and measurable sources of criminality.<sup>15</sup>

At the age of seventeen, Castellanos had been introduced to the theories of Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso, which were premised on linking criminal tendencies to biological traits. He claimed to have been so taken with Lombroso's claims about discerning criminality through physiognomy that he immediately decided to dedicate his life to the study of positivist criminology.<sup>16</sup> As part of this endeavour he embarked

on a series of empirical studies, obtaining permission to work in jails, insane asylums and juvenile correctional centres where he managed to 'weigh jaws, measure heads, collect photographs, study tattoos, take fingerprints and investigate every aspect of the human body'.<sup>17</sup> His interest in criminal anthropology became a fascination with the possibility of using technology to render and represent human bodies in their totality.

The organising principle of Castellanos's long and variable career was an ambition to map and archive Cuban bodies through statistics, measurements, fingerprints and blood analyses.<sup>18</sup> Any piece of a body could be plumbed for the truths it might reveal. His efforts to create a system of racial classification, for instance, led him to the study of hair. Racial mixture, to which he referred interchangeably as *mestizaje* or *mulatez*, had produced such a range of skin colours, he argued, that it had become difficult to read race (which he understood in biologically determinist terms) using only that criterion.<sup>19</sup> It was necessary, therefore, to look beyond skin colour to other physical characteristics that might more accurately reflect a person's racial origins. According to the recent claims of anthropologists, hair was one such physical trait: the colour, thickness and degree of curl could all be measured and 'read' to reveal a person's racial origins. A study of hair, therefore, would produce the kind of certainty he sought. This became the impetus for the strange but thorough *El pelo en los Cubanos (The Hair of Cubans)* (1933), which includes hundreds of pages on hair classification, including diagrams, charts and graphs. This, and other publications, were well received by the Cuban, European and Latin American scientific establishments. He was a member of scientific associations in Madrid, Paris, Vienna, Mexico, Lima and Argentina, and he published in Spanish and Italian criminological journals. In Cuba, he became director of the journal *Vida Nueva*, to which he contributed articles on race, criminality and degeneration.<sup>20</sup>

### The female subject

The addition of women to Castellanos's list of subjects worthy of study demands explanation. His own tautological and somewhat elusive justification, with which he introduces the volumes, centres on his status at the head of Cuba's penal institutions. Additionally, he avowed the superiority of Cuban women: he wanted 'to prove, with all the resources of positivist and experimental science, that Cuban women are rarely delinquent, and that they commit crimes with greater rarity than in any other part of the planet'. If it seems contradictory to devote a text on delinquency to a group that is rarely delinquent, attention to electoral politics complicates the context even further. Recently, women had entered the political arena in unprecedented ways.<sup>21</sup>

Cuba's first women's organisation, the Club Femenino de Cuba (Women's Club of Cuba), had been founded in 1917. Over the next decade women's organisations became more visible as a result of the National Women's Congresses in 1923 and 1925, during which they initiated a series of projects and campaigns, many of which, such as proposals to eliminate 'white slavery', were responses to anxieties about marginal women. Despite the participants' many ideological and cultural differences, one of the few issues upon which all women's groups agreed at the first congress of 1923 was the adoption of female suffrage.<sup>22</sup> Gaining access to the vote and to electoral politics had become by 1925 a central demand of most women's groups. Mostly white and

upper-class, these Cuban women wanted to participate in the decisions being made about their less fortunate sisters.

The campaign for female suffrage received a boost from political contingencies. Machado had been elected by appealing to many constituencies even as he sought to repress others, such as labour. Once in office he sought out traditionally marginalised groups and created new bases of mass support to counteract his alienation of organised labour.<sup>23</sup> In 1925, at the Second National Women's Congress, he declared his support for female suffrage, promising that if re-elected he would ensure that women received the vote.<sup>24</sup>

Two years later, Machado convoked a constitutional assembly in order to extend his term and allow him to seek re-election. Critics, dismayed at what they perceived as a rapid transformation from liberal nationalist to autocratic dictator, raised vociferous protests.<sup>25</sup> Machado, in turn, responded by both terrorising opponents and insisting on his commitment to democracy. According to Lynn Stoner, 'women's suffrage was touted as evidence that in 1934 Machado would hold elections in which all Cubans could participate'.<sup>26</sup> Thus, as Machado drew women's suffrage into controversies about his own autocratic tendencies, the issue came to occupy a central place in political debate. For Castellanos, the lucky coincidence between his findings and his president's political scheme allowed him to agree that the rate of female criminality in Cuba was so low that women did indeed deserve the vote. But this is a muted aspect of the text: the assertion about female suffrage is articulated almost as an afterthought, through a text written years earlier by another Cuban social scientist, Cristobal de la Guardia, whom he cites without comment.<sup>27</sup>

At the same time, a heightened campaign against prostitution in the 1920s had rendered female criminality more publicly visible. Prostitution in Cuba was not illegal during this period, but women engaged in the marketing of sex could be convicted for 'public scandal' or 'corruption of minors' if their activities were deemed too publicly disruptive or involved girls under eighteen years of age. For the most part, police had refrained from enforcing these regulations, while the Departments of Sanitation and Welfare were more interested in controlling disease or 'rehabilitating' prostitutes. Beginning in 1925, however, Havana police chief R. Zayas Bazán initiated a campaign against prostitution, using the regulations against 'public scandal', 'moral offences' and 'lack of modesty' to arrest women throughout the city.<sup>28</sup>

Through electoral politics, activism and policing, women had become objects and subjects of contention in the early 1920s. At issue and underlying all of these phenomena were questions about women's capacity for citizenship. The adoption of universal male suffrage in 1902, which enfranchised for the first time former slaves and their descendants, similarly inspired a profusion of social scientific examinations of black male criminality and their potential for reform. The impetus to produce knowledge about Cuban women coincided with both debates about female suffrage and the intensified anti-prostitution campaign.<sup>29</sup> As Castellanos himself observed, one of the reasons he had been able to produce such a voluminous study was his growing database of incarcerated women.<sup>30</sup>

Castellanos's work on female delinquency was in many ways in step with broader trends in criminology. Although female criminality was a marginalised field, the few works that did engage with the subject worked with the same assumptions and theoretical perspectives as Castellanos did. One of the earliest texts, Lombroso's *The Female*

*Offender* (1890), linked female criminality to biological essences, particularly sexuality, and argued for a number of types of criminal. For Lombroso, female criminals were difficult to distinguish from non-criminal women because all women were inferior and immoral. Women were also a more homogeneous category than men: 'even the female criminal is monotonous and uniform, compared to her male companion, just as woman is in general inferior to man'.<sup>31</sup> Lombroso had been much criticised, particularly for his claims about the direct relationship between physiognomy and particular criminal type, and he had in fact tempered his claims over time. Yet the few criminological works that focused on women held to many of his earlier assumptions about the direct relationship between bodies and behaviour.<sup>32</sup> In Latin America, Lombrosian theory informed the institutionalisation of criminology in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, as well as in Cuba.<sup>33</sup> Castellanos rooted much of his work in the Lombrosian faith in biology as code and key to character.<sup>34</sup> He was well rewarded for doing so: Castellanos received the Lombroso Prize for the best work in criminal anthropology sponsored by the Italian journal *Archivio di Antropologia Criminale, Psichiatria e Medicina Legale* (*Archives of Criminal Anthropology, Psychiatry and Legal Medicine*). As the first recipient of the Lombroso Prize in the Americas, Castellanos was recognised as an important heir and propagator of the criminologist's theories and methods.<sup>35</sup>

But neither the dialogue with criminological theory nor the immediate political context are sufficient for understanding the entirety of this text, for they do not provide the justification for, or demand the inclusion of, hundreds of pages of statistics and photographs. At stake in including these, beyond the collective scientific project of explaining female delinquency or the state project of repression, was Castellanos's own interest in and insistence on inhabiting the technological cutting edge.

## The numbers

*La delincuencia femenina* opens not with an account of crime in Cuba, nor a description of female delinquency, but with an epistemological reflection on the history of statistics, asking on the first page, 'When did the quantification of things, persons and events concerning Cuba begin?'<sup>36</sup> Castellanos invokes Alphonse Bertillon's 'happy concept' of statistics and uses the first part of the book to demonstrate his devotion to Bertillon's identification programme. As director of the Identification Bureau of the Paris Prefecture of Police, Bertillon had in the late nineteenth century developed a system of identification for criminals. This involved combining photography, statistics, anthropometry and a precise vocabulary of physiognomy. A file including all these different modes of representation would be created for each criminal. They were to be photographed from the front and profile, using a standardised configuration of lighting, and distance between camera and subject. In addition, they would be submitted to a series of anthropometric measurements. To complete the image, a 'spoken portrait' would be created, in which the analyst described the subject according to specific physiognomic vocabularies. Bertillon's idea was that through these multiple representations each individual could be filed precisely and found easily.<sup>37</sup> Underlying Bertillon's programme was a reliance on the relatively new science of statistics, as developed by Adolphe Quetelet.<sup>38</sup> Clearly inspired by both Bertillon's and Quetelet's visions, Castellanos set out to incorporate them into his work. The first thing to do was to come to an understanding of female criminality through statistics.<sup>39</sup>

According to Castellanos, the penal system had utterly failed to create any kind of systematic archive and instead produced a series of haphazard, incomplete numerical renditions of crime. He lamented the unsystematic approach to counting and classifying that had characterised Cuba in both the colonial and the national periods. Statistics on criminality had not been collected continuously, and no studies of crime used the same methods or categories of analysis. Despite this unsatisfactory collection of numbers and data, Castellanos claimed that a definitive pattern emerged with regards to female delinquency, namely, that it was very low. According to all available information, Cuban women demonstrated low delinquency rates when compared to both Cuban men and to women in other parts of the world.

The remainder of the text includes a series of approaches to the phenomenon of female criminality. Castellanos uses demographic and historical evidence for his claims, and enumerates the male-to-female ratios in Cuba before proceeding to an account of Cuba's history and brief speculation about the rate of increase in criminality in wartime or periods of general unrest. This is followed by an inconclusive discussion of different theories of female criminality. After briefly invoking the conclusions of prominent French and Italian criminologists including Lombroso (women are inferior physically), Gabriel Tarde (women are superior morally) and Colajanni (economic and social conditions are most important), he drops the discussion and returns to his 'resources of positivist and experimental science'. What is needed, he argues, are more and better statistics.<sup>40</sup>

The text then turns to a methodological discussion and description of the sources he used for his own investigations. In much greater detail than in the previous theoretical discussions, he describes the nature and utility of the three types of document he had used as sources: the *ficha dactiloscópica* (fingerprint record), the *prontuario u hoja histórico penal* (record of penal history) and the *ficha inquisitiva* (identification record), all inspired by Bertillon.<sup>41</sup> The *ficha dactiloscópica* recorded all inmates' fingerprints. The *hoja histórico penal* contained specific biographic and physical data, including race, civil status, age, profession, level of education and 'anthropological data' including descriptions of hair, nose, ears, skin tone and tattoos. This sheet also listed all previous infractions. Finally the *ficha inquisitiva* included a photograph and some of the same data as the *hoja histórico penal*.

Castellanos proudly argued that his was the most thorough collection of data in the Spanish-speaking world:

We believe also that this is the first work of its kind published in Spanish America, and that none of the other works of this kind, either in Europe or the Americas have used such complete data or used better techniques for gathering exact numbers and attaining the most realistic reproduction of female delinquency in a country.<sup>42</sup>

The documents were useful in the first instance for their thorough accounting of criminal bodies. Second, and perhaps more important, was their utility as signals to the international scientific community of the accomplishments of Cuban criminology.

The tension between Castellanos's desire to convince the reader of the importance and truth of statistics, and his own frustration with the shortcomings of his data, permeates the text. The female body and some of its physical characteristics would evade the statisticians' grasp – the *hojas*, though they revealed much, could not map women's

bodies as thoroughly as he thought necessary. Despite his enthusiasm for his statistics and data-gathering enterprises, the more deeply he probed the possibilities of recording female criminality, the more he expressed doubts about the power of those methods to provide an accurate rendition of female criminality.

Race, for him one of the most important factors in analysing criminality, proved particularly difficult to contain within the statistical method. The question of race and its relationship to criminality, he argued, was unique to the Americas (and something from which Europe was happily exempt), and ought to be studied in comparative context. It was thus the responsibility of Latin American criminologists to provide accurate information about the racial underpinnings of delinquency. But race proved elusive.

In other works, such as *La brujería y ñañiguismo en Cuba (Witchcraft and Ñañiguismo in Cuba)*<sup>43</sup> as well as many articles, Castellanos had demonstrated his conviction of the connection between race and criminality. Here he introduced his arguments about the 'scientific truth' of *mestizaje*. He resisted what he deemed North American racial puritanical tendencies, which tended to hide scientific truths by denying *mestizaje* and relying on a binary racial system, and insisted on including the *mestiza* in his racial categorisations. Moreover, the *mestiza* was important to his scheme because she had the highest rate of criminality when it came to crimes of passion: Cuban *mulatas*, he argued, were the 'priestesses of native love' ('sacerdotisa del amor criollo') and so displayed the highest rates of crimes related to sexuality.<sup>44</sup>

Yet attempts to classify women's bodies made his theories contradictory. He argued, for instance, not only that *mulatas* had the highest rates of criminality, but also that criminality increased in proportion to darkness of skin. Both of these could not be true at the same time. He solved this (or made a greater mess) by arguing that while Cuban blacks were less prone to delinquency, immigrants from nearby Jamaica and Haiti were more so, and it was thus foreigners who accounted for the high rates of criminality among black women. In the end, racial determinism broke down in the face of gender stereotypes and national chauvinism.<sup>45</sup> Blackness, deemed by Castellanos to be one of the most consistent signals of criminality, was not so consistent after all. Black Cuban women were, according to him, less criminal than their Antillean counterparts, as well as their lighter-skinned but dangerously sexualised *mulata* neighbours. Furthermore, blackness turned out to be a difficult thing to capture statistically. Although Castellanos considered *mestizaje* to be a tangible scientific fact, he believed that most technicians were not properly trained in identification, and women who were marked as *mulata* appeared as 'black' (*negra*) in subsequent files, or women marked as 'white' in some records (*blanca*) were deemed *mulata* in others. The *hojas*, he had to admit, were not always reliable with regard to race.

When Castellanos turned to female reproductive functions, he again acknowledged that statistics and *hojas* had proved to be particularly limited. In an attempt to offer an explanation for relatively high rates of petty crime compared to low rates of violent crime, he brings up the significance of 'exogamous' or 'physical and anthropological' factors.<sup>46</sup> Drawing from the criminological assumptions that linked 'physical factors' such as menstrual cycles, pregnancy or menopause to proclivities towards criminal behaviour, he asserted the need for those to be reflected in statistics. Unfortunately, since no one had ever thought to include questions about reproductive functions on any of the forms, that information would never form part of his criminological analyses.



Castellanos's hope for the capacity of numbers to fix and demonstrate criminological truths faltered with his admission of their failure to capture the entirety of female bodies. The first volume ends on an ambiguous note: statistics could demonstrate incontrovertible evidence of Cuban women's aversion to delinquency. But they could not provide a reason for this phenomenon, nor totally encompass that which they purported to count. Perhaps Castellanos found this disappointing, or perhaps he found it the most compelling of justifications of his calls for greater precision and better science in the work of those he directed and supervised. If one of his aims as a criminologist was to reform criminals, another was the re-education of his own technicians.

## The pictures

We return to the photographs. The act of reproducing the images of hundreds of incarcerated women seems aimed at rendering the women more knowable. In the first volume, Castellanos had counted them, written about them and integrated them into various assertions and conclusions about how representative they were. The photographs, which take up the second volume, would provide more data and information, and thus contribute to the production of knowledge about female delinquency in Cuba. As Walter Benjamin wrote of the reproduction of images, 'every day the urge grows stronger to get hold of an object at very close range by way of its likeness, its reproduction'.<sup>47</sup> To what end? In the service of the state, photographs serve as mechanisms of surveillance.<sup>48</sup> This characterisation is especially apt when the state is engaged in projects designed to make its citizens more 'legible', as would be the case here, amid the reform of the Cuban penal system.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, as the criminological theory to which Castellanos subscribed urged the analysis and differentiation of criminals into distinct types, classification and categorisation, aided by visual evidence, formed part of the project of legibility, or knowability.

Certainly these are relevant ways to understand the photographs. The women are caught in still photographs in a way that echoes the intentions of criminology and the penal apparatus. They have been 'seized' and are made available to the viewer for surveillance, inspection and, implicitly, judgement. The mere presentation of 'mug shots' casts suspicion on them, as Bertillon's convention of photographing criminals from the front and in profile within a confined space had been widely adopted by many penal institutions in Europe and the Americas.<sup>50</sup>

Yet the view that photography allowed institutions of surveillance and control to become even more successful instruments of repression breaks down upon closer examination of the photographs themselves. In part due to what Allan Sekula has called the multiplicity and presumed duplicity of the criminal voice, and in part due to the diversity and range of images, this method of producing knowledge challenges the very foundations of criminological theory.<sup>51</sup> If the intention was to represent female delinquents as somehow 'controlled' or at the very least as objectively observed, neutral 'objects', the women themselves made such a reading difficult. In the photographs, the women, far from being neutral objects, are instead elusive and profoundly unknowable subjects. The photographs produce more uncertainty than knowledge, and as such they confound the project of which they form a part.<sup>52</sup>

Roland Barthes's observations about photographs raise two intriguing points. First, he argues that 'whatever the origin and the destination of the message, the photograph

is not simply a product or a channel but also an object endowed with a structural autonomy'.<sup>53</sup> That is, despite the assertions or intentions of criminological theory, photographs might or might not be in step with those conventions. Second, Barthes's observations about captions are instructive. Captions, he argues, reverse the relationship between text and image. While the photo usually illustrates the text, in the case of the caption, the text offers an explanation of the photo. Analysing the photographs therefore requires a complex approach which takes into account the formal qualities, the relationship of caption to image and, more difficult to discern, the expectations of the genre and the subjects' acts of self-presentation.<sup>54</sup>

The circumstances under which these photographs were taken remain opaque to historians. While it is quite certain that these photographs were not taken at the pleasure of the subjects, we have no access to the exchanges that may have taken place among the women, prison officials and photographers. Were they instructed to look at the camera or away from it? Were they allowed to select their clothing and jewellery? Were they photographed upon entry or sometime during their imprisonment? Was posing for the photograph part of a longer process of anthropometric measurement and evaluation? These questions must, for the moment, remain unanswered. But what is significant is that the photographs themselves raise the questions. And those questions turn on the unknowability of the photographed subject. What follows are my own interpretations, but it is precisely the point that they are open to interpretation rather than clearly neutral or easily classifiable.



7.—EVELIA AMPUDIA RODRIGUEZ, o EVELIA AMPUDIA SUAREZ. Negra, natural de Pinar del Rio, 15 años, soltera, sin instrucción. Sentenciada, en 1923, por Desobediencia.

ANTROPOMETRIA: Talla: 1.590 mm. Peso corporal: 55 kilos.

RETRATO HABLADO: Frente: oblicua. Cejas: arqueadas y escasas. Ojos: pardos. Boca: regular. Labios: gruesos. Orejas: ovales.

**Figure 1:** Evelia Ampudia Rodriguez, described as 'black', was sentenced in 1923 for disobedience. Israel Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina en Cuba* (Havana: Imprenta Ojeda, 1929), vol. 3, plate 9 (unpaginated).

One of the most remarkable aspects of the photographs is their expressive quality. Far from taking an expressionless, ‘unreturnable gaze’ most commonly noted in descriptions of photographed criminals, the women in the photographs appear to participate in creating the images.<sup>55</sup> Look, for example, at Evelia Ampudia Rodriguez (Figure 1), sentenced for disobedience, or Gregoria Faure (Figure 2), sentenced in 1922 for homicide. Evelia’s caption tells us that officials had not been able to ascertain her real name. The image hints at an air of defiance, as she looks down her nose rather than straight at the camera or photographer. Her chin is up and she seems almost to be backing away from the camera. In contrast, Gregoria glowers at the camera, her chin down and her body almost leaning in towards the photographer.<sup>56</sup>



00.—GREGORIA FAURE (Exp. 79122, 80619, 97170). Negra, natural de Guantánamo, Oriente. 32 años, casada, sin instrucción. Sentenciada, en 1922, por Homicidio.  
**RETRATO HABLADO:** Frente: vertical. Cejas: arqueadas. Dorsó de la nariz: rectilíneo. Base de la nariz: recta. Boca: regular. Orejas: ovals. Pelo negro y rizado.  
**ANTROPOMETRIA:** Talla: 1.680 mm. Peso corporal: 62 kilos. Constitución: fuerte.

**Figure 2:** Gregoria Faure, described as ‘black’, was sentenced in 1922 for homicide. Israel Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina en Cuba* (Havana: Imprenta Ojeda, 1929), vol. 3, plate 50 (unpaginated).

The photographs reveal a range of facial expressions and poses. Cesarea Allende Fuentes, from Spain, sentenced for robbery, avoids looking at the camera altogether (Figure 3). With her head tilted and her chin dropped, she seems to be signifying contrition. Her lack of jewellery and plain clothing, compared to Evelia and Gregoria, suggest lower social status than theirs. That her *ficha* lacks a ‘spoken portrait’ suggests that perhaps she was not as interesting an anthropological specimen as the other two, or at the very least confirms Castellanos’s complaints about the inconsistency of information gathering.

Other images are more ambiguous. Margarita Pérez, for instance, looks out at her audience with a placid half-smile in the frontal photograph, and lowers her eyes in



13.—CESAREA ALLENDE FUENTES. Blanca, natural de Oviedo, España, 17 años, sirvienta, sin instrucción.  
Sentenciada, en 1920, por Hurto.

**Figure 3:** Cesarea Allende Fuentes was described as a ‘white’ servant, sentenced for robbery in 1920. Israel Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina en Cuba* (Havana: Imprenta Ojeda, 1929), vol. 3, plate 7 (unpaginated).



290.—MARGARITA PEREZ o GREGORIA PEREZ LAGE o GREGORIA PEREZ PEREZ o GREGORIA PEREZ VALDES (a) CHANCHULLO o GOYA (Exp. 23219, 27474, 53377, 95753, 101776). Negra, natural de Güines, Habana, 30 años, soltera, cocinera, sin instrucción.  
Sentenciada, en 1912, por Faltas, Hurto y dos veces por Resistencia; en 1919, por Resistencia y Escándalo; en 1920, por Alteración del órden; en 1926, por Hurto, Atentado y Lesiones.  
RETRATO HABLADO: Pelo: lanoso. Frente: oblicua. Cejas: arqueadas. Dorso de la nariz: rectilíneo. Base de la nariz: recta. Boca: grande. Labios: gruesos. Orejas: ovales.  
ANTROPOMETRIA: Talla: 1.620 mm. Peso corporal: 81 kilos.  
TATUAJES: En el brazo izquierdo: SOY DE JUAN ROMEU. En el brazo izquierdo: ANGELITO CABRERA y otros.

**Figure 4:** Margarita Pérez had many aliases and was sentenced for many offences including scandal, disorderly conduct, robbery and resistance to authority. She is described as ‘black’. Israel Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina en Cuba* (Havana: Imprenta Ojeda, 1929), vol. 3, plate 145 (unpaginated).



248.—RAMONA MERCADO CASTILLO (Exp. 23198). Blanca, natural de España, 41 años, viuda, con instrucción.  
Sentenciada, en 1917, por Perjurio.  
**RETRATO HABLADO:** Frente: vertical. Cejas: arqueadas. Dorso de la nariz: rectilíneo. Base de la nariz: recta. Boca: chica. Labios: finos. Orejas: ovales.

**Figure 5:** Ramona Mercado Castillo was described as ‘white’ and sentenced for perjury in 1917. Israel Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina en Cuba* (Havana: Imprenta Ojeda, 1929), vol. 3, plate 124 (unpaginated).

profile (Figure 4). Her hair is neatly braided, and her clothes and jewellery suggest a certain level of prosperity and concern for her appearance. Ramona Mercado Castillo looks pensive, if not lugubrious (Figure 5). Her glasses and upswept hair create a prim, schoolmarmish image, and her clothes are similarly proper. She may look somewhat forbidding, but she does not have either the facial asymmetry of a ‘common criminal’ or the deceptive beauty of a prostitute, either of which, according to Lombroso, would betray her propensity towards crime.<sup>57</sup> Thus it is through the captions that we learn that Margarita has frequently been at the centre of public scandal (and is probably involved in prostitution), that Ramona has been convicted of perjury. Furthermore, we also learn that Margarita has tattoos, which Lombroso associated with tendencies to criminality. The divergence between caption and image in this case produces uncertainty and unknowability: for all the information, the women remain mysterious.<sup>58</sup>

Finally, María Coureaux’s wistfully tilting head and tired gaze suggest a soulful, pensive character (Figure 6). Again, the frilly blouse and fastidiously neat hair speak of bourgeois gentility rather than a propensity to violence. Yet she has been convicted of parricide. In her case, other details connote a less than genteel existence. The initials *s.o.a.* (*sin otro apellido*, meaning ‘without a second surname’) immediately after her name suggest that she was born out of wedlock. These initials were used in Cuba in two distinct situations, either after the name of a slave or former slave who had been given only one last name – that of her or his owner – or to denote illegitimacy. Either way, *s.o.a.* carried with it the taint of impropriety.<sup>59</sup> Her physical description betrays another potential source of criminality. The term *prognatismo* was very often used by Lombrosian criminologists to describe a prominent jaw, which in their view signalled an atavistic physical type, prone to criminality. Since this was most often used to describe people of African descent, its use in this instance is particularly telling, since in the caption she has been deemed *blanca* or ‘white’. These details allow for a very different

reading of María than the photograph on its own. The caption not only offers information about her unhappy social status, it also hints at her partly African and therefore inherently criminal biological heritage. As Barthes observes, ‘the text loads the image, burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination . . .’ Added to these innocuous or at most ambiguous images, the texts create a system of connotation, constructing the language, both visual and linguistic, by which the female criminal could come to be spoken, and if not understood, at least recognised.<sup>60</sup> To reiterate, without corroborating evidence, especially regarding the aims or intentions of the women themselves, my descriptions are decidedly speculative. The women may have intended for their expressions and attire to be interpreted in other ways, but what is relevant is precisely that the images are ambiguous.



66.—MARIA COUREAUX, s. o. a. Blanca, natural de El Cobre, Oriente, 27 años, con instrucción. Sentenciada, en 1912, por Parricidio.

SOMATOLOGIA: Asimetría, prognatismo y orejas sesiles.

**Figure 6:** Maria Coureaux was described as ‘white’ and sentenced for parricide in 1912. Israel Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina en Cuba* (Havana: Imprenta Ojeda, 1929), vol. 3, plate 33 (unpaginated).

This essay has examined six of 400 photographs. Together, the collection does indeed seem to archive the female criminal, and in that sense it falls within the larger project of encompassing ‘an entire social terrain while positioning individuals within that terrain’.<sup>61</sup> At the same time, this is more of a bewildering array rather than a series of categories, or types. That they are organised in alphabetical order, rather than according to any qualitative classificatory scheme, undermines the criminological assumption that women are a more homogeneous, less differentiated category than men. Rather than displaying the female delinquent as a quantifiable, classifiable type, the photographs suggest that female delinquency is too diverse and too full of unique figures to be organised according to ‘type’. If a set of types were discernible, Castellanos might have dispensed with the hundreds of photographs and offered a few well-chosen examples in the volume. Instead, he made no effort to place them in distinct categories, and he thereby gives the impression of a vast, disparate collection.

Thus, the photographs and their captions suggest both that it is possible to ‘see’ criminality, and that it is very easy to hide it. In contrast to the statistics, which claim

that female criminality scarcely exists in Cuba, these photographs imply that it lurks in unexpected places (or bodies). But *La delincuencia femenina en Cuba* is neither, in the end, a totalising discourse about Virtuous Woman or Immoral Woman. It is rather a contradictory text that celebrates, through statistics, female virtue, even as it creates a gallery, in black and white photographs, of female vice. Swept up in his fascination with the tools of the trade, Castellanos sought to represent female delinquency in as many ways as were available. But by doing so, he inadvertently indicated the difficulties involved in detecting or recognising it. The photographs failed, in the end, to lend themselves to systems of neutral representation or typological classification. Castellanos assembled a text that cannot offer a coherent construction of 'female delinquency'. Instead, the examination of female criminals underscored the inadequacy of criminological categories and their inability to explain or contain contradictions. Indeed, far from rendering the science even more incontrovertible, the numbers and the images highlighted the doubt, inconsistencies and unknowability involved in studying women as criminals. Together the technologies of modern surveillance and the acts of self-presentation by the women themselves wrought disorder on the discipline of criminology. Rather than producing an identifiable and controlled 'female delinquent', Castellanos's *La delincuencia femenina* exploded the very categories it aimed to construct.

## Notes

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Every effort has been made to trace the copyright holders of images reproduced in this article, but where this has proved impossible the publishers would be glad to hear from any person/s in a position to convey information in this regard. Any claims will be settled promptly.

1. Israel Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina en Cuba: Estadísticas judiciales, penitenciarias y clínicas, gráficas criminológicas* (Havana: Imprenta Ojeda, 1929). Volumes of this book available in the United States are marked 'vol. 2' and 'vol. 3', suggesting that this is a three-volume book. However, after extended inquiry and examination of the volumes themselves, I would suggest that there are only two volumes, bound incorrectly. To avoid confusion, I will cite the first volume as 'vol. 2' and the second as 'vol. 3', to maintain consistency with existing bindings.
2. The three most prominent of these were published years apart and on different continents. See Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *The Female Offender*, ed. William Douglas Morrison (New York and London: D. Appleton, 1890); W. I. Thomas, *Sex and Society: Studies in the Social Psychology of Sex* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907); W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl: With Cases and Standpoint for Behavior Analysis* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937).
3. On early criminology dedicated to women, see Dorie Klein, 'The Etiology of Female Crime: A Review of the Literature', in Laura Crites (ed.), *The Female Offender* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1976), pp. 5–31; Frances Heidensohn, *Women and Crime* (London: Macmillan, 1985). For discourses on female criminality, particularly in Latin America, see Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U. S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Eileen Suárez Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870–1920* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Kathleen Bliss, *Compromised Positions: Prostitution, Public Health, and Gender Politics in Revolutionary Mexico City* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); Donna Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991); Ann-Louise Shapiro, *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

4. The Latin American scholarship is extensive. Some examples of the North American literature include: Ricardo Salvatore and Carlos Aguirre (eds), *The Birth of the Penitentiary in Latin America: Essays on Criminology, Prison Reform, and Social Control, 1830–1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996); Ricardo Salvatore, Carlos Aguirre and Gilbert Joseph (eds), *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society since Late Colonial Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001); Lyman Johnson (ed.), *The Problem of Order in Changing Societies: Essays on Crime and Policing in Argentina and Uruguay* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990); Carlos Aguirre and Robert Buffington (eds), *Reconstructing Criminality in Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000); Robert Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen in Modern Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Alexandra Stern, 'Buildings, Boundaries, and Blood: Medicalization and Nation-Building on the U. S.–Mexico Border, 1910–1930', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79 (1999), pp. 41–81; Pablo Piccato, *City of Suspects: Crime in Mexico City, 1900–1931* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).
5. Rafael Roche y Monteagudo, *La policía y sus misterios en Cuba* (Havana: La Moderna Poesía, 1925); Fernando Ortiz, *La hampa afro-cubana: Los negros brujos (apuntes para un estudio de etnología criminal)* (1906; repr. Madrid: Editorial América, 1917).
6. His extensive publications include: Israel Castellanos, *La brujería y el ñañiguismo bajo el punto de vista médico-legal* (Havana: Lloredo, 1916); Israel Castellanos, *Las impresiones digitales de los leprosos* (Havana: Rambla Bouza, 1923); Israel Castellanos, *La talla de los delincuentes en Cuba* (Havana: A. Dorrbecker, 1927); Israel Castellanos, *El pelo en los cubanos* (Havana: Carasa, 1933); Israel Castellanos, *El peso corporal en los delincuentes de Cuba* (Havana: El Siglo XX, A. Muñiz, 1935); Israel Castellanos, *Dactiloscopia clínica* (Havana: La Propagandista, 1935); Israel Castellanos, *Medicina legal y criminología afro-cubanas* (Havana: Molina, 1937); Israel Castellanos, *Los jóvenes delincuentes en Cuba* (Havana: Carasa, 1939).
7. John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (1988; repr. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), p. 74. See also Shapiro, *Breaking the Codes*.
8. Alison Griffiths, *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), ch. 3, and John Tagg, 'Evidence, Truth and Order: A Means of Surveillance', in Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall (eds), *Visual Culture: The Reader* (London: Sage, 1999), pp. 244–73.
9. On gender and criminology, see Donna Guy, 'Girls in Prison: The Role of the Buenos Aires Casa Correccional de Mujeres as an Institution for Child Rescue, 1890–1940', in Salvatore, Aguirre and Joseph (eds), *Crime and Punishment in Latin America*; Piccato, *City of Suspects*; Bliss, *Compromised Positions*. On photography, see special edition of *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84 (2004); Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). On the use of visual imagery in criminology see Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen in Modern Mexico*, ch. 3; Piccato, *City of Suspects*, ch. 3.
10. Louis A. Pérez, Jr, *Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902–1934* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986); Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy* (2nd edn, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Jorge Domínguez, 'Seeking Permission to Build a Nation: Cuban Nationalism and US Response under the First Machado Presidency', *Cuban Studies* 16 (1986), pp. 33–48.
11. Gerardo Machado y Morales, *Declaraciones del General Gerardo Machado y Morales* (Havana: Rambla y Bouza, 1928), pp. 19–20.
12. For more on Ortiz's proposal for penal reform see Alejandra Bronfman, 'Poetry in the Presidio: Toward a Study of *Proyecto de Código Criminal Cubano*', in Mauricio Font and Alfonso Quiroz (eds), *Cuban Counterpoints: The Legacy of Fernando Ortiz* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005), pp. 157–68.
13. 'Ponencia a la Comisión Certificadora', Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Colección Manuscrita Ortiz, Carpeta 356, *Proyectos de leyes*. On Ortiz, see Thomas Bremer, 'The Constitution of Alterity: Fernando Ortiz and the Beginnings of Latin American Ethnography out of the Spirit of Italian Criminology', in Thomas Bremer and Ulrich Fleischmann (eds), *Alternative Cultures in the Caribbean* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 1993), pp. 119–29; Fernando Coronil, 'Introduction' to Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint*, tr. Harriet de Onís (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. ix–lvi; Diana Iznaga, *Transculturación en Fernando Ortiz* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1989); Jorge Ibarra, 'La herencia científica de Fernando Ortiz', *Revista Iberoamericana* 56 (1990), pp. 1339–51; Stephan Palmié, 'Fernando Ortiz and the Cooking of History', *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* 24 (1998), pp. 353–73; Stephan Palmié, *Wizards and Scientists: Explorations in Afro-Cuban Modernity and Tradition* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Ricardo



- Quiza Moreno, 'Fernando Ortiz y su *hampa afrocubana*', in José Piqueras Arenas (ed.), *Diez nuevas miradas de historia de Cuba* (Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 1998), pp. 227–45; Aline Helg, 'Black Men, Racial Stereotyping, and Violence in the U. S. South and Cuba at the Turn of the Century', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42 (2000), pp. 576–604; Alejandra Bronfman, "'En Plena Libertad y Democracia": *Negros Brujos* and the Social Question, 1904–1919', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82 (2002), pp. 549–87; Bronfman, 'Poetry in the Presidio'.
14. On the 1930s see, among others, Justo Carrillo, *Cuba 1933: Students, Yankees, and Soldiers*, tr. Mario Llerena (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami North-South Center, 1994); José Tabares del Real, *La revolución del 30: Sus dos últimos años* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1973); Robert Whitney, *State and Revolution in Cuba: Mass Mobilization and Political Change, 1920–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Pérez-Stable, *The Cuban Revolution*.
  15. Andrés Galera, *Ciencia y delincuencia: El determinismo antropológico en la España del siglo XIX* (Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991), pp. 141–72. For Castellanos's frequent resignations and reappointments see letters from Castellanos to August Vollmer, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, Collection August Vollmer (hereafter CAV), Box 7. On Castellanos see also Palmié, *Wizards and Scientists*; Consuelo Naranjo Orovio and Miguel Angel Puig-Samper, 'Delincuencia y racismo en Cuba: Israel Castellanos vs. Fernando Ortiz', in Rafael Huertas and Carmen Ortiz (eds), *Ciencia y fascismo* (Madrid: Doce Calles, 1998), pp. 11–23.
  16. Israel Castellanos, 'Confidencias de Israel Castellanos, de la Habana', *Higia* 2 (1917), pp. 307–16.
  17. Castellanos cited in Galera, *Ciencia y delincuencia*, p. 146.
  18. On the archival impulse in police work, see Allan Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', *October* 39 (1986), pp. 3–64.
  19. Castellanos used *mestizo* and *mulato* interchangeably to refer to racial mixture among people of European and African descent. In this he differs from other Latin American contexts, in which *mestizaje* refers more commonly to people of mixed European and indigenous descent, while *mulato* refers to European and African racial mixtures.
  20. Several of Castellanos's book-length publications, including *La brujería y ñañiguismo en Cuba* (1916), *La talla de los delincuentes en Cuba* (1927), *El pelo en los cubanos* (1933) and *El peso corporal en los delincuentes de Cuba* (1935) received prizes from the Cuban Academy of Medical, Physical and Natural Sciences, as mentioned in Galera, *Ciencia y delincuencia*; Letters from Castellanos to August Vollmer, CAV, Box 7.
  21. Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina*, vol. 2, p. 38.
  22. K. Lynn Stoner, *From the House to the Streets: The Cuban Woman's Movement for Legal Reform, 1898–1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), ch. 3.
  23. Pérez, *Cuba under the Platt Amendment*; Whitney, *State and Revolution in Cuba*; Jorge Domínguez, *Cuba: Order and Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978); De la Fuente, *A Nation For All*; Ana Cairo Ballester, *El grupo minorista y su tiempo* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1978).
  24. Stoner, *From the House to the Streets*, pp. 65–70. Machado also appealed to Cubans of colour during this period, promoting many to prominent positions in his administration and receiving praise from many *Sociedades de Color*. See De la Fuente, *A Nation for All*; Alejandra Bronfman, *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Whitney, *State and Revolution in Cuba*.
  25. Pérez, *Cuba under the Platt Amendment*; De la Fuente, *A Nation for All*.
  26. Stoner, *From the House to the Streets*, p. 72.
  27. He cites Cristobal de la Guardia writing in 1915: 'this speaks very favourably of Cuban women and reaffirms our belief that they have the right to contribute to our political battles with their votes. Perhaps that would be the solution to many of our problems'. Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina*, vol. 2, p. 26.
  28. Roche y Monteagudo, *La policía y sus misterios en Cuba*, p. 589; Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina*, vol. 2, p. 83. My assessment of prostitution regulations and their enforcement is speculative and tentative. This subject requires further study. For a comparable phenomenon in Puerto Rico, see Findlay, *Imposing Decency*.
  29. Bronfman, *Measures of Equality*, ch. 2. See also Shapiro, *Breaking the Codes* on periods of social unrest providing the impetus for knowledge-production.
  30. Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina*, vol. 2, p. 83.
  31. Lombroso and Ferrero, *The Female Offender*, p. 122.
  32. Klein, 'The Etiology of Female Crime'; Heidensohn, *Women and Crime*. See also Marvin E. Wolfgang, 'Pioneers in Criminology: Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909)', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science* 52 (1961), pp. 361–91.

33. Julia Rodriguez, 'South Atlantic Crossings: Fingerprints, Science, and the State in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina', *American Historical Review* 109 (2004), pp. 387–416; Piccato, *City of Suspects*; James Green, *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Olívia Gomes Da Cunha, *Intencao e Gesto: Pessoa, cor, e a producao cotidiana da (in)diferenca no Rio de Janeiro, 1927–1942* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 2002).
34. On the social construction of distinctions between 'nature' and 'culture', see Peter Wade, *Race, Nature and Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (London: Pluto Press, 2002).
35. Galera, *Ciencia y delincuencia*, pp. 141–73.
36. Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina*, vol. 2, p. 9.
37. Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive'.
38. Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive'.
39. For a history of the developing relationship between statistics and statecraft, see Silvana Patriarca, *Numbers and Nationhood: Writing Statistics in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Castellanos's approach stands in contrast to that of Ortiz, who used anecdotal evidence, the citation of authoritative texts and comparative ethnology to support his claims.
40. Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina*, vol. 2, pp. 93–5.
41. Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina*, vol. 2, p. 60.
42. Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina*, vol. 2, p. 69.
43. The term 'ñañiguismo' was used to refer to particularly secretive African-derived religious practices in early twentieth-century Cuba.
44. Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina*, vol. 2, p. 106.
45. Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina*, vol. 2, pp. 105–6.
46. Castellanos, *La delincuencia femenina*, vol. 2, p. 106.
47. Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, tr. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 217–51, here p. 225. See also Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), p. 156.
48. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*.
49. James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), ch. 1.
50. Tagg, 'Evidence, Truth and Order: A Means of Surveillance', p. 253.
51. Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive'.
52. On reading photographs, see Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, tr. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981); Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989).
53. Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, tr. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), p. 15.
54. Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*; Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', p. 228.
55. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, p. 85.
56. This image reminds us of what Barthes has referred to as 'the Look': 'Now the Look, if it insists (all the more, if it lasts, if it traverses, with the photograph, Time) – the Look is always potentially crazy: it is at once the effect of truth and the effect of madness. In 1881, inspired by a splendid scientific spirit and investigating the physiognomy of the sick, Galton and Mohamed published certain plates of faces . . . It was concluded, of course, that no disease could be read in them. But since all these patients still look at me, nearly a hundred years later, I have the converse notion: that whoever looks you straight in the eye is mad'. Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, p. 113.
57. Lombroso and Ferrero, *The Female Offender*, chs 5–7. Castellanos and the police claimed their intellectual debt to Lombroso as late as 1938. See Benigno Tulio, 'La antigua y la nueva antropología criminal', *Policía Secreta Nacional* 1 (1938), pp. 47–52, here p. 49.
58. Thanks to one of the anonymous readers of this article for suggesting the framing of this conclusion.
59. Michael Zeuske, 'Hidden Markers, Open Secrets: On Naming, Race-Marking, and Race-Making in Cuba', *New West Indian Guide* 76 (2002), pp. 211–42.
60. Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, pp. 26–8.
61. Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p. 10.