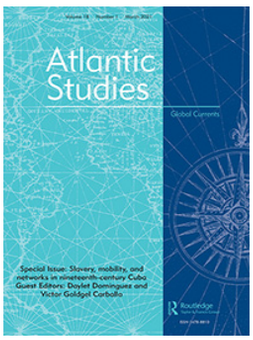

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Teresa Mina's journeys: "Slave-moving," mobility, and gender in mid-nineteenth-century Cuba

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ABSTRACT

This study tells the story of a West African woman, Teresa Mina, as a window onto a relatively unexplored aspect of nineteenth-century slavery in Cuba: the journeys around the island of Africans and their descendants, long after surviving the Atlantic slave trade. Coerced displacement, herein termed "slave-moving," was fundamental to the experience of slavery and to the contested process of "place-making" occurring on the island. Slave-moving served the practical needs of the expanding plantation economy, occurring via the same transport systems that enabled faster transfer of commodities, and became a key function of the colonial bureaucracy. It also served disciplinary purposes, deepening slaveholders' power and unfree people's subjection. Its effects were strongly gendered, exposing women to heightened, specific forms of subjugation. Throughout, the essay also explores how unfree people managed to travel of their own will, in ways that were nonetheless closely connected to the processes of slave-moving and place-making.

KEYWORDS

Cuba; space; Teresa Mina; slave-moving; mobility; gender; transport; railways; internal slave trade; emancipados

In late March 1854, a West African woman appeared before a *síndico* (legal representative) in the city of Cienfuegos on Cuba's southern coast.[1] She had been known by other names since her arrival in Cuba, but at this point she was called Teresa. She alleged that, although she had been working as a slave, she was really an *emancipada*: one of the group of Africans recognised as having been brought to Cuba after the slave trade became illegal in 1820. Theoretically, *emancipados* could claim a different status from that of enslaved people, although in practice their conditions differed little.[2] After surviving the horrors of the transatlantic journey, Teresa's movements continued, across western and central Cuba. Initially she spent a period in Havana at the Real Consulado, one of the colonial institutions that routinely used unfree labourers for roadbuilding and other public infrastructure projects. Later, she was transferred by road, to the house of one Doña Tomasa Martínez Valle in Cienfuegos, about 170 miles away, where she worked for around eight years. Her 1854 claim to be an *emancipada* prompted authorities to transfer her, by steamship, back to Havana to assess her claim. Around a month later, they rejected it, concluding she was in fact a slave, and returned her, probably by road, to Martínez Valle in Cienfuegos.

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Yet she did not remain there long. In early July, she was discovered by the captain of a local steamship, the *Isabel*, when it docked in the port of Batabanó, due south from Havana.[3] Teresa had fled by steamship, retracing the same journey she had recently made under guard. When questioned, she said that she fled because Martínez Valle had inflicted harsh physical punishments on her – probably in retribution for her legal claim – and, in addition, threatened to move her from urban work in Cienfuegos to a sugar plantation.

Viewed from one angle, Teresa's case is simply one of the many legal claims that cumulatively helped shape unfree workers' relationship to Cuba's fast-changing slave society in the nineteenth century.[4] From the available documents, it is difficult to ascertain her true legal status – whether *emancipada,* as she claimed, or enslaved, as was alleged by one Don Mariano Poey, who testified that he had purchased her legally.[5] Instead, this essay explores a fundamental aspect of Teresa's experiences, shared with countless other unfree workers, which is not generally the central focus of histories of slavery in Cuba: her many journeys across the island. Long after surviving the Atlantic crossing, Teresa spent significant portions of her life travelling hundreds of miles across western Cuba, mostly in conditions of bondage, although at least once in flight. She travelled on the new transport networks that undergirded slavery's intensification and symbolised, for planters, Cuba's "modernity," and took thousands of steps along the island's dilapidated roads, witnessing the fast-changing physical spaces onto which slavery was being re-mapped.

The island Teresa had arrived to after her transatlantic voyage was experiencing an ongoing spatial, as well as social and economic, revolution. Sugar and coffee plantations crept over landscapes where previously forests or small farms had existed, radically altering the natural environment as well as social structures.[6] As ownership of lands and of bound people changed hands, power struggles raged locally over the positions of roads, fences, and plantation boundaries, as planters tried to contain and isolate their slaves while facilitating more efficient movement of goods. The upswing in production was fuelled by a transport revolution, which, by connecting Cuban products to North Atlantic markets, helped produce a "second slavery."[7] Steamship connections sprang up from the 1820s, followed by the first railways in Latin America from 1837, with rail links spreading across much of the island by the time of Teresa's 1854 case.[8] Yet we know more about the movement of sugar or coffee on these transport links than we do about the people – free and unfree – that they also carried. Built by variegated unfree workers, this infrastructure facilitated the coerced – and, sometimes, autonomous – transport of enslaved persons around the island.[9]

With increased movement of goods came an increasingly brisk movement of the human commodities whose work helped produce the material ones. This occurred, in the first instance, through the expanding, though illegal, Atlantic slave trade, which only ended around 1870. There was also a buoyant, if less well-studied, internal slave trade.[10] Far beyond actual sales, bound humans were regularly moved as a result of transfers, loans, rentals, or to accompany moving slaveholders as they went back and forth between city and country residences. Beyond private relationships of power between owners and the enslaved, the work of coercing sick, bound, resistive people into movement, and of documenting, measuring or attempting to control their movements, was also an important feature of the developing colonial bureaucracy. From a distance, the notion of so many people on the move lends itself to aquatic metaphors, recalling the water that surrounded the island – "flows," "waves," or "streams." Closer examination, though, quickly dispels the idea of this movement as easy or "natural." Instead, it

reveals the exhaustion and horror of the "work" it required: thousands of steps taken by shackled legs; human hands that built the roads and railways; and minds that remembered the pain of these experiences and the companions lost on the way, even if the documentation left by enslavers referred only to "*brazos*" (arms).[11]

Forced movement also, of course, performed another important function: it helped to turn people into commodities.[12] The purposeful act of making other humans move against their will, as well as the experience of such journeys for the enslaved, are herein referred to as "slave-moving." Contrasting with the more sedentarist "slave-holding," the term underscores how such journeys actively heightened the power of the "slave-movers." Slave-moving destroyed transportees' precariously-established local social identities, and they were often kept in deliberate geographical ignorance, without knowing their route or destination. The subjection involved in forced transport was also gendered. Women transportees, whose occupations were less likely than men's to offer them mobility and access to geographic knowledge, were thrown into male-dominated transport environments, surrounded by male guards and male transport workers, as well as by majority-male fellow transportees.[13] Transport and displacement heightened their vulnerability to violence and sexual assault. Both for men and, particularly, for women, this kind of movement surely cannot be equated with any easy notion of "cosmopolitanism."[14]

Yet Teresa's steamship flight from Cienfuegos, repurposing slavery's transport infrastructure to new ends, also reveals much about enslaved people's ability to move for purposes of their own, even while their journeys were often connected to, rather than completely separable from, slave-moving processes. The purpose of Teresa's journey – avoiding forced displacement to a plantation – was also, in itself, spatial. In a small but collectively significant way, her actions contributed to an ongoing process – highly unequal, but nonetheless contested – of "place-making" in Cuba. "Place-making" emphasises how, rather than being simply pre-existing "co-ordinates on a map," "places" and their significance are made socially, through human movements through them and through relations of power.[15] Existing histories of nineteenth-century Cuba necessarily explore the ever-intensifying movements of sugar, coffee, and humans that propelled the island's transformations; they are by no means guilty of "sedentarism."[16] Nonetheless – as several historians have begun to explore – explicitly shifting our gaze toward the politics of space and human movement can offer fresh perspectives on the particular slave society that they helped produce.[17] People like Teresa did not necessarily think of themselves as "runaways." They may not appear in places where historians have often sought mobile slaves – maroon communities, or runaway advertisements – both of which, incidentally, usually feature more men than women. Yet such people – women as well as men – nonetheless employed mobility in creative, contestatory ways.

After a closer examination of Teresa's case, this study explores and contextualises her journeys in two ways. First, it considers the human histories of the mechanisms of movement that facilitated slavery's expansion and on which Teresa travelled. Second, it examines the broader politics of struggles over human movement as slavery was re-made in mid-nineteenth-century Cuba.[18]

Contested geographies in Teresa's legal claim

A closer look at the competing testimonies of Teresa and Don Mariano Poey, who alleged he had purchased her legally, reveals the politics of movement that affected the lives of

emancipados and slaves alike. It is not possible to identify conclusively which claim, if either, was correct. Much of the documentation regarding the origins of Africans in Cuba after 1820 is closer to fiction than fact: it was generated in order to establish ownership over people who, as everyone knew, had been brought to the island illegally. In any case, the only difference between an *emancipado* and any other illegally-imported African was that the *emancipados*' ships happened to have been among the small number captured, usually by the British navy, while policing the illegal trade. If, as is likely, Teresa was imported after 1820, her claim to be an *emancipada* certainly appealed to the spirit, at least, of the Anglo-Spanish treaties.

Teresa's declaration was given to Batabanó's *juez pedáneo* (local magistrate) after she was discovered as a stowaway. She stated she was a *emancipada*, of the *Mina* nation, but she was not given an opportunity to detail how she came to hold this status, for example by declaring which ship she arrived on.[19] On reaching Cuba, she said, she was held at the Real Consulado in Havana, "with other *emancipados*" – likely including companions from her Atlantic voyage – for an unspecified period.[20] Later, "the Government ordered that she be removed from that *depósito* [holding], and she was sent overland … until she reached Cienfuegos." There, she was taken to the house of Martínez Valle, for whom, she learned, she would now be working. She remained there until 1854, when her formal claim to be an *emancipada* brought her back to Havana. She was returned to Martínez Valle when the claim was rejected, but soon fled, and stowed away on the *Isabel*. Asked why, she said "around a month ago [Martínez Valle] had punished her severely and, in addition, she planned to send her to work on an Ingenio [sugar plantation]."

Spatial politics loomed large for the *emancipados*. In theory, they were supposed to undergo a period of "tutelage" and then be freed. In practice, few ever really were. There were "innumerable abuses" and "a genuine trade in *emancipados*."[21] *Emancipados* labored on public works projects from at least the early 1830s.[22] Others were assigned for five-year periods to private individuals, who could extend such assignations almost indefinitely, in practice obtaining slave labour at bargain prices. These de facto owners, known as *consignatarios*, often included widows like Martínez Valle, who employed them in urban domestic service.[23] Acting from Havana and other major cities, the British tried to enforce what they saw as the "spirit" of the slave trade treaties by requesting that the *emancipados* be kept in the capital.[24] Yet, increasingly, many met a fate like Teresa's, scattered across the island to locations that included *ingenios*, where they worked alongside slaves. Here, it was harder to trace them, and harder for them to seek redress. Devastating for those involved, this process of forced dispersion nonetheless allowed "fugitive speech" to pass among different categories of unfree workers across the island, as a by-product of slave-moving itself.[25] This oral information was likely responsible for the canny timing of Teresa's claim, which coincided closely with a brief change in Spanish policy relating to the *emancipados*.

The year before Teresa's claim, the decades-long British-Spanish contention over the *emancipados* had taken a new turn, thanks to Spanish need for British support following the election of expansionist U.S. president Franklin Pierce. In March 1853, all *emancipados* who had served at least five years were nominally freed. A new captain general, Juan de la Pezuela, arrived in December to showcase, for British eyes, Spanish determination to tackle the slave trade question. Over the coming months, Pezuela's initiatives sent Cuban slaveholders into a panic. Efforts were made to free those who had served five years, with their

consignatarios ordered to come forward or face fines. Linked to this was an inflammatory announcement that officials could henceforth search private properties for recently-imported Africans. This would close the legal/spatial loophole that had long facilitated the illegal Atlantic trade: since it was illegal to enter plantations or other private properties to check for new African arrivals, they could be quickly hidden there after disembarking, emerging "re-packaged" as legal possessions. Allowing searches of private properties thus threatened the viability of the entire trade.[26] Unsurprisingly, this opening was quickly closed down, before the end of 1854. Planters raised the spectres of "Africanization" and U.S. annexation, helping prompt Pezuela's replacement by José de la Concha in September 1854.[27] In the end, *emancipados*' fortunes changed little. Nonetheless, the timing of Teresa's petition certainly suggests she got wind of the brief change in policy.

Teresa's account was contradicted by Don Mariano Poey, in a declaration made to the same *juez pedáneo* soon after hers, in early August 1854. Questioned in the comfort of his home, where he was in bed with a mild fever, he declared he had purchased her and others in 1827 from a Havana trading company. Her name was then, he said, Quintina Mina. In 1830, he travelled to the Isla de Pinos in the employ of the Real Hacienda, taking her with him. However, "since the *negra* had become prone to drinking," he sold her to a local man, Don José Pastrana. He swore that "he has not owned, and does not own, any *negra emancipada*; and if Quintina Mina had had such a status, certainly the company … would never have sold her." A baptism certificate declared that "Teresa, *morena*, the slave of Don Mariano Poy [*sic*], born in Guinea, parents unknown" had been baptised in Nueva Gerona, Isla de Pinos, by a Carmelite priest in 1835. She was then "over 21." Unsurprisingly, no date was given for her entry to Cuba, but it seems likely that she was then a recent arrival, brought by Poey or his associates to the slave-trading hub of the Isla de Pinos. This document stated she was originally named Luiciana – not Quintina – and re-named Teresa upon baptism; this discrepancy was not discussed. Baptism documents were regularly forged, with local priests' collusion, in order to document ownership of illegally-imported people, so we have little reason to trust this one. Certainly, the onus was squarely on Teresa to prove her status, not on Poey or Martínez Valle to prove ownership rights.

Scattered throughout Teresa's and Poey's competing declarations are multiple, sparse references to the hundreds of miles Teresa travelled over several decades of her life in Cuba. Collectively, they demonstrate that – whether she was "really" an *emancipada* or a slave – neither her subjection nor her resistance to it occurred in stasis. Yet – as often happens with infrastructure that moves or contains humans – the processes by which such movements occurred are rendered relatively invisible in these documents.[28] The next section probes the experience of some of these forms of movement, which in turn affected relations of power, from individuals to the level of the colonial state.

Mechanisms of movement

"Learning that the ship was coming here, she boarded it, and fled": Steamships[29]

Teresa was no stranger to the "modern" form of transport that was steamship travel. As well as regular lines linking Cuba with multiple destinations in Europe and the Americas, steamships were of course integral to the expanded African trade that carried her across the Atlantic in the first place. Steamships had also become the fastest means of journeying

around the island itself, taking her from Cienfuegos to Batabanó in only a day.[30] Local steamships – *vapores de cabotaje* – operated regularly from the 1830s, first along the more navigable north coast and later along the trickier shallow southern coastline.[31] New wharves and warehouses handled the increased volume of shipping. These grandiose socio-spatial projects deliberately boosted the power of the wealthiest planter-merchants.[32]

As well as free passengers and cargo, local steamships routinely transported bound people. These included recently-arrived cohorts of Africans. Mariano Poey and other traders, for example, received a shipment of newly-imported *congos* a few years after Teresa's claim, who were then transferred to the *cabotaje* ship *Cubano*, which served the slave-trading hubs of Batabanó and the Isla de Pinos.[33] British consuls in Havana confirmed, the year before, that this was a regular use for the *Cubano*.[34] Similarly, a few years before Teresa made her complaint, the British denounced an illegal landing of Africans at Juraguá, near Cienfuegos. Fifty of these people were allegedly transferred to Havana on the local steamship *Cárdenas*.[35]

Steamships also transported unfree people who were not necessarily new arrivals. On 21 August 1864, two *criollo* (Cuban-born) slaves, owned by the same person, embarked at Batabanó for the Isla de Pinos. One had set out from Havana; the other, like Teresa, had journeyed (presumably also by steamship) from Cienfuegos, bearing a pass signed there just the previous day. Perhaps they met a twenty-year-old enslaved African woman on board, who was being transported on the same ship. This young woman was the only person named as female among these groups of male bound transportees. We have no information about whether any attempt was made to segregate male and female bound passengers, but travelling in conditions of bondage, surrounded by unknown men among both captives and crew, undoubtedly posed a heightened threat of rape and sexual abuse, perhaps not dissimilar to some elements of the traumatic Atlantic crossings, where rape was a central part of the process that turned women into slaves.[36] Travelling on the same local ships were other groups of men who were deeply connected to the Atlantic slaving world. In November 1859, for example, a slaver arrived on Cuba's south coast, near the city of Trinidad, from its Atlantic voyage. It deposited its "human cargo," who were soon transported to a nearby sugar estate and sold "to the highest bidder."[37] Then the ship's crew went on to Trinidad and boarded the "Rápido" – one of the regular local steamships serving the southern coast – to continue their journey around the island.[38] Women in bondage who were being transported around the island would do so on vessels alongside such groups of men.

When this gendered context is borne in mind, Teresa's case hints at the heavy price she is likely to have paid for mobility – by sea and also in the other forms it took in her case. After she was discovered on board by the ship's captain at Batabanó, she was taken to the local *juez pedáneo* for questioning. It behoves us to try to reach beyond the formal written record of this procedure, and consider some of the things it does not say. An African woman is discovered by a group of male sailors at a notorious slaving port. She is alone, presumably illiterate, and not a native speaker of Spanish. She has no protection against violence, sexual or otherwise. She is interrogated by three white, powerful, local men. As far as we know, she is the only woman in the room at the time. After the questioning, the men search her physically for any undeclared possessions. The details of how they undertake this are not written down, but we can take some clues from their

social world. These men very likely own, and probably trade in, slaves themselves. They are accustomed to handling and evaluating commodified black bodies. This quotidian commodification is hinted at by the trader Mariano Poey's use of the derogatory "*negra*" to describe Teresa, in contrast with the more neutral "*morena*" of the baptism document. Surely, this daily physical familiarity informs the way they carry out their task. By the time they finish, they are "left with no doubt" that she is not hiding anything on her body. The neutrally-worded document can be assumed to mask experiences of physical violation. This was only one of countless dislocations that Teresa had undergone since her arrival on Cuban shores. Each time, she lost any precarious social protection that partial insertion into a local community might have afforded her.

Nonetheless, by throwing groups of different people together, such journeys also allowed clandestine knowledge to travel around the coasts. This information might be about legal openings, like that created by Pezuela's arrival in 1853, or about the business of geography and travel itself. It was surely no coincidence that, soon after her initial steamship voyage to Havana under guard, Teresa escaped by that same route: "[…] learning that the Steamship, was coming [to Batabanó], she fled, and boarded the ship."[39] Her shipboard escape should be located within the broader contestatory world of black Atlantic seafaring mobility.[40] It was common for fugitive slaves in the Hispanic Caribbean to board not just local, but international, ships. In just one example, in 1844, Pedro Rosa, an enslaved black man, fled Puerto Rico by boarding a ship in the coastal city of Ponce, bound for Boston. News of his escape was circulated to Cuba, with an instruction to prevent such incidents, as part of the wider crackdown on black mobility that was then underway in the wake of the Escalera conspiracy.[41] Teresa's story, a decade later, reminds us that such clandestine journeys nonetheless continued to be undertaken. Yet a key difference emerges between the two stories. Pedro Rosa had colluded with, and paid, a black dockworker, who persuaded the ship's captain to allow his passage.[42] Unlike Teresa, he managed to disembark without capture on arrival. In Teresa's case, although she was carrying some money, she was not able to buy the crew and captain's silence. Among many possible reasons, we might speculate that, as a woman, she was less able to draw on the masculine networks that operated in the social worlds of Atlantic ports.

Teresa's story, then, tells us several important things about the steamship journeys taken by unfree people in Cuba. Given the close connections between the social worlds of the Atlantic trade and of local shipping routes, simply boarding a ship exposed non-white travellers to the world of the illegal trade. Women's exposure to specific, heightened forms of violence and displacement further complicates any easy notions of seafaring "cosmopolitanism." Nonetheless, Teresa apparently thought this was a price worth paying. Despite the additional limitations she faced, she had clearly attained some of the geographic knowledge and mobility that seafaring connections offered to those whose more efficient enslavement they were designed to uphold.

"As if a port had opened up at every station": Railways[43]

We do not know what Teresa intended to do after the *Isabel* docked at Batabanó, but it seems unlikely that this was her final destination. If she hoped to live anonymously as an urban runaway, the long shadow of the illegal slave trade in this small port town would make this difficult. If she planned to approach authorities again about her legal

status, this was best done in the capital, with which she would have some familiarity and perhaps acquaintances from her time working at the Consulado there. It thus seems likely that, as she had probably done on her recent journey from Cienfuegos to Havana under guard, she planned to make use of the railway line that linked Batabanó to Havana – whether travelling openly as a passenger, or clandestinely as a stowaway as she had on the ship, or by walking along the lines as a means of orientation. Since the line opened in 1843, it had become standard for Havana-bound steam passengers from the south coast to disembark at Batabanó and complete their journey by rail, thus avoiding sea travel around the dangerous waters of the San Antonio Cape. Reflecting the railways' role in "place-making," Batabanó's new position as rail/ shipping interchange meant it mushroomed from a "sad hamlet" into a bustling town.[44]

The railway story most familiar to historians of nineteenth-century Cuba is about sugar. Circumventing the terrible roads and lack of navigable rivers, the railways facilitated the opening of new lands by allowing export commodities – especially sugar – to be transported more efficiently to local ports. The *social* history of these early railways is less well known. Yet the railways brought huge socio-spatial changes, for enslaved and free alike. As well as goods, they carried large numbers of passengers.[45] Getting around the island by rail was a complicated and undesirable, because – like colonial railways elsewhere – separate lines sprang up to facilitate exports from different ports, rather than being planned as a coherent network for internal travel. Nonetheless, by the 1850s, the Havana, Matanzas, and Cárdenas railroad companies agreed to allow passengers to travel on one ticket across all three sets of lines, which were by now interconnected, allowing an integrated, if slow and inconvenient, service across much of the west of the island.[46] Promoting the transformations brought by the railways in 1838, just a year after the first line opened, the Conde de Villanueva, who oversaw the project, discussed passengers first and cargo second. Comparing with the maritime transport on which Cuba had always relied, he enthused:

> As if a port had opened up at each station, the railroad is traversed by inhabitants of the most remote places on the southern coast, while the warehouses are filled with a variety of goods that previously never entered or left the capital.[47]

Everywhere they arrived in the nineteenth century, railways altered the social geographies of those who witnessed or travelled on them. In Cuba, these changes occurred within an expanding slave society. Serving slaveholders' spatial priorities, they were nonetheless built and run with *emancipado*, enslaved, and other unfree labour and knowledge.[48] They offered new routes for the mobility of unfree people, stretching far inland, as well as for the Caribbean and Atlantic seafaring mobility which is better known by historians.

New connections were formed even before the lines began running, through the process of construction itself. As the lines spread out across the countryside, construction workers mingled with the enslaved residents of the plantations alongside them, in ways that were difficult to police. In 1843, for example, the enslaved builders of the line that would later probably bring Teresa from Batabanó to Havana were accused of stealing pigs from the neighbouring *ingenio* Sonora. When questioned, they blamed an escaped slave from one of the neighbouring plantations, who, as they had evidently learned, was at large in the area. Through railway construction, these newcomers to the area had quickly acquired an intimate knowledge of the local slaveholding landscape.[49]

Local enslaved people lived in close proximity to the railway lines, both during and after their construction. Lines ran right into the plantations to facilitate the transport of sugar; freight trains were loaded by enslaved workers. The railways altered the social uses of physical space for ordinary people, whether enslaved or free, creating new navigation routes or meeting-points. One railroad official, in 1837, suggested that a night guard should protect the railway construction materials from "the people of all kinds who, mainly by night, walk along the lines out of curiosity or as a shortcut to where they are going."[50] The lines surely orientated fugitives, as they later would in other "second slavery" settings.[51] By 1844, instructions to railway guards stated that they should pick up escaped slaves found on the lines.[52] Yet this was complicated by the fact that those policing and maintaining the lines were often the enslaved themselves.[53]

Trains were also widely used for slave-moving. They were viewed as a more discreet alternative to shipping for transporting convoys of recently-imported Africans.[54] Twenty newly-imported African children, for example, were reportedly transported to the city of Trinidad by railroad in early July 1861.[55] Other enslaved people travelled individually, with owners or guards. They were exposed to the worst and most dangerous conditions on the railways. In an 1838 crash, caused by a collision with an ox just outside the town of Bejucal, one of the most seriously injured was an enslaved man. He was being transported on behalf of his owner by one Don Juan Antonio Fabré, who explained that the other passengers in his coach had refused to travel with a "*negro*," so they made him perch on the front, exposing him to injury when the train crashed.

At the time of the crash, incidentally, this slave-moving was itself being undertaken, not by steam power, but by slave-power. The engine had broken down earlier in the journey, and the interim solution found – logically enough, in a setting where technical innovation and slave labour were intimately intertwined – was to haul in a group of slaves who worked for the railway company, and make them push. It was the passengers' shouts to them to go faster that led to the accident, when the train ran away down a steep hill.[56] Slave-moving, then, was itself done by slaves. Villanueva's invocation of a natural, aquatic movement of goods and people masked the pain that railway building and operating brought for unfree workers, as well as the difficulties in making the early railways run.

As well as such coerced movements, however, enslaved people sometimes travelled independently by rail. In August 1843, an enslaved man called Juan Gangá journeyed to Havana from Puerta de la Güira, about forty miles southwest of the capital, to seek a new owner in the city for himself and his wife.[57] Carrying a travel licence signed by his owner, he headed first to the town of Bejucal, where he boarded a Havana-bound train. He travelled "without any obstacle impeding his journey, since although at some points before he arrived at Bejucal he was asked to show his licence and told that it was not valid, no-one prevented him from travelling."[58] While the licence was checked on the roads, apparently no-one checked it once he was on the train, suggesting that the "paradise of anarchy" that was Cuban train travel might subject enslaved travellers to less, not more, scrutiny than the roads.[59] Did he purchase a ticket and travel openly? Or did he stow away, hoping to blend in with free passengers of colour? It is very rare to find direct references to enslaved people travelling autonomously on the trains, and perhaps this is because they did not often do so. Yet the documentary silence may also be because it was common enough to be seen as unworthy of comment. Surely, if ever the news of an enslaved West African calmly travelling by train across western Cuba ought to have

sparked some discussion among colonial officials, it was in the summer of 1843, as slave rebellions broke out in Matanzas that would shake white slaveholding Cuba to the core – with the important participation of railroad slaves.[60] Yet Juan Gangá's journey was recounted as an incidental detail, not as significant in itself. If enslaved people used the railways – even as a means of orientation, without actually boarding the trains – this might help explain the large numbers of enslaved people who travelled long distances quickly and accurately to arrive in Havana to make legal appeals there.[61] The small towns and villages from which they had travelled were often connected to the capital by rail. Indeed, by 1868, there was no point in Cuba's western region between Artemisa and Macagua that was further than about 12 miles from a railway line.[62]

Juan Gangá probably would not have looked out of place on the trains. Most passengers were not members of the elite; many were probably people of colour. Racial segregation barred passengers of colour from first-class coaches (in a stark reminder of the racialised nature of train travel, animals could accompany their owners in first class, but their slaves could not, except in the case of wet-nurses accompanying their charges).[63] However, people of colour could travel in second and third class. Many passengers were illiterate – unsurprising, perhaps, in a majority illiterate society, but, nonetheless, indicative of their relatively low social status.[64] Often journeying by train for the first time in their lives, passengers continually got lost, and they found the whole concept of train travel difficult. If placards were placed on the trains, indicating their final destination, they were unable to read them; if they did read them, they assumed the train *only* went to that destination, rather than stopping at points in between. Yet, if the stops were called out by a guard, his voice was drowned out by the deafening, disorientating noise of the engines.[65] Fights broke out among drunk passengers, leading to warnings that if policing did not improve, "those of ill intent will think that the trains are a neutral space, where disorder is permissible."[66] On these confusing, chaotic journeys, struggling just to get from place to place in one piece, people of different social groups were obliged to coexist and, surely, share information. In this sense, it was perhaps was not so ambitious of Teresa to think she could travel by train from Batabanó to Havana.

However, the "paradise of anarchy" was surely much less paradisiacal for unaccompanied women travellers than for men like Juan Gangá, whose wife did not accompany him on his railway journey. Regardless of their legal or class status, railway workers appear to have been universally male. It is also likely that the majority of the passengers were men. If guards were unable to prevent fights among drunk male passengers, they were unlikely to prevent bodily violations of travelling women of colour; indeed, there was little to stop them from using their power to commit such acts themselves. Elite women had access to at least some sex-segregated spaces on railway journeys, such as "ladies' waiting-rooms" at some stations where they could pass the long hours between connections; yet the racial segregation on the networks suggests that most women of colour were unable to access these.[67] Given these barriers to non-elite women's travel, it is particularly striking and impressive that – at least in later decades, when railway links proliferated across western Cuba – enslaved people arriving in the capital to make legal petitions were at least as likely to be women as men.[68]

As well as moving sugar, then, the railways were also a slave-moving project. They spilled the blood of unfree workers in their building and running, and served planter "place-making" by facilitating the movement of bound humans. Yet, simultaneously,

they also helped to formulate contestatory geographical practices. These practices were necessarily conditioned by gender, with women of colour experiencing significant barriers and gendered threats while travelling. Nonetheless, at least in Teresa's case, it is likely that she still saw the railways as a means, however difficult, to contest her geographic and gendered subjection.

Slavery and roads

Although Teresa experienced the "modern" transport mechanisms that underpinned the sugar revolution, at least one of her long-distance journeys from Havana to Cienfuegos, and possibly as many as three, were made on the island's dilapidated roads. Together, such journeys would involve a distance of at least 504 miles. While injured and sick slaves might be transported by cart or on horseback, the standard method for slave-moving by road was walking, reinforcing associations between slavery and walking that existed in other Caribbean settings.[69] Assuming a brisk pace of three miles per hour, and seven hours per day, that totalled around twenty-four days spent on the road. Yet the tortuous, poorly maintained roads, which were impassable in the rainy season, made such journeys far slower.[70] The Caribbean sun added significant physical hardship. The pitiful sight of groups of shackled, emaciated people – particularly convoys of recently-landed Africans – was commonplace on Cuba's roads, shaping the island's visual landscapes.[71] For the writer, and for most of those readers who will be able to access this essay, the experience of travel has largely been separated from physical exertion. Thus, the exhaustion, hunger and pain of these journeys – the "work" behind the "flows" of commodities and commodified humans – bears emphasising.

Documentary records of slave-moving are stubbornly silent about the conditions in which it occurred, but we should assume it routinely involved violence, including sexual violence.[72] Occasional glimpses suggest a broader hidden picture. In one 1863 case, a white soldier complained that the guards who arrested him on a Havana street one night for being drunk and disorderly had subjected him to a beating. The Gobierno Superior Civil did not stipulate any punishment for the guards, merely admonishing them that "when they capture any military individual, they should treat him with appropriate consideration, without harming him more than is necessary to avoid him running away."[73] Such "consideration" was only proposed for military personnel. We can only guess at the violence perpetrated against unfree transportees. For women like Teresa, spatial and sexual subjection were surely melded together as she traversed the island's streets and roads.

While roads to transport goods and unfree workers were fundamental to the expansion of the slave economy, they often also hampered plantation owners' quest for socio-spatial control. Roads also brought individual slaveholders (and slave-movers) into conflict with the priorities of the colonial state. Disputing heatedly with local officials, travellers, and each other, planters aimed to police the positions and uses of the roads that ran along or across their lands, citing, for example, the danger of their slaves being exposed to external influences.[74] Controlling the roads was necessary to achieve the "closed" plantation ideal, in which owners might completely control workers' movements. This notion was generally closer to fantasy than reality.[75] Yet it was a powerful fantasy nonetheless, linked to planters' self-image, honour, and social status. "Place-making" had strong emotional

connotations. One land-holder, for example, complained in 1836 that the position of a road that bordered his lands meant that travellers cut across his lands. Constant invasion by outsiders meant that "the crops are not safe, and nor are the slaves free from the seduction of some of the passers-by […]" This damaged his "sacred" property rights, making "a mockery of all the hopes he entertained" when he bought the property. Travellers even passed right by the *casa de vivienda* where he and his family lived, risking their "personal modesty."[76] Undesired road usage threatened several elements of his patriarchal control over "place": physical space, bound humans, and subordinate family members.

Like other transport connections, roads were closely bound up with the politics of slave-moving even before they were built. The problem of how to maintain, and expand, Cuba's dilapidated roads led to clashes between individual slaveholders and the institutions of the colonial state. For example, slaveholders who needed the roads nonetheless resisted the exhortations of local officials to contribute some of their slaves, as was customary, for annual road maintenance. They resented the lost work hours, but especially "the damages they suffer when their slaves are removed [from their plantations], the abuses they may commit when not with their overseers, the contact they experience with other slaves, and the distance" of the works from their plantations.[77]

Meanwhile, many roads were more directly built or maintained by forced labour under the remit of colonial state institutions. Thus, as well as spending months of her life walking the roads, Teresa herself may well have contributed to such work during her stints at the Real Consulado in Havana, along with other unfree workers who were not under the direct control of private individuals, such as *emancipados*, runaway slaves or those undergoing litigation or sale, and prisoners.[78] Men were the prime targets for roads and other public works projects, but some women were used too. Doing work defined as primarily "men's" work, in a small female minority among large heterogeneous groups of men, must have exposed women to gendered, as well as racialised, threats and subjection.[79]

The gendered subjection that forced roadbuilding produced becomes clearer if we remember that, while roadbuilding was an urgent practical necessity, it was also a disciplinary tool. Enslaved sugar workers – already doing some of the harshest work on the island – were punished for supposed misdemeanours through roadbuilding. For example, after an alleged conspiracy was uncovered among enslaved plantation workers in Remedios in 1864, the ringleader was sent for hard labour on local public works, which most often meant building roads.[80] This disciplinary function led to significant movement of mixed, but majority male, gangs of workers being transferred serially from work on one form of infrastructure to another. In 1837, for example, the builders of the first railroad on the island included the *emancipado* Francisco Carabalí, who ran away. As a punishment for unsanctioned mobility, he was transferred to roadbuilding.[81] In this very harshest of existences, different groups were thrown together and forced to coexist in new ways, probably sharing geographic and other information as they did so, in ways that would have included someone like Teresa Mina. Nonetheless, she surely paid a heightened gendered price for this peripatetic existence among groups of male strangers.

For Teresa Mina and those like her, then, Cuba's roads held significances far beyond planters' frustrations about the flooding and potholes that prevented them from getting their produce to port. They held memories of gendered physical and psychological pain, generated in their building and maintenance, as well as in forced journeys along them. Nonetheless, they also offered the possibility of contestatory movement for

unfree people. When Teresa fled Cienfuegos, it was likely her knowledge of the roads that took her to the port and the waiting ship.

On the way, however, she would also need other forms of knowledge than simply knowing which direction to take. She also needed some appreciation of the complex relationships between human movement and power, which connected individual slaveholders, the workings of the colonial state, and unfree people themselves.

The politics of human movement: slaveholders, the state, and enslaved people

Teresa's legal claim reflected her attempt to use the developing functions of the colonial state to negotiate her situation with her purported owner. This was a spatial interaction as well as a legal one. The state was responsible for several of her coerced journeys, moving her from Cienfuegos to Havana and back again after the claim was rejected. Such journeys occurred through a formal, routinised process. In the journey back to Matanzas, for example, her transfer was signed off by Havana's chief of police and she was then passed to the custody of a police official, then sent back overland ("*por tierra*"), in a movement described in her case as "*por cordillera*." The term's literal meaning, "over a mountain range," is geographic. However, it developed a specific meaning in nineteenth-century Cuba:

> the method of conducting a prisoner, by passing him, with an official document, to the Juez Pedáneo … [who] gives a receipt to the person conducting him, and has the prisoner taken to the next Pedáneo, and so on, until he arrives at his destination.[82]

The daily business of moving bound people, then, combined both infrastructures of transportation and infrastructures of paper.[83] Transport of unfree persons was, by the 1850s, supported by the *rondas* (night patrols) and *guardia civil*, performing what was called *servicio de cordillera*.[84] Slave-moving, then, was closely bound up with the expanding bureaucratic apparatus of the colonial state.[85]

Slave-moving appears to have become more efficient as both transport systems and the colonial bureaucracy expanded. In 1834, for example, twenty years before Teresa's case, the Real Hacienda in Havana assigned six *emancipados* to work as oarsmen on the boats that ferried people and goods back and forth across Matanzas Bay. Of twenty *emancipados* sent from Havana four years previously, six had died. The surviving fourteen were working "day and night" to compensate for their loss, their exhausted bodies serving the port's growing transport needs.[86] Despite the urgency, transporting the additional six people from Havana to Matanzas was very slow – for bureaucratic reasons as much as for transport-related ones. A suitable conductor for them needed to be found, and a passport emitted for him. A delay of almost a year ensued.

By the 1850s, slave-moving seemingly functioned more smoothly. In January 1850, for example, an enslaved *criollo*, Andrés, did like many other enslaved people and somehow travelled from the Pinar del Río tobacco plantation where he normally worked to Havana to allege ill-treatment.[87] Because he was not resident in Havana, the *síndico* there refused to hear his case, and he was returned "*por cordillera*" to Nueva Filipina (now Pinar del Río city), around 130 miles away. He arrived just ten days later. The efficiency of this process is striking, given that the poor, rural folk who often accompanied bound travellers did so for

very poor pay and conditions.[88] Frequently illiterate, they carried written permits allowing them to transport their human cargo, which neither they nor their transportees could read.[89]

As the existence of such permits implies, as well as ultimately facilitating slave-moving by private individuals, the colonial state also sought to control it. Such controls reflected, in particular, the ongoing, if very half-hearted, policing of the illegal African trade. Those transporting slaves were required to carry a transit pass for each slave and, from December 1854, an identity document called a *cédula de seguridad*. Mostly, such documents did the opposite of what they were designed to do: instead of clamping down on the African trade, in practice they functioned to create property rights in illegally-imported people, magically transforming them, with a few drops of ink and the requisite bribes, from *bozales* (newly-imported Africans) into *ladinos* (those who had been on the island longer), who could be bought, sold, and – of course – moved.[90] If a modern-day passport acts both to facilitate movement and to document individual identity, these documents could be seen as the opposite of a passport: in facilitating coerced movement, they gave legally free people a new fictive identity as chattel.[91]

While there was general collusion on the trade between the state and owners, there were also frequent moments when owners fell afoul of an overzealous local official, or of the vagaries of Spanish policy. Checks on their slave-moving powers provoked angry outbursts from slaveholders, who saw them as an affront to their authority.[92] This anger reflected another of the crucial functions of slave-moving: it was explicitly understood by slaveholders and slaves alike as a disciplinary tool, at least as powerful as whips or shackles. Geography itself played a part in this. Cuba's archipelago comprises 68,885 square miles; it surpasses the size of all the other Caribbean islands put together.[93] It is dwarfed by the other "second slavery" settings – namely Brazil and the United States – where internal slave trades saw enslaved people transferred thousands of miles.[94] Yet Cuban distances were sufficient that, when traversed in conditions of bondage, they frequently severed people permanently from kin and social ties, creating a "family diaspora" across western Cuba, and forcing them to adapt multiple times to new environments.[95] Such dislocations inspired constant fear in the enslaved, whether or not they ever happened to them personally.[96]

The threat also responded to the divisions understood to exist in this Spanish colonial setting between rural and urban work. In punishment for her legal claim, Teresa's purported owner threatened her not just with displacement in general, but specifically with transfer to a sugar plantation. Such a transfer was dreaded by urban workers in general, but it carried specific weight for a woman who had long worked in a city. It would move her from a space where sex ratios were relatively balanced to one where women were greatly outnumbered by men, and into work that was thought of as being primarily for men.[97] It was this threat of transfer into the "psychic space" of the sugar plantation that helped prompt Teresa to flee, using movement to counter the weaponizing of location by Martínez Valle.[98] Although Teresa said she had no children and was not asked about other family links, we know that the task of trying to preserve family ties through such geographic manoeuvres was undertaken in particular by women.[99]

Thinking about the connections between the ostensibly separate categories of slave-moving and the travel that unfree people undertook independently helps highlight the many similarities between the experience of each kind of movement. Whether they travelled at their own, or at someone else's, initiative, travel for unfree people – especially

for women – surely involved "emotional geographies" of trauma and loss.[100] It was dangerous and physically painful, carrying the risk of rape and other violence, displacement, and the severing of kinship ties. It was performed via infrastructure designed by slaveholders, often in the company of people being moved coercively. On the other hand, thinking about the close connections to slave-moving helps us understand why enslaved people's "rival geographies" were so significant.[101] Place, and the human movement that helped "make" it, were not simply the terrain on which these struggles played out, but a vital part of what was being fought over. Enslaved people like Andrés sought to use the geographic distribution of colonial power to their advantage, journeying from distant rural locales to the capital. Here, they could make legal claims to higher authorities, knowing that those of their local towns were often in league with their owners. Temporary relocation to a city was also a strategy for carving out an urban social identity, with the hope of being able to remain there after the case was resolved.[102] This geographic logic was shared with other categories of unfree workers, disseminating across the island through the slave-moving process itself. *Emancipados*, for example, often knew of the British attempts to keep them in Havana and away from the *ingenios*; this kind of knowledge likely influenced Teresa. Her contestatory movements, and those of countless others like her, derived their power precisely from the challenge they presented to slaveholders' ability to weaponize place and human movement.

Conclusion

After Teresa was questioned in Batabanó in July 1854, she still had some slave-moving to endure. First, she was sent about twenty miles by road, probably on foot, to Bejucal, where she was incarcerated. In September 1854, she made a last coerced journey before disappearing from our view, back to Cienfuegos to serve the woman who had brutally punished her and planned to send her to an *ingenio*. Her attempts to resist Martínez Valle's physical and geographic power over her had failed.

Teresa's many journeys around Cuba, long after surviving the Atlantic crossing, were typical experiences for unfree workers on the island in the mid-nineteenth century. In a rapidly-expanding plantation economy, the daily remaking of "place" was inseparable from coerced human movement. The transport systems that permitted the upswing in sugar and other production were also "slave-moving" systems – built and operated with unfree labour, and used in a quotidian way to transport unfree people. The infrastructure of transport was connected to an infrastructure of paper, in the form of the developing colonial bureaucracy: the promotion, control, or prevention of enslaved movement became an important part of colonial officials' jobs. The ability to make other people move was also central to individual slaveholders' power and status, producing collaboration, but also conflict and discord, with state officials. In this sense, "mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power."[103] It was precisely the challenge to these geographic forms of power that lent such significance to unfree people's creative, diverse efforts to move of their own accord, often using the same infrastructures of transport and paper that were built for their more efficient containment and subjection.

Both slave-moving and unfree people's mobility were gendered phenomena. Whether coerced or in flight, Teresa's journeys were made alongside groups of mostly male strangers, whether fellow transportees or guards. The physical and social vulnerability associated

with travel was greater for her than for men, while accessing the geographic and social knowledge that travel might offer was harder. Given the gendered costs of movement, her ability and willingness to move are testament to her resilience and courage.

Teresa's story also suggests that we should be wary of drawing too sharp a line between unfree people's experiences of coerced and autonomous movement. Her aim was probably less to achieve movement in its own right than to use it to do the opposite: to avoid forced transfer to a plantation out of the city she had come to know. Fixity, then, was a resistive, strategic aim, countering the ravages of forced displacement. Thus, if we appreciate the context of slave-moving and place-making, we can form a better understanding of unfree people's diverse uses and experiences of mobility, as well as its contestatory power.

Notes

1. "Expediente sobre haberse embarcado sin licencia en el vapor 'Isabel' la negra Teresa Mina," Archivo Nacional de Cuba (henceforth ANC), Gobierno Superior Civil (GSC), legajo (leg.) 949, expediente (exp.) 33581, 1854. Unless otherwise referenced, all subsequent discussions of Teresa's case are based on this reference. On the *síndicos procuradores*, see Perera and Meriño, *Estrategias de libertad*, vol. 1, 137–180.
2. *Emancipados*, nominally under government "protection," were supposed to receive full freedom after a period of apprenticeship, but very few did. 26,000 people were declared *emancipados* between 1824 and 1866 – under 5% of 551,991 Africans estimated to have been disembarked between 1820 and 1866. Roldán de Montaud, "En los borrosos confines," 161; and Eltis et al., "Estimates."
3. The *Isabel* was one of five local steamship lines that ran along Cuba's southern coast. It ran twice a month between Batabanó and Santiago de Cuba. García de Arboleya, *Manual*, 221.
4. Perera and Meriño, *Estrategias de libertad*; de la Fuente, "Slave Law"; Scott, *Slave Emancipation*; Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom*.
5. The Poeys were a prominent slaveholding Creole family. However, Mariano Poey himself was a little-known Catalan slave trader. Perera and Meriño, *Contrabando de bozales*, 127, 236–237.
6. Balboa, *De los dominios del rey*, chapters 4–5; Funes, *From Rainforest to Cane Field*; On the soil exhaustion that helped create sugar's moving frontier, see *Cartilla práctica*, 14.
7. On the importance of transport networks to the "second slavery," see Tomich, "The Second Slavery"; Tomich and Zeuske, eds., "The Second Slavery," parts 1 and 2; Zeuske, "Out of the Americas."
8. Zanetti and García, *Sugar and Railroads*; Moyano, *La nueva frontera*; Curry-Machado, *Cuban Sugar Industry*.
9. As Daniel Nemser explores, physical infrastructure played a key role in Spanish colonial strategies of governance, organising urban populations along spatial/ racial lines. In Cuba's expanding slave society, infrastructure organised people according to free/ unfree status, as well as race – through its operations once built, but also in the construction process itself. See Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race*.
10. On the Atlantic trade, see Franco, *El comercio clandestino*; Murray, *Odious Commerce*. For the workings of the Atlantic trade within Cuba itself, see Perera and Meriño, *Contrabando de bozales*; Barcia et al., *Una sociedad distinta*. On the internal market see Bergad, Iglesias, and Barcia, *The Cuban Slave Market*; Joda, "Mujer y esclavitud doméstica."
11. For an argument against the language of "flows," which elides "work," see Sedgewick, "Against Flows."
12. Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, chapter 4.
13. For want of a better term, enslaved autonomous movements are referred to herein as "mobility," despite its rather presentist and Global North-ist connotations of choice and ease of travel, which are a world away from Teresa's experiences.
14. On the pitfalls of equating movement with "cosmopolitanism," see Lightfoot, "Plassy Lawrence." For feminist critiques of the tendency to reify mobility, see McDowell, *Gender, Identity*

and Place, 208; Wolff, "On the Road Again." On digital sources' privileging of mobile historical subjects, see Putnam, "The Transnational and Text-Searchable."

15. On "place-making," see Sheller and Urry, "New Mobilities Paradigm," 216.
16. Sheller and Urry critiqued "sedentarist" analytical tendencies in the social sciences and a failure "to examine how the spatialities of social life presuppose (and frequently involve conflict over) both the actual and the imagined movement of people from place to place, person to person, event to event ("New Mobilities Paradigm," 208).
17. For example: Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom*, chapter 5; Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion*; García, *Beyond the Walled City*; Lucero, *A Cuban City, Segregated*; Sartorius, "Travel, Passports"; Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*; Tezanos, "Architecture"; Walker, *No More, No More*, chapter 2.
18. This study is part of a forthcoming book, *People Out of Place: Space, Slavery and Human Movement in Nineteenth-Century Cuba*.
19. *Mina*: traded from the Gold Coast, today's Ghana. See Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 19.
20. On *emancipados* who re-encountered their *carabelas* – companions from the Atlantic voyage – at such institutions, see Perera and Meriño, *Contrabando de bozales*, 213.
21. Roldán, "En los borrosos confines," 169.
22. Havana's Ayuntamiento, Consulado, and Sociedad Patriótica petitioned Madrid to be able to use *emancipados* on public works from at least 1829. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (AHN), Estado, leg. 8033, exp. 18, 4 November 1829. By 1831, *emancipados* worked on various public works projects: "Estado general que manifiesta el número de los negros emancipados existentes … ," AHN, Estado, leg 8033, exp. 26, doc 4, 12 March 1831.
23. Roldán, "En los borrosos confines," 168.
24. For example, George Villiers to D. Eusebio de Bardají y Azara, Madrid, 25 August 1837, AHN, Estado, leg. 8035, exp. 11, doc. 2.
25. On "fugitive speech," see Derby, "Beyond Fugitive Speech," 127.
26. Perera and Meriño, *Contrabando de bozales*, 15–19, 104–110; Roldán, "En los borrosos confines," 180–182.
27. Urban, "Africanization of Cuba Scare."
28. On infrastructure's tendency to become "invisible" – at least for some people at some moments – see Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race*, 16–17.
29. "Expediente sobre haberse embarcado sin licencia en el vapor 'Isabel' la negra Teresa Mina," ANC, GSC, leg. 949, exp. 33581, 1854.
30. By 1859, there were eleven steamship lines. Most operated on either the north or south coast; two linked the two coasts. García de Arboleya, *Manual*, 205; Zanetti and García, *Sugar and Railroads*, 412 (n. 20). For the social, financial and ecological transformation wrought by steamships in another "second slavery" setting, see Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, chapter 3.
31. García de Arboleya, *Manual*, 217.
32. Rood, *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery*, chapter 3.
33. Perera and Meriño, *Contrabando de bozales*, 236–237. *Congo*: a broad term for a person embarked from West-Central Africa. Like other "nation" names, this encompassed a vast multiplicity of ethnic and linguistic groups. See Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion*, 24–25, 237, n. 22–24.
34. John V. Crawford to Captain General, Havana, 1 November 1860, National Archives, UK (NA), FO 313/54.
35. The authorities in Havana concluded, unsurprisingly, that this was not a shipment of newly-arrived Africans, but simply of 50 "legal" slaves, being transported around the island with the correct *pasaportes* having been emitted for them. AHN, Estado, leg. 8044, exp. 11, doc. 3, 27 November 1850.
36. Dorsey, "It Hurt Very Much."
37. Joseph T. Crawford to Captain General, Havana, 29 November 1859, NA, FO 313/54, p.1.
38. Ibid.
39. The *Isabel*, the ship Teresa boarded, was listed in 1859 as connecting Batabanó with Santiago de Cuba, operating along the south coast twice a month. García de Arboleya, *Manual*, 221.
40. Among numerous references, the classic text remains Scott, *Common Wind*.
41. On this crackdown, see Reid-Vázquez, *Year of the Lash*.

42. AHN, Estado, Leg. 8039, exp 8, 1844, doc. 1, p. 2.
43. Conde de Villanueva to Antonio María de Escovedo, Havana, 29 November 1838, in: "Expediente sobre la llegada del Camino de Hierro a Güines, comunicada por el Ingeniero Director a los Sres. De la Comisión," ANC, Real Consulado y Junta de Fomento (henceforth JF), leg. 131, exp. 6422, 1838.
44. Zanetti and García, *Sugar and Railroads*, 53, 102. An inn in Batabanó even offered "meals coinciding with the train's arrival" for steam travellers with connections to Havana; see García de Arboleya, *Manual*, 203.
45. While freight, and particularly sugar, generally generated higher revenues than passengers, there were exceptions. The Havana-Matanzas railroad company reported in 1865, for example, that passenger revenue in 1864 for its trunk line was just over 244,055 pesos, while freight brought in just over 228,768. *Informe con que la Junta Directiva*, 16.
46. García de Arboleya, *Manual*, 204. The inconveniences of rail travel meant that passengers often preferred to travel between these three cities by steamship or stagecoach (Zanetti and García, *Sugar and Railroads*, 55).
47. Conde de Villanueva to Antonio María de Escovedo, Havana, 29 November 1838, in: "Expediente sobre la llegada del Camino de Hierro a Güines, comunicada por el Ingeniero Director a los Sres. de la Comisión," ANC, JF, leg. 131, exp. 6422, 1838. For a sycophantic biography of Villanueva, then president of the Junta de Fomento, see *Biografía de … Claudio Martínez de Pinillos*.
48. For example, in 1836, the workforce employed on the Havana-Güines line comprised *emancipados* – previously employed in building the Fernando VII aqueduct – plus white indentured workers from the Canary Islands and prisoners. See *Cuadro del camino de hierro de La Habana a Güines*. Thanks to Jorge Macle for passing me this document. Three decades later, the Havana-Matanzas railroad company cited a similarly mixed workforce, including white labourers, slaves, Chinese indentured workers and *emancipados*: *Informe … de la administracion económica de la Empresa … 1864*, 5. These included contracted Irish workers, brought from the US, who made multiple complaints to the British consul about brutal physical punishments and other ill-treatment. See, e.g., Joseph T. Crawford to Captain General, 9 May 1859, NA, FO 313/54. On enslaved knowledge that fed into broader Atlantic networks of technical knowledge, see Rood, *Reinvention*, chapter 4.
49. "Causa criminal para averiguar quiénes fueron los autores del robo de cerdos del ingenio 'La Sonora' (Escribanía de Martín)," ANC, Miscelánea de Expedientes (ME), leg. 2488, exp. L, 1843.
50. "Expediente sobre solicitar del Gobierno la soltura de un negro que, hallándose de guardiero en la ciénaga, paradero del camino de hierro, fue aprehendido como cimarrón," ANC, JF, leg. 151, exp. 7497, 1837.
51. The railways that came to south-eastern Brazil a couple of decades later helped link urban abolitionists and rural plantation slaves, while slave fugitives followed the lines for orientation (Machado, *O plano e o pânico*, 92, 152).
52. "Sobre la formación de un reglamento para los celadores del camino de hierro de Güines," ANC, JF, leg. 133, exp. 6526, 1844.
53. "Expediente instruido en virtud del oficio del Esmo Sor Presidente de la Junta de Fomento, sobre el reglamento adoptado para evitar los perjuicios y excesos en el Camino de Hierro," ANC, JF, leg. 131, exp. 6248, 1838; "Causa criminal por la muerte del negro Miguel Carabalí ocasionada por los carros de vapor," ANC, ME, leg. 2488, exp. LI, 1843. Enslaved people acted as repairmen, watchmen, signalmen, and switchmen well into the 1850s: see Rood, *Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery*, 103.
54. Perera and Meriño, *Contrabando de bozales*, 210.
55. John V. Crawford to Captain General, Havana, 6 July 1860, NA, FO 313/54.
56. "Expediente sobre averiguar las desgracias ocurridas en el camino de hierro y el orden en que se halla establecido," ANC, JF, leg. 131, exp. 6429, 1838.
57. "Gangá:" a person embarked in the region of Sierra Leone and Liberia. See Basso, *Los gangá*.
58. "Expediente promovido contra el negro Juan Gangá, esclavo de D. Antonio de la Peña, prendido por falta de licencia con los requisitos prevenidos," ANC, ME, leg. 4286, exp. F,

1843. Thanks to Aisnara Perera Díaz and María de los Angeles Meriño Fuentes for sharing this document with me. They discuss it briefly in Perera y Meriño, *Estrategias de libertad*, vol. 1, 336-337.

59. For this term see Zanetti and García, *Sugar and Railroads*, 84–85. Attempts at greater regulation of the railways were made after about the mid-1850s, but regulations were usually not respected in practice. On the enslaved knowledge that was used to carry out attempts at greater legislative control, see Rood, *Reinvention*, 105–108.
60. Guerra, *Manual de historia*, 436; Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion*, 84–85.
61. Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom*, chapter 5.
62. Zanetti and García, *Sugar and Railroads,* 79.
63. *Compañía de caminos de hierro de la Habana*, 2–6; *Tarifa provisional del ferro-carril de la Bahía de la Habana a Matanzas*.
64. Illiteracy was around 80% by 1861. Fornet, *El libro en Cuba*, 111.
65. "Expediente a propuesta del Excmo. Ayuntamiento de esta Capital (Habana) sobre que se ponga a los trenes prontos a salir una muestra que indique el punto a donde se dirigen," ANC, JF, leg. 137, exp. 6684, 1852.
66. "Expediente relativo a la conducta de un cabo de guardias municipales de San Antonio al entregarse de un detenido en el camino de hierro," ANC, GSC, leg. 1378, exp. 53792, 1857.
67. For example, plans for a waiting-room for "*señoras*" (ladies) at Guanabacoa station are discussed in *Ferro-carril de la Bahía de la Habana a Matanzas*, 5.
68. Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom*, chapter 5.
69. On injured slaves, see, for example, "Expediente sobre la aprehencion de 7 cimarrones por el capitán del Partido de Guamutas de la propiedad de Dn N Lascano … ," ANC, JF, leg. 151, exp. 7471, 1832. On slavery and walking see Lambert, "Master-Horse-Slave."
70. On extra distances travelled due to Cuba's winding roads, see Saco, *Memoria sobre caminos*, 69–73.
71. Perera and Meriño, *Contrabando de bozales*, 170–172.
72. This formed part of a larger issue of judicial torture of enslaved deponents. For Andrés Pletch, this was linked to changing concepts of sovereignty during Cuba's "second slavery." See Pletch, "'Coercive Measures.'"
73. "Expediente promovido por el E. S. Capitán General para que se prevenga a los empleados de seguridad y serenos, que cuando conduzcan presos a individuos del ejército no le causen mayor vejación que la precisa para evitar la fuga," ANC, GSC, leg. 1388, exp. 54160, 1863.
74. For example: "Sobre los perjuicios que dice D. José Antonio Días Bustamante le origina la serventía que pasa por los linderos de su finca 'Dos Hermanos' en el partido de Alquízar," ANC, GSC, leg. 683, exp. 22310, 1841.
75. Gloria García, *La esclavitud*, 40–41.
76. "Sobre la queja de Dn. Miguel Fernández [sic; the petition the file contains refers instead to Dn. Manuel Melis], dueño del tejar situado entre el Cano y Arroyo Arenas que los vecinos de ambos pueblos dejan el camino real para pasar por sus terrenos ocasionándole grandes daños," ANC, GSC, leg. 683, exp. 22270, 1836.
77. "Expediente formado en virtud del oficio del Marqués de San Felipe en que se queja de los perjuicios que le ocasiona el mal estado del camino que conduce al paradero del vapor 'San Felipe' a su ingenio de este nombre," ANC, GSC, leg. 683, exp. 22283, 1839.
78. The British complained about the terrible conditions for *emancipados* engaged in road-building. Henry Bulwer to D. Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, Madrid, 18 March 1845, AHN, Estado 8040, leg. 4, doc. 25. On *emancipados* and public works, see Roldán, "En los borrosos confines," 164–165; Varella, "Esclavos a sueldo," 196–197.
79. A list of *emancipados* captured between 1824 and 1830 showed 218 men and 14 women working at the Consulado: "Estado general … de los negros emancipados … ," AHN, Estado, leg 8033, exp. 26, doc 4, 12 March 1831. Women slave runaways worked on the roads too: "Expediente sobre el parte dado por el administrador del Depósito, de haber una carreta de Don José Ramon Hernandez atropellado a una negra cimarrona nombrada Felipa," ANC, JF, leg. 151, exp. 7470, 1832. Nonetheless, one Junta de Fomento administrator stated that women and young children were not ideal for roadbuilding: "Expediente promovido por el

Sr Coronel Dn Evaristo Carrillo para que la Junta le venda el negro Feliciano, o se le compre una negra que este dice ser su consorte," ANC, JF, leg. 151, exp. 75328, 1841.

80. "Expediente instruido con motivo de un conato de rebelión en la dotación del ingenio 'La Luisa,' Remedios," ANC, GSC, leg. 961, exp. 34038, 1864.
81. "Expediente relativo a la fuga del emancipado Francisco Carabalí, destinado a la obra del camino de hierro," ANC, JF, leg. 151, exp. 7495B, 1836.
82. Pichardo, *Diccionario provincial*, 70. I'm grateful to María de los Ángeles Meriño and Aisnara Perera for this reference.
83. On the connections between spatial and bureaucratic techniques for governing colonial populations, see Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race*, 118–132.
84. "Memoria que al Exmo Sor Gobernador y Capitán General, le dirige el ayudante de la Guardia Civil, Comandante de una Partida en persecución, de las observaciones que en el desempeño de su cometido ha hecho," ANC, GSC, leg. 1364, exp. 53242, 1852.
85. On the development of colonial administrative and judicial functions and their relationship to slavery, see Perera and Meriño, *Estrategias de libertad*, vol. 1, chapter 2.
86. "Expediente formado sobre proporcionar seis emancipados para tripular la falúa de rentas reales de Matanzas," ANC, JF, leg. 151, exp. 7488, 1834.
87. Expediente sobre remitir por cordillera al Juzgado de Pinar de Rio al negro Andrés criollo que se queja del maltrato que le da su dueño," ANC, GSC, leg. 946, exp. 33373, 1850.
88. For example, rural guards who accompanied convict labourers being transported by train in the 1850s had to pay, out of their own pockets, half the regular ticket price charged by the Havana Railroad Company. "Sobre si los guardas rurales pagan el pasaje por entero," ANC, JF, leg. 137, exp. 6720, 1857.
89. "Memoria [del] ayudante de la Guardia Civil … " 1852.
90. On the *cédulas* and the slippery distinction between *bozales* and *ladinos*, see Perera and Meriño, *Contrabando de bozales*, 18, 117–120, 210, 228.
91. On passport history, see Kolla, "History of the Passport"; Sartorius, "Finding Order"; Sartorius, "Susceptibility in Transit."
92. For one such case, see Cowling, "Esclavitud."
93. Martínez-Fernández, "Geography."
94. For a comparative angle on internal slave trades, see Johnson, ed., *Chattel Principle*.
95. On the "family diaspora," see Perera and Meriño, "The African Women," 898.
96. For this point on the U.S. South, see Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 19.
97. On plantations' gendered imbalances see, for example, Saco, *Memoria sobre caminos*, 165.
98. On "psychic space," see Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion*, 51.
99. See Cowling, "Gendered Geographies," and Perera and Meriño, "The African Women."
100. On "emotional geographies," see Schivelbush, *Railway Journey*.
101. Building on the work of Edward Said, Stephanie Camp developed this term in exploring resistive uses of space by enslaved people in the U.S. South. Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, 7.
102. Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom*, chapter 5.
103. Skeggs, *Class, Self, Culture*, 49.

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