WARWICK
THE UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

Permanent WRAP URL:

http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/160563

Copyright and reuse:
This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.
Please scroll down to view the document itself.
Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it.
Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: wrap@warwick.ac.uk

warwick.ac.uk/lib-publications

Scripts of Confidence and Supplication:

Fear as the Personal and Political Among the Elite Male Slaveholders of South Carolina and Cuba 1820 – 1850

Liana Beatrice Valerio

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of Warwick
Department of History
October 2019

Table of Contents

Introduction 1

The Elusive Quality of a Fear so 'Constant'

Fear and Mastery

Defining an Emotion

Scripts of Confidence and Supplication

Masculinity

Historiography & Grounding

Methodology

Chapter Description

I 27

Spectres, Threats and Challenges:

Political Landscapes of Slaveholder Fear in South Carolina and Cuba

The Spectre of Haiti

The Long History of Slaveholding in South Carolina

Colonial Cuba: Frictions and Frustrations

The Illegal and Domestic Slave Trades

Political Antagonisms

The Codification of Slavery

Slave Rebellions

Threats of Demography and Geography

II 69

What the History of Emotions Can Bring to the History of Slaveholding Societies

An Introduction to Theory

Honour in South Carolina

Honour in Latin America

Honour & *Vergüenza*

Cultivating, and Prompting, Honourable Emotions

III **107**

Emotional Nationalism, Coerced Masculinity & Atlantic Cuckolds

The Emotions of Southern Nationalism

Humiliation and Nationalism

The Emotional Shrewdness of Colonised Men

'Old Spain', 'Effeminate' Cubans, & Uncle Sam

Emotions of the Powerless and their Coercive Power

IV **146**

The Private and Public in South Carolina: Emotional Proslavery and Selective Silences

Defamation and its Dangers

Emotional Proslavery: Prescriptive Confidence

The Risk of Southern Disenchantment

The Expediency of Silence

Sleep, Prayer, and Womanly Intuition

The Uninterrupted Performance

V **185**

The Private and Public in Cuba: Fear, Defiance and Censorship

Fear Put to Work, Confidentially

Masculine Fear

Fear and Censorship

Insiders and Subversion Discourses

Engineering a Confidence Script

Conclusion **223**

Bibliography **232**

Acknowledgements

If one piece of feedback has been most consistently repeated to me by Tim and Camillia over the past four years as they have painstakingly reviewed my work, it is that I tend to use four words, when one would do. Applying their feedback one last time before this PhD draws to a close, I will attempt to be brief.

The experience of taking Tim Lockley's module 'Slavery and Slave Life in the American South, 1619-1865' as an undergraduate student at Warwick undoubtedly led me to this moment. The professor I regarded as a brilliant but forbidding academic in a Friday morning seminar has become the adviser who, over countless discussions accompanied by one English Breakfast tea, and one hot chocolate, has nurtured me into a scholar. No matter how nebulously I would explain a half-baked idea, somehow, Tim always "got" it, and, sharing my enthusiasm, guided me. Always cheering me with his wisdom and support, working with Tim has been every bit as enriching as I always knew it would be.

A few months into the project entered Camillia Cowling, whose dazzling mind has been astounding me ever since. In one brief comment, Camillia would uncover new depths to my ideas, allowing me to expand this thesis in ways that would frankly have been impossible without her. Limitlessly patient, encouraging, and kind, this extraordinary academic talent always made time for me, offering feedback in Madrid, over the phone, and even once as Baby Lara sat on her lap. As a young woman in academia, Camillia's brilliance and example are sources of immense inspiration to me.

Working with Tim and Camillia has been, put simply, a privilege.

Among the Warwick community are various academics who have provided me with endless advice, and to whom I am enormously thankful for it. David Anderson, who believed in my work from the beginning, encouraging me to be bold in my research, and offering me the History Department Studentship that allowed me to undertake this doctorate. Rebecca Earle, whose infectious enthusiasm and wonderful advice has inspired me since I was an undergraduate. David Lambert and Roger Fagge, who advised me during my upgrade exam, and whose advice is woven into this thesis. My

special thanks are extended also to Lydia Plath, who supported me during my first year of teaching, and whose chapter in her edited collection *Black and White Masculinity, 1800-2000* inspired this thesis, one night, 6 years ago, as I sat revising for Tim Lockley's exam.

My gratitude is extended to the Yesu Persaud Centre for Caribbean Studies for awarding me the Gad Heuman Postgraduate Bursary, and to BrANCH for awarding me the Peter Parish Memorial Fund. Each of these generous prizes allowed me to conduct research in Havana and Washington DC, respectively.

During my year in archives, various eminent scholars kindly made time to speak with me, despite their busy schedules, offering me insights that were truly instrumental to the development of this thesis. Manuel Barcia, who shared his splendid ideas with me as we ate Mexican food, reminding me that "life is all about having fun, really." Matt Childs, who offered advice before my archival research in Spain, and warm-heartedly welcomed me into his family home for his annual Christmas gathering. Jessica Elfenbein, who was always a friendly face in the South Caroliniana Library, and who shared much sage advice with me, and Lacy Ford, who sat with me in a Columbia bagel shop, where we had a conversation about honour and mastery that has shaped everything since.

My scholars-in-arms. Esther Wright, whose academic skill I can only aspire to emulate, and whose camaraderie in this battlefield I value so very much; Fabiola Enriquez, with whom I first explored Havana, and who reminds me with her adventurous spirit and tenacity (and wise pep-talks providable only by one who has negotiated scholarly research in Cuba) never to relent. Erin O'Halloran, whose magnificent mind has provided me with advice in love, in spirituality, and, when necessary, on relevant scholarship on nationalism; and the brilliantly wise Edward Taylor, who took me on promenades around the Humanities Building corridors when I hadn't left my office all day. I must also thank Kevin Waite for supporting me as I taught at Durham University, providing immensely effective motivational talks. You have all made this challenge more manageable, more hysterical, and more unforgettable.

My dear friends. Amy Sweeting, who *always* asked (and listened to me talk) about my research, with support and love; Margaret Olaniyan who has been there since Day Zero

at Warwick, and whose motivational words, and example, have energised me every year since. Alexandra Hamilton-Briscoe, who, since we were teenagers, has had a way of making me smile and laugh when I need it most, and expect it least; and Laura Barrington, who, though thousands of miles away, has been cheering me on as though she were by my side all along.

Logically fitting no other group, my thanks are offered here, with my hand on my heart, to Oliver, the Apple Genius, who recovered my lost Cuba Files from the unknowable depths of my laptop. God only knows what I'd be without you, Oliver.

My heartfelt gratitude to everyone who made my time away from home such an adventure. To Uncle Johnny & Aunt Nancy-Jo, who welcomed me to celebrate my first Thanksgiving with them, and Uncle Mike & Aunt Roberta, who shared with me, the next day, their beautiful tradition of roast turkey and avocado sandwiches. The Cappetta love and generosity I received in California that November fortified me in ways that words cannot convey, but will never be forgotten. To every archivist who welcomed me with a smile; every Cuban taxi driver who lifted my spirits with cheery (and often hilarious) conversation; and the cats, especially London and Yutie, who made each new AirBNB so enjoyable. Most importantly, I must thank Dinorah Del Aguila, who made me a home in Havana, and who has become like family to me. María Belkis, who nursed me when I became ill, and Clarita, who made me chicken broth.
You all sustained me.

My older brother, Pep, whose effortless genius no doubt caused a latent inferiority complex that subconsciously pushed me to undertake this PhD. My younger brother, Paolo, whose party spirit always makes reasons to celebrate, forcing me to find fun in amidst the pressure of these past few years. My eternally supportive Godmother, Maria 'Zeta' Buonpane, who never tires of discussing *North & South* with me. George and Midge, who make me smile every day, one by my side, and one in my heart.

My father Michele, and my mother Filomena.
You have been, all at once, my rock and my wings.
There will never be words to express my gratitude, or my love.
You have made *everything* possible.

Finally, my grandparents. Any strength I have, you have given to me.

Pasquale, Giuseppe, Maria and Ida

I dedicate this thesis, with all my love, to you.

Liana Beatrice Valerio

4 October 2019

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work. This work has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Abstract

The emotions of elite white male slaveholders evade scholarship that examines those men within the limiting confines of hegemonic masculinity. Their fear of slave rebellion is the emotion most commonly remarked upon by scholars, but the historical tendency to depict that fear among the slaveholders of the U.S. South as having been both constant and ubiquitous belies the rarity of written examples of masculine fear in the archive, specifically in the case of South Carolina. Contrastingly, in Cuba, slaveholders on the island frequently voiced their fear of insurrection. This thesis interrogates that disparity, questioning the social and political factors which contributed to creating speech conventions that silenced fear in South Carolina, but amplified it in Cuba, adding substance to the historical account of white fear as it operated within the context of racial enslavement.

Public and private sources such as journals, correspondence, and printed pamphlets were consulted in eight archives in the U.S., Spain, and Cuba, seeking contrast between the rhetorical tone mobilised when discussing slave rebellion during public performance, and that used during less scripted repose. Written examples of fear and confidence were read according to methodologies developed by History of the Emotions scholars who emphasise the importance of interpreting behaviour and speech alongside the normative social controls governing the culture in which they were enacted. The thesis contributes the theory that stylistic 'Scripts' concerning fear and slave rebellion were deployed by the slaveholders of South Carolina and Cuba. Antithetical in their emotional tones, the Confidence Script of South Carolina and the Supplication Script of Cuba were both used as rhetorical methods for furthering the same agenda: the continuation of slavery. These canny manipulations of fear and confidence reveal the construction of specific, contrasting, slaveholding masculinities, opening a dialogue into the various performances of slave-ownership in the wider Atlantic.

Abbreviations

Archivo General de Indias (Seville) – AGI

Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid) – AHN

Archivo Nacional de la Republica de Cuba – ANC

- Gobierno Superior Civil - GSC

Biblioteca Nacional José Martí

- Colección Manuscritos – C.M.

South Carolina Historical Society (Charleston, S.C.) – SCHS

South Caroliniana Library (Columbia, S.C.) – SCL

Southern Historical Collection (Chapel Hill, N.C.) – SHC

Library of Congress (Washington D.C.) - LC

Introduction

In January 1820, South Carolinian proslavery firebrand and states' rights advocate, William Smith, serving in the United States Senate, addressed Congress. Rebuking the allegations made by a northerner who had published a pamphlet under the pseudonym 'Marcus', which had claimed that southern slaveholders lived in perpetual fear of their own insurrectionary slaves, Smith retorted:

> 'We may be happy to say this man Marcus would be mistaken, as well as many others who had supposed we were not only in a constant state of alarm, but that we were also in constant danger, from an insurrection of this part of our population. This people are so domesticated, or so kindly treated by their masters, and their situations so improved, that Marcus and all his host cannot excite one among twenty to insurrection… the owners of these people can place arms in their hands. If necessary… they are the shield of their masters, instead of their enemy.'[1]

The declaration was archetypical of the South Carolinian tone used when dismissing the subject of slave rebellion. It was rebuffed as a foolish notion, to be neither feared, nor, critically, discussed. Yet, that approach was not typical of the discursive style of slaveholders in Cuba. A letter principally signed by the Cuban-born slaveholder the Marquis de Arcos, Ignacio Francisco de Borja de Peñalver y Peñalver, a member of one of Cuba's foremost sugar producing families, on the British proposal to liberate every slave illegally imported into Cuba following the 1820 Spanish abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, when read alongside the above quote from South Carolina, reveals a compelling disparity in emotional tone:

> 'We dominate by custom, by prestige; but, difficult though it is to confess it, we do not dominate by force, and force is the only element that can sustain slavery. The slave makes continuous efforts to test the resistance and strength of his chains, and these chains today are imaginary. We have slept in this danger, and it's now necessary to awaken… this concerns our lives and plantations, the honour of our wives and daughters, it concerns questions of extermination, because, as the abolitionist

[1] Speech of William Smith, *Annals of Congress*, Senate, 16th Congress, 1st Session, p. 267

> DeToqueville expresses it: "wherever the blacks are stronger, they destroy the whites.'"[2]

The slaveholders of Cuba indicated, without qualms, that every white inhabitant of the island, themselves included, had good reason to be fearful of the enslaved population. They did not make a point to scapegoat women as the only group made nervous by the prospect of rebellion, as the slave-owners of South Carolina did. While South Carolinian enslavers emphatically rebuffed as absurd and offensive the insinuation that rebellion among their enslaved people was a looming threat, much less a prospect to be feared, slaveholders in Cuba unhesitatingly vocalised their palpable trepidation. In these ways, among others, Cuban documents concerning the theme of slave rebellion are starkly different to those pertaining to South Carolina. They contain themes of anxiety, paranoia, fear, and doubt, all of which were expressed with an apparently unflinching forthrightness. Why should it be that these slaveholders had such starkly disparate discursive styles when dealing with the subject of slave rebellion and fear?

Having originally noted that the South Carolinian rhetorical style was characteristic of the men of that state, but not of the women, this thesis developed into a comparative examination of the emotional canons of male slaveholders when broaching the subject of slave rebellion, raising questions of scripted performances of slaveholder masculinity in South Carolina and Cuba. This dissertation bases its enquiry within the chronological bracket of 1820 and 1850: three decades during the Second Slavery typified by the combustible elements of nationalism, colonialism, secession, slave insurrection, and Atlantic abolitionism.[3] It will be argued that there existed in the Atlantic world different styles in which elite slaveholding men spoke about slave rebellion, particular to each society, flavoured and restrained by two factors. First: political circumstances, wedded to the second: gendered emotional restrictions (each society's expectations of appropriate male behaviour, which included emotional display). The discussions surrounding slavery

---

[2] 'Informe de la comisión, nombrada al efecto, sobre el proyecto de convenio de SM Británica relativo a la libertad de los esclavos', Havana, 28 September 1841, C.M. Vidal Morales y Morales, T.78, No.123, BNJM.

I am grateful to the Yesu Persaud Centre for Caribbean Studies at the University of Warwick, which generously awarded me the Gad Heuman Postgraduate Bursary, allowing me to undertake this doctoral research in the Biblioteca Nacional José Martí.

[3] Dale W. Tomich, 'Introduction' in *The Politics of the Second Slavery,* ed. by Dale W. Tomich (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016), pp. ix

were more emotional than has hitherto been afforded sufficiently discriminating scholarly attention, an omission this thesis seeks to redress.

The Elusive Quality of a Fear so 'Constant'

Scholars seeking to understand more deeply the historical account of the emotional experience of male slave-owners in the southern U.S. will encounter vague conclusions incongruous with the otherwise impressive and meticulous research conducted concerning the economic, religious, sociological, gendered and political realms of Atlantic slavery. Fear is the emotion most commonly treated with perfunctory, and, at times, axiomatic consideration. The idea of fear having been 'constant', for example, is proffered with an imprudent casualness. The historiography concerning white slaveholder fear is, subsequently, unsatisfactory. The following brief examples demonstrate the sweeping assumptions typically made of slaveholder fear, without due in-depth analysis having been undertaken of the words slaveholders used to describe their own emotions: 'the dread of a slave and free negro uprising… [caused] repressed but *constant* fears'; 'the *constant* fear that their slaves would rise up and murder them'; 'slave masters carried with them the *constant*, incessant… fear of slave insurrection'; 'always expecting the slave to "throw off his burden" by revolt, the institution kept communities in *constant* fear'.[4]

The offhand treatment of slaveholder emotion (made by otherwise exacting historians) is an unhelpful way to characterise, much less study, white fear. Referring to various decades, and following entirely different events, white fear in the U.S. has been described as reaching a hysterical limit often described as 'fever pitch'. Allegedly, Nat Turner's rebellion of 1831, 'raised the insurrection anxieties of Virginia slaveholders to a *fever-pitch'*.[5] Then, 'fears reached a *fever pitch* during the 1850s… [when] masters' most serious anxieties about poor whites concerned the prospect of a bi-racial revolt'.[6] And again, in 1860,

---

[4] Boynton Merrill Jr, *Jefferson's Nephews: A Frontier Tragedy* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1987), p. 234; *Ontario's African-Canadian Heritage: Collected Writings by Fred Landon, 1918 – 1967,* ed. by Frederick H. Armstrong, Hilary Bates Neary, Karolyn Smardz Frost, Bryan Walls (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), p. 56; Rev. Dr. Robinson A. Milwood, *European Christianity and the Atlantic Slave Trade: a Black Hermeneutical Study* (Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2007), p. 87; Patricia Bradley, Slavery, *Propaganda, and the American Revolution* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), p. 99; for further examples, see: D. A. Dunkley, *Agency of the Enslaved: Jamaica and the Culture of Freedom in the Atlantic World* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2013), p. 100

[5] Scot French, *The Rebellious Slave: Nat Turner in American Memory* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Hardcourt, 2004), p. 10

[6] Keri Leigh Merritt, *Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 214

'intense negrophobia was… raised to *fever pitch* by the election of Lincoln.'[7] It is by no means impossible that fear was an unpleasantly frequent visitor in southern minds, or that it was, at times, overwhelming. What is so puzzling, though, is the common historiographical evocation of southern fear when the historical actors of the age strove so restlessly to deny its existence. In order to substantiate the confidence and casualness with which scholars have claimed the constancy of southern fear, the letters and writings of slaveholders would have to be replete with descriptions of anxiety and dread. In actual fact the reality could not be more different. This inattentive treatment of fear is particularly misleading in the case of South Carolina, where the discussion of fear was suffocated to such an extent that the archival search for examples of that emotion written by male slaveholders is remarkably elusive. Passing judgement on how often or rarely fear was felt subsequently ceases to be a straightforward task. On the contrary, doing so without due care errs on the side of historical irresponsibility. The study of an emotion like fear must avoid broad-brush strokes that attempt to conceptualise the entire slaveholding South. It must be broken down, era by era, region by region.

By way of contrast, slaveholders in Cuba evoked fear in their private letters with consistent frequency. To visit any archive which holds communications sent from slaveholders in Cuba to Spain, and among Peninsular speculators with investments on the island, is an exercise in tracing fear: the word is freely written to an extent that appears almost excessive. What has not yet been sufficiently considered is the pragmatic evocation of that fear; the political purpose it served when set to work by politically disenfranchised planters on the island who still wished to influence the future of slavery therein. The disparity between the vocalisation of fear by Cuban Creoles and Peninsular Spanish slaveholders in Cuba, and its suppression by slaveholders in South Carolina, demonstrates that the slave-owners in each region had different relationships with fear: in South Carolina it was hidden and furtive, while in Cuba it was emphasised and utilised. What was the relationship between self-assurance and paranoia, and, more importantly, how were those emotions mobilised in each region in order to match and capitalise upon political circumstances, furthering the respective agendas of each group of enslavers?

---

[7] George M. Frederickson, *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), p. 17; for further examples, see David Williams, *I Freed Myself: African American Self-Emancipation in the Civil War Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 15; Russel R. Menard, *Migrants, Servants and Slaves: Unfree Labor in British Colonial America* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2001), p. 102

The historians who have questioned southern fear raise, in their disagreement, excellent theoretical questions which address both South Carolina and Cuba. Eugene Genovese posited that: 'panic at the slightest hint of slave insurrection revealed what lay beneath [slaveholders'] endless self-congratulations over the supposed docility, contentment, and loyalty of their slaves.'[8] Meanwhile, Jeffrey Robert Young theorised that slaveholders in South Carolina and Georgia were able, to an extent, to convince themselves into a state of self-confidence and complacency in their mastery.[9] Regarding Cuban slaveholders, the prominence of fear is uniformly observed and commented upon in both anglophone and hispanophone historiographies, and with good reason: fear pervades the archival sources relating to the island.[10] The example set by those historians was key to the approach taken when researching for this thesis: the archive was scoured for slaveholder fear, and in this dissertation commentary has been proffered on that emotion only when the slaveholders themselves had nominated it. Archival silences have been treated with similar caution: instead of taking silence either as an indication of confidence, or a sign that fear was everywhere, the possible motives behind those silences were probed.

Fear and Mastery

Fear operated in varying dimensions in slaveholding cultures, of which the master's own conception of it was but one. In each of its guises, fear jeopardised the continuation of slavery, and hence the necessity (and difficulty) for slave-owners, lay in attempting to control fear in its three main forms. The first, public, was the task of controlling the public narrative concerning fear, thereby creating, as a result, an ambience of control and calm across the state, or island, which, it was hoped, would ensure continued white

---

[8] Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), p. 595

[9] Young explains that slave-owners 'gazed at the master-slave relationship through a prism of romantic, often fictive ideas… [which]… enabled slaveholders to avoid the horrors that occurred daily on their plantations and to face with a steadfast countenance the political developments that threatened their ascendancy over their slaves.' Jeffrey Robert Young, *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina 1670 – 1837* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), Quote from p. 133. For Young's discussion on self-deception, see pp. 124-152

[10] See for example the outstanding collection *El Rumor de Haiti en Cuba: Temor, Raza, y Rebeldía,* ed. by Maria Dolores Gonzales-Ripoll, Consuelo Naranjo, Ada Ferrer, Gloria García, and Josef Opatrný (Madrid: CSIC Press, 2004); exemplary of the scholarly commentary concerning the fear of slave rebellion in Cuba are the following statements by eminent Cuban scholar Manuel Moreno Fraginals: 'negrophobia had very deep roots in Cuba… [the early nineteenth century] was an era characterised by fear of and disdain towards the *negro*.' Manuel Moreno Fraginals, 'Nación o Plantación: El Dilema Político Cubano Visto A Través de José Antonio Saco' in *Homenaje a Silvio Zavala*, ed. by Julio Le Riverend (Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico, 1953), pp. 246,248

support for slavery. The second, personal, was the requirement to instil in one's own slaves a sense of fear which, theoretically, at least, should have kept them submissive and obedient, thus reducing the risk of rebellion. The third, intimate, (perhaps the most fundamental to the successful continuation of racial enslavement) was the essential task of controlling one's *own* fear: to conceal it in a bid to impress one's slaves with a dominance that knew no bounds, in the conviction that such displays of white confidence and authority, even when whites were vastly outnumbered, would discourage slaves from insurrection.[11]

A slaveholder's ability to control fear was understood as his ability to command submission. Indeed, to discuss the enslavement system, and the mastery it demanded, is to discuss fear: slave and master alike recognised that to control that emotion was to claim power. That truism was understood both intuitively, by a young child commenting on the public executions following Denmark Vesey's insurrection attempt in Charleston, 1822, who reasoned that the hangings were intended as 'a sight to strike terror into the heart of every slave'; and subversively, by ex-slave Frederick Douglass, who desired that enslaved people claim power by generating white fear: 'the best thing, if we cannot make them love us, is to make them fear us.'[12] Demonstrating the centrality that fear held in the calculation of mastery and rebellion, Douglass proffered a sinister forecast: the only way for slaves to overthrow the system was to fill the slaveholder's life with fear. 'We must make him feel that there is death in the air about him, that there is death in the pot before him' he mused, 'we must… reach the slaveholder's conscience through his fear of personal danger… make them feel that it is not too pleasant, after all, to go to bed with bowie knives, and revolvers, and pistols, as they must.'[13]

---

[11] These public, personal, and intimate levels follow the demarcations of macro, meso, and micro used when studying emotional sociology. Their definitions, Nicholas Demertzis outlines, are as follows: 'the micro level concerns the intrapersonal dimensions of emotive life, the meso level corresponds to social interaction in groups, institutions, everyday encounters and the emotional dynamic therein, whereas the macro level entails norms, rules, law, traditions and socio-economic structures which provide the 'path dependency' for emotional cultures and social emotions to be formed.' Nicholas Demertzis, 'Introduction: Theorising the Emotions-Politics Nexus', in *Emotions in Politics: The Affect Dimension in Political Tension*, ed. by Nicholas Demertzis (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 8

[12] Kay Wright Lewis, *A Curse Upon the Nation: Race. Freedom, and Extermination in America and the Atlantic World* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2017), p. 79; David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), p. 344

[13] Quoted in *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass: pre-Civil War Decade, 1850-1860,* ed. by Philip S. Foner (New York: International Publishers, 1950), p. 535

The enslaver, in turn, was powerfully aware of the crucial function of fear in upholding mastery. As South Carolina slave-owner Robert J. Turnbull reasoned, 'the only principle upon which any authority over them can be maintained is fear; and he who denies this, has but little knowledge of them. Where there is this principle in the bosom of a slave, coupled with a strong sense of inferiority to his master, he is happy and contented.'[14] Slave-owning was the act of meting out fear. Edward B. Bryan, slaveholder and vocal advocate for the reopening of the African slave trade to South Carolina, ruminated similarly: 'in the face of discussions which aim at loosening the ties between master and slave, we have, in some measure, to abandon our efforts to attach them to us and control them through their affections and pride. We have to rely more and more on the power of fear.'[15] The same conviction influenced mastery in Cuba, where enslavers opined: 'this unhappy race of the human species… at least in the state of slavery… is humiliated as much by means of fear as it is made conceited by sweetness,' adding: 'the seeds of hostility which they conceal, naturally, from their masters… is suffocated only by fear.'[16]

Despite how pervasive fear was in the minds of all races, ages, and genders, its sometimes frivolous evocation by historians of the South is still inappropriate. Indeed, the centrality of fear in the minds of all who lived as part of a slave society means that special care must be taken to try and discern more about that emotion: what happened when the slaveholder lost his control of it; when the slave seized it, or when the master manipulated it, as opposed to inattentively making assumptions about its presence or characteristics. Certainly, inferences can be made from the physical manifestations of paranoia: vigilante violence; ever-stricter slave codes; Frederick Douglass' description of slaveholders sleeping accompanied by bowie knives and pistols, and brutal whippings, for example. However, the historian's own speculations and interpretations of those realities too often leads to a personal judgement on whether or not those men were indeed constantly afraid. We must be wary of putting words into the mouths of those men; of deciding on their behalf what their emotions were, and thus painting an emotional picture of the

---

[14] Quoted in Edwin Clifford Holland, *A Refutation of the Calumnies Circulated Against the Southern & Western States Respecting the Institution and Existence of Slavery Among Them* (Charleston, 1822), p. 55

[15] Edward B. Bryan, *The Disunionist: Or, Secession, The Rightful Remedy Being a Few Facts, and Hints on Things That Are and Ought to Be, Addressed to the Slaveholders of the South* (Charleston, 1850), p. 44

[16] 'Testimonio de las Diligencias Formadas Sobre el Reglamento de Policía Rural' signed José Vizarro y Gardín, Juan Montalvo, Rafel O'Farril and Pedro Diago to Captain General Dionisio Vives, 26 November 1831, Ultramar 89, AGI; Ignacio Francisco de Borja de Peñalver y Peñalver El Marques de Arcos to Gerónimo Valdés, 19 May 1842 printed in full in Jean-Pierre Tardieu, "*Morir o Dominar": En Torno al Reglamento de Esclavos de Cuba (1841-1866)* (Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2003), p. 214

slaveholding South based on conjecture, albeit a conjecture based on sound practical evidence. Testimony must therefore be sought of the master's verbalisation of his own emotions, just as his silences must be interrogated for their meaning.

Following that methodological intention, the recurrent expressions of fear made by slaveholders in Cuba - rich and descriptive in their quality - are an incredibly revealing insight into the subjective slaveholding experience. Striking is the manner in which slaveholders in Cuba not only broached the subject of their own fear, but also described it, providing a verbal insight into the master's emotional experience. The metaphorical comparison made by Peñalver y Peñalver in 1842, for example, between military devotion and slave obedience, not only offers a fascinating window into the slave-owner's perspective of his own control, but also communicates an understanding of how precarious that command was:

> 'No one could explain better than a military man such as [Gerónimo Valdés, Captain General of the island at the time, and recipient of the correspondence] the miracles of subordination caused by this magical restraint, with which moral force one solitary voice drives towards death millions of armed men who, without a terrified respect for their superiors, could often do to them that which 500 thousand slaves would do with their masters [and] who will come to an understanding of the power of brute force, as soon as they come to leap over the barriers of subordination.'[17]

That awareness of militaristic control over one's slaves, and the sense of the growing promise of mutiny, is an immensely descriptive and useful analogy; an example of evocative Cuban slaveholder description aiding historians in pursuit of the emotional experience of mastery. That this descriptive letter was sent to the Captain General in response to his highly unpopular attempt to draft a new Cuban slave code is consequential, as shall be discussed shortly. Equally relevant is the reality that, one year prior to this letter being sent, a census had demonstrated, for the first time, that whites were outnumbered on the island by free people of colour and slaves, and, one year later, a series of slave revolts would break out and electrify the slaveocracy.

---

[17] Ignacio Francisco de Borja de Peñalver y Peñalver to Gerónimo Valdés, 19 May 1842 printed in full in Jean-Pierre Tardieu, "*Morir o Dominar",* p. 214

Defining an Emotion

Lauric Henneton's definition of fear is that which has been followed in this thesis. 'Fear', he explains, 'whatever its shade and degree… has a subject and an object… someone is afraid of someone else, of something, or of someone doing something deemed detrimental by the subject.'[18] In the case of this thesis, the subject is the white slave-owner (as only white slave-owners are considered in this study), and the (theoretically) feared objects are his slaves of colour. The word fear has been chosen to denote the slave-holder's feeling toward insurrection, in alignment with Henneton's schema for measuring the intensity of that emotion. Initially, a pre-existing threat (such as war, or a hostile native population) must exist. This was provided by the presence (indeed, omnipresence) of the feared objects – the slaves themselves – in vast numbers, rendering the slaveowners constantly surrounded by threat. The memory of a danger that has already taken place, and the repetition of which is dreaded, then intensifies fear. This was provided by the slave rebellions (or near-successful attempts) which took place within the lifetimes of the men whose words are studied in this thesis. In addition to Henneton's rubric, 'fear' was the word most often chosen by the men themselves, even if only to refute its existence, highlighting it as the most logical label for their emotions.

Henneton's final two points for measuring the potency of fear: a sense of geographical vulnerability (e.g. remoteness, or proximity to the feared object), and the extent to which subjects feel able to defend themselves, or respond affirmatively to threat should it arise, can be answered one way for Cuba and South Carolina as *whole regions*, and another for the *individual slaveholders* within their boundaries. Questioning which of the two regions was more geographically vulnerable, undoubtedly the answer is Cuba. Surrounded by islands with emancipated slave populations, and neighboured by Haiti, Cuba is a geographically isolated space to which the arrival of extra troops in the event of rebellion would have been far more delayed than in South Carolina. Yet, this thesis is specifically interested in men as individual emotional subjects, not nations or islands as faceless amalgams. As such, regarding fear and slave insurrection, it is more appropriate to question how individual men on their plantations in South Carolina and Cuba may have felt. When considering isolated white families on their plantations in both regions,

[18] Lauric Henneton, 'Introduction: Adjusting to Fear in Early America' in *Fear and the Shaping of Early American Societies*, ed. by Lauric Henneton and L.H. Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 10

vulnerability and the risk of being killed by one's slaves were much the same in each. Moreover, given the subjectivity of fear, it is not always logically and directly proportional to the realistic levels of threat measured by Henneton's framework.[19] Fear is not considered an emotion that only manifests itself when there is valid reason for it to. The fact of Cuba's geographical circumstance, and the size of its enslaved and free population of colour, do indeed suggest that the slaveholders of Cuba had more *reasons* to be afraid, but having good reason to be afraid, and being afraid, are two very different things. In fact, it is arguable that the frequency of slave unrest in Cuba normalised paranoia on the island in a way that may have lessened its intensity. In South Carolina, however, fear was more latent and malignant, more furtive and shameful, perhaps rendering it an emotion more acutely felt.

Freud separated fear and anxiety based on whether the subject is reacting to a threatening event which has already taken place, or anticipating something dreaded, but not yet materialised: 'fear and anxiety are states of fearful preparedness for danger: anxiety is a generalised preparedness; fear is directed towards a specific worldly object.'[20] Following Freud's rubric, it would be more correct to say that slave-owners were generally *anxious* about repetitions of the Haitian Revolution on their shores, rather than afraid, as it was a spectral threat they had heard about, but not experienced themselves. Further, fear of insurrection coexisted with anxieties at times clearly connected to slave violence, and others related to the loss of slavery in general. In the Cuban discourse, for example, anxiety concerning the destitution that would result from the emancipation of the island's slaves demonstrated that death was not the only dreaded eventuality. Anxiety that white Spanish culture might have been displaced by African customs was also potent in Cuba, as were anxieties regarding the political aspirations and designs of their slaves.

At times the anxieties of both regions matched, such as the risk of economic ruin caused by insurrection, and of the rape of white women at the hands of rebel slaves. In South Carolina particularly, anxiety was voiced concerning the possibility of suffering political subjection to the North, and of the economic collapse that would inevitably be brought about by other paranoid whites in the region withdrawing support for an increasingly dangerous enslavement system. As Lacy Ford has explained, in South Carolina: 'what

---

[19] Henneton, 'Introduction: Adjusting to Fear in Early America', p. 10
[20] Jonathan Lear, *Freud* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 154

slave-owners feared most about slave rebellion was… [that it] might remind white southerners that the price of slavery was eternal vigilance… [causing] whites to lose patience with the peculiar institution and seek to chart its gradual demise.'[21] While arguably it was more a cause of anxiety than of fear, it is clear that proslavery South Carolinians were concerned that the profound stress provoked by each insurrection attempt jeopardised the continuation of slavery, and, as such, in South Carolina, suppressing any dialogue surrounding the theme of white fear was central to the continuation of slavery. Evidently the emotional landscape of fear surrounding slave insurrection truly was, in Henneton's words, 'a category of related emotions'.[22]

Scripts of Confidence and Supplication

Slaveholders in South Carolina, and Peninsular Spaniards and Creole Cubans with investment interests in Cuban slavery, had very different rhetorical methods for achieving the same goal: the continuation of the institution. The central contribution of this thesis is the theory that there emerged from these two case studies two main rhetorical styles which were mobilised when dealing with fear and slavery in order to render that objective more realisable. This dissertation examines the varying ways in which fear was allowed into, or excluded from, those public and private discourses, and to what ends.

South Carolina's political profile was a nationalistic state at the helm of the slow process of mobilising secession from the Union across the South in order to preserve slavery without suffering the interference of the federal government. Proslavery advocates were speaking in an age when forces were amassing from all sides in an effort to detract from, and abolish, their system of labour and social organisation. Abolitionism - an affront to the southern way of life - obligated proslavery spokesmen to argue in defence both of the South and of slavery. Their rebuttal against abolitionists all at once acted to invalidate detraction; to demonstrate the self-reliance and assurance necessary for maintaining southern support for slavery; and to argue for the expansion of slavery into the newly-acquired western territories. Any lack of conviction would have failed in achieving those objectives, and risked collapsing their society from within by damaging white support for the institution, ending slavery without the need for war, either race or civil. The South

[21] Lacy K. Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 357
[22] Henneton, 'Introduction: Adjusting to Fear in Early America', p. 10

Carolinian argument therefore required a tone of aplomb, defensiveness, and impenetrability in order to sustain an independent stance on slavery. This thesis terms the result a Confidence Script: one which asserted unalloyed white confidence and control at all costs, and in all moments, regardless of any apparent danger. The Confidence Script was used to convince an audience composed at varying moments of abolitionists, other white southerners, slaves, and, at times, the family of the speaker, not only of the total sustainability of slavery, but also that slavery in South Carolina was completely safe from the threat of insurrection, which, in any event, white men would be more than able to quell.

Slaveholders in Cuba, the most valuable possession in Spain's rapidly eroding empire, conversely, wished to conserve that colonial relationship in order, jointly, to guarantee military protection and political consistency on the island, and to defend against the annexationist and acquisitive designs of Britain and the U.S. A narrative of loyalty, fearfulness, and imploring dependency better served that goal. Slaveholders in Cuba needed Spanish protection in order to assure the stable continuation of their livelihoods, and lives, on the island. A threatening, demanding or aggressive script akin to South Carolina's would have antagonised the paranoid Spanish Crown, which would have sooner acted to suppress voices emanating from Cuba than hear their requests. As such, slaveholders cannily realised the advantage of supplication over hostility, evoking helplessness and terror, and in so doing, conjuring a femininity which appealed to, and exploited, Spain's protective masculinity. For these reasons, this thesis terms the Cuban discourse a Supplication Script, which portrayed the slaveholding experience as a terrifying risk abounding with threat, which Spain needed to protect against, or risk losing the island to a rival nation. Fear was a useful tool for proslavery voices in Cuba, joining together Peninsular Spaniards and Cuban Creoles in their economic interests.

Yet, it was not quite as simple as a binary difference between a wholly confident South Carolina and a consistently fearful Cuba (history is rarely so obliging). Slaveholders in Cuba were astutely aware of when to invoke fear and when to suppress it, depending on time, place, and circumstance, but, most importantly, on audience. Cuba was constricted by the relentless censorship enforced on the island by a metropole fearful of voices seeking to stir independence movements. As such, censored publications, approved by colonial authorities, purposefully espoused narratives attesting to Cuba's stable state with

the strict intention of attracting investors who were (as was revealed in private correspondence) growing increasingly tentative about investing in an island whose enslaved population was so threatening. Revealing their appreciation for the relationship between emotions and capitalism - or, between confidence, fear, and investment - a Confidence Script akin to South Carolina's (similar, but not identical) was crafted and touted in Cuba's press, simultaneous with private letters being sent to the Crown from the slaveholders of Cuba lamenting the fearsome, unpredictable, and alarming atmosphere that surrounded them. Similarly, the Captains General of the island occasionally employed a Confidence Script when it served them to use confidence as a means of emphasising to Spain their capability as leaders.

Examining these two regions as comparative case studies, it becomes evident that there are similarities between both the Confidence and Supplication Scripts of each (even though they were used in different moments, and spoken by men who were not consciously borrowing from the same rhetorical toolkit.) For instance, the Supplication Scripts of Cuba and Colonial South Carolina both manipulated the imagery of a child-like colony seeking the paternal protection of their respective metropoles. Meanwhile, both Confidence Scripts were similar in their style of refuting outside commentary upon slavery as false slander in order to offer instead the approved dialogue, which attested to the prosperity and safety of each slaveholding region.

Cuba's slaveholding script was, evidently, fluid based on circumstance: beseeching and disquieted when the audience was the sympathetic Crown, calm and reassuring when the audience was, for example, unwelcome filibusters from the U.S., or capitalists with bulging pocketbooks. Although in both regions each Script was deployed to different degrees, and, sometimes, in different eras, the characteristics of both Scripts resemble each other across time and space, and, indeed, across multiple Atlantic slaveholding masculinities. The case, clearly, was one in which it was equally important not only knowing what to say, but *how to say it*. More specifically, in the emotional sense, knowing when to use fear or anxiety, and when to use confidence or haughtiness. Knowing when and how to use fear was crucial to the in-groups of this thesis, and that tonal shrewdness is what characterised both Scripts. Misjudgement of emotional style would have jeopardised not only the likelihood of an entreating petition being received favourably, but also the probability of a bullish declaration being believed. At play, then, was a writing

culture of carefully balanced and executed emotional language, a writing 'etiquette', to use Sandra Lauderdale Graham's term, which was strikingly similar in both Cuba and South Carolina.[23]

Male historical subjects were aware of the potential power emotions held to either validate or injure their masculinity, and their words and actions demonstrate that understanding. The emotional components of their discourses were not accidental or decorative: emotional language served a rhetorical, and political, purpose. When enslavers opened their mouths to speak about slavery, or picked up their quills to write about it, nothing about the emotional words they used was flippant, untaught, or untouched by the social norms each man had been raised to understand and internalise. The business of this thesis is to interrogate the circumstances that influenced the Supplication Script to have been so prevalent in Cuba, and so inappropriate in antebellum South Carolina, seeking explanations more satisfactory than the oft-cited geographical and chronological differences between both regions (such as Cuba's proximity to Haiti.). Modern scholars must consider not only the role emotion played in each discourse on slavery, but also *why*: a question that can only be answered if each narrative is taken as having been the product of its own social and political climate. Slaveholders made choices about which emotions to nominate and profess, and consciously decided which should remain unsaid. That decision-making process reveals much of the construction of specific, contrasting slaveholding masculinities in each region, and must not evade scrutiny.

Three main practical factors affected the pervasiveness of the Confidence Script in South Carolina. The first, that South Carolinians had no protective or sympathetic metropole to which they could have voiced (and emphasised) their doubts and woes. I have come to believe that the Supplication Script is specific to a colonial context: deployed when beseeching the Crown for more protection against the given threat of rebellious slaves, which necessitated a language of petition, dependence, and flattery. The second, that their dedication to the double-helix of secession and slavery restricted South Carolinian proslavery firebrands within an emotional straight-jacket of their own making: confidence

[23] Sandra Lauderdale Graham, 'Writing From the Margins: Brazilian Slaves and Written Culture', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49:3 (2007), p. 623. Lauderdale also uses the term 'formulas' to describe these writing techniques, which applies equally well to the Scripts under consideration here. p. 624

was required at all costs, their collective 'voice' needed to be impenetrable, or it would render their agenda futile.

The third factor central both to the tone and the irrevocability of the Confidence Script is the paternalist proslavery argument that had gained force in the southern U.S. as the moral justification of slavery during the antebellum period.[24] The paternalist avowal that each slave-owner was a benevolent father figure to his slaves, who formed part of his 'family white and black', had a significant impact on the Confidence Script, since that narrative of espoused altruistic authority and mutual attachment between master and slave would have been totally undermined by any mention of the master's terror, or of slaves plotting to murder their alleged patriarch. Each claim of slave-owner kindness, and slave contentment, bound slaveholders more tightly into their narrative restraints.

The alleged kindness of Iberian slavery was espoused with pride by slaveholders who regarded their comparatively merciful slave codes as proof of the benevolent system of enslavement in Latin America, where the Catholic Church and the Crown loomed as intangible paternal protectors for the rights of enslaved people (even if only in theory).[25] With that said, they did not develop a form of proslavery emphatically based on the paternal relationship between master and slave. Effusive speeches were not delivered in Cuba professing the familial bond that tied filial slave to master with affection and loyalty, as was the case in South Carolina. As such, the slaveholders of Cuba were not subverting their moral stance on slavery when they admitted their fearfulness. They were, subsequently, freer to comment on slave insurrection more frankly. Undoubtedly, the continuation of the illegal slave trade to Cuba, and the almost unceasing arrival of newly-enslaved Africans, forestalled the development of a paternalist argument attesting to a mutually familial relationship between master and slave as it did in the South. This disparity between a paternalist and non-paternalist proslavery style is fundamental to the genres of speaking about slavery in South Carolina and Cuba.

---

[24] As Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese have argued, while this avowed benevolence belied the brutality of the institution of slavery, slave-owners did truly believe their affirmations of magnanimity. Eugene D. Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Fatal Self-Deception: Slaveholding Paternalism in the Old South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

[25] Jamie Holeman, ' "A Peculiar Character of Mildness": The Image of a Humane Slavery in Nineteenth-Century Cuba' in *Francisco Arango y La Invención de la Cuba Azucarera,* ed. by María Dolores Gonzáles Ripol and Izaskun Álvarez Cuartero (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 2009), pp. 41-55

The word 'Script' has been selected to describe these styles over alternative terms such as discourse as it better conveys a performative, rehearsed, and censored manner of speaking. Each Script was stylised, and not purely natural or spontaneous (though at times the sincerity of the emotional content may have increased depending on each slave-owner's emotional state at the time.) The term 'discourse', with connotations of a more natural, unrehearsed, tone, is used to describe the words of those who spoke out against the institution of slavery: theirs was a Subversion Discourse.

A central element of each Script was the theme of rejecting the words of those uninvited to pass comment: those who, it was felt, by virtue of their lack of slaveholding experience, or their distance, had no right to pass judgement on the institution, much less to stir up unrest and violence in their attempts to abolish it. In this way, a clear sense of divide between in-group (proslavery voices) and out-group (anti-slave trade, or abolitionist individuals) characterises both Scripts, each of which continually made the case for stricter censorship in a bid to keep unwanted Subversion Discourses out. This aversion to the out-group's opinions and intervention is exemplary of what has been termed: 'in-group favouritism vs. out-group derogation'.[26] In South Carolina, as will be expounded in Chapter III, the importance and zeal of the in-group was more forceful given the nationalism fuelled by a clear North/South divide. In Cuba, conversely, often the out-group was actually populated by former members of the in-group: exiled or expatriated Creole slaveholders, whose Subversion Discourse dragged otherwise well-hidden emotions into the public forum.

Masculinity

Responding to Barbara Rosenwein's historiographical entreaty: 'the ideal history… will not be a history of the emotions but rather an integration of the history of emotions into "regular" history', Lauric Henneton, in his introduction to the edited collection *Fear and the Shaping of Early American Societies,* classifies the study as 'not… a history *of* fear, but

[26] For discussion of intergroup bias and out-group hostility, see Miles Hewstone, Mark Rubin, and Hazel Willis, 'Intergroup Bias', *Annual Review of Psychology,* Vol.53 (2002), pp. 575-604; see also Eliot R. Smith and Diane M. Mackie 'Intergroup Emotions' in *Handbook of Emotions,* ed. by Michael Lewis, Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, and Lisa Feldman Barrett, 3rd edn (New York: Guilford Press, 2008), pp. 428-440

rather an integration of fear into the history of Early America.'[27] This thesis contributes to that same endeavour, not only writing racialised fear into the history of the Americas, but also offering an integration of fear into the history of American slave-owning masculinities.

The abundance of excellent studies on slave-owning women has created a skewed historiography for the southern U.S.; one that offers a rich portrait of the woman's experience and subjectivity, but which (impressive recent studies into slaveholder masculinity notwithstanding) cannot boast the same richness on the theme of the master's interior world.[28] Examinations of the gender identities of slaveholding men, conducted within the limiting confines of a historical focus on the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity, have left the lived male experience to be overlooked in favour of the multi-dimensional study of their female contemporaries. Although historical narratives traditionally foreground white men as their 'subject', the principal objective of this thesis is to investigate these figures as 'subjects'. It will not only enquire what the expectations of hegemonic masculinity were in South Carolina and Cuba, but also how those expectations - namely, the importance of honour, and its command over masculinity in both regions - affected the male verbalisation of emotions as they were correlated with slave insurrection. Expectations of masculine comportment will be analysed in order to understand the reasons behind the slaveholder denial or confrontation of fear in two different cultures. While the scholarship of slave-owning subjectivity in the U.S. has historically favoured women as subjects, in Cuba the historiography is more "classed" than gendered: the slaves themselves are more commonly the subjects of valuable cultural

---

[27] Jan Plamper, William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein and Peter Stearns, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview With William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory*, Vol.49 No.2 (May 2010), p. 260; Henneton, 'Introduction: Adjusting to Fear in Early America' p. 2

[28] For relevant examples of studies on the plantation mistress, see Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress* (New York: Pantheon, 1982); Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Marli F. Weiner, *Mistresses and Slaves: Plantation Women in South Carolina, 1830-80* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Steven M. Stowe, Lorri Glover, and John Mayfield contribute wonderfully nuanced studies of the slaveowner. For relevant examples, see Steven M. Stowe, 'The Touchiness of the Gentleman Planter: The Sense of Esteem and Continuity in the Antebellum South', *Psychohistory Review,* Vol. 8 (1979), pp. 6-15; Steven M. Stowe *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1990); Lorri Glover, *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007); John Mayfield, *Counterfeit Gentlemen: Manhood and Humor in the Old South* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2009); also worthy of note is *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*, ed. by Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004)

study, while the master-class has not been examined through the lens of gender history, much less History of the Emotions.

Pieter Spierenberg has pushed for historians to study men 'explicitly as *men*… rather than implicitly as the merchants or politicians with whom historians happen to have dealt for so long.'[29] For just as long, men have been studied as 'slave-owners', 'masters', and 'planters', as though the emotional characteristics required of those roles - dominance, sternness, authority - were inherent masculine characteristics, without recognising that the role of master was exactly that: a role to be performed. Slaveholding masculinity should very much be considered a specific type of gendered experience, with its own specific behavioural requirements and responsibilities. While studies in Gender History have emphasised valuable theories concerning *contested* masculinities, this thesis is more interested in *endured* masculinities, probing the question of how, as Sonya Rose phrases it, 'cultural constructs of masculinity have been lived', and, this thesis adds, performed, in the context of the slaveholding Atlantic.[30] In the following chapters, the trend among gender historians to 'analyze whether and how the diverse meanings of manliness, masculinity or manhood have been implicated in a variety of regimes of power' is brought to bear upon slavery, a 'regime of power' enforced not only institutionally and legally, but personally, for every slave-owner, and slave, on every plantation.[31] Extending this, it is argued that rebellious slaves disrupting that regime had the capability of provoking within each slave-owner a microcosmic 'crisis' of masculinity, whereby his self-image of

---

[29] Pieter Spierenburg outlines the issue that, although new historiographical importance was given to the study of gender from the 1980s, this was overtly an effort to focus on the *female* experience, as a rebuttal to a traditionally male-oriented narrative. Pieter Spierenburg, 'Masculinity, Violence and Honour: an Introduction' in *Men and Violence: Gender, Honour and Rituals in Modern Europe and America,* ed. by Pieter Spierenberg (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), p. 2; Anthony Rotundo, too, notes that the historical focus on women has left men to have been examined superficially. Anthony Rotundo, 'Learning About Manhood: Gender Ideals and the Middle-class Family in Nineteenth Century America', in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940,* ed. by J.A. Mangan, and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 35

[30] Sonya O. Rose, *What is Gender History?* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 78-9; On contested masculinity, see David D. Gilmore*, Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 17

[31] Rose, *What is Gender History,* p. 78

dominant protector was rejected by enslaved rebels who plotted to murder him and his family.[32]

Since the emotional worlds of contemporary South Carolinian women are easy to find, as their letters were replete with descriptive language surrounding their feelings, they are not the central focus of this study. They are useful, however, given their habit of occasionally passing comment on the behaviour of men during times of slave rebellion. Equally, women are passively useful given the tendency of South Carolinian men to ventriloquize them; to use the alleged alarm of their wives and daughters as a method for discussing fear more generally, without being forced to allude to their own.[33] In Cuba, the intimate, emotional world shared between husband and wife in general has been more elusive in the archives, but again, fear came across readily enough in the writings of male slaveholders without necessarily requiring women to shed more light on their emotional experiences.

The men studied held, in varying states, political positions, titles of nobility, property, investments in the slave trade and slavery, businesses, plantations, and, of course, slaves. In South Carolina, the men studied were either born in the state, thereby identifying themselves expressly as South Carolina gentlemen, or owned plantations in the state and resided there. In Cuba, the men were both Cuban Creoles and Peninsular Spaniards based on the island, either in an official capacity, or who had emigrated for the purpose of profit. It will be indicated which when quoting them, but it is important to note that when referring to the 'Cuban' style of writing (for example), that style was produced on the island, not exclusively by Creole Cubans, but by the proslavery voices of Peninsular and Creole planters.

Historiography & Grounding

---

[32] As R.W. Connell explains, the term 'crisis of masculinity' should be understood to mean a 'crisis of the gender order as a whole', during which masculinities are disrupted, often followed by subsequent 'attempts to restore a dominant masculinity'. Although Connell applies this theorem to explaining large-scale national reactions to The Great War, or the women's suffrage movement, for example, which then provoked new 'cults of true masculinity' in response, the same should apply to the slaveholding gender order, whereby the white man protects, and the enslaved black man obeys. When the enslaved black man rejected that order in armed rebellion, it was clearly a challenge not only to the racial order, but also the gendered order within it. R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), p. 84

[33] I thank Professor Rebecca Earle for her personal insights to me on this matter.

It is surprising that the volatile world of the slaveholding Atlantic has not yet been the subject of emotional research, despite the reality that its integral elements created some of the most extreme emotions known to the human experience: wrath, desperation, terror, and lust, to name but a few. Historians of the Emotions will find in this study both the pursuit of emotional sincerity, and an examination of emotional performance. It is a study of the effects of Emotional Regimes upon men who are also involved in nationalist projects, questioning how each of those forces strengthened the other. This thesis examines how nationalism worked to galvanise the importance of exhibiting what were culturally recognised as masculine emotions, positing that colonialism (in the very specific slaveholding context) did the opposite, exploring how slaveholders used their political realities to their rhetorical advantage.

A Cubanist reading this comparative study can learn more about the political use of fear in Cuba, and how that emotion was put to work in communications with metropolitan officials. This thesis adds depth to our historical understanding of how colonial settlers in Cuba benefitted from what I argue was an emotional freedom (at times an indulgence that may have been more pantomime than reality) that wasn't simply based on the affective predisposition towards emotional exuberance normally ascribed to Hispanic men. This thesis in no way wishes to propagate emotional stereotypes surrounding Latin men which pervade modern assumptions about them: men who are somehow easily overcome by emotions, and unable to govern them; men who are affectively 'fiery' or 'passionate'. That those men are 'naturally' more emotional, or more predisposed to emotional explosion, is not the conclusion which will be reached. The work of Ulla D. Berg and Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas helps to frame the matter. Taking issue with what they term 'racialised affect', Berg and Ramos-Zayas seek to disturb the modern stereotype of the "hot-blooded' Latin man, somehow emotionally excessive, cartoonish… hyper-affective… as suggested by caricaturesque images of machismo and marianismo', outlining that the presentation of empowering (white) affect, against liable (Latin or native) affect, is one propagated in order to validate and maintain white hegemony.[34] Indeed, discussing fear openly seems more logical and natural to the modern reader. If anything, it is the taciturn southerners who seem unnaturally repressed and excessive in their silence, to the extent of caricature.

[34] Ulla D. Berg and Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas, 'Racialising Affect: A Theoretical Proposition', *Current Anthropology*, Vol.56 No.5 (Oct. 2015), pp. 654-677. Quote from p. 660

Although slaveholders in Cuba had ample reason to feel afraid given the frequency of slave violence by which they were confronted, their written expressions of fear are not treated in this thesis as necessarily always being affective, as, on occasion, they were clever and strategic manipulations of circumstance and emotion (even though they were manipulating emotions which may well have truly existed.) This thesis explores Cuban fear not as a weakness, but as a canniness; a feminised masculinity working in emotional and political terms, compared alongside South Carolinian masculinity, which was electrified by nationalism. With that said, Cuban fear is not relegated outright to the status of performance or falsehood: it may well have been exaggerated at times, but it is considered no less genuine for that. Indeed, the trend in Cuba for an expressive discourse surrounding fear brings into focus just how incredibly (and consistently) taciturn South Carolinian slave-owners were on the subject. My belief is not that the slaveholders of Cuba were extraordinary in their candid evocation of fear, but that South Carolinians were in their silence (thanks to: their Emotional Regime, status, and expansionist desires). By examining the two narratives alongside each other I do not seek to claim that their emotional experiences were identical, or that one can be read as a surrogate for the other. Rather, I am exposing what slaveholder fear looked like; how slave-owners verbalised and phrased their approach to the subject; the analogies they made; the adjectives they used. All of these elements help to shape a historical account of how the experience of being a slave-owner in times of slave unrest might have *felt,* though, indeed, it is not unthinkable that the emotional experience may have had similarities and resemblances across cultures and national borders.

Cubanists familiar with the emotional style of the letters being sent from and around that island would be surprised at the consistency and impenetrability of South Carolinian claims of confidence. Equally, Americanists accustomed to the aloof dismissal of slave rebellion that characterised slaveholders in the South would be taken aback to read the plenitude of private emotional outpouring typical of slaveholders in Cuba, acting as an undercurrent to the public Cuban Confidence Script. Only when read together can the extremity of each be exemplified and analysed in its special uniqueness. This thesis does not contest that slave-owners were afraid. Rather, it acknowledges how well slaveholders masked that fear in South Carolina, questioning why that might have been, simultaneously interrogating what the motivations could have been for slaveholders in Cuba to have mentioned fear with such readiness (naturally, hiding it from their slaves at all times, a

condition which spanned the slaveholding world). This work is a comparative examination of how fear was at times mobilised and exploited, while at others it was smothered, but present.

Although Cuba is often studied comparatively and transnationally against the southern states, those comparisons differ from the present study considerably, usually in chronology and geography, but also thematically.[35] This thesis contributes an emotional angle to that typology. While it would appear that South Carolina is never selected as the object of comparison when paired with Cuba (perhaps given the lack of Cuban diaspora in the state, otherwise so present in Louisiana) for this study, and its pursuit of emotion, South Carolina's position as the outspoken and unapologetic vanguard of Nullification, secession, and proslavery, demonstrate the state's combustible political characteristics, making for a compelling contrast.

Although fear of slave rebellion is remarked upon frequently by scholars, it has not yet been properly analysed in its own right, a matter this thesis seeks to address. There is no monograph in either English or Spanish which deals with History of the Emotions in Cuba. Equally, while some inspiring headway has been made in the southern sphere, that scholarship is expressly focussed neither on South Carolina, nor on slave revolts, and indeed neither is it explicitly History of the Emotions. By and large, the distinction in modern styles of historiography is that, while there has been a growing focus on the internal world of the slave-owner in the U.S., generally, when enslavers come under scrutiny, it is with a view to questioning their capitalism and politics. In studies of Cuban slavery, the focus is almost exclusively on the slaves themselves, or on free people of colour. Again, these studies add richness to the field of slavery in very welcome ways, but

---

[35] Exemplary of these studies are: Rebecca J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Laird W. Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Alejandro de la Fuente and Ariela Gross 'Slaves, Free Blacks, and Race in the Legal Regimes of Cuba, Louisiana and Virginia: A Comparison' *North Carolina Law Review,* Vol.91 No.5 (2013), pp. 1699-1756; 'Comparative Studies of Law, Slavery, and Race in the Americas', *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, Vol.6 (2010), pp. 469-485; Herbert Klein, *Slavery in the Americas*: *A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); Gerald Horne's study is invaluable when considering the American fantasies of Cuban annexation. Gerald Horne, *Race to Revolution: The U.S. and Cuba During Slavery and Jim Crow* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2014); Stephen Chambers, *No God But Gain: The Untold Story of Cuban Slavery, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Making of the United States* (London: Verso, 2015); Rogrigo Lazo's study of the writing of exiled Cubans in the United States has provided much inspiration to this current thesis. Rodrigo Lazo, *Writing to Cuba: Filibustering and Cuban Exiles in the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005)

via methods quite different to those that have shaped this thesis.[36] On gender in Cuba, Sarah Franklin, in her worthwhile pursuit of a fuller account of the female experience on the island, arbitrates that Cuban men have been examined sufficiently, and thus moves onto affording women detailed, sensitive study, falling into the trap my research seeks to amend.[37] This issue is the cause that has left men to be studied as hollow vessels who existed only to trade and buy, abuse and profit, without addressing the shortfall in those studies, or treating the study of men with the detail and nuance which has been afforded to women. Franklin therefore delivers a detailed and complex study of women in rebuttal to what has never been a detailed and complex study of men, contributing to a lop-sided historiography of gender. Indeed, the lack of comprehensive studies on slaveholder masculinity in Cuba is what made writing this dissertation so challenging, given the lack of foundation to build upon as was possible in South Carolina.

Methodology

The divergence between the nature of the sources informing this study may initially seem jarring. While the sources substantiating the South Carolinian portion of this thesis are drawn, intentionally, from examples of texts written both for public audiences – pamphlets, speeches delivered in Congress, published contemporary monographs – and also from private correspondence and journals, the Cuban section is informed much more by texts pertaining to the public sphere: letters between officials, published texts, and correspondence between Spain and Cuba. The reasoning behind this is partly due to the fact that the writing cultures were so different in each region that similar types of intimately private documents are much rarer for the Cuban sample. But, more interestingly, it is also because slaveholders based in Cuba verbalised feelings and anxieties in their official correspondence that would have scandalised South Carolinians even in the most private context. Thus, while it may seem an inharmonious dichotomy, lacking in direct comparison, it is the very fact that each set of documents mismatches that reveals

[36] For relevant works see Camillia Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom: Women of Color, Gender, and the Abolition of Slavery in Havana and Rio de Janeiro* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Manuel Barcia has begun modernising the often Eurocentric focus of slavery in the Americas by centralising their West African traditions and histories. Manuel Barcia, *West African Warfare in Bahia and Cuba: Soldier Slaves in the Atlantic World, 1807-1844* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Aisha K. Finch *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba: La Escalera and the Insurgencies of 1841-1844* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015)

[37] Sarah Franklin, *Women and Slavery in Nineteenth Century Cuba* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2012)

so much about each group of men, their habits concerning their relationships with fear, and how comfortable they were nominating it in their writings.

'Public' henceforth will mean words produced and published for the purpose of reaching wide audiences. 'Private', when referring to Cuba, will refer to the private/confidential, i.e., not for public consumption, rather than the personally private, as was the case with the private/intimate letters of South Carolina. The kind of candour so characteristic of the official correspondence produced in Cuba can barely be found in even the most private papers from South Carolina, where an admission of fear – even intimately – was a rare thing indeed. That distinction is indicative of the differing emotional restrictions each group was confined by. The shift in tones in Cuba between the public and the private/confidential was significant enough to demonstrate a totally disparate style of writing in each, a dislocation completely in keeping with Ann Twinam's theoretical treatment of honour in Latin America as having been a public performance which came to repose in private, and which will be discussed in detail in Chapter II.

Correspondence and publications produced during times of slave unrest (instances of slave rebellion, changes in the codification of slavery, and political upheaval) have been used in the belief that during these moments emotions would have been more charged than in times of peace. For that reason, the South Carolinian portion of this thesis focuses heavily on documentation surrounding the Denmark Vesey conspiracy - the most well-documented insurrection attempt that came to fruition in the state during this chronological bracket - while the section dealing with Cuba relies less heavily on one particular event, given the frequency of slave violence on the island. The period 1820 – 1850 was chosen given its turbulence: the incorporation of the industrialised and heavily capitalistic Second Slavery; the growth of Atlantic abolitionism which came to bear more heavily on the three main slaveholding regions which remained (the U.S., Cuba and Brazil) and thereby created a greater sense of tension and pressure in each; incidences of organised slave rebellion; the growth of animosity between North and South which influenced southern nationalism; the filibustering attempts in Cuba which affected the relationship between colony and metropole; and Britain's attempts to control the clandestine slave trade, among others.

The specific technique for 'reading' these documents was slightly different for each set of sources. In Cuba, fear and descriptive, emotional language was plain to see. It wasn't necessary to scrutinise the letters in order to find fear since it was abundant and in plain sight. In that sense, next came the process of asking: why should that have been the case? It then became necessary to read *around* the fear, probing why the author was deploying it, and what their objective was for writing the letter in the first place. In South Carolina, allusions to fear were so brief and, at times, idiomatic, that it was necessary to read them more imaginatively, questioning whether the words had a deeper meaning than what was apparent. In this sense, revelations made by women about men were often very revealing, as they spoke about fear as plainly as the slaveholders of Cuba did, often implicating men in their descriptions, and hence adding substance to the archival silences men have bequeathed to us. Reading the public statements of both regions was more an act of reading 'against the grain', asking why slaveholders chose to profess confidence, and to what ends?

Chapter Description

This thesis is organised into five chapters. Chapter I, 'Spectres, Threats and Challenges: Political Landscapes of Slaveholder Fear in South Carolina and Cuba' explores the reasons why the historical contexts of both regions - the foreign and domestic aggravations facing slaveholders; the notable slave insurrections/insurrection attempts; the clandestine slave trade, and the codification of slavery, to name a few - laid the foundations for their differing rhetorical approaches to discussing slavery. Chapter II: 'What the History of Emotions Can Bring to the History of Slaveholding Societies' presents the social rules concerning emotions that governed male slaveholders in Cuba and South Carolina, and which must inform all analysis of the emotions they deployed, and silenced, when seeking to mobilise their political goals. It argues the ways in which each context either accommodated or complicated the use of Confidence and Supplication Scripts. Chapter III, 'Emotional Nationalism, Coerced Masculinity & Atlantic Cuckolds' focuses on how Cuba's status as a colony influenced the feminised language used when seeking to manipulate the paternal Crown, and how gestating southern nationalism pressured South Carolinian men into an emotional performance of impenetrable confidence which obligated them to reject fear at all costs. Chapter IV, 'The Private and Public in South Carolina: Emotional Proslavery and Selective Silences', delves

more deeply into South Carolina's public and private words, examining the Confidence Script at play in public, and then peering into the intimate world in search of fear. Chapter V, 'The Private and Public in Cuba: Fear, Defiance and Censorship', explores how censorship of the press occurred alongside the creation of an approved public dialogue - a carefully tailored Confidence Script - which is analysed against the private Supplication Script and the description it provided of slavery on the island.

I
Spectres, Threats and Challenges:
Political Landscapes of Slaveholder Fear in South Carolina and Cuba

---

The historical, demographic, and political contexts of South Carolina and Cuba constituted the staging upon which their Confidence and Supplication Scripts were performed. By examining those factors, this chapter will reveal the threats and antagonisms faced by the slaveholders of each region, and, in so doing, will outline how it came to be that, between 1820 and 1850, South Carolina was committed to the Confidence Script, while Cuba was more inclined towards one of Supplication. These mercurial three decades were characterised by political turbulence; fiercely capitalistic desire for profit; the illegal slave trade; bullish proslavery, nationalism, antagonistic global abolitionism, and, crucially, slave rebellion. While the experiences of slaveholders in South Carolina and Cuba were not vastly different, the crucial dissimilarities between their statuses as colonial possession, and state in an independent nation; the extent to which each was able to dictate their own slave codes; the time spent exposed to large-scale slaveholding; and their differing demographies were fundamental in shaping the content and tone of each Script.

The Spectre of Haiti

Though both regions intensified their use of slave labour in different centuries, both came to mechanise and capitalise the system significantly during what Dale Tomich has classed as the 'Second Slavery' of the early nineteenth century, at which point the enslavement systems in Brazil, Cuba, and the southern U.S., underwent immense growth in terms of output, size of enslaved populations, and areas covered by plantation estate.[1] During the decades bracketing this thesis, in both South Carolina and Cuba, slavery was operating in the fullest force it would ever know, and enslavers in both regions showed no signs of waning interest or intent. Simultaneously with this growth, slavery and the slave trade came under forceful attack directly, from the diplomatically formidable Britain and the republican governments on the South American mainland, and from the symbolic threat

---

[1] Dale Tomich, 'Introduction', pp. ix

of the new republic of Haiti, founded on the very basis of antislavery. Painfully ironic is the reality that the Second Slavery was the product of abolitionism: the reduction and later removal of slave labour in one region encouraging enslavers in another to invest more heavily in the system, as international competition dissolved, and potential for immense return increased.[2] South Carolina and Cuba developed and honed the institution of slavery during what Ada Ferrer terms 'the century of anti-slavery', unfurling new techniques for better production and profit while facing increasingly militant criticism from without (and, in South Carolina's case, within) their national borders.[3]

While Cuba had exploded onto the slaveholding scene at the end of the eighteenth century, previously a more minor player in the slave trade, and in crop-production, South Carolinians were fine-tuning methods of slaveholding they had been modifying over several centuries.[4] The dawn of intensive slaveholding in Cuba, roughly four decades earlier than the Haitian Revolution, began during the English occupation of Havana in 1762-3. During that brief ten month period, the spike in the number of merchant ships in Havana's ports, connecting Cuba to the trading Atlantic, and the disembarkation of 10,000 slaves, marked the dawn of the island's status as a prominent, soon to be pre-eminent, sugar producing region.[5] Opportunity for growth certainly lay in the eye of the beholder, and, in the case of burning St. Domingue - discomfortingly close, and visible with the naked eye from Cuba's eastern coast - one colony's bloodshed was another's bonanza.[6]

---

[2] Ada Ferrer, 'Cuban Slavery and Atlantic Anti-slavery', in *Slavery & Antislavery in Spain's Atlantic Empire,* ed. by Josep M. Fradera and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), pp. 134-158

[3] Ferrer, 'Cuban Slavery and Atlantic Anti-slavery', p. 135

[4] Since the Spanish Conquest until the mid-eighteenth century, Cuba had existed as a cattle-ranching colony scattered with tobacco farms and some emerging but rudimentary sugar plantations, populated by immigrants from the Canary Islands, and a small but by no means insignificant number of African slaves brought to the island to replace the dwindling native population as labourers. Sarah Franklin, *Women and Slavery,* p. 6

[5] Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), pp. 6-7

[6] For Haiti's effect on the wider Atlantic, see Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World,* ed. by David P. Geggus (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press*, 2001)*; for the Haitian Revolution and its roots in the French revolution, see C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938); and Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010)

In his seminal study, Michel Rolph-Trouillot states that the core elements of the Haitian Revolution - both its very occurrence, and the political overtones of the event - had been previously 'unthinkable' in the imaginations of almost everyone; the slaves undertaking the movement; planters enduring it; and the European and American voyeurs beholding it. Following 1804, nothing was unthinkable anymore.[7] That which had previously been beyond the scope of rational conception was literally in operation not far from either Cuba or South Carolina; a black republic, in which black generals and a black emperor governed free black citizens. The terrified white Saint Dominguans fleeing for their lives to Cuba and Charleston must have caused, if not a 'revolution in consciousness', to borrow Eugene Genovese's term, then a kind of chasm in the mind of slave-owners in both regions between how slaveholding life had been before the Haitian Revolution, and how it would be thenceforth. After that successful slave revolution had taken place, the ultimate risks of slaveholding were left patently and violently clear to every slave-owner, no longer abstract or implausible. Just as enslavement and rebellion for slaves were affected by Haiti's example, so too was slave ownership.[8]

Remarkable in the Cuban case was not that their dedication to slavery was caused by the void left by Haiti's sugar and coffee production (which, to a large degree, it was), but that language evoking Haiti was used to argue for the benefits of flooding slaves into Cuba in the 1790s. Slaveholders and businessmen on the island, typified by Francisco de Arango y Parreño, spokesman for the planter elite, went into the slave-trading business with the vocabulary of revolt, insurrection, and horror on their lips, urging for slaves to be poured into the island in spite of those realities. Arango stressed to the King of Spain in 1791 the urgency to 'take advantage of the moment to bring to your soil the wealth that the narrow

---

[7] Michel Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), pp. 70-108

[8] Genovese proffers that the Haitian Revolution marked a determined shift in the minds of enslaved people in the southern U.S. No longer fighting in armed rebellion against their enslavers with a view to restoring their African ideals, or to cast off their sufferings in a personal, immediate sense, following the events of 1791 – 1804, slaves who conspired together had a distinctly revolutionary goal: to overthrow the slave system as a whole. Eugene Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), pp. 82-126; see also Gerald W. Mullin, who draws similar distinctions between slaves' intentions during times of rebellion. Gerald W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 34; Manuel Barcia counter-argues, reasoning that, in Cuba, although in the early nineteenth century Atlantic ideologies had inspired slave unrest, between 1825 and 1843 slave revolts were often undertaken with the intention of resisting personal enslavement, not the institution of slavery, heavily influenced in their approaches by African 'traditions, cosmologies, and knowledge of warfare.' Manuel Barcia, *The Great African Slave Revolt of 1825: Cuba and the Fight For Freedom in Matanzas* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), pp. 11-13

territory of Guarico [Saint Domingue] gave the French nation.'[9] Plantation owners in Cuba never attempted to mute the gravity of what had happened in Haiti, but rather, argued how they could learn from the mistakes planters had made there (the staggering ratio of blacks to whites which had been permitted in St. Domingue, and the open discussion of the French Revolution in the presence of slaves, for example) thereby circumventing threat and ensuring safety and tranquillity among Cuba's inhabitants, white and black.[10] Risk was an unavoidable subject of discussion among aspiring plantation owners in Cuba in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; to have hushed the subject of slave rebellion as St. Domingue visibly burned by Cuba's side would have been absurd. Thus, from the moment market-oriented Creoles and Spaniards on the island began to realise its potential for production, they broached risk and possibility alongside one another, hushing neither and rationalising both. That balance is the fundamental difference between Supplication and Confidence Scripts.

South Carolinians made no effort to minimise their horror during the Haitian Revolution, legislating hence for the restriction of blacks entering South Carolina from the Caribbean, as white refugees from the colony were welcomed in Charleston, horrifying listeners there with accounts of their experiences.[11] The spectre of Haiti would be evoked often in South Carolina's writing, both public and private, for decades to come. Yet, by the time of the Haitian Revolution, slavery had been present in South Carolina for almost two centuries. As Louisiana was being admitted to the Union as a slave state in 1811, and slavery began to spread westward across the continent, it was not the opportune moment for discussions on the inherent dangers of slavery to surface. Concern and disquietude were pondered upon in the context of Haiti, but that discussion stopped short, consciously and decisively, before enveloping the slaves of the South. The southern states, with their deeply entrenched commitment to slavery dating back to the early seventeenth century in the cases of Virginia and South Carolina (and the sixteenth in Spanish Florida) had developed a vocabulary of confidence by the time the hour had arrived to discuss the

---

[9] Dale Tomich 'The Wealth of Empire: Francisco Arango y Parreño, Political Economy, and the Second Slavery in Cuba' in *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations and Legends,* ed. by Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John M. Nieto-Phillips (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), p. 60

[10] During this period as many as 30,000 émigré planters from Saint Domingue arrived in Cuba, bringing with them their slaves and their expert knowledge of sugar and coffee production. Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution,* 5th edn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 55

[11] Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988) p. 107; for further discussion, see *The Haitian Revolution and the Early United States: Histories, Textualities, Geographies,* ed. by Elizabeth Maddock Dillon and Michael J. Drexler (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016)

future of slavery in the new republic. The obstinate roots of proslavery took hold during the Constitutional Convention of 1787, when compromise was reached between the thirteen colonies in order that they could come together concordantly to gain independence from Britain: meaning that slavery would be constitutionally protected despite the anti-slavery sentiment germinating in the North. Southern steadfastness on the subject had been central to the South's political attitude since it entered into the Union as a slaveholding region alongside states already voicing their doubts as to the place of slavery in a republic based on the concept of liberty. From that point on, there was no place for uncertainty in the stance of the southern slaveholding states. The Confidence Script was born of this political patrimony of defensiveness, mutating and becoming more aggressive at the hands of secessionist South Carolinians as their determined nationalism fermented. At the end of the eighteenth century, Cuba was finding ways to manage danger, while the South was denying it.

Despite threats of insurrection in both regions, the promise of profit was so great that neither South Carolina nor Cuba was inclined to do away with slavery and disappear into economic insignificance in order to calm those of weaker nerves, much less to appease the 'false philanthropy' of abolitionists. Beseeching letters to Spain in which investors pleaded that, following emancipation, Cuba would collapse economically, prove how keenly aware slaveholders were aware that, without slavery, they would cease to exist in the world market. The profits to be made in both regions by the labour of enslaved people was staggering, and capitalistic to the highest degree.[12] The modernisation and industrialisation of both regions - profit-oriented and greedy - was undertaken in order to maximise financial gain. From the development of Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1793;

[12] For a definition of slaveholder capitalism, this paper has subscribed to the explanation of the following excellent article: John J. Clegg 'Capitalism and Slavery', *Critical Historical Studies*, Fall (2015), pp. 281-304; for discussions of Francisco de Arango y Parreño's capitalist intentions, see Franklin W. Knight, 'Origins of Wealth and the Sugar Revolution in Cuba, 1750 – 1850', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol.57 No.2, (1977), pp. 231-253; Dale Tomich, 'The Wealth of Empire: Francisco Arango y Parreño, Political Economy, and the Second Slavery in Cuba', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.45 No.1 (Jan. 2003), pp. 4-28. Building upon a rich base of historiography, most recently the work of Ed Baptist, Walter Johnson and Sven Beckert have written in brutal detail the mercantile violence and punishment Southern planters would employ in order to generate profit and efficiency on their cotton plantations. Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage Press, 2014); Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2013); see also Robert William Fogel and Stanley Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1974); Richard Follett, *The Sugar Masters: Planters and Slaves in Louisiana's Cane World, 1820—1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005)

to the widespread use of the Jamaica Train (a method for cooking sugar cane juice) in Cuba, and railroads on the island which minimised the time taken to transport heated cane syrup to the purging houses, and ultimately to transport sugar to Havana, or to provincial ports for export.[13] Commitment to the institution was demonstrated not only in words, but also concretely, by investment in new machinery and in slaves themselves, demonstrating a fiscal determination which proved that slaveholders' decisions were most often governed by their accounts rather than any fears concerning insurrection.

Truly the prefix 'un' was at its zenith in the decades between 1790 and 1820: unthinkable, unprecedented, unknown, the period was characterised by innovation, change and discovery, when every vast risk was matched by the equally immense possibility for staggering return. While planters admired their impressive and ever-amassing fortunes, the risk remained that every Denmark Vesey, José Aponte, Plácido or Nat Turner they found and executed for conspiracy could have been Cuba or South Carolina's Toussaint L'Ouverture.[14] The purpose of this thesis is not to attempt to present the fear of Haiti as novel or original, but rather, to probe a disparity. South Carolinians, aghast at the horrors of Haiti, and anxious that the contagion of rebellion should be carried into their state, were resolute in their public denial that their own slaves would ever autonomously organise anything similar. Slaveholders in Cuba, conversely, expressed frequent and frantic anxieties that similar scenes may have repeated themselves on the *ingenios* (sugar plantations) of Havana or Matanzas, planned by their own slaves independently of any outside agitation.

The risk of slave rebellion was no more 'unthinkable', or improbable, in South Carolina than it was in Cuba. The intensifying emotional restraints bridling the behaviour of South Carolinian men, combined with their increasingly antagonistic political circumstances, however, rendered their fears unspeakable. In Cuba the converse was true. The risk of slave insurrection formed a double helix with economic advantage in the discourse on

---

[13] These rail roads were the first in Latin America, proving that slavery catalysed modernisation on the island, rather than acting as its opposite. For information on the construction and function of these railroads, see Oscar Zanetti and Alejandro García, trans. by Franklin Knight and Mary Todd, *Sugar & Railroads: A Cuban History, 1837–1959* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); For an introduction of historiography on Cuban capitalism and industrialisation, and the transnational sharing of mechanisation techniques, see Daniel B. Rood, *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 1-121

[14] Ada Ferrer 'Cuba en la Sombra de Haití: Noticias, Sociedad y Esclavitud' in *El Rumor de Haití en Cuba: Temor, Raza, y Rebeldía,* ed. by in María Dolores Gonzales-Ripoll, Consuelo Naranjo, Ada Ferrer, Gloria García and Josef Opatrný (Madrid: CSIC Press, 2004), pp. 179-233

slavery presented to the Spanish Crown. When Arango warned that slaves must cease to be imported once the number of blacks on the island was equal to that of the whites, the terms of slavery in Cuba were set, with large-scale slave rebellion promised as a possible outcome from the dawn of the Second Slavery.[15] That the combined population of free people of colour and slaves came to exceed that of whites in Arango's own lifetime is not a suggestion that anxieties about becoming 'another Santo Domingo' were overcome, but rather that fear and greed, or dread and investment, functioned in harmony in slaveholding regions.[16] Only in Cuba's Supplication Script, though, were both polar extremes given verbal attention, and that reality has its basis in these early years.

The Long History of Slaveholding in South Carolina

From humble, uncertain beginnings, South Carolina had flourished into a state of opulence and wealth. This 'environmental Eden', in Max Edelson's words, with plenty of access to fresh water, and all the benefits of a tropical climate with far fewer hurricanes than the Caribbean, was marketed in lyrical tracts to Europeans as an agricultural land of milk and honey. By the seventeenth century South Carolina had a small but buzzing population of migrants, mainly of English, Scottish, Irish, and French Huguenot extraction, as well as a large supply of indentured servants. It was the sizeable émigré Barbadian population, though, experienced in slaveholding and crop cultivation, which would contribute massively to the style and techniques of plantation management employed in South Carolina.[17] In light of this, Daniel Littlefield writes persuasively on South Carolina's character as having been quasi-Caribbean; in their slave codes, treatment of slaves, the vast numbers of slaves imported to the colony since the earliest days of its

[15] For discussion of Francisco de Arango y Parreño's vision of a profitable, and safe, Cuba, which would avoid the disastrous fate of Haiti by learning from the perceived mistakes of that former colony, see Rafael Marquese, Tâmis Parron, Márcia Berbel, *Slavery and Politics: Brazil and Cuba, 1790-1850* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016), pp. 71-85; see also *Francisco Arango y La Invención de la Cuba Azucarera,* ed. by María Dolores Gonzáles Ripoll and Izaskun Álvarez Cuartero (Salamanca: Cícero, 2010)

[16] In 1841 whites formed 41.6% of the island's population. Michele Reid-Vazquez, *The Year of the Lash: Free People of Color in Cuba and the Atlantic World* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011), p. 47

[17] S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 14

existence, and, in some cases, their periodical absenteeism.[18] South Carolinian wealth was both envied and emulated by provinces such as Georgia, which, upon witnessing the striking benefits to be gained from the use of slave labour, abandoned its experiment of establishing a colony totally without slavery.[19] Between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, rice had been adopted as a staple crop in South Carolina, soon to be followed by indigo in the 1740s, and much later by cotton in the 1790s. Plantations that had mainly sprung up around the port town of Charleston, upon which enslaved Africans cultivated the land, gave rise to a population that by the early eighteenth century already had an enslaved majority.[20]

Charleston developed into a striking city, famed for its sophistication and refinement, and South Carolina acquired its reputation as a land of 'easy riches', opulence and wealth.[21] But, alongside its budding fame as a bustling centre of wealth, gentility, and anglophile style, Charleston gained renown as a slave-trading hub.[22] Slave traders and buyers travelled from far afield to seek their preferred type of human cargo slave in the markets of Charleston, with preferences being fully-formed as early as the colonial period based on what was deemed to have been the better behaviour and strength of slaves from regions such as Gambia, the Gold Coast, the Windward Coast and Angola.[23] By the first quarter of the eighteenth century slavery was a tremendously well-established system in South Carolina. That familiarity with slavery, but more importantly, with mastery, and all of the behavioural demands the role required, was part of the masculine patrimony in

---

[18] Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); for a discussion of the cultivation of rice into the 1850s, see William Dusinberre, *'Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000); for a discussion of the Lowcountry South and the British Caribbean, see Trevor Burnard, *Planters, Merchants and Slaves: Plantation Societies in British America 1650–1820* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); for Georgia's links to the Caribbean, see Paul M. Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013)

[19] Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonia Georgia, 1730–1775* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1984)

[20] By 1810 slaves comprised 4 of every 5 residents in the Lowcountry. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 309

[21] Robert Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, & Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1740–1790* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 41; for a contemporary description of the reputation of South Carolinian opulence, see Alexander Hewitt, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia* (London, 1779), p. 133

[22] For discussion on the development of the South Carolina gentry, and the anglicised style of Charleston, see Richard Waterhouse, *A New World Gentry: The Making of a Merchant and Planter Class in South Carolina, 1670–1770* (Charleston: The History Press, 2005)

[23] Kenneth Morgan, 'Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston' *The English Historical Review*, Vol. CXIII, No. 453 (September 1998), pp. 905-927; see also Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, p. 54

South Carolina. The correct way to manage slaves and exert mastery, and also to discuss slavery itself, had been curated over generations long before 1820.

South Carolina's wealth, and crop growth, though, were not homogeneous. The Lowcountry coastal districts of Beaufort, Colleton, Charleston and Georgetown are flat, humid, swampy areas, perfect for the growth of rice next to tidal rivers, luxury, long-staple cotton on the sea islands, and indigo in drier parts. Huge plantations in these areas were typically owned by absentee planters and run by white managers. The ratio of slaves to whites in the Lowcountry was subsequently the highest in the state, leading Lacy Ford to characterise the region as resembling the Caribbean 'more than any other slaveholding section of the United States.'[24] The smaller Piedmont plantations grew short-staple cotton, and were worked by smaller groups of slaves. Further inland, the mountainous Upcountry, where land was cheaper, was settled by middling planters, yeomen, and white agricultural workers keen to, one day, achieve the same wealth as their Lowcountry counterparts.[25] Despite the significant disparity between the staggering wealth of the Lowcountry, and the humbler plantations of the Piedmont, South Carolinians in all regions were bonded by similar interests and political sympathies that spanned class: principally, the continuation of slavery, and the profits it promised.[26] As William Freehling has proffered: 'no other state in the deep south had achieved such complete unification by the years of the Nullification Controversy.'[27] The uniquely uniform solidarity that reigned partly explains why South Carolinian commentaries on slavery were similarly invariable: common sympathies and viewpoints were shared across the state.

From the early stages of the colony's development, South Carolina was decisively sculpted as a 'slave society'.[28] Cuba, conversely, jolted from 'society with slaves' to 'slave society' with cataclysmic suddenness during the 1760s, during what Karen Morrison has termed Cuba's 'economic awakening', after which point commerce truly began to develop, and

---

[24] Ford, *Deliver us From Evil,* p. 84
[25] William Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina 1816-1836* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 7-24
[26] Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War,* pp. 7-24
[27] Ibid. p. 23
[28] Ira Berlin's thematic distinction separates a 'society with slaves' – where slavery exists but is by no means central to the economy or essential for production as alternative forms of labour were available - from 'slave societies', where slavery is the focal point around which the society's economy revolved, and where the presence of slavery influenced every human relationship in that region. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, pp. 8-9

enslaved Africans were brought into the island at an increasing pace.[29] Following the mainland Latin American revolutions of the 1810s and 20s, Cuba was also gaining importance as the immensely profitable 'ever-faithful isle' in an ever-shrinking Spanish Empire. The question of habit and long-term exposure to slavery bring several themes to the surface. Although familiarity with a threat, over a course of many years, may not necessarily numb one's perception of it, it does have an effect on one's ability to tweak and develop a way of talking about, minimising, or silencing one's fear of that threat. In South Carolina that process was able to repeat itself over centuries, normalising confidence and mastery over generations. The slaveholders of Cuba, conversely, were thrust into a new population demographic and lived experience with comparative suddenness, giving slaveholders on the island far less time than those in South Carolina in which to rehearse and perfect their genres of slaveholding narrative; an effort they made while also facing frequent slave rebellions, which no doubt stunted their sense of control.

Moreover, that these largely absentee slaveowners spent most of their time away from their plantations, most often living in Matanzas and Havana, and visiting their plantations only infrequently, may also have contributed to a sense of unease when the time came to be isolated among a vast and mysterious work force.[30] Although periodical absenteeism was often practiced by slaveholders in Lowcountry South Carolina, part of the year was still spent on the plantation. The families of these men, furthermore, were still based on their plantations in the patriarch's absence, meaning that children often spent their youths on plantations and were raised with a generational sense of normalcy regarding white mastery and black enslavement.[31] On a collective scale, the slaveholders of Cuba, it is argued, were less lofty in the language they used to discuss their slaves when compared to South Carolinians since the challenge of performing the role of slaveholder was still

---

[29] Karen Morrison, *Cuba's Racial Crucible: The Sexual Economy of Social Identities, 1750–2000* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), pp. 40-74

[30] Kenneth F. Kiple, *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 182

[31] Plantation mistresses often lamented their being left alone on the plantations to govern the slaves, writing to their husbands for advice or approval concerning slave punishment and management. Exemplifying this was a letter sent to 'My Dearest Husband' from Stono, South Carolina. '[I] told him very quietly but decidedly that I did not intend to find fault with him while you were away – but if he neglected his work again I should without saying a word to him send for Simon and let him put him in order. He seemed quite astonished and promised to do right in future… I have mentioned this to ease your mind in regard to any anxiety on my account. I am sure my style of management was entirely to your liking and certainly very effectual.' Letter signed 'A'. [Dated 'Sunday Morning', November] 1850, Middleton Papers, SHC

relatively new to them. This sudden introduction to large-scale slaveholding could well have contributed to a sense of helplessness which came through directly (and was further exploited) in the Supplication Script.

Colonial Cuba: Frictions and Frustrations

The political unity of South Carolina was never achieved across Cuba. The skewed division of wealth in favour of the West of the island, where the benefits of sugar prosperity were enjoyed in abundance given the greater concentration of sugar plantations in that region, irked the inhabitants of the East, which was comparatively impoverished, and where coffee and tobacco were more commonly grown, although Havana remained Cuba's main coffee-producing area.[32] The plantation economy stimulated the development of western and more central cities such as Havana, Colon, Matanzas, and Cienfuegos.[33] The resentment fermenting among the inhabitants of the Eastern part of the island would come to express itself fully, and most violently, during the War of Independence. The voices across the island, in contrast to those of South Carolina, were habitually unmelodious and discordant, creating a disjointed Cuban dialogue on slavery, bereft of the unification of mind-sets, guarded values, and the political homogeneity which guaranteed consistency in South Carolinian discussions.[34] The Cuban style of speaking about slaveholding was far more agitated and unpolished.

From 1818, Cuba was able to trade freely with all nations, at which point trade with the U.S. began to gain its permanent nature and scale. During the *Liberal Trienio* (1820-23), for example, Cuba enjoyed constitutional representation in the Spanish Cortes, which it would not afterwards, creating hopes of freedom and equality which were to be dashed. With the return of Ferdinand VII to the throne in 1823, and the restoration of absolutist

---

[32] Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States,* p. 20; for details on regional crop production, see Laird W. Bergad, Fe Iglesias Garcia and Maria del Carmen Barcia, *The Cuban Slave Market, 1790–1880* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 107-110

[33] *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies,* ed. by Vera D. Ruben and Arthur Tuden (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1977), p. 265; for details of expanding sugar frontiers and industrialisation, see Dale Tomich, 'Material Process and Industrial Architecture: Innovation on the Cuban Sugar Frontier, 1818-1857', in *Nature, Raw Materials, and Political Economy,* ed. by P. Ciccantel, D. Smith, and G. Seidman, Research in Rural Sociology and Development, 10 (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2005), pp. 287-311

[34] Alongside South Carolina's unified stance on slavery fermented disagreements between supporters of John C. Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, and Thomas Cooper, each with differing views as to the propriety of Nullification. For discussion of these themes, see William Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 213-287

monarchical rule, the Cuban political case began to develop in its own hobbled way. Due to Cuba's particular case, Spain felt that it required legislation specific to the running of a colony with a large slave presence, and that constitutional governance was therefore inappropriate for Cuba's circumstances. That representatives from such colonies were denied access to the Cortes in which the 'special laws' of their governance would be decided was an irksome irony which did not escape Cubans.[35] In 1826 the Captain General was awarded *facultades omnimodas* delegating to him the complete control over Cuban military capacities, all economic administration on the island, and unquestionable political and judiciary control. (It should come as little surprise, then, given Spain's paranoia, spurred on by liberal revolutions across Latin America, that the Captain General was always a Peninsular Spaniard, and not a Creole.)

Contributing considerable friction was that division between *Peninsulares* (those born in Spain but living in Cuba) and *Criollos* (Cuban-born men), which was never far from the political considerations of each group. From the first decade of the nineteenth century, the context of Atlantic independence and republicanism provoked ragged tensions, causing the Cuban *hijos del país* (sons of the country) to be viewed with intensive distrust, and suspicion that their calls for political enfranchisement were underwritten by a desire for independence.[36] For the majority of *Peninsulares* in Cuba, pre-eminence and superiority was theirs by virtue of their Peninsular birth. As Ramiro Guerra has explained, Cuba, for those Spaniards, 'was not a national province, but rather, a conquered country; a colonial dependent… the Peninsular… arrived filled with the idea that he was arriving in a Spanish possession.' Peninsular arrogance was, for obvious reasons, irritating for *Criollos*, just as *Criollos* were viewed by *Peninsulares* as insolent.[37]

---

[35] The bitterness among Creoles concerning their having been permitted no voice in the Spanish *Cortes* was given human form when José Antonio Saco was denied entry to the *Cortes* despite having been elected as a representative deputy of the island. Arthur F. Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba, 1817-66* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), p. 65

[36] Ramiro Guerra y Sanchez, *Manual de Historia de Cuba Desde Su Descubrimiento Hasta 1868* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1971) p. 214 see also: Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century*, p. 88; 'There can be no doubt about it that Creoles and Spaniards live here as dogs and cats locked up in the same cage.' Demoticus Philalethes (pseud). *Yankee Travels Through the Island of Cuba; or, The Men and Government, The Laws and Customs of Cuba, as Seen by American Eyes* (New York, 1856), p. 22; Marquese, Parron and Berbel, *Slavery and Politics in Brazil and Cuba*, p. 100; Kevin A. Yelvington, Jean-Pierre Sainton, Michel Hector and Jean Casimir, 'Caribbean Social Structure in the Nineteenth Century' in *General History of the Caribbean: the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by K.O. Lawrence and J. I. Cuesta, IV (London: Macmillan, 2011), pp. 283-334; José Maria Aguilera Manzano, *La Formación de la Identidad Cubana (el Debate Saco-La Sagra)* (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005)

[37] Guerra y Sanchez, *Manual de Historia de Cuba*, pp. 311,312; for traveller accounts of the visible rift between Creoles and Spaniards, see Louis A. Pérez Jr. *Slaves, Sugar, & Colonial Society: Travel Accounts of Cuba, 1801-1899* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1992), pp. 228, 230-1

The *Criollo* desire to enjoy access to unrestricted trade, and the immense profits it would provide, was perceived by Spaniards in the metropole and on the island as a needless change that would work to Spain's disadvantage. Spanish mercantilism was a source of chafing disagreement, and naturally, in time, that antagonism morphed from a tension between *Peninsulares* and *Criollos* into one between Cuba and Spain. Inversely, the continuation of the slave trade provoked the opposite desire from *Criollos* that wished for free trade in all other respects. For reasons by no means egalitarian, and wholly racist, many *Criollos* opposed the slave trade not only due to their fears of inhabiting an island increasingly populated by African slaves, but also because they found the idea of Cuba's cultural improvement inconceivable should the island have remained with so few whites. *Peninsulares* in Cuba and Spain, keen to make a profit, had no qualms with flooding the island with slaves, especially since doing so would bind Cuba closer to Spain, the island's only source of protection.[38] The contentious rift in interests was personified by the expulsion of *Criollo* José Antonio Saco from the island for his anti-slave trade writings, by *Peninsular* Captain General Miguel Tacón, who benefitted enormously from the bribes he received from traders.[39] Opposition to the slave trade ran the risk of labelling either a *Peninsular* who was opposed to the trade as a dangerous liberal, or a *Criollo* of the same persuasion as a budding advocate of Cuban independence.

Criollos had been inspired by the examples of Francisco de Miranda and Simon Bolívar, and earnestly desired the type of representation and equality enjoyed in the republics of France and the U.S. While Spain could have provided both, its refusal to do so pushed liberal *Criollos* to consider alternative arrangements. Their options were threefold. First, continued loyalty to Spain, which would necessarily retain for them the freedom to own slaves, and, given that the 1817 anti-slave-trade treaty with Britain was a dead letter, plantation owners, whether supporting the trade or not, would enjoy a constant supply of slaves as well. Second, independence: totally unthinkable without the risk, or certainty, of race war and immense loss of white lives in the process. (The risk of race war, it must be highlighted, was both real and strategically emphasised at different moments, and sometimes simultaneously: a powerful deterrent against revolutionary movements or disruptive behaviour of any kind.) Third, annexation to the United States: an option that

[38] David R. Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain, and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2002), pp. 114-132
[39] Murray, *Odious Commerce,* p. 129

seemed hugely unlikely due to the probability of a resulting war between the U.S. and Britain. That fact notwithstanding, annexation remained an avenue that southerners were keen to pursue with a view to expanding U.S. slaveholding territory and welcoming new slaveholding votes into Congress. Thus, in this period, while Spain was acutely aware of the fact the sovereignty of the island hung in the balance, threats of Cuban independence were kept in check by the fact that *Criollos* were equally aware that their livelihoods, and lives, were similarly precarious. As such, proslavery *Peninsulares* and *Criollos* remained largely anti-separatist.[40]

The identity division between *Peninsulares* and *Criollos*, however, found rare harmony on the question of slavery itself, in which both groups were deeply invested, knowing, in good faith, that slavery was the basis of all wealth on the island. Thus, while over questions of political representation and societal pre-eminence the *Criollos* complained bitterly, the question of owning slaves per se was a cause of unanimity between each group. In fact, the very presence of the slaves on the island forced both groups to coexist harmoniously, even if not with wholehearted amicability. For the purposes of analysing the Supplication Script, then, these otherwise dissenting groups can be analysed as a collective group of slaveholders in Cuba, bound by their common desire to maintain slavery on the island.[41] But their social divisions created an environment of competing interests and priorities, again contrasting with South Carolina's more unified collective political and proslavery 'voice'. While both groups in Cuba were certainly proslavery, their disrupted social context did not allow for the creation of a cohesive, impenetrable defence of the institution to develop, as it was able to in South Carolina, resulting in the creation of an iron-clad Confidence Script.

The Illegal and Domestic Slave Trades

Financially, U.S. investment in Cuba connected both regions closely. Following the Haitian Revolution, U.S. coffee and sugar supplies were migrated to Cuba, which

[40] Marquese, Parron and Berbel, *Slavery and Politics in Brazil and Cuba*, p. 148
[41] The divisions between *Peninsulares* and *Criollos* were not absolute, as marriages frequently occurred between both parties, and both groups engaged at times in social and business ventures. This is exemplified in Cirilo Villaverde's 1839 abolitionist novel *Cecilia Valdés*, by the marriage between the immensely wealthy businessman and slave trader, Spanish-born Don Candido, and his Creole wife, Doña Rosa, Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés o La Loma Del Angel* (New York, 1882)

remained for decades the nation's primary provider of such products.[42] Moreover, the interest enjoyed from loans extended to Cuba's *hacendados* (owners of sugar estates with their own mills) by northern U.S. money lenders, in the absence of banks in Cuba until the 1850s, (which even thereafter were ill-equipped to face the Cuban slavers' immense need for credit), led Roland T. Ely to surmise that American credit 'provided the life-blood of the entire Cuban sugar industry.'[43] Critically, though, it was U.S. involvement in the illegal transatlantic slave trade which most directly affected slavery in Cuba. Capital from U.S. merchants and investors, and the construction of agile slave-trading ships constructed in U.S. ship-yards, rented or sold to traders on the island, provided the slaveholders of Cuba with the slaves they demanded as they synchronously voiced their fears of rebellion.[44] Between 1815 and 1860, between 800 and 1,000 vessels constructed in the U.S. were involved in the illegal transportation of slaves from West Africa to Cuba and Brazil.[45]

In the form of large-scale U.S. trade to Cuba, provision of mechanised goods used on the island's plantations, and migrants from the U.S. settling in regions such as Matanzas to establish their own plantations, the two locations were linked, at this point in time, inextricably.[46] The Monroe Doctrine of 1823, Stephen Chambers argues compellingly, while appearing a pledge against interference and colonisation in the 'American continents', it should in fact be considered a (successful) attempt by the Monroe Administration to preserve Spanish rule in Cuba, thereby protecting the illegal slave trade to Cuba, and the subsequent continued U.S. enjoyment of trading not only the sugar, cotton, and coffee produced on the island, but also directly profiting from their own Cuban plantations, and money-lending practices.[47] While the initiative to annex Cuba to the U.S. would be largely southern, there was a *national* interest across the Union in the continuation of Cuban slavery among those who stood to gain from it.

---

[42] Between 1835 and 1865 the combined value of Cuban imports and exports never fell below fourth place ranking in United States foreign commerce. Roland T. Ely, 'The Old Cuba Trade: Highlights and Case Studies of Cuban-American Interdependence During the Nineteenth Century', *The Business History Review*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Winter, 1964), pp. 456-478

[43] Ely, 'The Old Cuba Trade', p. 469

[44] Dale T. Graden, Disease, *Resistance and Lies: The Demise of the Transatlantic Slave Trade to Brazil and Cuba* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014), pp. 12-39

[45] Graden, *Disease, Resistance and Lies,* pp. 38-39

[46] Chambers, *No God But Gain,* pp. 97-8, 164

[47] Cuban exports were by no means limited to U.S. markets. By 1850 Cuba boasted one quarter of global sugar production, and high-quality white sugar reached European markets (including Britain.) For discussion of the industrial modernisations that allowed this vast increase in production, see Rood, *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery*, pp. 14-42. Export statistics from pp. 39-40

In order for the enjoyment of those vast profits to continue, a safeguard against British interference in the island's slave regime was essential. Continued Spanish control of the island was key - from the U.S. standpoint, as well as the Cuban - for protecting the Cuban gold mine from abolition, race war and, ultimately, ruin.[48] The British would play a major role in Cuba in these decades, as with diplomatic exasperation they fought to enforce the anti-slave-trade treaties of 1817 (ratified in 1820) and 1835, largely ignored by Spain and Cuba. As British efforts to halt the trade were made in earnest, slaveholders in Cuba imported slaves whenever and however they could, a process in which the U.S. was implicated, with figures such as Nicholas Trist, American consul to Cuba, aiding American slave-ships into Cuba, a reality of which the British were far from ignorant.[49] The greater presence of African slaves, owing to the active slave trade, led to a high number of African slaves being directly involved in, and often leading, slave rebellions in Cuba in ways that were, as Manuel Barcia terms them: 'an uninterrupted perpetuation of similar actions they had carried out or witnessed in their homelands'.[50] Subsequently, instances of small-to-medium-scale slave insurrection attempts in Cuba were, at best, frequent, and at worst, constant. Yet, the more timorous slaveholders in Cuba claimed to be, the more slaves they continued to import.[51]

The continuation of the slave trade kept slavery in Cuba raw and fraught, continually reviving the process of attempting to subdue and control unfamiliar enslaved people with each new arrival of *bozales* (slaves recently transported from Africa, and not yet fully acculturated to Cuban norms) re-enforcing mastery each and every time over a new group of men and women who represented, and often presented, rebelliousness and

---

[48] Chambers, *No God But Gain,* pp. 4,12,80

[49] Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997) p. 642; For examples of British exasperation at the continuation of the slave trade, and balking at the blatant involvement of the U.S., see R.R. Madden, *A letter to W.E. Channing on the Subject of the Abuse of the Flag of the United States in the Island of Cuba and the Advantage Taken of its Protection in Promoting the Slave Trade* (Boston, 1839); as the British were legally prohibited from searching American ships, the American flag would be flown on the approach to Africa, and since Americans could not search Portuguese ships, the Portuguese flag was used on ships laden with slaves returning from Africa to Cuba in broad daylight. For details of this practise, see Arthur F. Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery,* pp. 62–63

[50] Barcia, *West African Warfare,* p. 5

[51] These importations were on occasion undertaken quite openly, as lamented to the Captain General himself by James Kennedy, British Commissary Judge, and Campbell J. Dalrymple, British Judge Arbitrator: 'The slave trade is now carried on as openly as it was ever known in this island.' Letter to Captain General Leopoldo O'Donnell from James Kennedy and Campbell J. Dalrymple, 2.7.1844, GSC Legajo 942, No. 33248, ANC

violence. Alongside their knowledge of the volatility of the enslaved population, the slaveholders of Cuba continued to import slaves illegally, to reprimand Spain for her failure to expel the British who sought to abolish slavery on the island, and to write that, without slave labour, the Cuban economic model would fail without doubt. Should the slaves recognise their own strength, they would murder the whites, but, should the abolitionists conquer and emancipate the slaves, Cuba would be utterly ruined. Neither was an attractive option. It is certainly possible that the slaveholders of Cuba feared their newly-arriving slaves for their foreignness, an issue rarely faced in South Carolina, where the vast majority of slaves by this point were the descendants of a long-line of slaves born in the U.S. The new linguistic differences, the tribal markings, the religious beliefs of these new arrivals to Cuba were details the U.S. had stopped being confronted by decades before. Every boatload of humans was as unknown as the last, and each arrival in Cuba had to be taught their place in the enslavement regime by masters and overseers many of whom were still relatively new to dealing with the institution at this massive scale themselves.

With every letter sent outlining the fear in which slaveholders lived, it seems another embarkation document was signed by the Captain General approving the landing of another slave ship illegally carrying new human cargo from Africa.[52] Certainly, the desire for new slaves was in no way universal, and many expressed their firm opposition to new arrivals on the island.[53] Arango, most notably, became a staunch opponent of the illegal trade, commenting that, as far as he could discern, an immense number of plantation owners on the island were involved in it: 'even illustrious and honoured persons, and some who are very fearful', suggesting that many who imported slaves illegally were

---

[52] Miguel Tacón allowed Peninsular slave traders to illegally import slaves to Cuba, personally benefitting from the bribes he enjoyed in return for allowing the trade to continue. Tacón's sending anti-slave-trade mouthpiece José Antonio Saco into exile is therefore unsurprising, in light of Tacón's financial interests in the continuation of the trade. Joan Casanovas, *Bread or Bullets! Urban Labor and Spanish Colonialism in Cuba, 1850-1898* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998); pp. 44-46; Tacón's time as Captain General (1834-1838) coincided with the decade during which the most slaves were imported to Cuba, with 181,600 slaves arriving between 1831-1840. Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Slavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833-1874* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999), p. 4; Captain General Gerónimo Valdés (Captain General from1841-1843) by comparison, was lauded even by the British for his earnest efforts to halt the illegal trade to Cuba. Bergad, Iglesias Garcia and Carmen Barcia, *The Cuban Slave Market,* p. 65

[53] Many Cuban Creoles were opposed to the slave trade, instead advocating for the gradual 'whitening' of the island – encouraging white immigration to Cuba from Spain and the Canary Islands - as a more prudent path for the development of the island. These men risked being branded as abolitionists and separatists for their views. For discussion on this tension between anti-slave trade Creoles and pro-slavery voices, see Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Slavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico,* pp. 27-32

nervous about the possible consequences of their increasing number. Arango's opinion was that such concerns were not enough to halt the illegal trade, and that 'the only thing that frightens them is the considerable number of those who are improperly called *emancipados*'. [54] To an extent, that reality suggests that slaveholders were at times quite confident, or at least sufficiently content, with the control they were able to maintain over their slaves, and the free Africans on the island concerned them more. With that same inevitability characteristic of communications from Cuba, even privately it was opined that 'the continuation of this traffic… ought to result either sooner or later in the ruin of this country.'[55]

But enslaved Africans continued to arrive, demonstrating that the risk of race war was one soberly taken when profits were on the line. It seems that slave-owners would not be kept from increasing their workforces and surrounding themselves with the slaves they themselves claimed to have been terrified of. The continued illegal importation of slaves in such enormous numbers should have logically been accompanied by claims of Cuban confidence as to the stability of their institution, but the very fact that slaveholders in Cuba clamoured for more slaves to feed the insatiable labour requirements of the sugar plantations, *while* vocalising their fear, gives a more realistic insight into enslaver logic: conflicted, pragmatic, greedy, fearful, a tendency to gamble. That there are inconsistencies in the Cuban case between actions and emotional testimony is not indicative of falseness, but on the contrary, of men operating in a system whose risks were matched by its promise for profit. The more incongruous tone is that of the South Carolinians, fervently denying all risk, even in the face of real danger.

In the antebellum South, the decision made during the American Revolution to close the international slave trade was the point at which the liberation of white Americans condemned enslaved people be torn from their families and kin as the domestic slave trade boomed.[56] The provision was usually made by over-stocked states, in the Upper South, namely Virginia, to the cotton belt, forcibly relocating over 500,000 enslaved

---

[54] Francisco de Arango y Parreño to Secretario Estado y del Despacho de Guerra y de Indias, 30 August.1830, Indiferente 2828, AGI

[55] Letter addressed to 'Carísimo', initialled FA (Possibly Francisco Arango) 1 October 1832, Indiferente 2828, AGI

[56] Steven Deyle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 15-40

people into the Lower South between 1820 and 1860.[57] Virginians, dismayed by the effect of African culture on white residents, saw the removal of their excess slaves as a solution, but it also allayed their later fears, which had been electrified by Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831. Exorcising the state of its vast slave population, a compelling comparison emerges. Virginia, so distressed by Turner's rebellion that the institution of slavery itself was openly debated, saw slavery coming to within 15 votes of abolition in the state. In South Carolina the continuation of slavery was never debated, and certainly not following Vesey's insurrection attempt, when slaveholding claims of confidence were at their loudest, and slaves were sold away only when there was a profit to be made, which, as slavery spread westwards, there was.[58] Indeed, South Carolinians continued to pump the state full of more slaves from the Upper South, to import slaves illicitly from Cuba, and debated to reopen the trans-Atlantic slave trade themselves.[59] Their desire for slaves was insatiable, and, under that circumstance, nothing other than the Confidence Script could have defended such relentlessness as abolitionism gained strength across the North. Justifying themselves to no-one, these slaveowners defended themselves audaciously.

Political Antagonisms

Spain, conscious that discontent in Cuba always risked fermenting into thoughts of independence, passed laws written with a view to minimising discontent among slaveholders. Some prominent planters on the island had direct influence upon the Captain General, who, naturally, corresponded with the colonial centre on the subject of legislation in Cuba and, in these ways, as the work of Tâmis Parron, Rafael Marquese, and Márcia Berbel demonstrates, their rejection from the Cortes notwithstanding, the slaveholders of Cuba found ways in which to have their views conveyed, finding 'channels of representation in a non-representative system.'[60] Taking that framework further, this thesis argues that, faced with the end of constitutional monarchy from 1837, and degraded by their loss of active citizenship, slaveholders in Cuba found powers of manipulation in their increasing political impotence. It was their political weakness that afforded slaveholders in Cuba their particular advantage when seeking to twist the arm

[57] Deyle, *Carry Me Back*, p. 44
[58] For discussion of the Virginia debates, see Lewis, *A Curse Upon the Nation,* pp. 103-125
[59] Manisha Sinha, *The Counter-revolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 2000), pp. 125-152
[60] Marquese, Parron, and Berbel, *Slavery and Politics: Brazil and Cuba*, p. 224; see also Guerra y Sanchez, *Manual de Historia de Cuba,* p. 311

of Spain on the theme of slavery, by using the Supplication Script to emphasise their vulnerability and dependence upon Spain, as will be expounded in Chapter III.

Attempts to induce independence on the island by agitators coming from recently-liberated Latin American nations posed further threats to the island's stability. The 1823 attempt *La Cadena Triangular*, led by a group of Colombians, drew together the most disagreeable and disruptive elements of Cuban society as far as the governing powers were concerned. The slight ease in terms of printing regulations during *Trienio Liberal* allowed the agitators to produce and distribute broadsheets among whites and free people of colour alike, claiming that they would remain 'humble serfs and vile slaves' while they remained puppets with European strings and puppet-masters.[61] Despite the plot to rid Latin America of Spanish rule being revealed to the authorities by loyal slaves, the involvement of free people of colour in the movement was enough to provoke the ire and distrust of those in power. The next endeavour, the Mexican-influenced *'Aguila Negra'*, led by *Criollos*, was also ultimately smothered. Following the failed attempts made by the United States to purchase Cuba in 1848, Venezuelan general in the Spanish army, Narciso López, made three failed filibustering attempts in Cuba, supported, in spirit only, by the U.S. and Cuban exiles therein.[62] For the authorities the continuous disruption in the colony, and the talk of independence on the lips of whites and people of colour, was unsettling.

In South Carolina, indignation and defiance in the face of perceived northern aggression and overblown federalism fermented. The ambience of political defensiveness contributed fundamentally to the Confidence Script. By 1820 the state was edging towards the suggestion of an inevitable secession – to the total dismay of some South Carolinians, and the relish of others – placing the public discussion of slavery under an increasingly strong scrutiny, affecting slaveholders' emotional display, and emotional tailoring, enormously. Southerners were forced to produce a defence of the institution that, as a side-effect, rendered the admission of unease and fear wholly inexpedient. Disillusionment on the southern part began to calcify during the Missouri Compromise debates of 1820, during which time congressional debates concerning the westward spread of slavery into the new territories demanded a new approach on the part of

---

[61] David Sartorius, *Ever-Faithful Isle: Race. Loyalty, and the Ends of Empire in Spanish Cuba,* (Durham, NC. 2013), pp. 84 -91

[62] Ibid. p. 48-51,70; Marquese, Parron and Berbel, *Slavery and Politics: Brazil and Cuba,* pp. 256-7

southerners' defence of the institution. Southerners dynamically modified their traditional defence of slavery from claims that it was a 'necessary evil' (which had sufficed until that point, but wouldn't serve to propagate the spread of the institution into the West), instead rebranding the institution a 'positive good.'[63] Leaving behind what had previously been a more apologetic defence of slavery, shifting blame for its very existence onto their forebears who had burdened the nation with an issue now too far-gone to remedy, antebellum South Carolinian proslavery developed the claws and teeth it needed to defend slavery from the perceived aggression generating from northern anti-slavery. This shift in language so essential for ensuring the spread of slavery, and thus guaranteeing the South an equal voice in Congress – the claimed paternalism of masters and contentment of slaves – strapped pro-slavery advocates into a rhetorical straight-jacket of their own making. Abolitionists, meanwhile, were determinedly reactive to proslavery, and each force added fuel to the fire of the other.

With each new detractor of the institution, the argument of slave contentment grew louder. The printed press demonstrated the danger it posed if seized by authors unsympathetic to the slaveholding perspective. David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, a compelling demonstration of black nationalism and apocalyptic Christianity set in print, was intolerable material as far as slaveholders were concerned.[64] William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator*, while initially creating no great stir among audiences, gained notoriety and provoked the wrath of slaveholders across the South when the publication was later linked to the most notorious slave rebellion of the antebellum period. The need for a solid proslavery defence had become more pressing than ever. To do battle against these new forms of attack, slaveholders developed a defensive position based on their Christian stewardship, the contentment and protection of their slaves, and, naturally, their own confidence as masters. This new proslavery propaganda was the script of a galvanising southern, and South Carolinian, identity, formed in a hothouse of political confrontation and unease. Alongside defending slavery as a labour system, South Carolinians were defending southern masculinity itself: as Lorri Glover outlines: 'as the generation after the revolutionary cohort came of age, so did the perception that defending slavery was both an obligation and a sign of manhood.'[65]

---

[63] Young, *Domesticating Slavery*, pp. 164-167
[64] Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 110-156
[65] Lorri Glover, *Southern Sons,* p. 169

The rising protective tariffs following the 1827 economic crisis, which disproportionately affected the southern states reliant on importing from Europe the goods they were unable to generate themselves at home, further corroded amicability between North and South. The Nullification Crisis of 1833, whereby South Carolina nullified the federal tax placed on imports – a decision by no means approved across South Carolina, much less among all elites – made patent to all that South Carolinians were no longer willing to acquiesce to federal, or northern, governance. South Carolinians were willing to take extreme measures in order to protect the South against what they saw as the selfish mercenary North, keen to bleed the South dry of its resources, strangling out its capital with protective tariffs. These actions solidified South Carolina's status as the vanguard proslavery firebrand of the South. In these decades, the political personality of the state as a volatile and explosive region was established, culminating ultimately when South Carolina became the first state to secede from the Union.

William Freehling's analysis captures the rapid metamorphosis of these short years perfectly: mapping South Carolina's departure from the patriotic nationalism of the American Revolution, into a self-aware southern sectionalism during the Missouri Compromise and through the Nullification years, which then mutated into a southern nationalism all of its own, expressly separate from, and antagonistic towards, the North.[66] One of the main factors of differentiation between South Carolina and Cuba was status insofar as nationhood was concerned. South Carolina was part of a young new nation, who, 60 years prior to the period at which this study begins, had fought in a counter-colonial revolutionary war. 'America' had for some time been engaged in identity-definition and solidification, both as a collective nation, and at the individual level of statehood. The Confidence Script was shaped by the role South Carolina played in acting to mobilise the fracturing of that same nation: such disruptive aims required the display of confidence.[67] Cuba, while at times deploying a Confidence Script, did so to *tranquilise* unease, rather than to actively provoke it, as South Carolina did.

---

[66] Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War*, pp. 89-134

[67] For an introduction to identity formation in Colonial North America, see Michael Zuckermann, 'Identity in British America: Unease in Eden' in *Anthony Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800,* ed. by Nicholas Canny and Nicholas Pagden (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 115-159

The Codification of Slavery

Part of the reason for the synthesis of the South Carolinian Confidence Script in the nineteenth century is owed to the direct part South Carolinians had always played in dictating their own slave codes throughout the colonial period, a role the slaveholders of Cuba were never permitted. Authority in the legal and punitive sense had always been dictated by South Carolinians themselves, affording an intrinsic sense of control over their institution, providing, if not a sense of total confidence, then one of total command.[68] The modification of slave codes following each major slave conspiracy reveals somewhat the mind-set of the men composing them, the reality that more asphyxiating codes were always accompanied by ever-louder claims of slaveholder confidence as time passed notwithstanding.[69] Though enforced with capriciousness, and breached by poor whites when it pleased them to gamble with or sell alcohol to slaves, these slave codes remained unchanged until the abolition of slavery. Added was the 1822 'Act for the Better Regulation and Government of Free Negroes and Persons of Colour', following the Denmark Vesey insurrection attempt, which forbade the debarkation of black sailors regardless of their nationality, and punished with imprisonment those that breached the law.

Further to this, the 1841 'Act to Prevent the Emancipation of Slaves' restricted slavers further still with regard to manumission.[70] No matter how loudly and forcefully slave-owners claimed their confidence and trust in their slaves, the slave codes they wrote were

---

[68] In 1740 the first veritable slave codes were published in South Carolina, nine months following the Stono Rebellion of 1739, the first large-scale slave insurrection in the colony, during which almost 30 white people were killed. While Robert Olwell has denied the suggestion that the 1740 slave codes were any result of fear or paranoia, Mark Smith argues the converse far more convincingly: that white slaveholder fear was reified in the South Carolina slave codes. Fear and sensible self-preservation influenced the legal basis of South Carolina as a slave society; each anxious sentiment discernible in the coding which sought to keep those slaves in subjection. Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, & Subjects*, p. 64; *Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt,* ed.by Mark M. Smith (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), p. 20; see also Eugene M. Sirmans, 'The Legal Status of the Slave in South Carolina, 1670–1740' *Journal of Southern History,* 28 (Nov. 1962), pp. 462–73.

[69] W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 192-195; see also Michael Schoeppner, 'Peculiar Quarantines: The Seaman Acts and Regulatory Authority in the Antebellum South', *Law and History Review*, Vol.31 (2013), pp. 559-586

[70] Donald J. Senese, 'The Free Negro and the South Carolina Courts, 1790-1860', *The South Carolina Historical Magazine,* Vol. 68, No. 3 (Jul., 1967), pp. 140-153; for further information, see: Bernard E. Powers, *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822–1885* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1994); Marina Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973); Ira Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974)

anything but in keeping with that tone, and offer a practical insight into the extent to which they distrusted their slaves' dependence and gratitude to them. Slaveholders acted with equal force to crush the threat that poor whites in South Carolina posed by colluding with the black population, or inciting rebellion among the enslaved population.[71] With a penal system more violently punitive than any other of the southern states, the slaveholding class reasserted mastery over poor whites who infracted these laws by punishing them in a manner otherwise appropriate only for slaves: with thirty nine lashes.[72] Again, South Carolina's longer relationship with the institution of slavery afforded slave-owners therein a longer timeframe than those in Cuba in which to devise ways to effectively subdue, violently, if necessary, dissenting voices, thereby galvanising their sense of control as the master-class, but always charged by an awareness of the danger inherent to their society.

That in those early colonial years South Carolinians must have christened the slaveholding era in a fearful state is not disputed. The act, though, of passing new laws to avoid the causes of those fears being repeated in future – systematically sitting down as a group of slaveholders and discussing the measures which needed to be taken – allowed for a methodical confrontation of each issue. Enforcing an agreed solution, thereby suppressing the threat, must have been reassuring, and comforting, but also gave slaveholders a sense of authority, control and dominance. Moreover, the assertion of control and command over the codification of slavery in these early decades informed the South Carolinian dialogue of authority within the larger dialogue surrounding slavery as it matured over the passing of time. What must be emphasised is that difference in tone: that fear found no, or very little written admission or outlet in the antebellum period, while it had done during the colonial period. As shall be discussed in Chapter III, the distinction between colonial admissions of South Carolinian fear, and their increasing disappearance following the Revolutionary War, demonstrates a vital difference not only between the styles of slaveholding Scripts in colonial Cuba and antebellum South Carolina, but also between colonial and post-colonial South Carolina.

---

[71] Walter Kyle Planitzer, *A Dangerous Class of Men, Without Direct Interest in Slavery: Proslavery Concern about Southern Nonslaveholders in the Late Antebellum Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2007); Jack Kenny Williams, *Vogues in Villainy: Crime and Retribution in Ante-bellum South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959); Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth-Century American South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Jeff Forret, *Race Relations at the Margins: Slaves and Poor Whites in the Antebellum Southern Countryside* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), pp. 114-184

[72] Merritt, *Masterless Men*, pp. 243-248

In Cuba, the codification of slavery did not take place among local slaveholders, evolving and modifying with each new crisis or development. The sense of intrinsic control that had emboldened South Carolinians as time passed, therefore, did not benefit slaveholders in Cuba, limitations upon whose mastery was forged across the Atlantic, in Spain. Drawing inspiration from ancient Roman Laws, in Cuba, and in wider Spanish America, the *Siete Partidas* dictated the code of behaviour for masters and slaves alike. To judge by comparative slave codes alone, the origin of the false reputation of benevolent Catholic slavery as it compared to the North American states and British colonies becomes clear. These laws guaranteed slaves the right to manumission, sanctioned their religious instruction, marriage between slaves, and declared equal in gravity the crime of murdering a slave or a free man.[73] The proposed 1789 Slave Code, the *Código Negro Español*, similar to the *Siete Partidas* in the concessions it awarded to enslaved people, was outrightly rejected by the slaveholders of Cuba, demonstrating that the metropole was often tone-deaf in its attempts to legislate on the institution of slavery from an ocean away. In Cuba, the idea of passing what was perceived as a lenient slave code as the Haitian Revolution intensified only a short distance away was, simply, madness: they believed pampered slaves were in fact more likely to rebel.[74] South Carolinians did not have to justify their decisions to anyone, nor accept codes passed from outside the borders of the state. The slaveholders of Cuba, conversely, had to explain repeatedly to legislators (often members of the out-group, given their location in Spain) their needs and requirements, with no method besides the Supplication Script to attempt to convince the Crown how dangerous or inappropriate the proposed slave codes were.

The reaction to the slave code of 1842, drafted by then Captain General Gerónimo Valdés, once again demonstrates not only the defensive reaction of slaveholders in Cuba to official interference in the domination of their slaves, but also the frustration at the

---

[73] Sally Hadden, 'The Fragmented Laws of Slavery in the Colonial and Revolutionary Eras' in *The Cambridge History of Law in America: Volume I, Early America (1580-1815)* ed. by Michael Grossberg and Christopher Tomilns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 258-260; see also Alejandro de la Fuente, 'Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: the Tannenbaum Debate Revisited,' *Law and History Review*, Vol.22 No.2 (2004), pp. 340-369; Fernando Ortiz, *Los Negros Esclavos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1986), pp. 310-316

[74] David Patrick Geggus, 'Slave Resistance in the Spanish Caribbean in the Mid-1790s' in *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean,* ed. by David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), p. 132; For discussion of the slave-holders' attempts to convince the Crown that cruelty was the wisest course for governing slaves, see Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror*, p. 28

reality that slave codes imposed from above misunderstood the needs of the slave-owner as far as the subtlety of conveying confidence and masking fear was concerned. The proposed implementation of *barracones* - dormitory style accommodations for slaves separated according to sex, lacking in fresh air since they were purposefully constructed without windows or escape routes, and closed every night by lock and key - proved especially frustrating.[75] In a defence the likes of which South Carolinians never needed to provide for their decisions and adjudications in slave management, it was explained to Valdés that the *barracones* were, in the first place, disagreeable from the master's viewpoint. 'He who is charged with their custody becomes careless more easily… confident in the walls and bolts which guard the prisoner' it was outlined, reasoning further: 'in this way it will occur, that our overseers, satisfied with having the key to the *barracón* under their mattresses, will sleep with total confidence, meanwhile [the slaves] remain free to make plans, and, if they fancy, to leave, safe in the knowledge that no-one is watching them, or will miss them.' Further to this, on a practical level, a closed structure filled with restless, hostile slaves presented complications, and dangers, to the overseer: 'these consequences are even more to be feared, for however brave an overseer is, he will always fear to enter the *barracón* at night, where all of his enemies are gathered, and where it would be easy for any one of them, only extinguishing the light, to strike or kill him without the overseer being able to flee, or defend himself.'[76]

Alongside these frustrations remained the plain reality that, sometimes, slave-owners in Cuba were actually quite confident, and pedantic slave codes and precautions seemed overly cautious to them. Pedro Villaverde commented in a report to Gerónimo Valdés, on the district of Macurijes, that the information he received attested to: 'the excessive confidence that the owners of plantations and other farms in that region and surrounding areas have in the groups of slaves therein', disclosing that they subsequently did not compel their slaves to sleep in the *barracones*.[77] A similar letter commented that upon 'traversing various plantations [in Bejucal] the overseers demonstrate the utmost

---

[75] In Matanzas, *barracones* were implemented as a security measure earlier, in 1825, following the outbreak of slave insurrection (led by Africans and undertaken largely by African rebels), by the provincial governor. They were implemented gradually over time, increasingly after 1843. Barcia, *The Great African Slave Revolt,* p. 133-137

[76] 'Representación acerca del articulo 25 del reglamento de esclavos pidiendo se derogue el mismo y otras observaciones sobre la situación de los esclavos'. [Unmarked sender] to Gerónimo Valdés 11 August 1843 C.M. Morales T.78 No. 132, BNJM

[77] Pedro Villaverde to Gerónimo Valdés, 30 June 1843, Gobierno Superior Civil, Legajo 942, No. 33246, ANC

confidence in their slaves.'[78] Clearly, at times, fear and complacency coexisted, and the disconnect between out-group legislation, and the slave-owners actually expected to abide by the codification decided upon in Spain, or by Peninsular officials, meant that the slave-holders of the island did not feel that the very codes expected to protect them were appropriate or effective. Indeed, at times they were perceived as downright dangerous.

Most tellingly, it was reasoned that such an obvious, physical portrayal of slaveholder nervousness caused a 'disruption in the customs and habits of the slaves', giving 'a poor idea of the force of the power which dominates, as weak is he who fears… these causes… break the bonds which blind custom forms between the slave and his master, and provoke rebellion.'[79] Essentially, the *barracón* communicated too clearly to the slaves how insecure the slave-owner was in his mastery, acting as a reified representation of his fear. While the writer did not deny, or dismiss, slaveholder fear, he stressed his opposition to the risk of fear being betrayed to the slaves by slave codes passed in poor judgement. This is a frustration, and sense of powerlessness, that South Carolinians had long outgrown. To assume that a locked and bolted *barracón* to hold slaves during the hours of darkness would have been reassuring underestimates the delicate balance slaveowners were trying to achieve between maintaining safety and appearing at ease. Greater claims of fear did not marry with the careless implementation of any safety measure imaginable. At times, greater autonomy for the slaves, while a physical threat, actually maintained peace, as psychologically those slaves were more convinced of their masters' own dominance which had no need for physical barricades. That as late as 1842 Cuban slave codes – the fundamental approaches for governing slaves – were still under any debate at all betrays a society still overcome by a sense of instability and experimentation with regard to their enslaved population. The eruption of a series of linked conspiracies which occurred later that year, implicating thousands of free people of colour and slaves, and which came to be known as *La Escalera,* can only have aggravated that sense of vulnerability, which may well have been channelled into the Supplication Script in earnest.

---

[78] José Franite to Bridagier Angel Loño, 28 March 1843, Gobierno Superior Civil, Legajo 943, No. 33282 As Finch explains, not only did these slaveholders have misgivings about confining hundreds of slaves together given their shared hostility towards their enslavers, but *barracones* were also considered monstrously expensive, and their construction a waste of valuable slave labour. Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba*, pp. 69-71

[79] Ibid.

The differing degree of autonomy each group of slaveholders had over the codification of slavery must certainly have endowed South Carolinians with a deeper sense of their own mastery and dominance, becoming more deep-set with not only with the passing of each new slave code, but also with each new generation, and century, dating back even to the colonial period, while slaveholders in Cuba were governed by a metropole extremely hesitant to delegate authority to them. Sidney Mintz's consideration of the imperial limitations on the slaveholders of the Spanish Empire stops short of considering the imperial limitations on mastery.[80] This distant voice controlling, amending, and legislating upon slavery, and mastery, stifled what would otherwise have been a fully-developed sense of authority in Cuba, creating an atmosphere of contested dominance.

As prominent slave-owners José Vizarro y Gardín, Juan Montalvo, Rafael O'Farril, and Pedro Diago entreated the government to comprehend, on the subject of restricting the master's authority over his enslaved people: 'could laws be established… judging the conduct of the master towards the slave, without awakening in him the… idea of disobedience?… The moment the *negro* understands he has a point of support in government it is not possible to subject him to any authority, no matter how beneficial.'[81] Miguel Figuera, commenting on the proposed law to have official checks carried out on Cuban plantations to verify the treatment and condition of the slaves, reasoned with inevitability: 'ostentatious vigilance… would finish most likely with the extermination of blacks and whites… because in the moment when the slaves understand that there is in the government this type of protection, pretexts for rebellion will not be lacking.'[82] Gerónimo Valdés went so far as to express that concessions in slave codes put slave masters 'in an embarrassing situation'.[83] Clearly, the slaveholders of Cuba needed to find a way to manipulate the passing of these slave codes, and, as Chapter V will demonstrate, the Supplication Script was central in that objective.

---

[80] Sidney Mintz explains: 'The English [gave] their colonists maximum local authority which in practice could mean maximum power... In contrast, the Spanish colonies administered from the metropole with considerable vigor, and the Crown conceded local authority to its colonists only slowly and grudgingly. Slavery under Spain, consequently, was more subject to control from afar.' Sindey Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1974), p. 69

[81] 'Testimonio de las Diligencias Formadas Sobre el Reglamento de Policía Rural' signed José Vizarro y Gardín, Juan Montalvo, Rafel O'Farril and Pedro Diago to Captain General Dionisio Vives, 26 November 1831, Ultramar 89, AGI

[82] 'Testimonio de las Diligencias Formadas Sobre el Reglamento de Policía Rural' signed Manuel Figuera to Captain General Dionisio Vives, 11 June 1828, Ultramar 89, AGI

[83] 'El Gobernador Dn. Gerónimo Valdés inserta su comunicación al ministerio de Ultramar remitiendo ejemplares del bando del gobernación y Policía.' Gerónimo Valdés, 30 November 1842, Santo Domingo 1308, AGI

South Carolinians not only had autonomy over their slave codes, but also had longer to develop and tweak them over the passing of several centuries, thereby allowing slaveholders to develop codification which met their concerns and doubts as they saw fit. Cuba's sudden transition from a minor slaveholding region into a slave society of massive proportions caused a mismatched rate of development. The disconnect between historic Iberian slave codes, and the new reality of coexisting with an enormous enslaved population in an industrialising plantation structure, was confronted by slaveowners who required slave codes that reflected their modernising circumstances, and the economic climate in which they were operating. Not only were those slaveholders unable to tailor slave codes as they saw fit, but they were also provided with legislation which they often felt endangered the white population of the island. In this sense, South Carolina's Confidence Script, and Cuba's Supplication Script, do reflect quite accurately the differing levels of mastery each group was afforded in governing their slaves.

Slave Rebellions

Against arguments claiming the paternalist intentions of slave-owners, emerging after the American Revolution, and later the defence that slavery was a 'positive good', the slaves of the South made their own rebuttals.[84] With artistically spiteful timing, the mockery of claims attesting to the contentment of southern slaves, and the benefit of spreading the institution across the continent, was voiced in 1822.[85] The insurrection attempt among the slaves of Charleston, led by free black Denmark Vesey, would linger in the air from thence, a silent question mark, spilling derision over the claims of the slave's happiness and master's benevolence.[86] Vesey's insurrection attempt had a somewhat mysterious

[84] Sylvia Frey argues that the American Revolution marked a turning point in master-slave relations in the South. As the British promised freedom to all slaves willing to fight for the Crown, the considerable scale of black willingness to fight for freedom should be considered, Frey argues, as a legitimate act of slave revolt. Frey, *Water From the Rock*, pp. 45-81 see also G. Mullin, *From Flight to Rebellion,* p. 124; for discussion of the disconcerting effect the sight of the armed 'Black Dragoons' had in South Carolina, see Gary Sellick, 'Black Skin, Red Coats: the Carolina Corps and Nationalism in the Revolutionary British Caribbean' *Slavery and Abolition*, Vol.39 No.3 (2018), pp. 461-463; for discussion of Gabriel (Prosser)'s 1800 rebellion, and the political inspiration the rebels took from Virginia's revolutionary tradition during the War of Independence, see James Sidbury, *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia, 1730-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 118

[85] Frey, *Water From the Rock*, pp. 243-284; on paternalism, see also Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, pp. 3-7

[86] Denmark (Telemaque) Vesey was most likely born in St. Thomas, and was enslaved to ship captain Joseph Vesey, working aboard ships in the Caribbean before purchasing his own freedom in 1799. Douglas R. Egerton, *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of Denmark Vesey* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), pp. 3-27

effect upon the slaveholders of South Carolina. It never became the rhetorical equivalent of Haiti; evoked as a spectre whenever necessary in order to highlight the dangers to be expected if free blacks and slaves became aware of dissent among the ruling whites. Vesey was not made the rhetorical counterpart to Toussaint L'Ouverture, whose name stood for all the horrors the white mind could envisage. South Carolinians made the conscious decision *not* to shroud Vesey with infamy in their public words: doing so would have betrayed how deeply perturbed they had been by his actions, which they instead sought to dismiss publicly as easily quashed, and unthreatening. Similarly, in 1829, following another conspiracy discovered before it was able to be executed, in Georgetown, information was kept from filling the pages of South Carolina newspapers.[87] The rural nature of this conspiracy would have allowed the rebels to unleash considerable devastation had it not been foiled beforehand, given the scattered and isolated white population in that part of the state.

The plots of both Gabriel in Virginia (1800), and Vesey, were uncovered before coming to fruition, since loyal slaves had revealed to their slave-owners news of the developments, meaning that only those insurgents found guilty of collusion lost their lives in the process. Of Nat Turner's rebellion, conversely, the slave-owners of Virginia were given no warning. Taking place in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831, Turner's rebellion was an aberration in the slaveholder imagination across the slaveholding South. 56 white women, infants, and men were murdered by Turner and his insurgents, many as they lay sleeping in their beds. It was an example of that which - by the logic and public proclamations of slaveholders - should never have happened: slaves were supposedly content and well-cared for, were they not? Despite, and *to* spite, the proclamations of slave contentment and dependence, Turner and his men had their oppositions heard through their actions.

In Cuba, the first major challenge to the institution of slavery in the nineteenth century was the 1812 plot led by free black José Aponte. Those involved, to the horror of the authorities, were slaves, black militiamen, and free people of colour, who also acted as the crucial communication links between urban and rural rebels. The rebellion spread across the length of the island – from Havana to Holguín, via Camagüey and Bayamo –

[87] William Freehling notes that information on the 1829 attempt was so well-hidden from the press that it must be hunted out in the archive, in private papers and legislative petitions. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War*, p. 62

with insurrectionary movements planned in each region, being successfully taken in Havana and Camagüey, where numerous sugar plantations (including stacked and cut sugar cane) were torched, and whites were slaughtered. The vital links to the militia, and the involvement of free people of colour, provided the rebels with knives, gunpowder, and firearms. Slaves and free people of colour alike faced the ire of the authorities, who had never taken pains to present the free population of colour as any more malignant than the slaves of the island, despite the actions of the militiamen undermining decades of trust and respect, a point whose relevance will become clear shortly.[88]

Confronting the culpability and autonomy of rebel slaves was made necessary by the preponderance of slave-organised revolts on the island. The rebellion termed by Manuel Barcia as 'The Great African Revolt of 1825', during which African warfare traditions played a tremendously important role, acted as case and point. The revolt took place in Guamacaro, near Matanzas, involving approximately 200 slaves who were led by *bozales*. Fifteen whites were killed across twenty-five plantations, which were burnt in the wake of the rebels. As Barcia explains, 'after 1825… African-born men and women assumed the leadership and constituted the majority of the rebels in almost every rural movement.' These revolts were all the more violent for it, he continues.[89] The increasing violence of these rebel African slaves added to the sense among the slaveholding class that slaves were more savage and barbarous than free people of colour, making it impossible to argue for their docility, as was the case in South Carolina. William C. Van Norman's work further contributes to the historical account of the force of African organisation, traditions and motivations in leading rural revolts in 1833, 1835, 1842 and 1843.[90]

The moment arrived in 1841 which had been dreaded by the authorities for decades as a potential tipping point for Cuban security: the national census revealed that there were more enslaved and free people of colour on the island than there were whites. With chilling punctuality, *La Escalera* conspiracy, constituted of a series of linked insurrections led by approximately 100 leaders across scattered plantations, and a rebellious force comprised of enslaved men and women, and free blacks (including militiamen and

---

[88] Matt Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion in Cuba and the Struggle Against Atlantic Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006)
[89] Barcia, *The Great African Revolt of 1825,* pp. 9-10
[90] William C. Van Norman, *Shade-grown Slavery: The Lives of Slaves on Coffee Plantations in Cuba* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2013), pp. 125-136

prominent literary figures), was denounced in 1843, confirming the worst fears of slaveholders.[91] Largely disregarded by comparative historians is the striking similarity between the Denmark Vesey insurrection attempt and *La Escalera*. Not only in the regard that both allegedly hoped for the support of Haiti once the efforts had begun, and both benefitted from the influence of free black and white involvement, but also that each event has been disbelieved, at one time or another, by historians themselves. Dismissed as the product of white paranoia, or rumour, or the active fabrication of a false rebellion by white authorities in order to suit their respective goals of increased repression and vigilance, the very question of whether or not each attempt was even real has been the focus of historical scrutiny.[92] Whether either insurrection had been planned beforehand, or was indeed a hoax, is almost irrelevant when studying the actions following each event. Either way, authorities in South Carolina and Cuba felt justified in unleashing brutal punishment in order to re-assert white authority and prowess. If the conspiracies were real, the reaction was one of horror, if not of shock. If the conspiracies were fabricated by whites, that is hugely revealing of their sense of instability and desperation.

Threats of Demography and Geography

Slave-owners in both South Carolina and Cuba bemoaned the free populations of colour in their (usually urban) regions: an allegedly malignant, lazy group, whose presence - so they claimed - served only to provoke the insolence of their slaves. The overwhelming involvement of free people of colour in orchestrating both the rebellions of *La Escalera* and Denmark Vesey's insurrection attempt acted to validate that suspicion. However, while free people of colour in South Carolina numbered almost 7,000 in 1820 (still only

---

[91] Aisha Finch further claims that the uprising on the Bemba Plantation in March 1843, which involved 500 rebels, and 100 on the Triunvirato plantation in November, emboldened other rural slaves in this series of movements. Both Van Norman and Finch highlight the crucial role enslaved women played in these insurrections, providing vital force and support for the movements despite their gender, with Finch further highlighting the use of the kitchen as a site of rebellion, where much of the plotting took place. Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion,* p. 143

[92] Robert L. Paquette tracks the development of that century-long historiographical debate seeking to answer the question: 'did the conspiracy of La Escalera exist?' See Paquette, *Sugar is Made With Blood: the Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict Between Empires Over Slavery in Cuba* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), pp. 3-29; The question of whether Denmark Vesey had truly ever organised a conspiracy was awakened following Michael Johnson's 2001 article in which he posited that the supposed conspiracy was nothing more than officials of Charleston exaggerating a rumour and exploiting the opportunity to enforce greater control over the slaves and free black population. Michael P. Johnson, 'Denmark Vesey and His Co-Conspirators', *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 58, No. 4 (Oct., 2001), pp. 915-976; In a published roundtable of articles, ten historians argued against the Johnson case, affirming in unison the incontestable veracity of the conspiracy. 'Forum: the Making of a Slave Conspiracy, Part 2', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 1, (2002), pp. 135-202

constituting under 2% of the overall population), in 1827 Cuba had a free population of colour numbering 106,484, meaning the island had the largest free population of colour in the Americas.[93] The stark difference between the sizes of each population of free people of colour in each region, and their differing places within each society, created two very different social landscapes which affected the prospect of violence in each.

Historically there had always been a sizeable free population of colour in Cuba, evidenced by their having comprised 18% of the island's population in 1774.[94] Many of these people had never been enslaved, and formed a well-established group of skilled labourers of colour on the island. Free Cubans of colour had also been active in the militia since the sixteenth century. All-black battalions were formed as early as the 1760s, and soldiers who gave loyal service for over twenty years received a pension and benefits for their service, not least of which was the right to bear arms, access to a monthly stipend, and a sense of social elevation. These militiamen proved their loyalty to the social system not only by owning slaves themselves, but also by helping to conserve slavery by 'hunting' runaways, and violently supressing attempted insurrections.

Racial differences in Cuban society historically had been more plastic than they had been in South Carolina. As Karren Morrison demonstrates, until the 1810s, 'Spanish colonial visions of blackness could acknowledge social worth beyond economic or labour value.'[95] As capitalism took firm root, though, and greater numbers of African slaves were pumped relentlessly into the island during the nineteenth century, the free population of colour saw its status within society diminish in direct correlation to Cuba's development as a slave society.[96] Moreover, the loyalty of those militiamen of colour was met and matched by growing scepticism following the Haitian Revolution, which had inspired slave-owners with a newfound realisation of just how formidable armed black men could be.[97] These non-white soldiers were visibly muddying the waters of racial separation, and as the slave population exploded in the nineteenth century, the presence of black militias diminished somewhat. Their prestige dropped considerably following the public derisions of

---

[93] Ford, *Deliver us From Evil*, p. 195-6; Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion*, p. 41
[94] Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion,* p. 69
[95] Morrison, *Cuba's Racial Crucible*, p. 37
[96] Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion*, pp. 68-77; this negative shift in prestige notwithstanding, the accepted and even celebrated presence of free people of colour within society was not erased completely, Morrison, *Cuba's Racial Crucible*, p. 38
[97] Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion*, p. 83

Francisco de Arango y Parreño, and while he wasn't successful in having the black militias disbanded, they were viewed with greater scepticism, particularly given his suggestion that black militiamen would be centrifugal in slave insurrections.[98] As the example of José Aponte proved, his suspicion was not unfounded.

The route towards possibly achieving freedom in Cuba had historically been markedly different than it was in South Carolina. In addition to more traditional routes to freedom (manumission granted willingly by the slave-owner as encouraged by the *Siete Partidas,* or offered as a reward for services in the favour of the government such as denouncing acts of treason, for example) the largely urban possibility of autonomous *coartación* (the gradual purchase of one's own freedom) in which slaves could enter into a legal contract with their masters guaranteeing their eventual purchase of freedom was an opportunity slaves in South Carolina would never know.[99] For this group of *coartados*, representing, in the words of Matt Childs, 'a distinct, albeit ambiguous legal category between slavery and freedom,' the possibility of freedom was tangible and legally sanctioned.[100]

These newly-free and historically free people had opportunities to come together as part of their *Cabildos* (huge groups of slaves and free Cubans of colour who gathered to act out scenes of togetherness in their respective African nations, bound by ties of culture, language and geography that traced back to their African origins).[101] *Cabildos* fulfilled integral community roles not dissimilar to a local council or charity, providing, for example, financial aid for slaves seeking to manumit themselves, loans, and spare rooms for those in need.[102] *Cabildos* were, critically, kept under the surveillance of the authorities as a means of regulating the fraternisation of slaves and free Cubans of colour, in order

---

[98] Ibid. pp. 89-95

[99] The price of freedom, once set, could not be adjusted or increased. A *coartado* could also seek new masters in instances of mistreatment, who were bound to respect the agreement of that slave's journey towards *coartación*. Alejandro de la Fuente, 'Slaves and the Creation of Legal Rights in Cuba: Coartación and Papel', *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 87:4 (2007), pp. 659-92; for discussion of other routes to manumission, see Klein, *Slavery in the Americas,* pp. 62-65; for rates on gaining freedom, see Bergad, Iglesias Garcia and Carmen Barcia, *The Cuban Slave Market*, p. 128

[100] Matt Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion,* p. 65; for rates of enlistment see Herbert Klein, 'The Colored Militia of Cuba: 1568–1868', *Caribbean Studies*, Vol.6, No.2 (July 1966), pp. 17-27

[101] Ibid. As Childs outlines: 'to clarify, "nation" is here used to connote a group of individuals bound by a common language, culture, history, and geographic origin – fulfilled administrative services – loans, rented rooms, held parties.' p. 96

[102] Fernando Ortiz, '*La Antigua Fiesta Afro-Cubana del "Día de Reyes" ', Revista Bimestre Cubana*; 15 (1920), pp. 5-26, and 'Los Cabildos Afro-Cubanos,' *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, 16 (1921), pp. 5-39; Philip A. Howard, *Changing History: Afro-Cuban Cabildos and Societies of Color in the Nineteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998)

that gatherings and celebrations happened in the knowledge, and under surveillance of, the governing powers, preferable to covert and unknown meetings.[103] Although a prescribed and monitored expression of Africanness, the drinking, rowdiness and sheer number of attendees at *Cabildo* dances was still a cause of unease to slaveholders in Cuba for obvious reasons.[104] Not only had there historically been a sizeable free population of colour in Cuba, but these people were also able, in urban areas, to interact with enslaved people on a relatively regular basis, and without white supervision.

The large slave gatherings, consumption of alcohol, and private meetings among persons of colour without white presence permitted in Cuba breached almost every South Carolina slave code in existence.[105] The only real opportunity for legal slave gatherings which free blacks could also frequent – slaves were in attendance at barbecues and plantation parties, organised and attended by whites, but free blacks were not – was approved religious congregation, which still *should* have been conducted in the presence of whites. The law in South Carolina expressed what slaveholders no longer needed to: slaves could not be trusted in the company of free blacks. Reflecting that distrust, manumission laws in South Carolina were extremely strict: following 1820 legislative approval was required for all manumissions, which would only be granted in the event that the freed person in question would leave the state immediately.[106] Unlike in Cuba, white elites in South Carolina could take action against the people they deemed to be so dangerous: expelling them, and limiting their numbers with hawk-eyed vigilance.

Despite the number of free people of colour in the state – tiny in comparison to Cuba's – they received the full force of the slaveholders' denigration and ire, fulfilling the rhetorical function of acting as the purgative target of proslavery advocates unwilling and unable to admit their distrust of their own slaves. At the height of proslavery, slaves were presented as equally faithful and credulous: they were too loyal to rebel, and, if they had been involved in insurrection, it was only under the duress of more calculating minds. As Charlestonian lawyer, slaveholder, and later editor of the Charleston Times Edwin

---

[103] Umi Vaughan, *Rebel Dance, Renegade Stance: Timba Music and Black Identity in Cuba* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012), pp. 58-61
[104] Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion,* pp. 178-120
[105] *An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and Other Slaves in this Province*, May 1740. <https://archive.org/stream/negrolawsouthca00goog/negrolawsouthca00goog_djvu.txt> [accessed 22 September 2019]
[106] This new legislation had reduced the growth of the free black population by two-thirds by 1830. Ford, *Deliver us From Evil*, p. 195-6

Clifford Holland boasted: 'impediment of the progress of conspiracy will ever be found in the fidelity of… our negroes… servants… who were worthy of the kindness and confidence of their masters', to which the Reverend Richard Furman added 'there are multitudes of the best informed and truly religious among them, who, from principle, as well as from prudence, would not unite with them, nor fail to disclose their machinations.'[107] Those same slaves, 'vulnerable to temptation' and 'easily deluded', would be entirely tranquil once the free blacks had been eradicated, and, at which point, Pinckney adjudged, 'all thoughts of servile insurrection in the country, would be forever banished.'[108]

Regardless of whether or not these men truly believed their slaves to be as credulous and impressionable as they claimed, they were unable to cathartically voice any fears they harboured, as was possible in Cuba, for the obvious reason that frequent harangues levelled against the slaves would quickly have undermined support for the institution within South Carolina, and strengthened the abolitionist case. The free black population of South Carolina subsequently served as the scapegoat for any and all insurrectionary or rebellious behaviour, allowing the master-class a safety-valve of sorts for their building tension, which could be released verbally towards the free black population during times of unrest. Scorned by slaveholder Edwin Clifford Holland with no small degree of agitation as a 'detestable caste… the greatest and most deplorable evil with which we are unhappily afflicted' free people of colour people were subject to the impassioned, antagonistic language which could not be levelled at the enslaved population.[109]

The long-standing relationship of disdain and contempt for the free black population of South Carolina accommodated this type of emotional release, allowing the Confidence Script to remain largely untarnished by effusions of hostility which were strategically

---

[107] Holland, *A Refutation of the Calumnies,* p. 81; Rev. Dr. Richard Furman, *Exposition of the Views of the Baptists, Relative to the Coloured Population of the United States: In a Communication to the Governor of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1823), p. 5

[108] Pinckney, *Reflections, Occasioned by the Late Disturbances in Charleston*, (Charleston, 1822), p. 7,23; Furman, *Exposition of the Views of the Baptists,* p. 24

[109] Holland, *A Refutation of the Calumnies*, p. 83

reserved for the free blacks, retaining legitimacy for the patriarchal defence of slavery.[110] The vast stylistic imbalances between the forceful denunciation of free blacks, and the defence of credulous, innocent slaves, demonstrate the role free blacks filled as the sole recipients of outpourings of South Carolinian scorn and rage which political propriety and social attitudes limited slave-owners from aiming at their own slaves. Despite the alarming reality, and relative frequency, of insurrection attempts, the slaveholders of South Carolina did not change their slaveholding narratives in order to incorporate them. Slaves continued to be depicted as loyal, unless they were regrettably embroiled in rebellion, in which case they were either the pawns of a free deluded mastermind, or, in Nat Turner's case (so the planters claimed) raving mad. Slaves were, so the Confidence Script stubbornly decreed, loyal and exploitable, but not dangerous.[111]

The status of free people of colour in Cuba, conversely, had become more complicated gradually, and degenerated over time, rather than remaining in a fixed state as it had in South Carolina, meaning that slaveholders on the island had never *solely* reserved their admissions of fear for the black population. Although free people of colour were distrusted, and increasingly expelled from the island in 1844, following *La Escalera*,

---

[110] The ever-tightening laws attempting to limit the number of free blacks in South Carolina demonstrate that the condemnation of free blacks as dangerous and unwanted was not merely a rhetorical device to shift the focus of blame from the slaves during times of insurrection. For relevant works on the free black population in South Carolina, see also Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984); Michael D. Thompson, *Working on the Dock of the Bay: Labor and Enterprise in an Antebellum Southern Port* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2015)

[111] Denmark Vesey was condemned as an agitator who mutated scripture in order to lure credulous slaves to join him, while his henchmen's violence was allegedly used to threaten with death all loyal slaves who attempted to resist joining the insurrection. For the official report of the insurrection, see Lionel H. Kennedy and Thomas Parker, *An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes, Charged with an Attempt to Raise an Insurrection in the State of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1822) printed in full in *The Denmark Vesey Affair: A Documentary History,* ed. by Douglass R. Egerton and Robert L. Paquette (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017), pp. 155-279; Nat Turner's religiosity came under fire in order to claim that it was his literacy, and his misguided interpretations of scripture, that allowed him to become so deranged as to consider his actions the work of God. See *The Confessions of Nat Turner, The Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Va. As Fully and Voluntarily Made to Thomas R. Gray, in the Prison Where He Was Confined, and Acknowledged by Him to be Such When Read Before the Court of Southampton* (Richmond, 1832). In contrast to Eugene Genovese's theorisation that Black Christianity acted as a conciliatory balm to dull any impulse of earthly political consciousness or action, Turner's faith has since been analysed by scholars as an example of Apocalyptic Christianity, which captured the true wishes among some enslaved people to see the wrathful retribution and vengeance of God exacted in an earthbound, mortal setting, and which truly motivated them to action and violence on occasion, as exemplified in Turner's case. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, pp. 164-165. See, for example, Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1982), p. 66; Albert J. Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), p. 32; James Sidbury, 'Reading, Revelation and Rebellion: The Textual Communities of Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner', in *Nat Turner: A Slave Rebellion In History and Memory*, ed. by Kenneth S. Greenberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 119-133

slaveholders in Cuba zealously decried their distrust of their slaves as well.[112] The growing disdain of slaveholders in Cuba against the free black population can be seen to have fermented *alongside* their distrust of their slaves: they weren't segregated emotional targets as they were in South Carolina as they didn't need to be, since as Cuban slaveholders had not made the point of publicly praising their slaves as loyal and familial. Moreover, when discussing the risk of slave rebellion, while free blacks and members of the militia had frequently been implicated in insurrectionary movements and conspiracies, meeting the considerable distrust of the authorities because of it, slaveholders found no fault in placing responsibility and blame squarely on the shoulders of slaves when the case was such. Interestingly, in Cuba, the demography of insurrectionaries could be any combination of free people of colour, creole slaves and (most usually) African-born slaves.[113] Equally each sector could, and did, act in isolation. While in both regions white abolitionists were discussed as incendiary by virtue of the inflammatory tracts they published (and, in the case of David Turnbull, their suspected role in fully inciting rebellion during *La Escalera*), in South Carolina, by 1820, when it came down to involvement in insurrection, the only real possible actors could have been creole slaves and free blacks, but slaveholders were supremely reluctant to admit the culpability of the former.[114]

As such, while the massive enslaved population of South Carolina was described with words of benevolence and care, the free black population received a level of derision disproportionate to its size: already small, and shrinking still due to tightening manumission laws. Cuba had no recourse to such laws banishing newly-manumitted slaves as South Carolina did. Their free population of colour was enormous, and growing. The difference between the island of Cuba, wilfully importing more slaves and unable to control the steadily growing free population of colour, and mainland South Carolina, brings to light the practical question of geography as it related to fear and the scale of potential violence.[115] Although the population of slaves steadily grew, as that of the whites shrank (from an almost 57% majority in 1800, to a 47% minority in 1820) concerns about

---

[112] Michele Reid Vazquez, *The Year of the Lash: Free People of Color in Cuba in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011) see especially pp. 68–97; Sartorius, *Ever-Faithful Isle*, pp. 76-84

[113] For information on the origins and statuses of the participants involved in instances of collective slave violence in Cuba from 1798-1844, see Barcia, *West African Warfare,* pp. 161-165

[114] On the alleged involvement of British consul in Havana David Turnbull's involvement in La Escalera, see Murray, *Odious Commerce*, pp. 133-181

[115] Luis Martínez-Fernández, 'Geography, Will it Absolve Cuba?' *History Compass*, 2 (2004), pp. 1-21

being out-numbered were not on the lips, or noted in the private papers, of South Carolinians.[116] This could well have been due to their awareness of their being situated among neighbouring states, each with a supply of armed whites, and a ready supply of troops in Washington D.C. in case of need. In Cuba, the question of white immigration was a tremendously pressing issue. The migrants who came to the island were usually men already possessing considerable wealth, or men looking to become wealthier still by buying slaves, land, and profiting from the products of the former working the latter. The pursuit of a steady supply of labouring whites proved elusive, and was expressed continuously to Spain.[117] In these supplications, beside pragmatic woes of an economic, practical nature, lay quite patent anxieties concerning demography and white under-representation on the island. These demographic differences, and challenges, undeniably created an air of heightened concern in Cuba that wasn't as urgent in South Carolina.

In that same vein, while the event haunted both regions, Cuba faced greater risk of meeting the same fate as Saint Domingue: the slaveholders of Cuba found themselves on a remote island situated just over ninety miles from Haiti, with the geography generally conducive for revolution, surrounded by islands with recently emancipated populations, isolated by their very topography, and aware that any extra troops besides those already provided by Spain would be a sea-voyage away. The comparative prospect of slaves successfully overtaking the entire state of South Carolina was practically impossible given how quickly troops and militia from neighbouring slave states would descend upon and massacre them. In the event of even hypothetical initial success, rebel occupied South Carolina would then have been quashed by neighbouring forces. Cuba, on the other hand, while a much larger island than Hispaniola, had seen St. Domingue burned and desolate at the hands of slaves and free black forces. The two different regions were, realistically speaking, confronted by different scales of risk when it came to violence: South Carolina would only ever realistically face insurrection, but those insurrections in Cuba could, quite conceivably, have matured into full-scale revolution.

---

[116] In that same period the population of slaves had grown from 146,000 to 258,000. Ford, *Deliver us From Evil*, p. 187

[117] For a closer examination of the 1819 initiative to found the city of Cienfuegos in Cuba in order to encourage white immigration, see David Sartorius, *Ever-Faithful Isle*, pp. 42-46; The poor white migrants in Cuba had generally originated in the Canary islands and Galicia, often working on the docklands and railroads as part of interracial workforces. Michael Zeuske, 'Slavery and Racism in Nineteenth Century Cuba', in *Racism in the Modern World: Historical Perspectives on Cultural Transfer and Adaptation,* ed. by Manfred Berg ad Simon Wendt (New York: Berghahn, 2014), p. 116; for discussion of poor whites - the Guajiros and Monteros - who were often employed as overseers of legendary brutality, see Paquette, *Sugar is Made With Blood,* p. 42-43

The slaveholders of Cuba may well have faced risks more enormous than those in South Carolina. Yet, compellingly, despite every likelihood against a slave insurrection possibly being successful, the slaveholders of South Carolina were still never completely safe, despite the fact that they were as close as they could possibly have been to a safeguarded system. As Peter Kolchin expressed, for slaves in a country as large as the U.S. with a white population so numerous, rebellious designs were 'virtually suicidal.'[118] And yet, despite restrictive slave codes limiting the possibilities for slaves to interact with each other and free blacks; merciless punishments deterring rebellious slaves; a practically unlimited supply of white troops a horse-ride away; and mammoth geography against which to wage war, rebels like Denmark Vesey *still* tried. The determination of those rebels in the face of the almost complete futility of their designs must have been deeply unnerving for slaveholders, unable to conceive of how these insurgents could have found such resolution and purpose when only defeat awaited them.

Although Cuban insurrections had the potential of becoming more profoundly political and enormous, in both cases, at its roots, the threat was the loss of white life. It is not for modern-day scholars to decide which should have provoked more dread: the case of a *hacendado* beholding armed, organised slaves and free people of colour, possibly on horseback, possibly with military training, storming his *ingenio* and burning down the sugar cane, or a South Carolinian master being attacked and bludgeoned to death in his bed beside his wife, defenceless, as was the case in Turner's rebellion. In the case of attempted revolution in Cuba the slave-owner may possibly have been forewarned, if only by the sight of smoke rising in the distance of his neighbour's plantation, giving him time to prepare himself, even if only briefly, to defend his land and his life. In South Carolina, the only warning of insurrection may have been the sound of a sword being unsheathed in the darkness of a bed-chamber. Despite their differing demographic and geographic circumstances, neither group of slave-holders could ever be truly safe from being murdered by their slaves, a truism which supports the case for arguing that the Confidence Script of South Carolina cannot be rationalised away as the product of a safer environment when compared against Cuba. Clearly there were also cultural forces at play

[118] Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge, MA: Belknapp, 2009), p. 253

behind these Scripts, which must be analysed in their own right in order to further interrogate the reasons behind these polar emotional discourses.

Conclusion

The physical and political worlds each group of enslavers inhabited were not so vastly different as to render comparison between their emotional spheres futile. Cuba's status as colony and South Carolina's as part of an independent nation; Cuba's relentless continual importation of African slaves versus South Carolina's dependence on the domestic slave trade; Cuba's recent development into a slave society compared to the centuries South Carolinians had to develop their own slave codes and sense of mastery, and Cuba's geographical location as an island (with a large free population of colour) located in unnerving proximity to Haiti were the main differences between each. By no means should these differences be minimised: they created the context of Cuban dependence and defencelessness which directed the Supplication Script. In the same way, South Carolinian aggressive sectionalism produced a group of men intensely jealous of their rights, too proud to concede even a phrase of fear or doubt in public, tethering themselves to the protection, and restriction, of a proslavery Confidence Script. The similarities between each region were also substantial. Two of the three main slaveholding regions left in the Atlantic world, staunchly dedicated to the institution and benefitting from it economically, facing threats both from within and outwith. Both harboured strained relations with the abolitionist and diplomatic force of Britain, were haunted by the spectre of Haiti, and had a knowledge of slave rebellions more intimate than they would have liked. There is enough similarity between each zone to conclude that they lived common experiences and faced similar threats. The case is not that slaves in one area were predictable and reliable while the slaves in the other were habitually combustible. The emotional stimuli for fear in both regions were similar, just as the stimuli for aggravation and exasperation would have been. Had a candid, unguarded conversation taken place between the slaveholders of each location, they no doubt would have empathised with each other greatly.

A pivotal difference, though, between the Confidence and Supplication Scripts, were the different contexts in each region that would have allowed for the continuation of slavery. In Cuba, the continuation of the institution relied on Spanish military support to

underwrite stability on the island whatever the size of the enslaved population: invariability in the political climate of the island was considered paramount to maintaining peace between the white and black races, and in maintaining slavery. The Supplication Script suited those needs perfectly: it called for protection, subtlety, and, ultimately, changelessness. In South Carolina, the goal of guaranteeing the unchecked continuation of slavery was identical, but the method for achieving that goal was disruption. As part of the Union, slavery stood vulnerable to attack and abolition. In light of that reality, confrontation, upheaval, and, ultimately, secession was the path South Carolinians felt they needed to follow in order to protect their institution. The bullishness of the Confidence Script suited that antagonistic context aptly. While the goals of both groups of men matched, their emotional expressions truly were opposite. The emotional openness characterising the genre of speaking about slavery in Cuba in such rich and detailed ways was a social as well as a political product, just as South Carolina's obstinate self-assurance was. The next chapter explores how the nuanced social differences in each location affected the Scripts just as political and geographical ones had done.

II
What the History of Emotions Can Bring to the History of Slaveholding Societies

---

The disparity between quasi-impenetrable South Carolinian reticence and flourishing Cuban descriptions of fear, this thesis argues, was not only created by two differing political contexts, but also by social ones. Medievalist historian of the emotions Barbara Rosenwein poses the question aptly: 'if an emotion is the standard response of a particular group in certain instances, the question should not be whether it betrays real feeling, but rather why one norm obtains over another.'[1] Of Jan Plamper's seminal study on Russian military psychology and the silence of soldiers on the subject of fear, Rosenwein's commentary applies perfectly to this thesis: Plamper, she narrates, 'did not assume that silence on the topic of fear in the early nineteenth-century meant lack of fear. But… that fear-talk was non-normative for soldiers at that time.'[2] This chapter, applying the frameworks developed by historians of the emotions, will focus on the socially enforced emotional restraints upon each region which, it is argued, contributed immensely to the differences between the Scripts produced by slaveholders in South Carolina and Cuba, making fear 'non-normative' in the former, but not in the latter.

South Carolinian society had an acute conception of the extent to which emotional control and managed comportment were conducive to public prestige, while those rules were less rigid in Cuba. In the private worlds of their homes, slaveholders in Cuba were indulged certain relaxations in behaviour without causing detriment to social standing or self-respect, concessions South Carolinians were flatly denied. This chapter explores the social implications of the distinctive aspects of honour as it operated among the elite men of the southern United States and Cuba. While the U.S. has an impressive corpus of work pertaining to the specific particularities of honour that evolved in that region in the nineteenth century, there are fewer than five such works for Cuba. As such, this chapter uses both anthropological texts, and monographs whose net is cast widely over Spain and

---

[1] Barbara Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of the Emotions' *Passions in Context*, Vol.1 (2010), p. 21

[2] Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of the Emotions', p. 17; for Plamper's study, see 'Fear: Soldiers and Emotion in Early Twentieth-Century Russian Military Psychology', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 68, No.2 (Summer, 2009), pp. 259-283

Latin America to inform the discussion of honour in Cuba. The discussion of History of the Emotions will expound why it is that there must be a dialogue between emotions lived, and emotions aspired to, and how the use of the sources consulted during this investigation can reveal the gulf between the two.

An Introduction to Theory

Exceptional studies focussing on honour and masculinity expound the behaviour historical actors were required to demonstrate, to live, and die by, and as such are invaluably useful to historians when it comes to seeking to understand social *expectations*. But these studies typically reveal nothing about the men that were obliged to meet those expectations. The seminal studies on honour suggest that all men of the appropriate class were able to meet the behavioural demands made of them, making no allowances for fault or human frailty. When the classic studies of honour describe courage, or fortitude, they pay no heed to the notion that certain men may have found it more difficult to maintain a veneer of social aptitude than others, just as examinations principally outlining the tenets of hegemonic masculinity make no space for weak men. If scholars deny these men even the conceptual ability to feel fear, weakness, or doubt, we play into their hands, believing them truly to have been as confident and cavalier as they portrayed themselves to have been. The slave-master must be understood as a psychologically complex emotional actor whose inner workings merit a scrutiny heretofore reserved mainly for the examination of female subjects and femininity. Considering him in these terms allows for the study of the slaveowner's experience in terms that are more changeable, varied, and, above all, human.

Peter and Carol Stearns coined the term 'Emotionology' to express the set of values and expectations which govern emotional display in any particular society. The Emotionology of a culture delineates the accepted emotional behaviour for each gender. The function of these socially imbibed and reinforced rules is to prohibit unsavoury behaviour while encouraging that which was deemed laudable, in a bid to create a society whose comportment would favourably serve the national, or regional, image. The aim, the Stearns advise, for historians of the emotions, is to recognise the very real difference between the Emotionology of a society, and the emotions of those who lived under its doctrines; between what was claimed, and what was lived. Although access to texts

describing, outlining, and enforcing the Emotionological rules of any society are usually far easier to come by than examples of emotional revelation – which are also still informed by, and often observe the rules of their society's Emotionology – a combination of both aspects must come into dialogue in order to illuminate the emotions of the historical actors under scrutiny.[3]

The private writings of South Carolinians were more formally controlled by their Emotionology than was the case in Cuba, and their letters must be read in that light. More than a form of communication, in the antebellum U.S. diary-keeping and letter-writing, surpassing the functionality of correspondence and documentation, were demonstrations of education and good-breeding.[4] The importance of good letter-writing skills were familiar to every member of the slaveholding class, and in both courtship and communication, public and private letters were in common use.[5] Literature was also fondly read and enjoyed by all who lived in enough comfort to pass their time doing it. Indeed, some of the finest libraries in the country were housed in the South, where personal collections routinely held thousands of books.[6] Conduct Literature, most famously, 'Godey's Ladies Book', and 'Lord Chesterfield's Letters to His Son' – respectively aimed at ladies and gentlemen – also formed part of the popular reading style for upper-class readers, advising on fashion, lifestyle, and above all, conduct. As the work of C. Hemphill has demonstrated, as time passed (and perhaps adding to some

---

[3] Carol Z. Stearns, Peter N. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 90 (1985), pp. 813-836

[4] Unlike neighbouring North Carolina, public education in South Carolina was a flawed system. Free public schools for the poor were lacking outside of Charleston, leading to school attendance across the state amounting to just 16.8% in 1828. Timothy James Lockley, *Welfare & Charity in the Antebellum South* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida) pp. 184-187; For comparative literacy rates across the South and Cuba see Stanley L. Engerman, Elisa V. Mariscal, and Kenneth L. Sokoloff 'The Evolution of Schooling in the Americas, 1800-1925' in *Human Capital and Institutions: A Long-Run View,* ed. by David Eltis, Frank D. Lewis and Kenneth L. Sokoloff (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 93-142

[5] Stowe, *Intimacy and Power*, p. 3; see also James L. Machor, *Reading Fiction in Antebellum America: Informed Response and Reception Histories, 1820-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); for publications aimed specifically towards female readership, see *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in 19th-Century America,* ed. by Shirley Samuels (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); the sheer number of published collections of letters, and journals, of southern figures and families, attests to the vastness of the written sources left to historians, and thus, how prolific the writing culture was. See, for example, *The Leverett Letters: Correspondence of a South Carolina Family, 1851-1868,* ed. by Frances Wallace-Taylor, Catherine Taylor Matthews, and Tracy J. Power (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2000); *Anna: The Letters of a St. Simons Island Plantation Mistress, 1817-1859,* ed. by Melanie Pavich-Lindsay (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2002); *Tombee: Portrait of a Cotton Planter: With the Plantation Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin (1822-1890)* ed. by Theodore Rosengarten and Susan W. Walker (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, 1986)

[6] Eugene Genovese, *The Sweetness of Life: Southern Planters at Home*, ed. by Douglass Ambrose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 21-26; Young, *Domesticating Slavery,* pp. 134-139

gentlemen's sense of inadequacy), conduct literature came to be aimed more at the male audience, tailoring its content for male readership.[7] This changing style betrays the sense that masculinity was more closely scrutinised as the young nation developed, and that men were more closely observed and dictated to than women.

In Cuba, restricted access to education resulted in a low literacy rate, meaning that the writing culture was dissimilar to South Carolina's. The lack of centralised education was the basis of the lack of literacy and publishing, and in 1827 Cuba's illiteracy rate was 85%. This enormous figure immediately limited the reach any written work could have hoped to attain, and in Havana on average a book that cost more than one peso would be printed no more than 300 times, as an extreme number.[8] During the brief return to constitutionalism, liberal Creoles had enjoyed greater access to uncensored publications, but under the leadership of Captain Generals with the newly-granted *facultades omnimodas*, newspapers famously became restricted and censored to a degree that left the island with a printed press wholly influenced by loyalty to the peninsula.[9] That said, in 1841 there were an estimated 5,000 Cubans subscribed to newspapers.[10] A seditious writing culture did emerge among rebellious educated Creoles, as shall be explored in Chapter III, which did have an emotional slant, but it did not conform to any sort of Emotionology.

The Stearns' theory of Emotionology galvanises the truism that the way members of a society behave, and profess to feel, are informed by social norms and tropes; that emotions are not biological reactions devoid of cultural slant, but rather, are formed by a lifetime spent living as part of a society in which all emotions are crafted, suppressed and amplified according to gender, class, and race.[11] Arlie Hochschild's explanation of 'Feeling Rules' - aptly regimented in their title – explores the disciplined nature of emotional control within social groups. Feeling Rules, Hochschild theorises, are enforced

---

[7] C. Dallett Hemphill, *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620-1860* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp. 28-60, 88-118

[8] Pamela Maria Smorkaloff, *Readers and Writers in Cuba: A Social history of Print Culture, 1830s-1990s* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), p. 9

[9] Smorkaloff, *Readers and Writers in Cuba*, pp. 1-21; other relevant works include Larry R. Jensen, *Children of Colonial Despotism : Press, Politics, and Culture in Cuba, 1790-1840* (Gainesville, FL: University of South Florida Press, 1987); Ambrosio Fornet, 'Literatura y Mercado en Cuba Colonial, 1830–60', *Casa de Las Américas*, 84 (1974), pp. 40-52

[10] Smorkaloff, *Readers and Writers in Cuba*, p. 12

[11] Emotions have been termed by Neuroscientists as 'neurosocial': the products of cognitive and physical reactions which are flavoured by their social contexts. See for example Jaak Panksepp, *Affective Neuroscience: The Foundations of Human and Animal Emotions* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998)

both from within and outwith, by both the actor and the audience. Driven and guided by the reactions of those observing an emotional performance, an actor's emotions are tailored by: 'how other people assess our emotional display, and by sanctions issuing from ourselves and from them'. That Hochschild refers to emotional display as 'conscious emotion work' is critical for the approach used in this dissertation. The notion that emotions are manipulated for social – and professional – gains, applies just as much to Hochschild's study of air hostesses exhibiting façades of welcoming amiability, as it does to slave-masters wishing to impress their slaves, wives, and political adversaries or allies, with indomitability.[12] William Reddy's compelling theory of the 'Emotional Regime' - the nature in which political regimes, wishing to maintain authority, tailor the correct emotional display for members of that state - is comparably valuable to this study, shedding light on the careful evocation of emotions by secessionist South Carolinians wishing to provoke more men to abandon a Union presented as debasing to their masculinity.

Reddy and Hochschild both emphasise this sense of celebration or punishment according to good or bad emotional conduct. The Emotional Regime, Reddy explains, should be imagined as a 'complex of practices that establish a set of emotional norms and that sanction those who break them.' Again, emotions are conscious, rehearsed, and their impacts preconceived.[13] Barbara Rosenwein's theory of 'Emotional Community', which expounds that members of a society behave accordingly to their social environment, resounds in harmony with both previous concepts. This Community is composed of 'groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions.'[14] Social circles, Rosenwein maintains, should be considered 'systems of feeling', within each of which exists a rubric of: 'the modes of

---

[12] Arlie Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialisation of Human Feeling*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 57-59

[13] William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: a Framework for the History of the Emotions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 323-324

[14] Barbara Rosenwein, 'Worrying About Emotions in History', *The American History Review,* Vol. 107, No.3 (June 2002), p. 842, for further discussion of 'The Emotional Community', see Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Cornell University Press, 2007)

emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate and deplore.'[15] Emotional expression and suppression is dealt with by historians of the emotions as a decision, not a biological reaction experienced spontaneously. The affective *experience* may well be uncontrollable, but its *expression* is cultured, social, consequential and relevant. The words chosen by slaveholders to describe their reactions to a slave rebellion, for example, were chosen according to their specific Emotional Communities, and that choice is incredibly insightful into the intersection between mastery, circumstance, emotion, and self-image. As Rosenwein explains, 'historians interested in the characteristics of particular emotional communities need to consider *which* emotions were most fundamental to their styles of expression and sense of self.'[16] Thus, when examining the emotional expressions of slave-owners, the way they wished themselves and their words to have been perceived is key to any appreciation of the performative aspect of their words.

Central, then, to the analysis of that performance is an understanding of the prevailing Emotionologies of South Carolina and Cuba between 1820 and 1850: the governing forces dictating proper and improper masculine behaviour. The concept of honour provides a common Emotionological framework in both regions, despite the fact that it had different demands in each. While the dogmas outlined in the most admirable works on honour describe the lived experience of many slaveholders, the query remains: what shame plagued the men unable to meet those ideals. It is still immensely useful for scholars to know what the ideals of an honour society were in order that indiscretions can be recognised, and as such, most monographs describing honour should be considered studies of social expectation, or, better yet, Emotionology, the social force governing masculine behaviour in both South Carolina and Cuba.

Honour in South Carolina

There are notable similarities between the distinguishing features of honour expected of elite men in both regions: the shared recognition of the importance of bravery, a

[15] Barbara Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of the Emotions', p. 11; see also Norbert Elias' examination of the manner in which 18th century French courtiers were obliged to maintain and exude certain attitudes and behaviours in order to maintain control over the lower classes, Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 1969); and Anthony Rotundo's discussion of 'gender ideals' which outlines the conscious obligation of each gender to perform the characteristics expected of them. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity From the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), p. 165

[16] Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods', p. 15

domineering presence over dependents and social inferiors, and the ability to exert unquestioned authority over one's slaves, wives, and children. The converse: weakness, and the failure to defend the virtue of the (necessarily white) women in one's household against philanderers or unworthy men; a feeble ruling manner, and the inability to assume a convincing supremacy over inferiors of gender, class and race, were social signals of a man who had no claim to honour. In both regions honour was bestowed by one's social peers. In South Carolina those peers were one's social equals - in this case, the upper classes - as was the case in Cuba, with the extension that in Cuba, in special instances, the colonial state could intervene and restore the honour of an individual if they had sufficient cause to claim it (to be absolved of scandals committed by their parents, for example.) As a rule, in Cuba, honour could be repaired by the colonial state in extreme cases, but generally in both regions honour was awarded as a social accolade by one's social equals, never claimed by an individual for himself. Naturally, by extension, except in very particular circumstances in Cuba, no man could dispute his being labelled as dishonourable by his community, and as such, slaveholders in both regions shared a reverence for maintaining impeccable reputations.

The combination of poor whites living in squalid conditions; aspiring white lower classes; enslaved persons, and the extravagantly wealthy slaveocracy; created in the southern states, to a degree of exaggeration, the social stratification conducive to the sustenance of honour cultures. While slavery is by no means an essential component of an honour society, the starkly defined hierarchy of the slaveholding states allowed for the clearly compartmentalised and separated leagues of respectability that honour societies do necessarily require. Slavery forced each man and woman to be unquestionably aware of his or her practically un-negotiable place in society.[17] Honour was crystallised by the domination, subordination, and violent control that was engendered by slavery. Had slavery not existed, Edward Ayers proffers, 'just as… relationships of domination in the Northern colonies were eventually replaced by the new patterns of depersonalized, market-oriented, contractual relationships, so too would the early South have changed'.[18] Compellingly, then, as a result of the continuation of slavery, the South steadfastly clung to a conception of honour that was more medieval than revolutionary, creating a

[17] Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice,* p. 26, 21
[18] Ibid. p. 27

circumstance wherein a pre-capitalist system of social codes gained strength in the fiercely capitalistic and industrialising context of the Second Slavery.[19]

The bravery southern gentlemen were expected to display and maintain was a critical expression of their honour: the imperative characteristic of any honourable gentleman.[20] As Orlando Patterson phrased it, 'courage is the sine qua non of honour, and cowardice its converse.'[21] Just as the southern gentleman was expected to live a courageous life, he should have been equally willing to face a courageous death. A southern man had to be willing to risk his life for his honour, thereby proving which was dearer to him. The duel, for this very reason, was the most extreme expression of a gentleman's conviction, for, as Kenneth Greenberg terms it: 'a man who was willing to die could never be forced to kneel.'[22] This flaunted courage formed a central part of the South Carolinian Confidence Script. That behavioural paradigm - the demonstrated aversion to and refutation of cowardice, and a willingness to die in order to refute its allegation – is crucial when interrogating the apparent confidence of slaveholders who lived as the heads of their vulnerable white families on rural plantations surrounded (and often vastly outnumbered by) their slaves, and of proslavery zealots who dismissed as absurd the claim that they lived in fear of their slaves.[23]

---

[19] Spierenburg, *Men and Violence*, p. 21, for discussion on the difference between honour and dignity, see Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice,* p. 20

[20] Spierenburg, *Men and Violence*, p. 2; for the foremost works concerning 'Southern Honour', see Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*; Dickson Bruce, *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behaviour in the Old South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); *Manliness and Morality,* ed. by J.A. Mangan, James Walvin

[21] Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 79

[22] Kenneth Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, The Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 126

[23] For a discussion on rates of absentee planters, see *Dictionary of Afro American Slavery: Updated, With a New Introduction and Bibliography,* ed. by Randall M. Miller and John David Smith (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997) pp. 7-10, which estimates that by the end of the antebellum period absenteeism on plantations of 50 slaves or more had reached 50% in low-country South Carolina. For a specific discussion on absenteeism in Beaufort County, in which many plantations were owned by absentee planters, *The History of Beaufort Country, South Carolina: 1514-1861,* ed. by Lawrence R. Rowland, Alexander Moore and George C. Rogers Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), p. 360-1; Sea Island planters also spent the majority of the year in Beaufort, only visiting their plantations for Thanksgiving and Christmas; for discussion on the lower profits gained from absentee plantations in South Carolina, see Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina,* p. 172-3; for black drivers working during the master's absence, see Larry Koger, *Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina, 1790-1860* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985), p. 10

Emotions were considered to be gendered across the U.S., and their manifestation in someone of the inappropriate gender was considered a repugnant incongruity. Dickson Bruce's study places great emphasis on the effort southern elites applied to meticulously observing and expressing their appropriately assigned emotions, never faltering, and certainly never trespassing the boundaries of their own genders and classes.[24] All conduct was socially regulated, and elite members of society were expected to perform their assigned roles with ease and persuasion; nothing in elite southern social interactions should have been spontaneous or unflattering.[25] Emotional discipline was a daily pursuit. Southerners were infinitely invested in how they were perceived by others, consciously projecting a version of themselves to the world which presented them as they would like to have been regarded. This social 'mask', as Kenneth Greenberg tellingly terms it, allowed gentlemen to 'display a crafted version of themselves through their voices, faces, noses, and a thousand other projections… in what was essentially a masquerade culture.' The shame lay not in a gentleman constructing a mask, but in his unmasking; the boundless humiliation and dishonour of being revealed to the world as the antithesis of all he had claimed to be.[26] Greenberg's work here is gripping, but leaves much unsaid in its romantic portrayal of chivalry. The History of the Emotions must be used to pry out the emotional discrepancies of the man behind the mask.

The Confidence Script should also be understood as a type of mask, a verbal performance of the emotions prescribed to slaveholding gentlemen: not a one-dimensional, straightforward expression of earnest confidence, but the rhetorical product of proslavery advocates consumed by a preoccupation with outward appearances, and who had spent a lifetime perfecting their superficial performances of mastery and dominance. Greenberg delineates that southern gentlemen 'were concerned, to a degree we would consider unusual, with the surface of things – with the world of appearances', so much so, he continues, that they were cognisant of both 'an outer self and an inner self.'[27] As Bruce expounds, southern gentlemen placed such acute consequence on the importance of conducting themselves with propriety that, at times, their own impulses and inclinations were knowingly suppressed for the purpose of 'turning in a good performance.'[28] The

[24] Bruce, *Violence and Culture,* p. 17. It should be noted that Bruce's work was not a study of emotions per se, but seen emotions, perhaps better termed as performance.
[25] Bruce, *Violence and Culture,* pp. 13, 69, 117
[26] Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery*, pp. 9, 25
[27] Ibid., pp. xiv, 49
[28] Bruce, *Violence and Culture,* p. 69

emotional implications of such intriguing statements have yet to be interrogated as far as the master's subjective experience is concerned, and since Greenberg and Bruce wrote years before the first theoretical movements were made towards constructing a History of the Emotions, their comments are fascinatingly frustrating for alluding to so much of the interior world of the slave master, and probing so little of it. Yet their work roots the South Carolinian performative Confidence Script in solid theoretical ground, consistent with the historical understanding of superficial honorific performances characteristic of the South.

The performed role of master should be considered an 'outer self'. In an uncompromising system of hierarchy, the slaveholder above all others was subject to the rules of social direction as, unlike other roles in the southern tableau, if the master failed to exhibit the appropriate confidence and authority, the relationship of domination between he and his slaves unravelled, and insurrection loomed. Bruce illustrates this point excellently: 'well-defined, highly structured roles… [and] ritual behaviour… had to dominate social relations. Society could hold together only so long as people played their roles skilfully.'[29] This culture of performances was the landscape in front of which proslavery advocates played their parts, and the exacting emotional requirements of that performance should not be flippantly dismissed. The obstinacy of southerners, their abhorrence of abolitionist criticism, and their japing mockery of the suggestion that they lived in fear of their own slaves must be examined in the context of their making: the men offering those defences were impressively adept at attuning their roles in order to maintain impenetrability and dominance.

Fundamental here is James C. Scott's theory of 'transcripts', which proposes that the words spoken by those occupying positions of domination compose a 'Public Transcript', transmitting to their audience a dialogue whose sole purpose is to propagate the self-image the speaker wishes their audience to perceive, while also reinforcing their dominion. Scott emphasises the importance of publicly spoken words that attest to the strength, confidence and superiority of the speaker for maintaining the social structure favourable to the ruling classes.[30] The political utility of the Public Transcript weds very nicely to William Reddy's Emotional Regime, in which prescribed emotional behaviour

---

[29] Ibid. pp. 69, 78

[30] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*: *Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), p. xii

serves as a 'necessary underpinning of any stable political regime'.[31] Logically, the Public Transcript would be the spoken words of the political figureheads of any Emotional Regime. Suggestively referring to the process as a 'dialectic of disguise', Scott explains: 'in ideological terms the public transcript will… provide convincing evidence for the hegemony of dominant values, for the hegemony of dominant discourse.'[32] The South Carolinian Confidence Script is, then, the archetypical Public Transcript.

Just as speaking in tones of confidence perpetuated an essential image of control that psychologically convinced a slave of his master's authority, it also reinforced the slaveowner's own sense of domination.[33] Greenberg has aptly observed that, while historians have a strong understanding of the slave's performance of 'puttin' on ole massa' – when slaves acted in a foolish or innocently childish manner in an attempt to avoid harsh punishment from a master for having broken tools or working slowly - 'we have paid less attention to the way the master engaged in "puttin' on ole slave".'[34] The very same strategic amplification of characteristics took place. Just as slaves accentuated endearing qualities in order to gain leverage over their masters wherever possible, slaveholders, too, purposefully miniaturised improper characteristics which may have compromised their authority, maximising those which would have inspired obedience and timorousness. According to Scott, the public transcript acts as 'self-hypnosis within ruling groups to buck up their courage, improve their cohesion, display their power, and convince themselves anew of their high moral purpose'.[35] Scott reveals the complexity besetting the master-slave relationship. To ignore the enslaver's conscious efforts to inspire the appropriate reactions from his slaves makes his role appear easier, and assuming that mastery came with ease as a natural attribute to every slave-owner would be delusive.

In the underbelly of the swaggering public transcript lurked thoughts and insecurities deemed by the speaker to be too shameful or injudicious to express at all. As Scott continues, 'each form of rule will have not only its characteristic stage setting but also its characteristic dirty linen… most sedulously hidden from public view'.[36] Employing a

---

[31] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 129
[32] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* p. 4
[33] Ibid., p. 49
[34] Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery*, p. 32
[35] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pp. 11, 67
[36] Ibid., p. 12

strategic form of self-censorship, Scott adds, those in a position of power vocalise that which they wish to be known of them while supressing that which they want hidden. Such calculations were paramount to ensuring that a slave-owner's performance was not revealed to be exactly that.[37]

Southern gentlemen were offered no ideological respite from their performances, which were to be maintained just as fastidiously in the home, for their families, as in the workplace, at a ball, or on the Senate floor, for fear of otherwise falling short of the expectations of their dependents, and indeed, of themselves. Children, slaves, and most significantly perhaps (in terms of psychological pressure) wives, comprised an audience to be convinced flawlessly, at the consequence of dishonour, guilt and destructive gossip. As Stephen Stowe verbalises it, in the home, just as in public: 'a misstep could mean more than mere personal failure. A man's full social authority was at stake.'[38] For some southern gentlemen such unremitting pressure may have been suffocating, and the eternal need for composure must have come into focus with pronounced sharpness during moments of slave unrest, when their world of performance and order met with upheaval, chaos, and challenge.

The measured manifestation of emotion was to be matched by the well-judged physical expression of that impulse. As zealously political as the southern gentleman was permitted and expected to be, gentlemen were socially trained to keep their passions under superior mental restriction, which included their recourse to violence. Social displeasure towards gentlemanly violence should in no way lead to the belief that violent impulses did not exist, as the unspeakable brutality of slave punishments demonstrates. Gentlemen were rigorously taught to supress violent urges, but they were shackled by nothing more than sober self-restraint. That superior sense of self-discipline was understood as the significant behavioural factor separating the upper from the lower classes, who brawled ferociously and indiscriminately. While honourable gentlemen duelled, the lower classes resorted to blows: neither group could ever cross that divide and hope to be taken seriously.[39] The significance of a gentleman resorting to brute violence signalled a schism

---

[37] Ibid., pp. 12, 28, 16
[38] Stowe, *Intimacy and Power,* p. 131
[39] Bruce, *Violence and Culture*, p. 70; for fighting customs among poor whites, see Elliot J. Gorn, 'Gouge, Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch: The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 90 No.1 (Feb. 1985), pp. 18-43

in the order of things. As Bruce expounds, it was 'an indication of social crisis of the most severe sort.'[40] The recourse to extreme violence by a gentleman was an indicator that the social fabric had torn, and he had – either consciously, or consumed by his own emotions– cast off the shackles of his social role.[41]

Most interesting is Bruce's assertion that such instances of unexpected violent display usually occurred among gentlemen erupting at: 'those whom they either used or feared.'[42] He stops short of identifying the possible members of that group, but the implication is most compelling when applied to those who were both used and feared: armed slaves. The work of Lydia Plath, which highlights the barbarous reactions of white men in North Carolina following Nat Turner's rebellion, betrays more than a simple sense of righteous retribution dispensed by the master-class. Perhaps, combined with outrage at the effrontery of the Virginia rebels, the unbridled violence of those men seems more akin to a hysteria born of terror. If brutish violence among the upper classes is indicative of social unravelling, then violence enacted upon innocent slaves as a reaction to a rebellion which had taken place in an entirely different state must surely demonstrate that insurrections were capable of unpicking the social threads of any slave society.[43]

Every single work on honour in the attached bibliography states that honour cannot be successfully challenged by someone of a class lower than that of the man who is challenged. Yet, the actions implicit in a slave rebellion tacitly insult every comprising facet of honour: a man's word; his ability to protect his dependents; his authority and his masculinity. The work of Steven Kantrowitz and Terence Finnegan (although applied to the era of Reconstruction and the early twentieth century) compellingly postulates that black men, and their sexual behaviour towards white women, had the capacity not simply to threaten the social order with miscegenation, but further, to emasculate and humiliate

---

[40] Bruce, *Violence and Culture*, p. 78
[41] For further discussion on the lack of control over violence in the South, as compared to Europe and the Northern U.S., see Spierenberg, *Men and Violence*, pp. 23-25
[42] Bruce, *Violence and Culture,* p. 70
[43] Lydia Plath, 'North Carolina and Nat Turner: Honour and Violence in a Slave Insurrection Scare', in *Black and White Masculinity in the American South, 1800-2000, ed. by* S. Lussana, L. Plath (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 16-37

white men.[44] Historians dealing with the period of slavery stop short of applying the theorisation that the physical prowess of black men was personally experienced as a challenge to antebellum slaveholders' masculinity and dominance, when, in actual fact, it is likely to have been.

Finnegan deems it entirely possible that alleged sexual violence from the free black population towards white women presented to whites 'an affront to their personal honour' and 'a public challenge to the collective manhood of local white males'.[45] The white male preoccupation with the white female body was more a question of symbolic sovereignty than of virtue; the protection of their women allowed white men to assert their dominance over black men. When the safety of their women was compromised, the real issue was less one of potentially lost virtue than of the dishonour of the men who had been unable to guard them. When men reacted to such instances with violence, while they claimed to be reacting on behalf of their women, they were actually reasserting and repairing their own damaged dominance.[46] The emotions implicit in that reaction: shame, rage and bitterness, to name but a few, may also have been the feelings a master felt upon learning that his slaves had plotted to murder him. Black rebelliousness surely cannot be considered threatening or unthreatening to white masculinity depending on whether it happened prior to or following the Civil War. Indeed, if anything the murderous impulses of one's own property would have been felt far more personally than the violence of an unknown black man.

One possible counterargument to that premise would be that the black population only became legitimately and conceptually threatening to the white male sense of self after emancipation, once it could have been argued that black men were more threatening without the guidance of an allegedly benevolent master. That claim gives too much credit to the bravery of the master class, and takes at face value the notion that masters truly believed their own claims of paternalism, slave docility, and in their ability to control. Kantrowitz's 'Rape-Lynch Complex' theorises that, although white men used the white

---

[44] Stephen Kantrowitz, 'White Supremacist Justice and the Rule of Law: Lynching, Honor and the State in Ben Tillman's South Carolina', in *Men and Violence, Gender, Honor and Rituals in Modern Europe and America,* ed. by Pieter Spierenburg (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), pp. 213-240; Terence Finnegan, ' "The Equal of Some White Men and the Superior of Others": Masculinity and the 1916 Lynching of Anthony Crawford in Abbeville County, South Carolina', in *Men and Violence, Gender,* ed. by Pieter Spierenburg, pp. 240-255

[45] Finnegan, ' "The Equal of Some White Men" ', pp. 241-2

[46] Kantrowitz, 'White Supremacist Justice', p. 220

female body as the surrogate for their fears, patently embedded within these excuses was their fear for their own endangered masculinity.[47] As Finnegan presents, black men did indeed challenge the patriarchal authority of whites in the post-bellum U.S. Since so much of honour in the nineteenth century was bound both to the protection of white women, and to keeping an authoritative bearing, it is entirely possible that antebellum slaveholders were vulnerable to being undermined similarly.[48] It can be conceived, then, that women were the conduit used to transfer male slaveholding anxiety into a socially acceptable surrogate; to ventriloquise the female gender as a means of speaking their own fears in disguised voices.

The significance of the black man as a sexual threat to the purity of the white woman was a common trope among most white Americans in the nineteenth century, and has been studied comprehensively.[49] The slaves' potential to emasculate white men with displays of physical strength and violence, however, has not been considered a realistic question, given the historical axiom that a slave had no claim to honour, thus rendering him categorically unable to endanger the honour of his enslaver. Enslaved though they may have been, even proslavery writers admitted in this period that bondsmen were very much men. They must have represented a potent masculine challenge and threat in the mind of the master class, especially since acts of rebellion confronted and mocked every facet of what a slaveholder would have used to construct his identity as an honourable man, worthy of public respect. If slave rebellions were not emasculating for enslavers (and they may well have been), it is certainly possible that, during times of rebellion, slave-owners were, at the very least, mortified by the grotesque enormity of the shift in the "proper" power balance taking place within their household among the slaves they claimed to be so dependent and vacuous.

Bertram Wyatt-Brown's discussion of 'group honour' suggests that, just as easily as one man can take offence or be threatened, so too, by the logic of group consciousness, can his social peers share in his sensitivity.[50] One man insulted or threatened found himself

---

[47] Kantrowitz, 'White Supremacist Justice', pp. 218-221
[48] Finnegan, ' "The Equal of Some White Men" ', p. 241-245
[49] For relevant works see Diane Miller Summerville, *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill, 2004); Biljana Okllopčić, ' "The Nigger That's Going to Sleep With Your Sister": Charles Bon and Joe Christmas as Black Rapists in William Faulkner's Oeuvre', in *Black and White Masculinity,* ed. by S. Lussana and L. Plath, pp. 134-158; Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 176-209
[50] Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, p. 364, 369

'an emperor unclothed, subject to subtle mockery.'[51] But if his challenger – the slave – represented a threat to the entire social system, in a very physical as well as an ideological sense, then the interest of all men was at stake, for an insurrection in one area was too great an ideological fissure not to be taken personally by all slaveholders. Semantics here should not stand in the way of theoretical emotional discussion. Those historians who may be discomforted by the idea of allowing the terms 'honour' or 'dishonour' to encompass slave activity as it affected white feeling and reputation could just as easily substitute the words 'pride' and 'embarrassment'.[52] The purpose of this study is not to expand the historical discussion of honour, but rather to question the emotional implications of how it *felt* to be dishonoured. If the feeling of dishonour was the same as shame, or embarrassment, or humiliation, then the words used to label the feeling are largely immaterial. With that said, if the sensation of dishonour caused by a gentleman being called a liar by another was the same as the humiliation provoked by a trusted slave plotting to murder him in his bed, and the notoriety and scandal surrounding each event were comparable, then the only difference between both events is that in one case a white man challenged the word of the slaveholder, and in the other, a black man challenged his authority. Perhaps it is time to question whether the southern slaver's feelings were really so selective as to have been sensitive to the race of whoever had committed the offence.

Strange must have been the place occupied by a slave rebel in his master's imagination, as far as reputation was concerned. Whether that slave had been perceived as a member of his "family white and black"; a member of a workforce; or simply as chattel, from whichever angle his insurrectionary violence is analysed, it was always undertaken with flagrant disregard for the master's authority, and his legal right to own the slave in question.[53] From the master's perspective, a slave's decision to take part in the planning of an insurrection must have been, for want of a better word, embarrassing. Given the importance of authority to an honourable man, when those he supposedly controlled rejected his rule to the extent of planning his death at their own hands, where did that leave his self-respect? If, as Bacon theorised it: 'omnis fama a domesticus exeant (all reputation proceeds from servants)' what happened to a man's reputation when his

[51] Ibid., p. 365
[52] I thank Professor Lacy Ford for his personal insights to me on this matter.
[53] Eugene D. Genovese, ' " Our Family, White and Black": Family, Household in the Southern Slaveholders' World View', in *In Joy and Sorrow: Women, Family and Marriage in the Victorian South, 1830-1900,* ed. by Carol Bleser (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 69-88

servants rebelled?[54] If a master's honour, as Orlando Patterson explained, 'was enhanced by the subjection of his slave', what became of that honour when the slave refused his subjection? If a slave's violence was not embarrassing, then on some level it must have been expected, and if it was indeed anticipated, it stands to reason that it was dreaded. While it is highly unlikely that any neighbours or friends would have thought badly of a slave-owner if his slaves had plotted to murder him, the issue at hand is the master's imagined conception of their reactions, and his own pre-emptive shame. Thomas Scheff proffers that sociologists must observe 'the crucial function that shame plays in systems of social control'.[55] Scheff had been influenced by Charles Cooley's 1922 insights on what he termed the 'looking-glass self', which resounds perfectly with the position of this study with regard to the master's conception of his world. As Cooley explained it: 'the thing that moves us to pride or shame is… that other, in whose mind we see ourselves.… we always imagine, and in imagining share, the judgements of the other mind,' to which Scheff added: 'since we live in the minds of others, pride and shame are the master emotions of everyday life.'[56] The fact that slavers had claimed so proudly the docility of their slaves only served to make their violence all the more humiliating. Although scholars focus on the inherently violent nature of southern culture, and its influences upon brutal punishments for slaves, none focus on the manner in which conceptions of honour affected the way enslavers may have felt during times of rebellion, and how one way of hiding shame is by concealing it with anger.[57]

Honour in Latin America

Although the countless émigrés that arrived in Latin America between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries adapted Spanish social ideologies across time and across new spaces, homage must still be paid to the original foundations of honour, upon which developments were constructed in the New World. Though more difficult to trace than the traffic of tangible objects, the movement of social understandings was equally

---

[54] Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death,* p.79; it must further be questioned whether, just as slave strength, and masculinity, were celebrated in the victorious slave wrestlers who brought pride to their enslavers, how that strength affected the slave-owner's pride when it was planned to be used against him. For a discussion of slave wrestling, see Sergio Lussana, 'To See Who Was Best on the Plantation: Enslaved Fighting Contests and Masculinity in the Antebellum Plantation South', *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol.76, No.4 (Nov.2010), pp. 901-922

[55] Thomas Scheff, 'Shame in Self and Society', *Symbolic Interaction*, Vol.26, No.2 (2003), pp. 241, 254

[56] Scheff, 'Shame in Self and Society', pp. 242, 244

[57] Ibid., p. 248

essential to creating national identity in the New World. Conceptions of honour that had transferred from Spain actually gained an even stronger currency in the colonies, due to the enormously heterogeneous and stratified populations developing there, which lent themselves perfectly to the social levelling and distancing so favourable to societies which place a high value on honour. Indeed, according to the work of Mark Burkholder, the culture of honour in Spanish America was most ardently adhered to and revered during the colonial period.

Once independence, democracy and republican ideals had saturated the new nation-states, honour lost its influence, and was replaced by ideals that were more attuned to modern conceptions of good citizenship. It was during the colonial period, when discrimination and domination were the governing norm, that honour was most fervently sought after and protected.[58] As such, in Cuba, Spain's last American possession (other than Puerto Rico), with its enormous slave population that lent tremendous energy to a racialised system of social organisation, honour, and the desire to retain it, gained momentum in the nineteenth century, setting society rankings in amber, helping to solidify reputation and social standing among the upper classes. [59] Historically, monarchically approved religiosity was the essential factor in determining Spanish honour. Those who were born to two married Catholic parents were considered to have had '*limpieza de sangre'* (clean blood), and were therefore both respectable and honourable.[60] Being in this position of '*limpieza*', such men would not only enjoy public esteem, but they would also solely occupy the positions of power within their society (while those who did not meet the criteria were unable to climb the social strata, suffering

[58] Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, 'Introduction', in *The Faces of Honour: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America,* ed. by Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. 1-18; Mark A. Burkholder, 'Honor and Honors in Colonial Spanish America', in *The Faces of Honour,* ed. by Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, pp. 18-45

[59] Verena Martinez-Alier, Marriage, *Class and Color in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1989), pp. 2-18. A contemporary parent musing on the importance of equal marriages expressed that the Cuban case was made exceptional by the presence of the slaves: 'this is a country where because of its exceptional circumstances it is necessary that the dividing line between the white and the African race be very clearly marked; for any tolerance that may be praiseworthy in some cases, will bring dishonour to the white families, upheaval and disorder to the country, if not extermination to its inhabitants.' Clearly, the growing presence of slaves in industrialising nineteenth century Cuba required the intensification of social codes which were less adhered to in the republics of Latin America. p. 16

[60] The Siete Partidas of the thirteenth century made clear the fact that Catholicism and birth by married parents entitled a man to 'honra' (honour), and would further enable him to enjoy social respect and 'fama': defined in the Thirteenth Century *Siete Partidas* as 'the good state of [a] man who lives rightly, and according to law and proper customs' Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 44-5

a form of "social death" because of it.) While some personal components were non-negotiable (Catholicism, for example) honourable *behaviour* and conduct evolved to become upheld and bestowed from within the social ranks by one's peers, relying on the Crown's intervention only in exceptional cases. Ideologies whose gestation began in Spain were solidified and matured upon the conquest of American territory, where the combustible experience of the New World galvanised an appreciation for social ordering as it had been in the Old World.[61]

The social importance of honour in Cuba intensified as a direct result of the rapidly growing number of slaves and free people of colour on the island, creating a context wherein the causal effect of slavery on the importance of honour took shape alongside the growing importance of whiteness. As Karen Morrison elucidates, the late eighteenth century was the true beginning of the Spanish Crown's systematic 'privileging of whiteness' across the empire, whereby the religious inclusivity and social mobility which had previously been enjoyed by the enslaved and free populations of colour began to elude them.[62] In Cuba's case, following Charles III's Pragmatic Sanctions, extended to Spanish America in 1778, under which religious and parental approval were required in order to ensure 'honourable' matrimonial matches between spouses, the rejection of Cubans of colour from meeting that rubric meant that honour increasingly became conceived as something restricted to whites, who saw their preconceived racial superiority sanctioned by the Crown and the Church.[63] Cuba, recalled by one visitor as the 'Spanish colony where the most exaggerated aristocracy exists', was realising and reifying, as Morrison terms it, 'the value of whiteness' as it continued to increase, and bind itself to conceptions of honourability.[64] Just as in the southern U.S., the intensification of pre-existing social codes occurred as a result of the growing centrality of slave labour to society in Cuba.

---

[61]Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets*, p. 44

[62] Morrison, *Cuba's Racial Crucible,* p. 49

[63] Morrison, *Cuba's Racial Crucible*, p. 59. This was occasionally overlooked in some cases when those Cubans of colour had prominent militia roles. As Morrison adds, in Spanish America there was a 'much greater adherence to the pragmatic by colonial elite and upwardly mobile families'. p. 61

[64] Morrison, *Cuba's Racial Crucible* p. 64-65, 88. Morrison's work tracks this diverging trend between non-whiteness and honour along the timeline of slavery in Cuba: as the slave trade increased and capitalists investing in the island began to see Cubans of African descent as little more than faceless labourers, the benefit of white authority was espoused with more frequency, and thus, as the institution sunk its roots in more deeply, attaining military and religious honour for Cubans of colour became increasingly difficult, and often impossible. For this discussion, see p. 109

Of equal importance were the later Bourbon Reforms. Initially intended to maintain a gulf between Latin American Creoles and Spanish immigrants by preventing marriage between the two groups, thereby avoiding any dilution of loyalty to the metropole, as time passed, the social functions of the Reforms took on new significance: socially dividing whites and non-whites.[65] Verena Martinez-Alier's study of marriage mores in nineteenth century Cuba emphasises these points succinctly: while the pursuit to maintain 'purity of blood' largely lost its effect in Spain from the 1830s following the abolishment of the Inquisition, Cuba's exceptional social condition was conducive to such forms of exclusion. In a slave society where, owing to increasing miscegenation due to racial disequilibrium, it was becoming practically impossible to distinguish visually someone of African descent at first glance, whites in Cuba were most keen to maintain a method for excluding such people from rising in the social ranks (and attaining the honourable status associated with such positions) as much as was possible.[66]

The link between whiteness and honour was exacerbated by the presence of slavery across the Americas. The Pragmatic Sanctions developed a means of maintaining white Catholic hegemony by enforcing endogamy validated by both Church and state, confirming the social understanding that only particular behaviour and religious alignment could provide honour, enforcing a clearly visible and comprehensible set of regulations surrounding its maintenance.[67] In this way, honour in Cuba was legally codified, but generally upheld socially by one's peers on a daily basis, in contrast to the southern U.S. where honour was both defined and upheld by society. (It must be questioned whether the stricter legal definition of honour actually allowed for a more relaxed lived experience as a citizen in that honour culture, versus a society where the upkeep and defence of honour rested squarely on the shoulders of each social actor, and where circumspection and self-policing was an essential and daily pursuit in order for the preferred hierarchy to survive.)

---

[65] For details on how the prevalence of honour in Spanish America affected marriage restrictions, see Steinar A. Saether, 'Bourbon Absolutism and Marriage Reform in Late Colonial Spanish America', *The Americas,* Vol.59:4 (April 2003), pp. 475-509

[66] Martinez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Color in Nineteenth-Century Cuba*, p. 75

[67] Martinez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Color in Nineteenth-Century Cuba,* p. 103; other relevant works are Daisy Ripodas Ardanaz, *El Matrimonio en Indias: Realidad Social y Regulación Juridica* (Buenos Aires: Fundación para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura, 1977), and Susan M. Socolow, 'Acceptable Partners: Marriage Choice in Colonial Argentina', in *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America,* ed. by Asuncion Larvin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), pp. 209-246

This contemporaneous evolution of rigid hierarchical groupings solidifying alongside the intensification of slavery in Cuba created an environment in which the development of one element reinforced the other. Sarah Franklin emphasises that the institutional patriarchy on the island as it operated in the realms of education, the Catholic Church, and marriage, developed precisely as a means of organising and maintaining a social order that placed white men in positions of power in all realms, in order that all other groups remained inferior and controlled to avoid sedition and rebellion. As she states: 'patriarchy stood as the tool to order Cuban society'.[68] The institutional power given to white men was set in place to dominate rebels of all kinds, be they unruly women, lower-class whites, or disobedient slaves. Thus, the honourable protection of inferiors became enforced as an institutional expectation in Cuban society, and it would be impossible to overstate the importance of honour to the men at the social apex. Honour was as intensely coveted and protected among Latin-Americans as it was in the northern continent, and indeed, as Julio Baroja expresses it, the Spanish society was one in which personal 'prestige' or 'disgrace' (had) come to exercise an obsessive influence.'[69] Resembling the suffocating omnipresence of honour among southern men, William Ian Miller claims of Latin honour cultures that: 'honor was more than a set of rules for governing behaviour. Honour permeated every aspect of consciousness.' But aside from the clearly defined dual attributes that had to be met – Catholicism and good birth – just as was the case in the U.S., honour was something wholly bestowed from without. Miller continues: 'in an honor-based culture there was no self-respect independent of the respect of others... it was confirmed publicly.'[70]

Yet, just as Elizabeth Cohen has stressed, honour should never be thought of as a formulaic entity, comprehensive and standardised across regions (or even across single countries).[71] As opposed to the U.S., in Latin America, honour was – in specific cases – relatively fluid. Most unthinkable to the South Carolina gentleman, in some cases, honour

---

[68] Franklin, *Women and Slavery,* p. 1

[69] Julio Caro Baroja, 'Honour and Shame: A Historical Account of Several Conflicts', in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. by J. G. Peristiany (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1965), pp. 79-139; Julian Pitt-Rivers' and Baroja's work, though now over 50 years old, remains to be invaluable in this study thanks to their aversion to painting an image of male behaviour (as it pertains to honour) with broad-strokes, which is most likely due to their background as anthropologists, allowing for a far more idiosyncratic study. Although their work did not deal with slavery in any sense, their focus on the Mediterranean mind - its motivators and anxieties – was highly illuminative for this thesis.

[70] William Ian Miller, *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort and Violence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 116

[71] Elizabeth S. Cohen, 'Honor and Gender in the Streets of Early-Modern Rome', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol.22, (Spring 1992), pp. 599-600

in Latin societies was negotiated and achieved by those technically outside its remit. Latin American honour had (limited) avenues for negotiation; a reparability and attainability, in certain circumstances, quite alien to the ultimate and elitist honour of the southern U.S. Ann Twinam's fascinating work on the '*gracias al sacar*' petitions, by which Latin Americans of colour could petition the Crown for a 'whitening decree' which would allow them to practice certain professions otherwise closed to them by virtue of their race, demonstrates the honourability - and relative attainability - of whiteness in an incredibly statutory manner.[72] Despite Luis Martínez-Fernández's wonderful depiction of Cuba as a society where 'everything from the price of bananas to the colour of one's skin to the salvation of one's soul had a price and it was subject to negotiation', the regular rejections of *gracias al sacar* petitions, and the lengthy process of pursuing one to completion, must not be minimised.[73] Moreover, while theoretically it was possible to restore lost honour or a tarnished family name, this was only possible in terms of contractual affairs, such as birth records, as they affected marriages or baptisms. Such was not the case with general misconduct. In cases of extremity, the court in Spain could be contacted to appeal for bureaucratic amendments or leniencies for children suffering the indiscretions of their parents, but this did not apply to daily interactions or improprieties. As such, honour was assertively and tirelessly guarded and demonstrated in a social context wherein, as Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera explain, 'if a person's claims were rejected by peers, his or her position in society was put at risk… [and] life without honour was unliveable.'[74] Latin men, familiar with these limitations to the flexibility of honour, dealt with it carefully.

This thesis contributes a study of the masculine experience in a unique context within the Spanish Empire in the nineteenth century, given the centrality of both slavery and honour to Cuban society at that time. The slaveholders of Cuba, whose social worlds were affected by both factors, are especially interesting emotional subjects for that very reason, particularly when compared to South Carolina, where, despite slavery and honour being

---

[72] Ann Twinam, *Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), pp. 177–193. In her focus on Cubans of colour wishing to 'purchase whiteness' in order to practice surgery in the eighteenth century, Twinam uses Manuel Báez's petition to demonstrate the procedure involved in seeking these whitening decrees, and the honourable characteristics that applicants attempted to highlight in their applications. Báez provided the testimony of thirty character witnesses in order to prove that he was, as one witness attested, 'a good man with modest and regular behaviours.' That Báez made two petitions and was rejected both times proves how impenetrable the system could be, and how elusive whiteness and honour could be.

[73] Luis Martinez-Fernandez, *Fighting Slavery in the Caribbean: The Life and Times of a British Family in Nineteenth-Century Havana* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), p. 39

[74] Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, 'Introduction', in *The Faces of Honour,* ed. by Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, pp. 7,11

just as significant to society, the expectations of honour were different. One such critical rupture from the U.S. variant of honour was the extent to which honour was considered the business of the outside world. Both Ann Twinam and Geoffrey Spurling strive to emphasise this rather salient difference: men of Spanish heritage were wholly aware of their private and public selves as being two different men.[75] The only one that needed to be held accountable to the social jury was the public self; only the man in the public gaze had to behave as society would have had him behave. In the private realms of his own undisclosed actions each man was given a remarkable degree of behavioural flexibility. Dishonourable actions carried out secretly, or, in private, were not deplorable, and the colonial individual could carry them out both without shame and without necessarily needing to suffer crippling personal regret. A man's private life and his public behaviour could be comfortably incongruent without causing him personal distress. Twinam expresses the sentiment most fully: 'the conceptual division between the private and the public could also create significant social space for deviance and flexibility', as deviance played out in secret was not dishonourable.[76]

Christine Hunefeldt's work on the history of gender relations and private arguments concerning divorce cases between spouses in nineteenth century Peru, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham's study of the role of female domestic slaves in nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro, demonstrate that the disparate behaviour of the upper-classes between their public and private realms has been a focus of research among Latin Americanists for some time. Graham's excellent presentation of the conceptual differences between the '*casa'* (house) and '*rua'* (street) – the former thought of as clean, private, and safe, the latter being dangerous, dirty and public – provides a fantastic example of the divergent perceptions of both spheres as they related to behaviours and expectations in Latin America, a theme that informs this study considerably.[77] The family in Latin America

---

[75] Geoffrey Spurling, 'Honor, Sexuality and the Catholic Church: The Sins of Dr. González, Cathedral Canon', *The Faces of Honour,* ed. by Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, pp. 45-68; Ann Twinam, 'The Negotiation of Honor' in *The Faces of Honour,* ed. by Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, pp. 68-103

[76] Twinam, 'The Negotiation of Honor', p. 96

[77] Christine Hunefeldt, *Liberalism in the Bedroom: Quarrelling Spouses in Nineteenth Century Lima* (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Julian Pitt-Rivers' excellent anthropological work on the Spanish variants of honour supports the theory that private shortcomings were no shortcomings at all, as they posed no threat whatsoever to reputation. The public character was the only character worth doctoring and cultivating, as only a public humiliation would have been a humiliation at all. Julian Pitt-Rivers, 'Honour and Social Status', in *Honour and Shame,* ed by J. G. Peristiany, pp. 19-79

could be trusted to keep any and all indiscretions secret, as any admission of familial indecency would reflect on the family as a whole. As a consequence, all family members, including closely-tied family friends, were bound by a code of secrecy that was impenetrable, because it was in their best interests to keep it so. As such, an individual could behave distinctly in private and public realms without incurring the disparaging judgement of anyone who stood to harm their reputation. As Twinam astutely concludes: 'such bifurcation was sufficiently distinct that individuals could have different status in their private and public worlds.'[78]

This disparity between the hallmarks of honour in South Carolina and Cuba is one of the reasons why the comparison between the two is so valuable. In the Spanish colonies, the private world – that is to say, the world where a man could be at ease and behave totally as he would please – lay within the confines of his own property.[79] Once within these bounds, he was able to cast off the heavy robes of societal expectation as they dictated his comportment, easing the sense of pressure. What must be noted is the tendency for homes in Cuba to have fulfilled both hospitality and business functions, as an intriguing combination of both public and private. Lorena Tezanos Toral's work surveying sugar plantations in Cuba provides a compelling insight into this juxtaposition between domestic and public which took place in the *casas de vivienda,* each of which was composed of 'a hierarchy of rooms that moved from public and formal to casual and private.'[80] Within the very home, then, stepping over a threshold could afford a shift in tension or relaxation. The South Carolinian, by contrast, enjoyed no such freedom in his own home: he was free to break character only in his mind, if even there.[81] The performed role of the southern slave-master, this thesis therefore proffers, should be appreciated as a more psychologically relentless one than the Cuban equivalent, and one that did not necessarily come naturally to all who aspired to fill it.

---

[78] Twinam, *Public Lives,* p. 29
[79] Ibid., p. 25
[80] Homes in both urban and rural settings were constructed to act as sites which accommodated hospitality and official business, while also providing areas which served exclusively as private family areas. These houses would typically contain formal dining rooms, libraries and sitting rooms a short distance from the offices wherein business would be conducted. Lorena Tezanos Toral, 'The Architecture of Nineteenth-Century Cuban Sugar Mills: Creole Power and African Resistance in Late Colonial Cuba', (unpublished doctoral thesis, City University New York, 2015), p. 157; for a description of the interior of an elaborate home, see Martínez-Fernández, *Fighting Slavery in the Caribbean,* p. 84
[81] Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South*, p. 131

This fundamental disparity between the workings and expectations of honour in Cuba and South Carolina has tremendous implications, it is argued in this thesis, upon the lived experiences of men in both regions. In one, privacy afforded men a space wherein they could truly relax and liberate their inner desires, fears, worries and impulses; in the other, even with their own wives and children, they were performing. This difference evokes William Reddy's theoretical 'Emotional Refuge', and Barbara Rosenwein's belief that deviant emotional behaviour finds a safe place of expression in most Emotional Communities.[82] 'One would expect that any society which imposes strict emotional discipline' Reddy explains, 'will generate various practices, relationships, and venues that provide temporary, local suspension of the mental control efforts prescribed by the Emotional Regime in place.'[83] The idea of an Emotional Refuge is comparable to an emotional escape valve for those living in an otherwise unrelenting environment of social performance. Reddy's approach suggests that there are places to which historical individuals could have safely escaped, acting with less restraint, without the risks of spoiling their reputations.

Evidently, elites in Cuba had access to Emotional Refuges in their own homes, with their own families. Considering the home as a refuge, slaveholders in Cuba could retire there in order to repose their performed roles. South Carolinians lacked this sanctuary. The sense of relief the slaveholders of Cuba found in their homes with their families (but never with their slaves) would have been jarring to South Carolinians, whose homes were just as much a stage as the public world was, where one's family was to be performed to as much as any passing acquaintance. Since Cuban homes were composed of both public and private elements, it must be understood that men in Cuba were chameleonically adept at mediating between various performances under one roof, thus suggesting a greater propensity for breaking and reasserting character as was considered advantageous/convenient to their surroundings. This theory bolsters the assertion of this thesis that slaveholders in Cuba were also able to tailor the emotional tone of their slaveholding narratives according to their audience and objective. This dogged sense of expectation, conformity and sanction must have built with hydraulic force in the southern U.S., where any sanctuary for emotional subversion had no clear place as it did in Cuba. While behavioural deviance had its time-honoured sanctuaries – the brothel for the

[82] Rosenwein, 'Worrying About Emotions in History', p. 843
[83] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling,* p. 154

unfaithful husband, for example – there was no emotional equivalent, no South Carolinian emotional bordello, so to speak. When a slave insurrection took place, it stands to reason that the threat of violence, the cataclysmic - if brief - social upheaval, and all of the emotions felt in that moment, given no other healthy outlet, had the potential to provoke intense emotional convulsion among South Carolinian men so accustomed to social predictability and order.

Yet there existed an important disparity between the significance of the Cuban home according to gender, which may best be outlined as the difference between the home acting as a refuge for men, and a prison for women, at least in the urban context. As Martínez-Fernández explores, nineteenth century Havana was in many ways a 'male city', both in terms of the overwhelming number of men compared to women (both whites and people of colour, free and enslaved) and the extensive restrictions placed upon women, from which men were exempt. Women were subjected to social controls and restrictions which insisted upon their absence from the streets of the city, confining them to their homes, the windows of which were often barred. Martínez-Fernández highlights that this unrelenting effort to protect and conceal *Habaneras* was 'stronger in Havana than in any other western society, colonial or metropolitan'.[84] This preoccupation was based upon the importance of protecting whiteness, and, as Martinez-Alier's work has demonstrated, protecting white virginity was key to the endeavour of restricting access to the upper classes, especially for people of colour.[85] An act of fear as much as it was of pride, Martínez-Fernández pertinently outlines: 'the same central tenet that shaped the Cuban elite's political postures during the middle decades of the nineteenth century – fear of the black man – also shaped, to a great extent, social rules regulating female behaviour as they pertained to virginity, courtship, and marriage.'[86] The relevance of this intense social control over the behaviour of women, more so than of men, is that it reified social order in Cuba. Embodied by women, and hence made tangible, and defendable, assuming the good behaviour of the women in their families, Cuban men were relieved of some of the behavioural pressures of maintaining social respectability and order. Conversely, the importance of sexual discretion among upper-class white women in the South notwithstanding, the actions of South Carolinian men were just as important as those of women when it came to maintaining social order.

---

[84] Martínez-Fernández, *Fighting Slavery in the Caribbean,* pp. 66-71, quote from p. 67
[85] Martinez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Color in Nineteenth-Century Cuba,* p. 109
[86] Martínez-Fernández, *Fighting Slavery in the Caribbean,* pp. 67-8

Honour in Latin America was a remarkably potent *public* social mediator. The private lives of the upper classes, by contrast, were far less restrained. The importance of private sanctuary is conveyed in the writing styles of the slaveholders in each region: whereas letters from South Carolina betray very little emotional relaxation indeed, those from Cuba are replete with emotional outpouring, paralleling the same limitations and concessions their physical private and public worlds would have afforded to them. The relaxed breaking of character in the home, though, should not in any way suggest that the public retention of an honourable reputation in Latin America was any less important than it was in the U.S. The public performance was every bit as rigorous in both regions. When a Latin American man was faced with a situation wherein his honour was questioned, or when someone barefacedly challenged his authority, in that moment his good reputation risked collapsing like a house of cards. This condition was identical in both the southern U.S. and the Spanish colonies. Pitt-Rivers' explanation of the Spanish understanding that, 'to be dishonoured is to be rejected from the role to which one aspired, that the personal claim 'I am who I am' is rebuked by the public retort: 'you are not who you think you are' bears great similarities to the southern anxiety surrounding public defamation.[87]

Lyman Johnson's work examining a historical account wherein a matador in Buenos Aires threatened to "unmask" his rival, a profane threat that marked the matador's intention to fight, demonstrates that a contemptuous man "wearing a mask", both in Spanish and English, meant the same thing: despite both regions acknowledging the need for men to perform in order to maintain propriety, for both groups of men, to be accused of being a liar or a coward hiding behind a mask of respectability was insufferable.[88] The mask *itself* was not shameful, only its recognition as such. The more frequent swapping between roles undertaken on a weekly basis in Cuba may have given each man a clearer realisation of his own mask, having to restore it each time he left his Emotional Refuge. This frequent change in characterisations, it stands to reason, allowed for the easier manipulation of emotion among the slaveholders of Cuba.

---

[87] Pitt-Rivers, 'Honour and Social Status', pp. 22,72

[88] Lyman L. Johnson, 'Dangerous Words, Provocative Gestures and Violent Acts', in in *The Faces of Honour,* ed. by Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, pp. 127-152

A further divergence between both regions does occur in the extent to which men were expected to measure their emotions in the Spanish colonies. Although brawling and violence was not gentlemanly, if a man was insulted, any aversion to physically punishing his ideological assailant would appear cowardly.[89] As such, violence among gentlemen was very much tolerated, and in no way signalled social, or personal unravelling, although, similarly to the U.S. variant, in the Spanish colonies, honour was technically only at risk if it had been questioned by a social equal. Insults from someone of less social relevance were not considered a risk to honour, but merely an impudence to be punished in a manner that did not resemble an honourable dispute.[90] These differing social tolerances towards gentlemanly violence bring to the forefront the importance of noting that men in Cuba were not somehow inherently more emotional than those in South Carolina, they were simply permitted to express a wider variety of emotions and behaviours by comparison. Differences in protocol and propriety, and not contrasting affective dispositions, prompted dissimilar behaviours between each group of men.[91] This truism must be highlighted with regard to the Supplication Script, which was not more fearful because it was evoked by excessively emotional men, but rather, because it was the product of a social context that allowed for private discussions of male fearfulness. The Emotional Regime in South Carolina may have prohibited the gentlemen there from speaking freely, but thorough though it was, it could not muzzle every fear, doubt, and hesitation, as Chapter IV will demonstrate. Emotions readily evoked in Cuba in times of slave unrest can perhaps be considered a possible indication of what South Carolinian feelings may have been, but were inexpressible in their own context. Perhaps those same feelings which were given voice in Cuba can explain more of the slaveholder's experience in South Carolina, and indeed, in the wider Atlantic.

Honour & *Vergüenza*

The presence of slaves must have complicated matters, since slaves in Cuba, although very much possessions, were still considered very much human. Pitt-Rivers' observation, therefore, begs for exploration: 'honour derives from the domination of persons, rather than things.'[92] How did the insurrection of those no longer dominated persons figure in

---

[89] Pitt-Rivers, 'Honour and Social Status', p. 25
[90] Ibid., pp. 58, 31
[91] Berg and Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas, 'Racialising Affect', p. 658
[92] Pitt-Rivers, 'Honour and Social Status', p. 60

the psychological calculations of masters? If a gentleman's sense of honour is derived from his authority, how should he have felt when that authority was violently undermined? It is my belief that such a situation would result in humiliation. As Miller expresses in his seminal study on humiliation:

> 'Shame is… nothing more than the loss of honour… the failure to measure up to the external standard imposed by the honour group… One can feel shame even when no one is looking, for the judgement of others is already… internalised by the person feeling shame… one judges oneself as harshly as one would judge others, even perhaps more harshly... Not to feel shame for such acts would type one as shameless, as a person of no honour… shame requires membership in a society… and caring deeply about what others in their community think of them.'[93]

To continue Miller's line of argument, shame was palpable as a *private* emotion, even without public confirmation of its validity. His definition is illuminating, for it evokes the personal reaction to an embarrassment independent from public opinion. Therefore, while a community may not have deemed a slaveholder to be 'dishonoured' by his rebellious slaves, he may still have suffered privately in the shame of his own ineptitude as an authoritarian (an assertion, it is felt, which most certainly also applied to slaveholders in the South.) Miller argues further that Anglo-American honour societies do not operate in the same way with regard to shame as Mediterranean ones, wherein shame is reserved for blushing, timid females, and, because of this, it is strongly sexualised and gendered. Interestingly, Miller erroneously discusses '*vergüenza*' (modesty) as a static concept, when, in reality, it meant different things depending on the context. *Vergüenza* is something to *have*. To *have vergüenza* was to have humility and shame in the chaste, holy sense required of all Catholic women who wished to be a credit to the men by whom they were guarded as far as the outside world was concerned. This type of honour, predicated on self-control, prudence and modesty is classified by Thomas Scheff as 'discretion-shame.'[94] In the female context, *vergüenza* is a counterpart to shame, or that which guards one from shameful behaviour, for a woman with *vergüenza* could never shame herself or her family. This type of modest shame was historically celebrated as the feminine ideal. *Vergüenza* as it applied to men, however, was linked to honour, strength, the ability to protect, and

---

[93] Miller, *Humiliation and Other Essays*, p. 118
[94] Scheff, 'Shame in Self and Society', p. 254

respectable behaviour. *Vergüenza* can be linked either to honour or to shame, depending on whether a man or a woman *has* it.

To be *given vergüenza,* on the other hand, is a different process. To be given *vergüenza* is to be given shame in the sense of humiliation; a reprimand for those who apparently need to be reminded of propriety. In Pitt Rivers' concise phrasing, to be given *vergüenza* is disgracing to a man because: 'by implication, if he had it already he would not have to be given it.'[95] *Vergüenza*, therefore, meant very different things to men and women, and a man could most certainly, and acutely, feel shame in the humiliation sense, most usually if his wife or daughter behaved without *vergüenza*. To conclude with Pitt Rivers' own words again: '*vergüenza* is dishonour imposed, accepted and finally felt… [it is] the denial of honour, and is borne home in the individual.'[96] As will be argued in Chapter III, it was the Spanish Crown's conception of masculine, protective honour which was supplicated to by Cuba, keen to encourage Spain's paternal protection by maximising and manipulating her own sense of defencelessness akin to *vergüenza*. As the historiography concerning Cuban slaveholder masculinity is so lacking, no discussion has been proffered as to how slave masculinity came into dialogue with white slaveholder masculinity. Much less have historians questioned how, and whether or not, slave violence was a confrontation to white slaveholder masculinity, an insult to their authority, or a form of giving them *vergüenza*. This thesis argues further that the Cuban Supplication Script, and Cuban testimonies of fear and threat, were a form of giving the Spanish Crown a sense of *vergüenz*a for having allowed Cuba to remain so vulnerable to the annexation and acquisition plans of the U.S. and Great Britain, and possibly even the rebellious visions of the slaves themselves. For the feminised colony, admitting fearfulness wasn't shameful, while it would have been for independent South Carolina: since Spain was supposed to be providing paternal protection, it was Spain's shame if Cuba was endangered.

Cultivating, and Prompting, Honourable Emotions

Steven Stowe's work has begun to approach the slave-holder in a nuanced manner, giving him credit for being emotionally changeable, and deficient. He discusses the conscious

[95] Pitt Rivers, 'Honour and Social Status', p. 43 Pitt-Rivers explains that when the opposing types of *vergüenza* are demonstrated by someone of the incorrect gender – a blushing, timid man, for example, or a sexually open, authoritative and violent woman – society balks. p. 4
[96] Pitt Rivers, 'Honour and Social Status', p. 43

personality-making and tailoring in which the master engaged, in order to satisfy not only his peers and community, but also his closest family members, himself included. Examining the importance of the behavioural 'ritual' in everyday life, Stowe acknowledges the awareness that each master had of his own behaviour and its effects on those around him, forever toeing the line of that 'dramatic tension between self-indulgence and self-control'. Recognising the intensity of that pressure, Stowe explains that slave-owners buckled and suffered under the societal expectations that they - perversely as it would seem - played a part in reinforcing.[97] Although historians usually, and by no means frivolously, focus on the pressure exacted upon women to meet the gendered expectations of the communities in which they lived, they tend to deal with the strength and poise of men as axiomatic; as natural and easy for them to embody and display. Without doubting these men, they are awarded too much credit as social actors. The following letter from J.D. Sullivan, written in 1841, offering advice to his two nephews coming of age, alludes to the constancy of the pressure men negotiated with throughout their lives when trying to exude the correct charisma, control and bearing. Revealing the pretence so characteristic of southern society, he entreated the young men:

> 'I have… seen too much of the formality, the emptyness [sic], and folly of the world… [and] therefore desire to know what you are doing and <u>how you are doing it</u> that I may be able [to] draw sound opinion [on]… how much honour or shame you are likely to bring to your family by that cause, as it may be right or wrong… It is frequently of importance too, to mind little things; in fact one should never overlook them. And so is human character made up of single acts, which tell through time… How careful and cautious then, should be our every <u>movement?</u> How watchful and circumspect over seen thoughts, words and actions… and how awful our accountability?'[98]

This letter is compelling not simply because it acknowledges the South as a society of performance, but also because Sullivan recognises how difficult it can be to meet such expectations, and how greatly men felt the pressure of constant self-censorship. Men were sensitive to their own shortcomings, and their fleeting admissions reveal the stinging

---

[97] Stowe, *Intimacy and Power*, p. 1; for a discussion of slave-holders consciously tailoring their behaviour towards their slaves in a bid to achieve greater dominance, see Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 137-209; see also Drew Gilpin Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design For Mastery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), pp. 72-3

[98] Letter from J.D. Sullivan to 'My Dear Nephews', 17 April 1841, Simpson Papers, SHC

disappointment they would have been forced to reconcile when they failed to perform as well as they should. One abashed letter to Robert Barnwell Rhett from his boyhood friend exemplifies such guilt when he reasoned: 'there are times when the feelings of boyhood come over me very strongly… I am too insolent and cowardly to accomplish anything by myself while you perhaps are too content and ardent bold.'[99] The gentleman confronts the reality of his own shortcomings, comparing himself against Barnwell Rhett, who clearly and ably embodied all it was to be a southern gentleman. Historians must acknowledge the humiliation that must have beleaguered such men, eroding their self-esteem; men who at a private level doubted their own mettle, but were publicly compelled to meet the expectations of their loved ones. As one letter to William Elliot from his father demonstrates, his words: 'I trust that your conduct is such as is worthy of your family, and becoming to you as a gentleman', leaves little room for ambiguity, and even less for failure.[100]

This level of emotional repression, of performance and display is intriguing precisely because it was played out on an interior level in the southern U.S by both men and women alike. One letter from a southern woman relocated to Boston lamented that the rigour with which she had observed the emotional rules of polite society must have led her own children to believe she did not care for them, due to her cold, absent behaviour. Both explaining her reasons for behaving so disconnectedly, and assuring her daughter of her love despite her chilled demeanour, she began:

> 'I believe it is the characteristic of warm and deep affections to make us sensible to a morbid degree towards our own… conduct... We seem to consider it a fault to those that we love that our affection has not restrained and confronted every passion… *a life devoted to that sole object*… … how fake an estimate even you must have of my love for you by the petulance and obstinacy of my conduct to you all my darling children.'[101]

Wives' letters, frequently beseeching their husbands to share their feelings more openly, reveal how normative it must have been for the southern husband to conceal his true

---

[99] Letter to Rhett, beginning 'Dear Barnwell', unsigned. 30 December 1842, Robert Barnwell Rhett Papers, SHC
[100] Letter to 'My Dear William', from 'Mr Elliott', 19 June 1849, Elliott Papers, SHC
[101] Letter from 'Your Beloved Mother' to unnamed recipient. 17. [month not stated, only the season 'spring'] 1835, Trist Papers, SHC

feelings, even from his spouse. As one wife wrote pleadingly: 'my sweet love, how little you yet know of me to think of sparing me pain by concealing your own. My greatest earthly pleasure is to share your sorrow and suffering to feel that not a pang wrings your heart but wrings mine also. Do not, I beg of you dear husband, deprive me of this knowledge.'[102] She no doubt had every intention of easing his emotional burden, knowing full-well how little she could ever learn of it. Man and wife were obliged to execute their respective roles with seeming effortlessness, yet, each spouse would prompt the other after a detected slippage in form. Quite familiar to the popular imagination is the husband chiding his wife for an ill-considered moment of outspokenness, or a mother correcting a child's uncouth behaviour, but wives, too, were waiting in the wings of southern society to cue their husbands, should they lose their place in the score. Hochschild's theory of 'Feeling Rules' envelopes the concept of 'Rule Reminders': hints and indications given by a member of the same social class to one who has erred from their behavioural station.[103] Despite women repeatedly begging their husbands to reveal more of themselves, their suffering and turmoil, it was usually wives and mothers who rushed to cue their husbands and sons to resume the former pretence after they had disclosed some intimate concerns, chastening them for having too readily revealed their weaknesses.

Exemplary of this concept was the exchange between Nicholas Trist, U.S. Consul in Havana, and his wife, Virginia Jefferson Randolph. Nicholas wrote an intensely revealing letter to his wife from his post in Havana, describing the unease afforded him by his time in the Caribbean. (Trist gave no express detail as to the cause of his fear in this letter, leaving the reader to speculate as to what could have uneased him so gravely as to warrant this admission). He explained, in a manner totally uncharacteristic of his usual writing style: 'I am worried out of my life by the duties (**not** the money making part) of my office.'[104] His wife's reply that, since receiving his letter, she had had a vivid dream in which Nicholas had appeared to her wearing a lady's nightgown, and ladies' slippers, chimes as an archetypal Rule Reminder; perhaps Nicholas had revealed an unbecoming degree of vulnerability as far as his wife was concerned, and needed a (somewhat delicate) notification of that.[105] Trist's subsequent reply snatches back the intimacy he had previously awarded her. Reminding his wife that she should not request to know his

[102] Letter to 'My Dear Husband' from 'Mary', 26 June 1846, Simpson Papers, SHC
[103] Hochschild, *The Managed Heart*, pp. 57-58
[104] Letter to Virginia from Nicholas Trist, 5 January 1835, Nicholas Trist Papers, SHC
[105] Letter to Nicholas Trist, from Virginia. 17 February 1835, Nicholas Trist Papers, SHC

deepest feelings if she could not provide a favourable reaction, he remarked: 'I tell you the honest truth and the whole truth, and if my saying that I feel a little fussed should make you uneasy, I shall not tell you the whole truth again.'[106] With that, the discussion of Nicholas' feelings abruptly ended. That Nicholas' wife also wrote explaining that his admission of fear had caused her to be beside herself with panic also reveals the responsibility of husbands and fathers who had to act as the emotional equalisers of their households: if a husband was calm, the family was protected, and so, too, was the converse. Such a sentiment is reflected in Mrs Trist's beseeching tone to her husband: 'quiet my fears if you choose'.[107]

South Carolinian men discussed women's weaknesses, fragile nerves, and frail spirits, openly, almost cathartically. As though discussing fear in any sense was a relief to men otherwise denied the opportunity to confront the emotion and its associated vocabulary, they detailed quite readily how terrified women often were, then rushed to affirm their own status as able protectors. Men needed to provide the strength and the emotional support for their womenfolk, for, as exemplified by Trist's experience: if a man demonstrated fear, the women felt justified in theirs. Southern men were the emotional scaffold of their families as well as the physical protectors: they chuckled when women vocalised their concerns, sometimes no matter how well-founded they were, because the family relied on that masculine emotional anchor. Again, while the pressure to fulfil role of protector and emotional barometer may well have been perfectly characteristic of some men whose personalities were more inclined towards such behaviour, to others of a more timid disposition, we can only assume it was intensely difficult.

Peter and Carol Stearns' recommended approach for historians seeking to examine the emotions of a society, and not simply their Emotionologies, is to engage with 'texts of the self'; documents which reveal the historical actor rationalising and presenting his or her experiences, memories and thoughts, and putting them into writing, either to share with a recipient in the form of a letter, or for private use, e.g. in a journal.[108] Although these texts are still, naturally, informed by the emotional expectations of the age in which the writer lived and was sensitive to, their private nature occasionally allows for a candour that would have been unthinkable in public discourse. In these moments the author is at

[106] Letter from Nicholas Trist to Virginia. 18 February 1835, Nicholas Trist Papers, SHC
[107] Letter to Nicholas Trist from Virginia, 17 February 1835
[108] Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions', p. 825

greater liberty to break ranks occasionally, and allow their uninhibited emotions to present themselves, even if only for a few words.

In a masquerade culture such as the South (and, indeed, Cuba, every time a gentleman stepped out of his private realm, but without the same degree of control over his emotions) the importance of the performance of each actor was rendered increasingly critical by the characters involved in the social charade. Disappointing his wife or parents certainly triggered intense psychological turmoil for any South Carolina gentleman, but when the respect and subservience of his slaves was a constant undercurrent, and slave insurrection the perceived extension of such a risk, the importance of appropriate behaviour was underscored by danger. It is the intensity of this risk, and the amplification of gender roles caused by the stratified nature of slave societies, that lends such relevance to these cultures as the subjects of emotional study. It was the risk not only of humiliation, but also of violence at the hands of one's own slaves, that creates such intrigue in questions of performance versus truth, private against public, and ideal in contrast to real. It should not be overlooked that the slave-holder also performed the necessary autocracy to his slaves, to whom the rules of proper societal interaction and conduct most critically extended. It was imperative that the master's words and deeds should command absolute and indisputable authority.[109]

The planters themselves, though, acknowledged behavioural shortcomings among their fellow slave-owners. In the minutes taken from a meeting of land-owners in South Carolina, held for the discussion of recommended measures to be taken for more effectual slave management, it was discussed curtly that: 'not every man who owns a plantation knows how to govern negroes.' Tellingly, the comment was made with express reference to the conduct of the master. Openly advocating, and encouraging, the conscious performance of appropriate behaviour when it did not come naturally, the gentlemen present at the meeting explained, for the benefit of those in doubt: '*convince* them that you are a tyrant [because] the negro must fear'. Any man unable to provoke the necessary submission from his slaves by his control and authority was, they concluded with acerb: 'not fit to own negroes.'[110] Such comments acknowledging the reality of the weak master – and the judgement of his peers condemning him as such – bring to light

[109] Bruce, *Violence and Culture*, p. 117
[110] Beech Island Farmers' Club Records, 7 August 1847, pp. 102-103, Manuscripts Misc. Beech Island Farmer's Club, SCL

performances executed by the master, moreover, the feelings lying behind the stoic façade of the omnipotent enslaver, forced to play the role or risk violent challenge from his slaves. In a similar vein, when discussing the importance of keeping government checks from undermining the master's authority and communicating to the slaves his limited power, three slaveholders in Cuba outlined the thought process behind domination and mastery:

> 'It is not impossible for compassion and subordination to coexist, but it cannot be contemplated in the slightest with the negro, nor can any other impression than harshness be feigned, hence the power of the master over them must have an immutable character of strength… of inviolability… any measure which would be remotely enough to moderate the authority of the master, would be sufficient in causing the greatest havoc… it is impossible to subject three hundred persons to one voice alone without sustaining by every means imaginable the prestige of that authority, as far as the dread of fear… maintaining this equilibrium does not consist in more than constantly feigning an extreme severity… the miracle of military subordination and discipline has not been achieved, perhaps, without similar means.'[111]

Reemphasising a central argument of this thesis, an inherent sense of mastery and domination was, evidently, not an attribute all men possessed. From a young age, sons were encouraged in their authoritative, forceful and masterly tendencies, in order that they should come more naturally in adult life. As a young boy Walter J. Middleton was away at school, and wrote to his mother the following request regarding one of the family slaves: 'sorry to hear that Blanco has been so naughty as to run away, do give him a good scolding from me and tell him I say he must not do so'.[112] He doubtless meant it to be a firm reproach, as opposed to the feeble admonition of a little boy. The confidence to chide an adult slave as a young boy would only, theoretically, translate into an even more impressively august demeanour in adulthood. Gentlemen were guided by professional input in South Carolina. The hugely popular Lord Chesterfield's 'Letters to his Son', concerning polite conversation, education, and comportment in social situations, discussed quite candidly the nature of manipulating one's inner-feelings or doubts, and

---

[111] 'Testimonio de las Diligencias Formadas Sobre el Reglamento de Policía Rural' Sent to Dionisio Vives, signed José Vizarro y Gardín, Juan Montalvo, Rafael O'Farril, Pedro Diego, 26 November 1827, Ultramar 89, AGI

[112] Letter to 'Mama' from Walter J. Middleton, 8 February 1850, Middleton Papers, SHC

suppressing them so that the world need never know of them. Taking heed, the master-class promulgated that which they wished to be known of them, while supressing that which they deemed too shameful to vocalise. The concept of hiding and concealing characteristic shortcomings in order to avoid public ridicule was a common theme in Chesterfield's writing, and given his popularity in the southern states, his recommendation to 'make yourself absolute master, therefore, of your temper and your countenance—so far, at least, as that no visible change do appear in either, whatever you may feel inwardly', was internalised by generations of southerners.[113]

In adulthood, an element of editing, staging and selection was usually incorporated in the process of writing even private documents, which requires that all letters and journals are read with a grain of salt by scholars. Yet letters, while usually nothing more than impersonal regurgitations of the mores and expectations of the time, written with the most express understanding that the item in question was for the enjoyment of a reader, do at times reveal emotions or admissions incongruous with the expected nature of the author. In this regard, the techniques espoused by historians of the emotions allow for these sources to be used as immensely revealing tools, the language of which harbours leagues of subtext and emotional charge. Equally, documents that are not for intimate use or private purposes should not be considered immediately staged or totally fabricated. Often those documents, when read against the grain, outline the fears and threats each actor would privately muse on. As Greg Denning reminds us, the absence of an emotion in the written account does not render it unfelt. Quite the contrary. In 'texts of the self", we are reminded that silences must be questioned and queried, despite their elusive character, 'silences of self that are not so easy to catch: silences of pain, and of happiness for that matter; silences of guilt, silences of the poor, of victims; silences of exclusion; silences of forgetting.' Indeed, in South Carolina, the truancy of fear in the written text allows it to loom larger, somehow more ominous for its absence.[114]

Conclusion

---

[113] Quote printed in Lorri Glover, 'An Education in Southern Masculinity: The Ball Family of South Carolina in the New Republic', *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol.69, No. 1 (Feb. 2003) p. 52

[114] Greg Denning, 'Texts of the Self', in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early Identity,* ed. by Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), p. 161

As this chapter has demonstrated, both South Carolinians and slaveholders in Cuba were obsessed with the public nature of honour: the importance of reputation, performance, and public reception. Yet, while slaveholders in both South Carolina and Cuba were expected to act with honour at all times in order to keep the social fabric of both regions tightly woven, there were different *emotional* restrictions placed upon each group within the rubric of honourable behaviour: the emotions of men in Cuba were not expressly restricted, as those of South Carolinians were. This said, the slaveholders of Cuba were just as skilled at wearing emotional masks when it served them politically to do so. That the slaveholders of Cuba, even in formal, official letters, felt comfortable discussing their trepidation and uncertainty regarding the enslaved population when deploying the Supplication Script, brings to light a note-worthy distinction between slaveholder dialogues.

At a fundamental level, the difference not only in the status of each territory in terms of independence or evolving nationalism, but also in their Emotionologies, is what lead both groups of men to speak so differently about their thoughts concerning slave violence. Cuban candour and South Carolinian reticence were neither incidental, nor sincere representations of their interior worlds, but the products of their respective emotional cultures. The next chapter will explore the differing manners in which the slaveholders of Cuba found advantage in amplifying the fear they purported to be rampant on the island when appealing to Spanish protection in order to maintain tranquillity on the island, and how, conversely, South Carolinian proslavery secessionists emphasised their point that loyalty to the Union was tantamount to pitiful, womanly submission, in a bid to encourage political rupture.

III
Emotional Nationalism, Coerced Masculinity & Atlantic Cuckolds

---

This chapter will analyse the impact of nationalism and colonialism on the liberation or strangulation of masculine emotional display, exploring whether the statuses of South Carolina and Cuba – one part of a nation, the other still a colony – affected the emotional pressures acting upon, and freedoms afforded to, the men of each region. It will be questioned whether southern nationalism, a movement characterized by bravado and aggression, and which deeply implicated southern masculinity, affected the South Carolinian Confidence Script, and the extent to which the forthright fearfulness of the slaveholders of Cuba can be linked to their colonial status: safely under Spain's wing with no pressing need to affirm a distinct or formidable masculinity specific to Cuba.

As southern nationalists gained ground in what would later become the Confederacy (in 1861), in South Carolina, whose Emotional Regime was already stringent, emotions were drawn into the nationalist rhetoric, magnifying the political importance of emotional propriety, intensifying the pressure upon 'correct' South Carolinian conduct regardless of whether or not one was a secessionist. Slaveholders in Cuba, conversely, found emotional freedom in political subservience. Free from the need to uphold a national brand of masculinity, those slaveholders, whose Emotional Regime was already comparably permissive in certain circumstances, also found strategic advantage in maximising their dependent status on Spain, evoking child-like or feminine emotions congruous with their subordination when appealing for protection.

The Emotions of Southern Nationalism

Paul Quigley's excellent study of southern nationalism demonstrates that defences made in the name of slavery were necessarily also rebuttals against what was perceived to have been a personal attack on southerners themselves. In Quigley's words: 'the imperatives of honor and masculinity moved back and forth between the realms of personal and southern identity.' Quigley's interrogation of southern nationalism probes, in gendered terms, the pressure on each individual southerner to act in accordance with the moral, civic and Christian requirements of the South, expressing, with total justification, that 'the

urgency of their crusade stemmed from their deeply *emotional* and personal perceptions of their region's victimhood [emphasis added].' Yet, despite Quigley's thoughtful examination of the roles that shared victimhood and oppression played in engendering the solidarity so essential for forging southern nationalism, describing the contemporary southern experience as one characterised by: 'degradation… shame, inequality and submission', he does not explore those emotions, despite acknowledging their rhetorical use for summoning southerners who would have perceived attacks against the southern way of life in 'intensely personal ways' to ally themselves to secession.[1]

The field of sociology has made great strides in querying both the effect of politics on emotions, and of emotions on politics. As Nicolas Demertzis states decisively: 'politics, be it democratic or not, is by definition explicitly emotional' pushing scholars to examine more closely the 'emotions-politics nexus.'[2] Politics is not exempt from the emotional act of perception and reaction, and Brent Sasley has argued provocatively for emotions to be considered as having a causal effect on political behaviour. He advocates that nation-states should be considered in the terms of Intergroup Emotion Theory; a context within which group leaders guide the emotional tide of their followers. In Intergroup Emotions Theory, group members do not think as the aggregate individual members of a group, but feel according to their membership in that group, comparing themselves to other groups against whom they define themselves. As Sasley theorises: 'individuals who self-categorise to a specific group see the world through the group's "eyes" '.[3] As Smith and Mackie have theorised, 'events that affect the ingroup will elicit emotional responses, because the group becomes in a real sense an aspect of the person's psychological self'.[4] Politicians and public figures guiding the ingroup, therefore, decide which emotions to

---

[1] Paul Quigley, *Shifting Grounds: Nationalism & the American South 1848-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 61,14,62,63; for a full discussion of South Carolinian nationalism, see Sinha, *The Counter-revolution of Slavery,* in particular pp. 63-95

[2] Nicolas Demertzis, 'Introduction', pp. 1,1-15; In fact, Emma Hutchinson has argued that emotions are 'intrinsic to all social and political action.' Emma Hutchinson, *Affective Communities in World Politics: Collective Emotions After Trauma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 1

[3] Brent E. Sasley, 'Theorising States' Emotions' *International Studies Review,* Vol.1, No.3 (Sep. 2011), pp. 453,461; see also R.B.J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); on intergroup emotions theory, see Angela T. Maitner, Eliot R. Smith and Diane M. Mackie, 'Intergroup Emotions Theory: Prejudice and Differentiated Emotional Reactions Towards Outgroups', in *The Cambridge Handbook of the Psychology of Prejudice,* ed. by Fiona Kate Barlow and Chris G. Sibley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 111-130; on Social Identity Theory, which, Henri Tajfel and J.C. Turner argue creates an elevated sense of self-esteem for in-group members, see Henri Tajfel and J.C. Turner 'An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict', in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations,* ed. by William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel (Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1979), pp. 33-47

[4] Eliot R. Smith and Diane M. Mackie 'Intergroup Emotions', p. 429

maximise and utilise, and which not to, thereby shaping the emotional reaction to any given circumstance by evoking the emotions they feel will best serve their rhetoric, using emotion to provoke and guide public action.[5]

Hutchinson's work on trauma has proven the centrality of emotion to political oratory, outlining how politicians mobilise 'emotional discourses' in order to legitimise and guide the public emotional reaction to catastrophe through carefully chosen emotional language. Quoting Mabel Berezin, Hutchinson reaffirms that even in large-scale communities ' "emotional energy"… can be used to rally together a polity'; a practice that depends wholly on the common understanding of the emotions and values considered proper for that given society. By no means a-political or ephemeral, emotions are: 'the very means by which the power game is played.'[6] To fully acknowledge those emotions in action is to acknowledge the emotional component of the Civil War, and its gestation during the antebellum period. Thomas Scheff has argued, in one of the only works binding together the History of the Emotions with nationalism, that shame should be sought out by historians, and acknowledged, as a valid and consequential determinant in the process leading to war.[7] Emotions are evident in the words of the men contemplating secession: those men were clearly emotional actors, and their emotions should not be ignored, depreciated, or considered immaterial when discussing the years leading to the Civil War. The secessionist argument would not have developed the characteristics it did had the South's Emotional Regime not demanded authority, respect, and dominance from all southern men so mercilessly. Secession was urgent and aggressive because it was waged by southern men whose belligerence was both sanctioned by their Emotional Regime, and inflamed by a confrontational political circumstance, creating a heightened emotional environment, and in turn, an *emotional* nationalism.

The centrality of honourable reputation and masculinity to the South Carolinian male experience allowed secessionist firebrands to goad their fellow statesmen to support southern nationalism on those grounds, each force intensifying the characteristics of the other as time passed: a double-helix of emotional behaviour and politics wherein

---

[5] Sasley advises that researchers seeking to understand the emotional flavour of the ingroup more fully should look to the ingroup's leaders or spokesmen, who are prime, and "primed", examples representing the ingroup's emotional interior. Those men at the helm of the ingroup's emotional style guide it by example and, I argue, coerce it. Sasley, 'Theorising States' Emotions', p. 468

[6] Emma Hutchinson, *Affective Communities in World Politics,* pp. 105-6,110

[7] Thomas Scheff, *Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism and War* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2000), p. 4

masculinity and self-respect became inextricably fused with secession. In this light Edwin C. Holland wrote his 'Refutation Against the Calumnies Circulated Against the Southern & Western States': not only to assert the advantages of slavery for both enslaver and enslaved, but also, 'to strangle the slanders that were wounding our reputation with a serpent tooth, and to place our character upon the elevated ground to which its honour and patriotism proudly entitle it.'[8] Beside the political environment of confrontation and antagonism, the emotional environment was one of revilement dealt and aspersions felt. These southerners attempting to forge a new, independent nation, were the social products of an unrelentingly repressive, and at times exaggerated, Emotional Regime. It would have been impossible for their nationalism not to have been shaped by their emotional reality. The southern states felt strongly enough about their right to own slaves to uproot themselves from a peaceful union, if maintaining that union required southern deference, and what they deemed to be feminised silence. Emotions like honour and pride, but also humiliation and affront, were incredibly persuasive in driving those men to secede, and they flavoured proslavery arguments in ways quite unfamiliar to slaveholders outside of the southern U.S. Secession and proslavery were emotional because the experience of bearing perceived northern aggression and derision was emotional. South Carolinians were reacting defensively to both political and emotional attacks, and, as such, the result was emotionally political.

Humiliation and Nationalism

The duty of representing the South implicated, to a large degree, a gentleman's emotions. The threat of emasculation provoked men with more moderate views towards secession by taunting their effeminate caution, while simultaneously confining all southern men within an increasingly restricted Emotional Regime which had no tolerance for fear, doubt, or hesitancy. Towards the middle of the century, South Carolinian secessionists cannily began to craft their words to appeal not to political factions, but to the emotional interiors of the overarching group label: southerners. Emotions were evoked on the grounds of southern identity, and it was through these southern 'eyes', to borrow Sasley's imagery, that slaveholding men were prompted to react to northern and federal encroachment. Shame, emasculation, anger: these powerful emotions were made to have

[8] Holland, *A Refutation of the Calumnies,* p. vi

their effect on the political and proslavery scene.[9] Southerners not only had an emotional reaction to their circumstances, but nationalist spokesmen also manipulated those very emotions in order to garner greater support for their cause. Those emotions so easily evoked when describing the character of the southern gentleman – passion, pride, courage, irascibility – must be examined seriously when considering the development of southern nationalism. Those emotions were fundamental to galvanising the collective southern cognizance of affront and indignity so salient in the decision to secede, inducing the loyalty of otherwise hesitant southern men to the secessionist cause, shaming any man whose response to northern aggression was not sufficiently vocal.

Knowing that no South Carolinian could have been seen to abide his regional, or personal, emasculation, proslavery secessionists from that state weaponised emotions when rallying commitment to their agenda. Published tracts written by southerners demonising northern abolitionists worked in equal measure to mock the accommodating South, and each individual southerner considered too reluctant to rise in defence of his state. Appeals to southern men were thus specifically tailored not only to appeal to each man's honour and pride, but also to provoke and imply humiliation and dishonour to those who were unmoved by South Carolina's political circumstance. Governor of South Carolina Whitemarsh B. Seabrook played his hand perfectly when appealing to the masculinity and honour of his fellow South Carolinians just as he aroused their shame when broaching secession. Evoking northern abolitionism and the attempt to halt the continuation and spread of slavery to the newly-acquired western territories such as Texas and California, Seabrook fumed that, despite as many southerners giving their lives in the Mexican American war as did northerners, the South still suffered the stinging condescension and scorn of what increasingly appeared to be a Congress more sympathetic to the North. His words were intentionally emotional. Why, given that disrespect, was the southern thirst for justice lacking? 'If it is an insult and an injury', he goaded, 'does it not demand your interference?'[10] Tellingly, in that same published letter, he proceeded to question - or dictate – what he deemed to be the correct emotional

[9] For relevant works on anger in the History of the Emotions, see Carol Z. Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle For Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages,* ed. by Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018)

[10] Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, *A Letter on Southern Wrongs and Southern Remedies Addressed to the Hon. W.J. Grayson, in Reply to His Letter to the Governor of South Carolina, on the Dissolution of the Union* (Charleston, 1850), p. 5

response to affront as far as southern expectations went. Arlie Hochschild's theoretical Rule Reminders are useful when analysing the emotional content, and intent, of Seabrook's words:

> 'Have you not been identified with an institution which has been interdicted? Are you not classed with political lepers? Is not your republicanism denied, your equality scouted, your right, as a citizen of South Carolina, to go to California with all your rights as a citizen of South Carolina, spurned? Are not all these things before you? Do you not see them, *feel them*? Do they not flush your cheek, and chafe your spirit? Believe me that I can find no excuse for one who does not feel that these are wrongs of the deepest hue, and calling for the highest sacrifices.'[11] [Emphasis added.]

There is a sense of emotional coercion here. The emotional expectation is set, and all who failed to meet it were pre-emptively reprimanded as bafflingly inadequate. In such texts a disparaging picture was painted of the South not by northerners or abolitionists passing judgements from across state borders (which was a common occurrence) depicting southerners as brutal, blood-thirsty slave traders, or slovenly, lascivious, would-be aristocrats, but by secessionists themselves condemning politically accommodating southerners as effete and cowardly. Nudges such as Seabrook's: 'I can see no excuse for one who does not feel that these wrongs are of the deepest hue', more than a flat political statement, is prompting the correct emotional response from southern men, reminding his readers of how they should *feel* in the interest of southern propriety and pride. His words wed emotion to politics. Seabrook appears to have provided Rule Reminders for any of his readers from whom he expected a more vehement reaction than the one they had offered. Tranquil acceptance of northern hostility was behaviourally incorrect according to the southern Emotional Regime. He reminded his readers to 'feel' the effect of Northern disparagement (regardless of whether or not they were secessionists) and react in full passion. In order to do so, the amplification of humiliation was imperative:

> 'Shall we wait until our masters shall be so satisfied of our weakness, that they will rob and tell us that they did so? No sir. Are we so reduced, that we must compromise with our wounded feelings? Have we no balm, save that which while it seems to cure our wound, robs us of our senses? … For what good end shall we thus dally with our

[11] Hochschild, *The Managed Heart,* pp. 57-8; Seabrook, *A Letter on Southern Wrongs and Southern Remedies,* p. 5

> honour…? Will patience restore us to our equality? Will the conscience of those who degrade us, give us back our rights? Does power become tamed by submission? Is freedom preserved by never-ending submission?'[12]

Seabrook's charges of emasculation and humiliation - practically synonymous in the southern imagination - were electrified, and their energy channelled towards the nationalist cause. The mobilisation of shared victimhood has historically been advantageous to those wishing to vitalise projects of nationalism, given the ease with which victimhood is mobilised to seek the collective goal of 'retribution and revenge': a reality which was most certainly recognised by secessionist spokesmen such as Seabrook.[13] Significant here is Thomas Scheff's study of the manner in which Adolf Hitler mobilised Germans to arms in WWII by making patent to them their own humiliated state on the European stage; drumming up among them an 'explosion of humiliated fury', which allowed Hitler to catalyse his own march towards war'.[14] Hitler and the German nation, Scheff explains: 'were united by their individual and joint states of emotion, a triple spiral of shame-rage. They were ashamed, angry that they were ashamed, ashamed that they were angry, and so on, without limit… instead of ignoring or condemning their humiliated fury… [Hitler] displayed it himself… he sanctioned their fury.'[15] Khaled Fattah and K.M. Fierke have argued, similarly, that the historic role of the humiliation of the Middle East at the hands of the West during the twentieth century was central to the rise of militant Islamists who justified terrorism and violence as a means of claiming back the stolen dignity of the region. Humiliation and betrayal - based on loss of trust, agency, and feelings of being undervalued by the group or nation to which the subjects belong – they argue, are normally followed by an attempt to re-attain or reassert that lost sense of respect and dignity. Crucially, humiliation is interpreted and reacted to in ways very specific to the cultural and social norms of each society. Naturally, in the hyper-sensitive Emotional Regime of the South, humiliation was even more forceful than it may have been in a society where honour held less significance. Moreover, the political

---

[12] Seabrook, *A Letter on Southern Wrongs and Southern Remedies,* p. 7
[13] Joshua Searle-White, *The Psychology of Nationalism* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 94-5
[14] Thomas J, Scheff, Susanne M. Retzinger, *Emotions and Violence: Shame and Rage in Destructive Conflicts*, (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 2001), pp. 150-8
[15] Scheff and Retzinger, *Emotions and Violence*, p. 159

circumstance of ever-increasing hostility heightened the sense of tension, betrayal, and frustration.[16]

The same emotional phenomenon highlighted in Nazi Germany and the modern Middle East seemed to be at play in antebellum South Carolina, where shame and pride were carefully conjured at the appropriate moments, both lambasting and defacing the self-respect of accommodating southerners, and then rebuilding it in the image of the ideal secessionist southern gentleman. The question of whether or not shame has been acknowledged by he who feels it is one which, Scheff argues, determines how useful it can be in encouraging political movements. Shame, he theorises, can form strong social bonds between those who admit to feeling it, unifying them in common suffering, but it can equally result in a volcanic 'shame-anger cycle' if left unaddressed.[17] Shame, essentially, holds immensely strong influence in a group sense as well as upon the individual. As Jonathan Turner and Jan Stets expand:

> 'Society-wide social structures and cultural taboos that force individuals to deny their shame can produce on an aggregate level hostile individuals who, when they perceive that their nation and its culture are shamed, will be subject to collective mobilization of their anger, often leading to war. Thus, if the denial of shame occurs repeatedly at the micro level among large segments of a population, the accumulated anger can be mobilised by political leaders for societal-level aggression.'[18]

---

[16] Khaled Fattah and K.M. Fierke, 'A Clash of Emotions: The Politics of Humiliation and Political Violence in the Middle East', *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol.15 No.1 (2009), pp. 67-93; K.M. Fierke has argued separately that for similar reasons post WWI Germany was also a ground ripe for mobilising humiliation towards aggression. Fierke documents how Hitler skilfully manipulated the collective sense of humiliation following the disarming of Germany in the Treaty of Versailles, rallying among the populace a sense of incensed, and righteous, indignation by giving voice to their humiliation in a bid for priming the nation for hostility. Hitler's commanding rhetoric, far from hushing Germany's shame, not only masterfully amplified a humiliation he very rightly perceived as being at play in Germany, but also contained the message that he was the man to redeem Germany and return the nation to glory under his Thousand Year Reich. As Fierke explains: 'in Mein Kampf, Hitler argues that the key to war-time propaganda is simplifying an emotional message, appealing to the masses, rather than the intelligentsia, and pounding this home again and again.' Hitler, clearly highly astute in his emotional intelligence, manipulated the national emotion to catastrophic ends. K.M. Fierke, 'Whereof We Can Speak, Thereof We Must Not Be Silent: Trauma, Political Solipsism and War', *Review of International Studies*, 30 (2004), pp. 471-491. Quote from p. 486.

[17] Scheff, *Bloody Revenge*, p. 105

[18] Jonathan H. Turner and Jan E. Stets, *The Sociology of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 157

That bid to harness the shame-anger cycle seems to be precisely what influential nationalist writers and spokesmen in South Carolina were attempting. Efforts to make patent the degradation of southern slaveholders by the North should suddenly chime less as an exercise in self-pity, and resound instead as the functional process of animating those shamed men to reassert a sense of righteous dominance and power by seceding. While it's impossible to say for certain whether or not South Carolinians were personally ashamed on a mass scale, it's clear that the possibility of them having been so was mobilised by spokesmen who successfully harnessed exactly what Scheff outlines as the nationalistic function of shame. Synchronously acknowledged and amplified, shame formed bonds between southerners who felt even more part of a victimised group upon its evocation, mobilising their anger to serve the disruptive anti-northern cause. In keeping with Scheff's theory, Edward B. Bryan, in his tract 'Secession, the Rightful Remedy', made the special effort to summon, or out-rightly provoke, an emotional reaction to perceived northern wrong-doing and southern shame, in his effort to rouse the southern desire to secede. Quoting Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, he taunted southerners who were hesitant to secede, not alluding to, but barefacedly condemning the gendered nature of southern deference to the North, positing with derision:

'Romans now
Have thewes and limbs like to their ancestors;
But, wo the while! Our father's minds are dead,
And we are governed by our mother's spirits;
Our yoke and sufferance show us womanish.'[19]

There is little left to the imagination, or to be sought out in subtext. Bryan was straight-forward in his accusation: southern acquiescence was womanly and reprehensible. His rhetoric was, therefore, both an indictment against the selfish, mercenary North, *and* a barb emphasising the weak state of southern passivity, meant to provoke South Carolinian men to redeem themselves. He described the South in a pitiful state: 'her rights trampled underfoot, her independence shaken, her sovereignty well-nigh gone, her remonstrance ridiculed, her protest scoffed into silence' and laid the blame of that circumstance upon those weak men whose romantic sentimentality for the Union

[19] Edward B. Bryan, *The Disunionist: Or, Secession, the Rightful Remedy. Being a Few Facts and Hints on Things That Are and Ought to Be* (Charleston, 1850), p. 116

betrayed their weak-will: 'the Union is now but a shorter word for submission, and submission but another for infamy, shame, degradation – must we say *cowardice*?'[20] Cannily manipulating South Carolina's Emotional Regime, Bryan evoked the words most harmful to the southern gentleman's sense of self-respect when seeking to muster support and loyalty. This keen awareness of the uses of shared humiliation should be considered entirely political, and not peripheral to the years approaching the Civil War. Humiliation permeated the dialogue surrounding secession. As the *Charleston Mercury* exemplified, there was a continuous current of South Carolinians teasing and mocking the hesitant men of their state in a bid to provoke action: 'if South Carolina submits to wrongs on her citizens, because she is too weak to protect them, and so feeble… then she is no longer a State. She is nothing but a mere colony, and must remain a colonial dependence on some stronger power.'[21] An article in the *Semi-Weekly Camden Journal* entitled 'The Danger of Delay' used similar techniques:

> 'Our little State now stands alone in her hatred of Northern aggression, and opposition to federal tyranny. Will not her sons sustain her in this proud position? Many will, but some we blush to say, are willing to drag her to the portals of tyranny, and there, before the throne of the usurper and the aggressor, fall down and cry aloud "we will submit, do with us what you will!" 'Tis a humiliating reflection indeed.'[22]

Edward B. Bryan's language was purposefully provocative and mocking. Making patent his views of obsequious South Carolinians, he derided them: 'go bend your knee, go lick the dust and bow down before the *awful majesty* of CONGRESS; but never go there to be an equal. Know you now, that *there* you are degraded of your rank?… your name disgraced, your pride humbled, your power subdued, your knighthood lost', adding, with chagrin: 'if submission is preferred, then nothing is to be done. "Lay on McDuff", with all your heart. The South likes it, it can't have too much oppression, lay on more, trample it, crush it, it likes it, for it takes it very kindly, it submits very quietly.'[23] These nationalists were goading both each other and themselves; simultaneously setting the emotional

---

[20] Ibid., p. 117
[21] *Semi-Weekly Camden Journal* (article originally printed in the *Charleston Mercury*) 27 May 1851
I am grateful to British American Nineteenth Century Historians (BrANCH) for having generously awarded me the Peter Parish Memorial Fund, allowing me to undertake this doctoral research in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
[22] *Semi-Weekly Camden Journal*, Camden SC, 16 September 1851, LC
[23] Bryan, *The Disunionist*, p. 145

expectation for southern men, and binding themselves to it. They were not only condemning those men they felt were falling short of correct South Carolinian emotional display, but also committing themselves to maintaining that level, setting standards of behaviour by example. While William Reddy's Emotional Regime is necessarily set in place to support a political regime, the untried and almost speculative nature of proposed secession, far from rendering the emotional scene in a state of lax disorganisation, actually exacerbated the nature of the southern Emotional Regime, influenced by the pursuit of proving southern exceptionalism. The functions of emotions such as humiliation and pride were weaponised by the men at the helm of that political shift. Maximising the motivational and political power of humiliation, southern spokesmen took pains to emphasise the opprobrium of perceived northern disdain, striving to emphasise just how degraded and shameful their position as southerners had become, and would continue to be, should they have remained part of the Union. These men thereby won greater southern support for secession (and, later, for the Confederacy) on emotional grounds, despite political opposition.

Proslavery spokesmen turned to the emotions in order to muster southerners into a solidified group, strengthened and incensed by their shared sense of victimhood. When northern aggression ran the risk of not being clear enough in its insult, southerners themselves took the initiative to clarify to each other just how degraded and shamed their position was, not in an act of self-flagellation, but as a provocation to action. William Reddy's theory of 'Emotives' (expressions of emotion that also act to intensify the nominated emotion in the speaker) played a role in this rhetoric. When secessionists described themselves as proud, not only were they verbally affirming their own pride to their opponents, but also reinforcing it for themselves psychologically. The same can be concluded of shame, outrage, ire, and all the emotions characteristic of the public proclamations of secessionists. Evoking emotions, Reddy attests, has a deeper function than a simply descriptive one; it also causes those emotions to ferment and deepen.[24]

The silencing of emotions such as fear, conversely, did not cause them to dissipate. Scheff argues with good reason that the repression of emotions only causes their mutation into more intense and malignant renderings of their original states.[25] Moreover, the

[24] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 105
[25] Scheff's theory is outlined well by Jonathan H. Turner, in *Human Emotions: A Sociological Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 95-96

vocalisation of an emotion like shame was permissible only because it could be rectified by masculine assertiveness: pride could be reclaimed by a demonstration of strength and resolution. The mention of fear, on the other hand, served no political purpose for southern nationalists, and was therefore suffocated. Not all emotions were politically useful, and thus, discomfiting emotions were named only when accompanied by a suggestion of how they could be exorcised. In this case, southern shame could be expelled by secession. Certainly, the South didn't go to war over a case of hurt feelings, but those feelings were used to catalyse a very questionable and risky war.

The combined obligation for South Carolinians to represent both what they hoped would soon be a new nation, and their Emotional Regime, made their public words bombastic and brash. This was the context within which they were forced to discuss the subject of slave rebellion: a political landscape which was increasingly antagonistic, vitriolic, and uncertain. But so much more was at stake than their safety alone; southern masculinity and pride were tied up in questions of proslavery, insurrection, and confidence, and in that political and emotional context the Confidence Script was produced and strengthened. Public performances were of national importance, and southern self-respect was implicated in seen/performed confidence. For this reason, a Confidence Script concerning slavery was the only permissible option.

As a precursor to the antebellum style, a compelling comparison emerges when considering the Cuban Supplication Script alongside the tone of the South Carolinian *colonial* slaveholding narrative, as they were strikingly similar. Many of the same techniques were employed in eighteenth century colonial South Carolina as would later be in nineteenth century Cuba: the careful portrayal of the monarch as a patriarchal defender; the presentation of South Carolina as in great peril, surrounded by dangers emanating both from within the colony and also from the threats presented by encroaching Spain, which offered American slaves freedom should they have escaped to Spanish Florida. In other words, colonial South Carolina had its own Supplication Script. The differences between the Supplication and Confidence Scripts of colonial and antebellum South Carolina are as stark as those between South Carolina's and Cuba's in the 1820s to 1850s. The language of the colonial South Carolinian Supplication Script was almost unrecognisable when compared to what it would evolve into. A proclamation exemplary of this, sent following the Stono Rebellion of 1739, used beseeching and humble language

when petitioning the Crown for greater military protection from the Spanish and the slaves:

> '…It is with the utmost grief and concern we find this Province greatly reduced and weakened… exposed to dangers from abroad, to Enemys very near… That part of our Calamitys, proceeding from the frequent attempts of our Slaves, arises from the designs and intrigues of our Enemys, the Spaniards in St. Augustine and Florida, who have had the ruin and destruction of these your Majesty's Colonys of South Carolina and Georgia long in view… with hearts full of sorrow and anxiety… we are now exposed to a powerful Enemy, roused with resentment, and encouraged by our disappointment, are become more formidable than ever, and if not speedily prevented by a superior force, may soon turn their Arms against us… this Province and that of Georgia have the most to fear… on account of their being the weakest and most exposed to their Enemys… we have therefore no other Barrier but a few Nations of Indians… we most humbly and earnestly implore your Majesty's most Royal and paternal protection and assistance against our Enemys by Land… those who have committed the most barbarous and cruel Murder of their Masters.'[26]

Most interestingly, although colonial South Carolina produced a Supplication Script when writing to the British Crown for protection during times of slave rebellion, this became an impossibility once the American Revolution had done away with that key sympathetic audience. During the antebellum period an increasingly sectional and paranoid South Carolina produced the quintessential Confidence Script, further calcified on the road to disunion, creating not only an emotional proslavery based on confidence, but also a nationalism forged by the forces of humiliation and indignation. When arguing for the virtues of an independent nation based on the foundations of racial slavery, permitting any discussion surrounding the danger those slaves posed to the white population risked critically undermining both the institution and southern nationalism. The Confidence Script therefore evolved according to the political circumstances in which South Carolina found itself. The shift from colony to nation had an undeniable effect on the discourse surrounding slavery: South Carolina adjusted from one status to the other, and hence also from Supplication to Confidence Script.

---

[26] 'PETITION and REPRESENTATION to His Majesty on the Present State of the Province', John Fenwicke, 26 July 1740, printed in full in Holland, *A refutation of the Calumnies*, pp. 71-4

The Emotional Shrewdness of Colonised Men

Louis A. Pérez has tracked the shifting trend of post-revolutionary Cuban historiography as it evolved with 'redemptive' energy to include the island's long history in a modern re-telling of the nation's heritage, overturning the record in order to testify that 'the ideological trajectory of the Revolution had its origins wholly in the Cuban past.'[27] The academic baton was passed to the historians of the 1960s onwards to 'overturn the historiographical premises upon which the neo-colonial order rested', to disturb and counter-argue the prevailing 'central assumptions of American hegemony in Cuba.'[28] Pérez's work challenges historians writing on nineteenth century Cuba to ask similar questions, with a less determined, overtly political aim: was there not more strength in Cuba's past than has been assumed? Was colonial Cuba composed of weak, accommodating men who lacked the guile to claim their independence? The task concerns seeking the power held by nineteenth century Cubans who are usually (and erroneously) cast as under-performing, sub-masculine, political non-entities, and recognising that, in fact, those Cubans held and manipulated more sway than the record would suggest.

When re-examining both the historiography and the writings of those contemporary men alongside each other it becomes clear that, not only was there a noteworthy sense of nationalism fermenting on the island decades prior to the 1860s, but also, more compellingly for the themes of this thesis, the slaveholders of Cuba in fact commanded and manipulated a subtle but effective power by maintaining their continued loyalty to Spain. This argument builds upon the excellent work of David Sartorius, which has outlined the political use of loyalty for Cubans of colour who negotiated power by expressing, and demonstrating, loyalty to Spain, complicating the narrative that loyalty was either a backwards reaction to colonialism, or an unthinking acceptance of Spanish hegemony. Sartorius' discussion, building upon Albert O Hirschman's classic political and economic study on loyalty, characterizes the circumstance as one in which 'loyalty as an affective posture… allow[ed] for the potential to express voice within the world of

[27] Louis Pérez, 'In the Service of the Revolution: Two Decades of Cuban Historiography', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol.60, No.1 (Feb. 1980), pp. 81,86
[28] Pérez, 'In the Service of the Revolution', p. 81

empire.'[29] This thesis argues that the strategic decision to utilise loyalty was made by the whites of the island as well.

Most often, Cuban nationalism is considered to have emerged in true force as a result of the Ten Years War (1868 – 1878), and indeed, Jorge Ibarra's seminal study sees Cuban nationalism as emerging much later than the period under scrutiny.[30] The excellent work of Josef Opatrný, however, which examines the development of *Cubanidad* (a sense of 'Cubanness') using anti-slave-trade intellectual José Antonio Saco as the lens through which to question its development, traces an awareness of *Cubanidad* back to as early as the eighteenth century, beginning to develop expression in the 1830s.[31] To argue that Cuban nationalism was in any way comparable to southern nationalism would be to overstate the extent of any solidified concept of identity on the island in the first half of the nineteenth century, but, certainly, it was in a state of gestation. As Opatrný explores, Saco's sense of *Cubanidad* moved past what Cubans had previously seen themselves as, which was, 'overseas Spaniards', leading him to become a spokesman for young Creoles on the island. With that said, Saco's sense of nationalism was entirely reliant on Spanish heritage.[32]

Representing a group of Creole intellectuals who, significantly, had recently begun to refer to themselves as 'Cuban', Saco was deeply perturbed by the prospect of annexation to the United States, concerned that the new political order and inevitable Anglo-Saxon influx to the island would have led to the dilution of Creole Cuban culture, which relied on Spanish patrimony.[33] While Saco was desperate for the island's political representation and prosperity, ideally, for him, Spain would have been the nation to bestow Cuba with those benefits. Saco's imagined Cuban identity was strictly a 'Hispano-Cuban nationality', formed predominantly during the annexation efforts of the antebellum period, when his conception of a Cuban nationality began to calcify. Saco had been influenced by his mentor Father Félix Varela, his professor at the San Carlos Seminary in Havana. Varela was famed for his anti-slavery, pro-independence stance which led to his exile from Cuba,

---

[29] Sartorius, *Ever-Faithful Isle,* p. 14; see also Albert O. Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organisations and States*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970)
[30] Jorge Ibarra, *Nación y Cultura Nacional* (Havana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1981), pp. 7-21
[31] Josef Opatrný, 'José Antonio's Path Toward Cubanidad', *Cuban Studies*, Vol.24 (1994), pp. 47-8
[32] Opatrný, 'José Antonio's Path Toward Cubanidad', pp. 41,44,51
[33] Graciela Cruz-Taura, 'Annexation and National Identity: Cuba's Mid-Nineteenth Century Debate' *Cuban Studies,* Vol. 27 (1998), pp. 90,94

following which point he published *El Habanero* from Philadelphia, and later *El Mensajero Semanal* from New York, which he co-edited with Saco.[34]

Manuel Moreno Fraginals perfectly captures the option set before slaveholders in Cuba between 1820 and 1850: 'Nation or Plantation', exhuming the dilemma facing those plantation owners forced to choose between their wealth and their independence, knowing that it would be impossible to achieve and maintain both.[35] Tellingly, it was often said that slavery, and the slave trade, were maintained in Cuba by Spain precisely in order to keep the white Cuban population submissive and "loyal" to the mother country, keeping slaveowners fearful of slave insurrection enslaved to Spanish colonialism. The commonly evoked adage '*sin azúcar no hay país'* (without sugar there is no country) had rather a paradoxical relevance during the emergence of slavery in Cuba.[36] Commonly stated to assure Spain of the need for slaves on the island to cultivate sugar cane, and develop Cuba into the economic treasure chest it was for the metropole, it would later be argued that those same slaves were the very thing keeping the *país* from claiming independence and true nationhood for so long. In South Carolina, should the political unrest created by secession have communicated to the slaves and free blacks that the time was ripe for rebellion, their chances of success were considered so slim that the risk was not sufficient to muffle open nationalist conversation. Talk of secession and Civil War were not hushed due to fears of possible black opportunism. In Cuba, conversely, the nationalism question was deemed unnecessarily dangerous given the island's geographical isolation, and, after 1841, white minority.

Further to this, the strict censorship enforced in Cuba by Spain stunted what Benedict Anderson theorised as being so significant in creating an 'Imagined Community': the printing press. Anderson's Imagined Community, binding even strangers together by an imagined sense of belonging and likeness, was aided immensely by print-capitalism, and its process of 'linking fraternity', allowing citizens a method for reflecting and for

---

[34] Lisandro Pérez, *Sugar, Cigars and Revolution: The Making of Cuban New York* (New York: New York University Press, 2018), pp. 40-78. Demonstrating how seditious a character Varela was considered, Dionisio Vives sent a hired assassin to deal with him in New York, but the assassin was unsuccessful. p. 42

[35] Manuel Moreno Fraginals, 'Nación o Plantación', pp. 243-272. This nuanced examination depicts Saco's frustrated efforts to find ideological communion with a slaveocracy for whom, Fraginals explains, sugar was more important than nation, and who deemed it 'more convenient to sacrifice the nation to sugar', rather than vice versa. p. 245

[36] Sherry Johnson, *The Social Transformation of Eighteenth Century Cuba*, (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001), p. 1

'thinking about themselves, and relating themselves to others'.[37] Ultimately a national identity conducive to nationalism projects is bolstered and stirred by the printing press, which mobilises dialogues and rhetoric of national selfhood. It is worthy of note that Cuba does not feature in Anderson's discussion of Latin American independence. Worthy of note, but not surprising: Cuba, after all, did not have access to a free press, and thus was almost completely unable to conjure and influence any method to 'think about itself'.

Alongside José Antonio Saco, 'seditious' Creoles such as Domingo Del Monte, patriarch of the Havana literary community, and proponent of Cuban independence, and José de la Luz Y Caballero, intellectual, and exponent of independence (both of whom were also intellectual disciples of Felix Varela) were together striving to propagate Creole and Cuban identities. All three men separately wrote for the academic *Revista Bimestre Cubana,* and jointly petitioned the Spanish government for the freedom to form a Cuban Literary academy (a movement which was swiftly crushed by Captain General Miguel Tacón.)[38] As Adriana Méndez Rodenas shows, the *'tertulia'* (discussion circle) organised by Del Monte was a microcosmic Imagined Community of 'creole pioneers', fostering a 'spirit of Cubanness', pushing against Benitez Rojo's theoretical 'Big Cuba' – the Cuba of sugar planters and capitalism – instead preferring 'Little Cuba', the Cuba of folklore, tradition, and Cuba's own diverse peoples.[39] The progressivism of these ideas notwithstanding, they were restricted to being discussed only among a small intellectual community, by no means able, yet, to access the wider public. Creoles were not oblivious to *Cubanidad*, but they were not able to develop it into a pervasive nationalism given that lacking element of island-wide communication.

South Carolina, as part of the larger South, but also in isolation, felt the motion of three forces in which emotional control came to play a crucial part: the linking of a developing Imagined Community to a sense of 'national habitus' (what Jonathan Heany has defined - using the framework of Pierre Bourdieu - as an unthinking but powerful loyalty to one's

---

[37] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin & Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), p. 37

[38] Adriana Méndez Rodenas, *Gender and Nationalism in Colonial Cuba: The Travels of Santa Cruz y Montalvo, Condesa de Merlin* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1998), pp. 72-3

[39] Rodenas, *Gender and Nationalism in Colonial Cuba*, p. 70; for a discussion of the Condesa de Merlin's personal views on Creole identity and Cubanness, and her difficulty being truly accepted by the del Monte circle as a valuable nationalist because of her gender, see pp. 77-103; see also Karen Ruth Kornwiebel, *Writing for Inclusion: Literature, Race, and National Identity in Nineteenth Century Cuba and the United States* (London: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2018), pp. 23-45

homeland), and an Emotional Regime which was intensified by both.[40] South Carolina's Emotional Regime was reified by its printing press. A use for the printing press within any Imagined Community heretofore unexplored by scholars is the function it serves for communicating and reinforcing the governing Emotional Regime. Not only are the members of that community, otherwise separated by distance, bonded by fraternity via widely-circulated publications, but they are also guided on how to *feel* as part of that fraternity. In the South Carolinian case, how members of the South Carolinian Imagined Community should have felt about secession and northern aggression was spelled out to them in the type of published pamphlets discussed above. The proper masculine interaction with, and reaction to, secession – affront and defensiveness - was conveyed via print, but in a manner more subtle and implied than the overt direction of advice literature.

The men of Cuba, conversely, were not yet widely conscious of a strictly Cuban identity, much less were they, at this point, espousing themselves as paragons of a Cuban masculinity. Even if such identities were in gestation, they were inhibited from developing forcefully by the lack of negative point of reference against which Cubans could exceptionalise themselves, as was available for southerners in the form of the Yankee. Popular beliefs, such as José Antonio Saco's that Cuba should never surrender her identity to Anglo-Saxon culture, maintained among Creoles the Spanish model of behaviour and masculinity as the cultural heritage they were determined to maintain. The martial value system of nineteenth century Spain, as explored by Richard Meyer Forsting, whereby 'individual action, bravery… independence, hard work, valour strength and integrity… fostered by anti-Napoleonic warfare' remained the dominant prevailing conception of masculinity in Cuba.[41] There was no comparable equivalent to the 'southern gentleman', who by this point had fierce loyalties not only to his nation, but also to his state. The 'Cuban Gentleman', so to speak, had not developed because he'd had no strict need to. Moreover, the large royalist presence in Cuba, strengthened by those who flocked to the island fleeing the new republican regimes in their countries of origin in Latin America, forged even stronger links to Spain.[42] (Further to this, Saco's Creole identity

[40] Jonathan Heaney, 'Emotions and Nationalism: a Reappraisal' in *Emotions in Politics,* ed. by Nicolas Demertzis, pp. 243-264
[41] Richard Meyer Forsting, *Raising Heirs to the Throne in Nineteenth Century Spain: the Education of the Constitutional Monarch* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 18,103,102
[42] Cruz-Taura, 'Annexation and National Identity', p. 91

notwithstanding, his evolving sense of national identity was strictly, and critically, limited only to white Cubans, as was the case both in the U.S. and, later, the Confederacy.) A developing sense of Creole identity, even a rapidly evolving one, is not the same as a firmly entrenched national identity. The vast majority of Cubans had not yet developed a tangible sense of 'national habitus' which South Carolina, amid the southern states, most certainly had.

Saco's emphasis on retaining a sense of Spanish cultural heritage in Cuba created a context which shrouded nationalistic impulses with the risk that independence would threaten those customs, complicating and halting nationalistic developments somewhat due to the anxiety surrounding what might follow independence. The concern was that the island's culture would be suffocated by another, be that Anglo-Saxon, or indeed, African. This was not a paranoia that visited bellicose South Carolinians, but, among the slaveholders of Cuba, still illegally filling the island with endless ship-fulls of enslaved Africans, there was growing anxiety that those arrivals would one day muddy the waters of Cuban national identity. Paranoias such as the following expressed by Felix Tanco demonstrate that evolving Cuban identity was framed in contra-distinction not only to Anglo-Saxons, but also to Africans. Unnerved and disgusted by the risk of the barbarisation, or Africanisation, of Cuba, he reasoned:

> 'While watching our boys and girls at their waltzes and contradances, who can fail to be struck by how closely their movements mimic those of the *negroes* at their gatherings? Who can fail to see that the dancers' steps echo the drums of the Tangos? It is all purely African, and the poor and innocent *Negroes*, without intending to, and with no other power than that born of the life they lead in relation to us, are taking revenge for the cruel treatment we have inflicted upon them by infecting us with customs and manners that are appropriate to the savages of Africa.'[43]

These fears actually buttressed Cuba's dependence upon Spain. Fear of the overwhelming slave population not only influenced discussions concerning bodily survival, but also the survival of Hispano-Cuban culture, drawing Cuba ever-closer under Spain's wing. It was in this context of threat and agitation that proslavery voices in Cuba creatively, and with canniness, found a way to appeal to Spain, turning the dependence of that island on the

[43] Opatrný, 'José Antonio's Path Toward Cubanidad', p. 49

metropole into an asset for persuasion and manipulation. The distinction must be made between a powerless, childlike Cuba, and the astute perception and self-awareness of that childlike status which allowed for the manipulation and coercion of the parental figure: Spain. That status as child island is precisely what gave Cuba her strength. Slaveholders in the colony could brandish and emphasise their dependence on the Crown as a means of manipulating Spain to take action where it perhaps wouldn't have been inclined to otherwise.

Treating Spain as a paternal figure, and re-emphasising that relationship via the beseeching language used when writing to the metropole, allowed the slaveholders of Cuba to present themselves to Spain in the image of a child supplicating to their parent for protection, or intervention. While South Carolina was propagating its Emotional Regime through the press in order to encourage mass emotional support for secession on the grounds of southern pride, self-respect and masculinity, the same was not necessary in Cuba. Each region at this point of the century had different political goals, which, in turn, bred different rhetorical strategies. Indeed, had the slaveholders of Cuba postured themselves in a more antagonistic manner, they would most likely have prompted in Spain the suspicion of an imminent move towards Cuban independence. By reading the political circumstance and tailoring their emotional tone to meet it, the slaveholders of Cuba, both Peninsular Spaniards and Creole Cubans, were able to appeal to the protection of the Crown, using their weakness as their strength.

Louis A. Pérez's fascinating work on metaphorical national imagery in the late nineteenth century fits in well with this current discussion. He analyses the gradual shift in the style of U.S. publications whose artists began by personifying Cuba as a helpless child, then as an elderly maid, and finally as a beautiful young woman, exploring the tendency of the U.S. to depict itself as the noble, masculine power protecting that feminised island from a despotic and lecherous Spain.[44] However, the mono-directional focus of Pérez's study limits its scope. Further than questioning the manner in which the U.S. imagined and represented Cuba metaphorically, questions of how Spain pictured Cuba, and how Cuba manipulated the diplomatic difficulty of Spain's position, escape his study. The timeframe

[44] Louis A. Pérez Jr., *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008)

of Pérez's study, which narrowly surrounds 1898, is also far later than the period under consideration here.

This idea of a childlike and occasionally feminised island was not only in place much earlier, but it was also a representation that served to advance the political ambitions of more than the U.S. alone. Proslavery capitalists in Cuba, when supplicating to Spain, evoked emotions traditionally associated with womanliness, attempting to animate Spain to protect the island, and its right to slaves/slavery. By emphasising Cuba's helplessness in a manner akin to femininity, Spanish patriarchal honour was prompted to protect Cuba in her effeminate defencelessness in the first half of the nineteenth century. This approach was perfectly tailored to the Spanish understanding of honour and *vergüenza* as discussed in Chapter II, as Spanish masculinity was bound up in protecting the women in one's family. Given that the cognitive leap from child to woman is not vast, as both women and children were thought to require masculine protection in similar ways, Cuba was at times more child-like, and others more feminine.

The question of an effeminate or feminised Cuba is also relevant to the wider Atlantic context. More than simply being a child, Cuba conceived of itself as a valuable, and beautiful, acquisition, coveted by the major powers of the hemisphere. Cuba, representing a feminised island, manipulated and emphasised her husband's (Spain's) cuckoldry to her own advantage, pointing out to him who exactly had designs to overthrow him and seize her. 'The catastrophe which threatens the beautiful island of Cuba': letters to the Spanish government were replete with such imagery.[45] Most strikingly, discussion of the island being overrun by the growing number of *emancipados* seemed to mimic discussion of the imagined ravaging of pure, beautiful white women by black men, which was dreaded as being the likely outcome for any post-emancipation society: 'the excessive number of *emancipados* who inundate the island… and who could give rise to the total loss of that beautiful portion of the dominions.'[46] To then engineer the cognitive leap that Spanish national integrity was wrapped up in the defence of innocent, helpless, beautiful Cuba was easy to contrive by letter-writers. Emphasising 'the miserable state of the island'; the 'sad and lamentable state of that island, which threatens at pace a tremendous explosion';

[45] Letter from the Junta de Comercio del Reino de Aragon to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Marina, Comercio Y Gobernación de Ultramar, 16 February 1843, Ultramar 4617, Exp.12, AHN
[46] Francisco de Leyva, Secretario Interino de Estado 'Acuerdo Del Consejo de Estado', 9 February 1828, Ultramar 3548/9, Exp.4, AHN

'the island of Cuba, subverted and demoralised by terror and misery,' Spain's duty to protect her was made not only more urgent, but more a question of honour.[47] The relationship was often made very clearly between 'this island [and] the national dignity.'[48] Crushing impending threats were presented as a question which implicated 'the integrity of the monarchy, and [Spanish] national honour.'[49]

The role played by gender in imperial relations is one that has been considered provocatively by Ann McClintock and Philippa Levine. McClintock's work draws attention to the gendered conception of land itself: the imperial arrival representing the male domination over an accommodating, inviting female: 'the male penetration and exposure of a veiled, female interior' she explains, leading to a series of interactions whereby 'the world is feminized and spatially spread for male exploration.'[50] McClintock emphasises that the corrosive effect of the paranoia caused by feared loss of colonial power over those feminised lands – or fear of their destruction by indigenous peoples - wrought havoc on the masculinity of the imperial power, which she describes as an: 'acute… and a profound, if not pathological, sense of male anxiety and boundary loss.'[51] Although her theorisation deals with the initial stages of "discovery", or encounter, and the foundational assertions of masculine domination over threatening indigenous populations and unknown lands, the constant arrival of enslaved Africans described as savage and barbarous kept Cuba in a constant state of uncertainty and instability akin to a very early, and precarious, colonial settlement, giving McClintock's work relevance to the current discussion as it relates to both Cuba and Spain. That potent paranoia and fear of losing domination is described as having a profoundly negative effect upon the colonising power's sense of collective masculinity. She explains:

> 'Suspended between an imperial megalomania, with its fantasy of unstoppable rapine – and a contradictory fear of engulfment… is … [a] crisis in male imperial identity …

---

[47] Miguel Tacón to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de lo Interior, 31 August 1835, C.M. Tacón No.19, (No.121) BNJM; Tribunal de Comercio de la Siempre Fidelísima Ciudad de la Habana, signed Jorge P, Urtetégui, Nicolás Galcerá; Alejandro Morales, to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 30 March 1841, C.M. Exposición No.1, BNJM

[48] Gerónimo Valdés to the Junta de Comercio de Cataluña, 28 April 1842, C.M. Morales T.78 No.135, BNJM

[49] Miguel Tacón to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación, 31 August 1836, Ultramar 4627, Exp.1, No.15, AHN

[50] Ann McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Gender, Race, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 23

[51] McClintock, *Imperial Leather,* p. 24

> between a fantasy of conquest and a dread of engulfment, between rape and emasculation… The gendering of America as simultaneously naked and passive *and* riotously violent and cannibalistic represents a doubling within the conqueror, disavowed and displaced onto a feminine scene… the fear of engulfment expresses itself most acutely in the cannibal trope. In this familiar trope, the fear of being engulfed by the unknown is projected onto colonised peoples as *their* determination to devour the intruder whole… the implosive anxieties suggested by the cannibal trope were just as often warded off by fantastical rites of imperial violence. Their unsavoury rages, their massacres and rapes, their atrocious rituals of militarized masculinity sprang… from the implacable rage of paranoia.'[52]

Cuba's slave population in this theorisation takes on the role of McClintock's cannibal natives, given that so many of them were not yet socialised or creolised in the Cuban/Spanish fashion, and were, for all intents and purposes, a hostile, mysterious, and threatening segment of the population. That slaveholders in Cuba so often expressed their fear of the island being destroyed by those Africans speaks to McClintock's described fear of engulfment, no doubt causing their own schism of masculinity that may well have been tangible during moments of extreme violence towards the population of colour (such as the backlash following *La Escalera*), which may have been a frenzied and brutal attempt to reassert white male dominance.

Philippa Levine has argued that: 'the building of empires cannot be understood without employing a gendered perspective… [it was] influenced in every way by people's understanding of sexual difference and its effects, and by the roles of men and women in the world.'[53] It is clear that a sense of masculinity as it relates to dominance (and dominance lost) certainly shines through the Cuban attempt to manipulate and provoke Spanish action, as slaveholders capitalised upon their knowledge of Spanish masculinity as it related to the possible loss of the island. To Levine's question: 'if, indeed, Empire was avowedly a masculinist environment… did the very fact of domination itself reflect, echo, or partake of the kinds of power relations at work in sexual difference, in the relations between men and women?' this chapter argues an answer in the affirmative. Yes, Spanish domination over Cuba embodied the pressures of masculinity, protection and

---

[52] Ibid. p. 27

[53] Philippa Levine, 'Introduction: Why Empire?' in *Gender and Empire,* ed. by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 2

honour, and politically subjugated slaveholders on the island were able to manipulate that fact.[54] Flaunting continued loyalty to Spain, but making prominent how treacherous Cuba's future was, surrounded – and inhabited – as it was by actors wishing to rip the colony out of Spain's clutches, voices from Cuba probed and provoked Spain's emasculation which accompanied loss of land, described by McClintock as: 'the… dread of catastrophic boundary loss (implosion), associated with fears of impotence and infantilization… dismemberment and emasculation.' [55] Connecting Ann Stoler's observation of imperialism that 'white settlers, but also the more transient European residents, were occupied with social and political concerns that often pitted them against the policy makers in the metropole as much as against the colonized', to Pérez's call to seek power in pre-Revolution Cuba, this thesis sustains that slaveholders in Cuba found and used the power they necessarily held as the children, or women, in the imperial Spanish family, and put it to work in the Supplication Script.[56]

Two distinctions must be made at this point. The first is that, emotionally speaking, by virtue of their position as a colony, men in Cuba were permitted to display more feminine emotions - i.e. they were not expected to be as stringently masculine as South Carolinians - because they had a paternal metropole to whom they were permitted to voice their every concern and paranoia. Secondly, slaveholders in Cuba, moreover, were placed in a bargaining position in which they were *required* to demonstrate those feminine emotions – fear, the pursuit of protection, helplessness – in order to achieve the reaction they wanted from whichever audience they were appealing to. It was advantageous for slaveholders on the island to convey those feminine emotions when appealing to whichever power was keen to assert its national dignity/masculinity by either keeping or acquiring her. South Carolina's status not only as part of a nation, but part of a separatist nationalist movement, and Cuba's as a coveted island colony with a slave majority, and the volatility of each of those vastly different statuses, affected the Emotional Regimes of each. Those statuses are essential to discussions of emotional propriety, limitation, and performance. In the mirror image of South Carolina, the slaveholders of Cuba, while

---

[54] Levine, 'Introduction: Why Empire?', p. 6
[55] McClintock, *Imperial Leather,* p. 26
[56] Ann Stoler's work demonstrates that such seemingly antagonistic behaviour from the settlers in Cuba is quite normative of colonial settler relations with the land from which they came. She outlines: 'colonial cultures were never direct translations of European society planted in the colonies but unique cultural configurations… new constructions of what it meant to be European… demographically, occupationally, and politically distinct.' Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 24

subjected politically, and therefore unable to express emotions such as nationalism, patriotic pride and self-determination, were freer to express emotions such as fear, anxiety, and dread. They used that reality to their advantage, taunting Spain take action when it was felt that protection was waning or insufficient.

'Old Spain', 'Effeminate' Cubans, & Uncle Sam

The reaction to what was perceived as the inertia, incapability, or simply cowardliness which kept Cubans from asserting their claim to independence from Spain was the subject of discussion, and derision, in South Carolinian newspapers. Despite the famed American desire to acquire Cuba, there was a sense of confoundment as to why the Cubans had not made any effort to instigate the first step themselves. Since the men of Cuba hadn't asserted their independence, they seemed, from the U.S, perspective, to have been unworthy of it. The perception in the antebellum U.S. of the male population of Cuba was tinged, as a result, by immaturity and unmanliness. The reluctance of the U.S. to needlessly and openly provoke the ire and retaliation of Spain (and Britain) by making a bid to ferment independence on the island was paired with the impression that Cuban nationalists should have made the first move for their own independence. American counsel appeared to offer earnest encouragement to the nationalist impulse in Cuba, with *The Keowee Courier* publishing such endorsements as: 'let Cuba apply for admission to the Union tomorrow, and this country would receive it'.[57] 'Let the oppressed people of Cuba strike for independence' the same publication continued, while the *Edgefield Advertiser* urged, 'the island would be received, but you must first achieve your own independence – then she will acknowledge you, and take you in as a partner!'[58] Perceived Cuban reluctance was met by American impatience, occasionally redesigned as disparagement. The following meditation on Cuban hesitation conveyed U.S. bafflement, if not chagrin:

> 'There is one feature of the Cuban movement that looks badly. It seems to rely on outsiders not merely for aid but for inception. The first shot is to be fired by an invading force. No flag inimical to Spain is to be raised on the island until a military expedition, securely fitted out within the borders of the United States should have debarked on her shores. Now there is scarcely a region of equal area on earth so well

[57] *The Keowee Courier*, Pickens Courthouse, Pickens, SC, 19 July 1850, LC
[58] Ibid.; *Edgefield Advertiser*, Edgefield SC, 21 October 1841, LC

> provided with natural strongholds for a popular movement as that same Cuba, and it seems off, if the Creoles really pant for independence, that they do not claim the honour of initiating the movement. It argues incapacity for independence, this holding back for a foreign force to *begin* the contest.'[59]

This conjectured Cuban passivity or torpidity, 'the usual sluggishness of Cuban zeal… pitiable weakness of power', contributed to the impression in the southern U.S. that the men of Cuba were incapable; too feminine to meet the challenge of claiming the island as their own.[60] This opinion flavoured the racialised American conception of the island; inhabited by listless men, under the control of an archaic, decrepit European nation, in need of the protection of a real global power, and, by extension, real men. Yet, there is a marked contrast between how Cuban hesitation appeared to the U.S.: immature, cowardly and pathetic, and its real character when invoked by the proslavery voices of Cuba making appeals to Spain: opportunistic, well-thought-out, strategic, cunning. The same behaviour that struck the U.S. as inept and limp-wristed was shrewdly employed by slaveholders in Cuba when seeking support from Spain.

Aside from the designs of foreign powers to acquire Cuba for themselves, and all of the threats that issue presented to Spain, the possibility of slave insurrection was never far from consideration when discussing the island's safety. Alongside the question of which Atlantic power might acquire Cuba, the risk was, equally, that the black man would take her. A transcribed and translated speech from 'Deputy Sancho' (presumably Vicente Sancho y Cobertores, president of the Congress of Deputies in 1837), given in the Spanish *Cortes* and printed in the *Cheraw Gazette,* demonstrate the combined risk of interior and exterior threats:

> 'If, gentlemen, the island of Cuba should cease to be Spanish, it must belong to the *negro*. It cannot come under the power of any other nation, because, firstly, there is no nation powerful enough to subjugate 400,000 *negroes*, who, under the tropics, shall say, 'we will not be governed by you.'… it may be said that the whites possess wealth and knowledge. They possessed them also in Sto. Domingo. But of what avail are wealth and knowledge, when opposed to brutal force; when the question is one of exposure

---

[59] *Edgefield Advertiser*, Edgefield SC, 29 August 1849, LC
[60] *Edgefield Advertiser*, Edgefield SC, 12 September 1849, LC

> to the elements, of bearing fatigue, to which the slave is accustomed, and suffering the heat of the sun, of which the *negro* declares himself to be the child? What would be the result? The whites would be subdued, as they were exterminated in St. Domingo.'[61]

As Creole intellectual Domingo Del Monte expressed in the American *The Democratic Review*: 'the island of Cuba is at present in imminent danger of being irrecoverably lost not only to Spain, but to the white race and the civilized world, unless the Spanish government shall adopt immediately some *energetic* measures to remedy the evil. The blacks, as might have been expected, threaten the political and social existence of the colony.'[62] Truly, while Spain ran the risk of Cuba being lost to Great Britain, to the U.S., and possibly to France, the African slaves on the island may have also claimed her for themselves. The beautiful, defenceless island was either to have been stolen away by the rapacious young nation America, or ravaged by 'savage' Africa. Cuba weaponised the power of that position, again, evoking McClintock's theoretical 'engulfing' which was dreaded by all imperial powers. Spain was painfully aware that Cuba was both coveted and vulnerable, but striking is the Spanish manner of discussing the fate of the island as being entirely out of Spanish hands. Deputy Sancho's speech portrayed the Spanish Empire as cannon fodder in the clash between Great Britain and the U.S.:

> 'Cuba is the key to the Gulf of Mexico, and no other than a great maritime power could take possession of it. And what power would consent to such possession?... Could the United States consent that England should own the island of Cuba?... Would England allow the United States to take possession of Cuba? Long and protracted wars with great effusion of blood, must happen before this could take place. The United States would not consent to this change of masters so soon… if the United States should consent to the occupation of Cuba by Great Britain, it would be as if a merchant should send the key of his money chest to another person, and say "you are the master of that chest".'[63]

---

[61] *Cheraw Gazette*, Cheraw SC, 28 August 1837, LC
[62] Quote printed in Murray, *Odious Commerce*, p. 180
[63] *Cheraw Gazette*, Cheraw SC, 28 June 1837, LC

The historiography of settler colonialism has famously avoided extensive study of the Latin American context.[64] Less still has been said about the Peninsular perception of the masculinity of those white men who settled in the Spanish colonies.[65] Studies concerning British settler colonists in Canada and Australia, for instance, have examined what was perceived as the intrepid endurance of those hyper-masculine settlers who braved distant lands, battling the elements, and at times, the natives, while the masculinity of British settlers in India was emphasised against the feminised figure of the Bengali man.[66] Despite the lacking scholarship on the subject, the condescending attitude of Peninsular Spaniards towards Creole Cubans does bring to attention an element of superiority over the settler colonists. The excellent recent work of John C. Havard and Paul D. Naish interrogates the manner in which the perceived superiority of the U.S. was tailored and buttressed by using Latin Americans as negative proxies; mixed race, Catholic, inferior republicans, even overly brutal slaveholders, by comparison.[67] But the question remains: how did Spain view those Creoles?

Benedict Anderson out-rightly argues that the Spanish derided their colonial émigrés across what is now Latin America, citing the likelihood of Rousseau and Herder's theoretical claims that tropical heat was thought to have affected the 'culture and character' of men, rendering them lesser than Europeans (or so the argument went), but also positing that racial mixing in those zones influenced negative Spanish perception,

---

[64] The work of Lorenzo Veracini, swiftly becoming canonical in the field of settler colonialism, only briefly acknowledges Latin America. In his *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), a 190-page monograph, Latin America appears only 4 times, and Cuba none at all. For a discussion on the consideration on whether settler colonialism should be applied to Latin America, see Richard Gott who decides in the affirmative, 'Latin America as a White Settler Society' *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol.6 No.2 (April 2007), pp. 269-289. The definition given of settler colonialism given on p. 273 is the one informing this study.

[65] Unlike the British Empire, for which studies of colonial masculinity abound. Masculinity is studied, but not in the frame of settler colonialism. For some discussion of that masculinity (which only features as a background to studies on the female experience) and the translation of patriarchal values from Europe to Latin America, see Susan Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015) especially pp. 66-83; for Cuba more specifically, see Franklin, *Women and Slavery,* pp. 1-20; Ann Twinam explores the question 'Are Spaniards and Americans Equal?' but from a racial and political context, focussing on the efforts by *pardo* and *mulatto* Americans to achieve equality and representation in the *Cortes*. Twinam, *Purchasing Whiteness*, pp. 354-9.

[66] See for example Catherine Hall, 'Going a-Trolloping: Imperial Man Travels the Empire' in *Gender and Imperialism*, ed. by Claire Midgley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); the masculinity of white British settlers was also emphasised by the feminisation of Bengali men. Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the Effeminate Bengali in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995)

[67] Paul D. Naish, *Slavery and Silence: Latin America and the U.S. Slave Debate* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), p. 23; John C. Havard, *Hispanicism and Early U.S. Literature: Spain, Mexico, Cuba, and the Origins of U.S. National Identity* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2018), pp. 122-164

thus solidifying Spanish superiority. 'Born in the Americas', Anderson paraphrases, 'he could not be a true Spaniard.'[68] Yet, aside from political snubbing and subordination, how did this view affect the Spanish conception of Creole masculinity? Was it, too, inferior? Imagining it to be possible that Spaniards deemed settlers to be imperfect carbon copies of themselves, just as the U.S. considered Latin Americans to be lamentably lacking in their efforts to emulate American Republicanism, albeit in different ways, and for different reasons, would explain the following section of Deputy Sancho's speech:

> 'There is no alternative, gentlemen; the island of Cuba must remain under Spanish protection, or it must be abandoned to itself. If left to itself, it must become a *negro* government. The effeminate and enervated whites would not be able to oppose the *negro* government in that burning climate… the whites would be subdued as they were in St. Domingo.'[69]

It's precisely that perceived effeminacy that allowed the Supplication Script to work.

Emotions of the Powerless and their Coercive Power

Diplomatic pressure and persistent interference from Britain rendered the period following the 1817 treaty abolishing the slave trade, and especially the decade following the 1835 addition to that treaty, times of difficulty and bitterness for Spain, and immense frustration for Cuba. A Mixed Commission was stationed in Havana, composed of judges from both Cuba and Britain, with a view to presiding over the issue of illegal slave debarkations, giving Britain internal sway over Cuban/Spanish business. The further appointment of the infamous David Turnbull, British consul in Havana (1840-1842), whose abolitionist fervour was matched only by his stamina, made for an era of great tension, and even greater aggravation for slaveholders on the island who wished to acquire more slaves via the illegal slave trade.[70]

The risk of an increase in the number of *emancipados* – slaves nominally freed after the discovery of their illegal entrance to the island as enslaved people – and the unrelenting insistence of the British, were ominous harbingers of catastrophe in Cuba. Although there

---

[68] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 60
[69] Cheraw Gazette, 28 June 1837, LC
[70] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, p. 147

is historical indecision as to whether David Turnbull himself was involved in the conspiracy of *La Escalera*, at the time his strongly suspected involvement appeared to slaveholders in Cuba, and investors in Spain, to demonstrate the sordid depths to which Britain would sink in order to seize the island from Spain's clutches, be it by diplomatic or by violent measures. Spain's political position, however, made it impossible to do the necessary thing by expelling the British, especially Turnbull himself, further emphasising what came across to those with investments in Cuba, the slave trade, and Cuba's slaveholders themselves, as Spain's diplomatic impotence. Spanish incapability to fulfil Cuban desires to have the British removed was represented visually by the presence of the British hulk *Romney* (1837-1845), moored in the waters of Havana: a mammoth unwanted British appendage in Spanish territory, a phallic representation of British power over Spain.

The appearance of things was damning for Spain, evidently powerless to keep Britain out of its affairs, and its island. Slaveowners on the island were increasingly convinced, and irked, that Britain was overpowering an inert and weakening Spain.[71] This course of events: the slavers' reaction to British dominance over Spain, Spain's continued dependence on Cuban revenues, and Britain's fervent interest in the island's slaves, created a unique opportunity for Cubans to appeal to Spanish pride in a bid to secure their ends. Proslavery voices in Cuba capitalised on Spain's position of degradation to Britain, using feminised emotions to supplicate to Spain's masculine desire for domination, and to provoke action. The tone of the message from the Captain General, for example, was a well-judged one. Bowing to Britain on the subject of Cuba, Valdés reasoned, was as good as surrendering the island over to them, adding that, if Spain was unable to protect the island, the powerful republic of the U.S. gladly would.[72] Despite Valdés' Spanish nationality, his placement on the island allowed him to buy into and make good use of the Supplication Script in a bid to make his point without antagonising Spain.

The success of the Supplication Script depended not only upon the characterisation of the island both as a beautiful and threatened feminised possession, but also of Spain as a sympathetic, honourable father figure. The beauty of the island, Spain's paternal care, and

---

[71] Captain General Anglona, Murray explains, wrote to the metropole in November of 1840 explaining that the planter-class felt that 'Britain had taken advantage of Spain's weakened circumstances to force concessions which would end in emancipation.' Murray, *Odious Commerce*, p. 143

[72] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, pp. 148–151

the risk to Spain's national honour should Cuba be left to her own miserable fate are three themes which were emphasised repeatedly by those with economic interests in the continuation of slavery and the slave trade, be they *Peninsulares* and *Criollos* in Cuba, or Spaniards based in the Peninsula. Appeals were hence decorated with almost unctuous paternal solicitations: 'his majesty, whose paternal heart interests itself so deeply in the fate of this island,' which sought the defence and intervention of 'the paternal care and love of his majesty,' a helpless island 'seeking… his paternal protection.'[73] Care was taken to create and reemphasise a gendered, filial relationship between Spain and Cuba which allowed all supplication from the island to have the tone of the requests of a frightened child seeking protection, and not that of a disgruntled colony, which may have had the adverse effect of provoking the paranoia and deaf autocracy of Spain.

Camillia Cowling has written on the strategic advantage of gendered language for female slaves when petitioning for their own freedom or that of their children. The case of Antonia Fernandes and Cecilio Guillermi, who sought to attain the freedom of their children, is an excellent example in which Antonia's delicate demeanour was more effective in appealing to authority figures than her husband Cecilio, whose 'blustering insistence' and 'threats' were deemed both "haughty" and 'more threatening than "humble" women petitioners'. Cecilio's manner contributed to his being unsuccessful when appealing to the syndicate, and, this chapter argues, is the same reason why the Cuban Supplication Script was so carefully tailored in terms of its tone. Antonia, Cowling describes, shrewdly chose to play the "motherhood card", emphasising that her humble maternity was the cause for her appeal to the authorities: a more pitiable, sympathetic stance than he husband's.[74] This same deliberate choice of gendered language seems to have informed the careful depiction of Cuba as feminine, weak, and humble when appealing to 'the paternal concern with which your grace views this favourite daughter.'[75] This 'daughter' was depicted jointly as beautiful and threatened, paralleling the human

[73] Dionisio Vives to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 31 May 1823, Ultramar 88, AGI; Dionisio Vives to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 12 June 1823, Ultramar 88, AGI; Dionisio Vives to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar. 6 June 1823, Ultramar 88, AGI

[74] Camillia Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom: Women of Color, Gender, and the Abolition of Slavery in Havana and Rio de Janeiro* (Chapel Hill, 2013), pp. 140-141; on the advantages of using of "humble" language in divorce petitions, see also Sarah Franklin, W*omen and Slavery,* p. 63

[75] 'El Ayuntamiento de Vuestra Siempre Fidelísima Ciudad de la Habana' to the Monarch Maria Christina of the Two Sicilies, principally signed by El Marques de la Cañada Juan Tirry Lacy [accompanied by 8 signatures] 19 October 1830, Estado 8033, exp. 18, AHN

relationship between anxious parent and vulnerable daughter, her beauty only increasing the risk of her being stolen away by a philanderer.

Compellingly, the use of the Supplication Script didn't only serve those writing *from* the island, but also those who were writing *about* the island. Alongside persistent mention of the danger stoked on the island by senseless British interference, (and the relevant emotions linked to that discussion: anxiety, resentment, etc.), emerged emotional discussions concerning Spain's dignity, and how it was undermined by Cuban vulnerability and fear. Expressing the conviction that British interference in Cuba was based purely on self-interest (in removing all market competition for the goods produced in the British colonies of India and Jamaica), voice was given to the perception that bowing to Britain's demands was 'degrading' for Spain.[76] Tolerating British interference, so the suggestion went, was abject and shameful for Spain, a nation usually characterised by dignity and pride. A campaign was mounted against the Captain General Valdés by Spaniards heavily invested in the slave trade, and the following extract from a petition written by the Provincial Council of Santander demonstrates the inducement of Spanish decisive action to reclaim control both by appealing to Spanish pride, and threatening Spanish shame:

> 'If… the traffic of *negros*… is repugnant to humanity… is it not more repugnant that a foreigner should dictate laws to independent nations… English… authority over the ports of the island of Cuba, which they besiege with their floats and steamboats; whose ostentatious display of force inspires in [Cuba's] inhabitants distrust and terror; which attacks individual security with their threatening cannons… insults Spanish decency with her arrogance… stirs up the fire of discord among the African race [and] preaches insurrection and places the assassin's dagger in the hands of the slaves.'[77]

The threat of slave insurrection; the arrogance of the British; the insult to Spain's authority; and the alleged/professed fear of the slaveholders and capitalists in Cuba: each of those emotional and political forces flavoured the rhetoric. The behaviour of the British was unabashedly condemned, but, in equal measure, Spanish acquiescence to Britain did not escape scrutiny. In the *Diaro de la Habana*, the weakness of Spain, while

---

[76] Petition of the Diputación Provincial de Santander, sent to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Marina, Comercio y Gobernación de Ultramar, 29 June 1842, Ultramar 4617, Exp.13, No.50, AHN
[77] Ibid.

delicately painted as graciousness and diplomacy, was framed as the root cause of continued British interference in Cuba:

> 'The system of contemplations and graciousness does not restrain the arrogant nation which has resolved to destroy our precious island: on the contrary, the weaker we are, the more their demands increase: and this muted, slow, but secure method, [Britain] prefers to the noisiness of war, which has its own inconveniences; which would cause a great scandal; which could attract us the sympathies and assistance of other nations; which could compromise British commerce and interests… even… the risk of war [is] better than the loss of the overseas possessions… and this loss is inevitable, [and would be] accompanied by disgrace, if the Machiavellian aspirations of Great Britain are not rejected outright.'[78]

Determined to keep the British from jeopardising their investments on the island, the writers of these petitions brandished their indignation, magnifying Spain's disgrace, in an attempt to provoke resistance against the British. The King Regent Baldomero Espartero was reminded: 'Your Highness has solemnly promised to sustain national decorum on the *negro* question', prompting protectiveness, which was provoked by appealing to Spanish national pride.[79] Again, a Rule Reminder was given, reminding the regent that offence against British attempts to dominate Spain should be felt 'not only as one elevated to such a distinguished position, if not also as a Spaniard, as a son of this most magnanimous and nobly elevated nation which has never suffered humiliations caused by foreign arrogance'. If Espartero did truly embody the correct Spanish character, he 'would also participate in the general indignation caused by English haughtiness.'[80] The evocation of Spanish honour was closely pursued by that of shame, accusation, and indignation. The government was urged by the council of Santander to find the correct manner to ensure that 'The [British] fleet which insults us, and that the Mixed Commission, which to the disgust of those inhabitants exerts its powers there, is transferred elsewhere.'[81]

---

[78] *Diario de la Habana*, No.253. 10 September 1842, clipping inserted in letter from Diputación Provincial de Santander to the Crown, 29 June 1842, Ultramar 4617, Exp.13, No. 50, AHN
[79] Diputación Provincial de Santander to Secretario de estado y del Despacho de Marina, Comercio y Gobernación de Ultramar, 29 June 1842, Ultramar 4617, Exp.13, No.50, AHN
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.

This careful mobilisation and arousal of Spanish shame was induced by similar stimuli as those that motivated the South Carolinian Confidence Script, which derided southern feminisation and subjugation to the North in a bid to gain support for secession. In both cases the careful deployment of shame for political gains allowed southern nationalists, and individuals invested in the Cuban slave trade, respectively, to manipulate their political contexts to their own advantage. Yet, in order for these remarks to have their full effect, mention was made of the widespread fear suffered in Cuba due to its impending ruin at the hands of foreign aggressors. Alongside the Council of Santander, letters were also sent - tellingly - by the Commercial Boards of Barcelona, Cadiz, Catalonia, Seville, Valencia, Coruña and Aragon, stressing the impact that fear was having on the island's white population, in a bid to appeal to (and manipulate) the central government.[82] 'The island of Cuba finds herself, attacked by every class of powerful machinations which meditate her ruin… in [a] state of uncertainty [and] fear', the Santander Council expressed, brandishing an apparent sense of emotional communion and fraternity between Cuba and Spain, continuing: 'the provincial council of Santander, possessing those same feelings, has not been able to suffocate them in its heart; has wanted to expose itself to the risk of incurring errors; better than hiding from the government of Your Highness the fears which, with or without foundation, agitated souls carry with them.'[83]

More strategic than well-meaning altruism, this deployment and exploitation of fear served a function for these Spanish councils. While the Commercial Council of Barcelona offered outpourings of empathy for 'the anxiety and distress in which those who have property in that country live; the agitation and uneasiness…', the Commercial Council of Cadiz demonstrated no small measure of heartache upon repeatedly receiving: 'alarming information of the lamentable state of distress and fear in which the inhabitants of the island of Cuba find themselves… the nervousness which afflicts the population of Havana', there was a motive for their characterising the inhabitants of the island in this way.[84] As the Commercial Council of Seville expounded, damningly: unease on the island

[82] These letters can be found in Ultramar 4617, Exp.12 & 13, AHN
[83] Petition of the Diputación Provincial de Santander, sent to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Marina, Comercio y Gobernación de Ultramar, 29 June 1842, Ultramar 4617, Exp.13, No.50, AHN
[84] Petition of the Junta de Comercio de Barcelona, sent to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Marina, Comercio y Gobernación Ultramar, 17 February 1843, Ultramar 4617 Exp. 12; Junta de Comercio de Cádiz to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Marina, Comercio y Gobernación de Ultramar, 13 February 1843, Ultramar 4617, Exp.12, AHN

was caused wholly by lack of faith in the officials sent by Spain to run the colony, notably: Captain General, Gerónimo Valdés.[85] Valdés' 'misguided and ill-fated administration', it was alleged, supported 'the pernicious project of the Abolitionist Society of England', and was attempting to orchestrate 'the emancipation of that important territory.'

These allegations are less surprising when it is noted not only that Valdés was the only Captain General acknowledged even by the British government as having tried in earnest to halt the slave trade to Cuba, but also that the councils lamenting Cuban fearfulness, and reviling Valdés' supposedly reckless designs for the island, were writing from areas of Spain which were heavily invested in the slave trade.[86] Valdés himself, aware of these denigrations levelled against him, urged that each of the councils who provided detractions against him were motivated by their desire to import slaves into the island under the protection of the government; to trade with scant regard for Spain's diplomatic agreements, or for the safety of the island, as they did in days bygone, where paying the Captain General half an ounce of gold per slave imported was sufficient protection for their inhumane misdeeds.[87]

There is, then, a striking juxtaposition between the emotional narratives provided by Spanish slave traders, and the Captain General, depending on their motives. Those with investments in the slave trade and slavery claimed slaveholders in Cuba lived in such acute peril since slaves, recognising the weakness of Valdés' rule, were more likely to rebel. These men prophesised the 'insurrection of that immense *negrería'* if Valdés was not replaced by Miguel Tacón, a man they deemed more suited to the role of Captain General. Indeed, the substantial profits Tacón enjoyed from the bribes he received from slave traders undoubtedly rendered him the ideal Captain General for those with investments in the trade. Valdés, meanwhile, keen to continue his work against the illegal slave trade, urged the Crown, inversely, that the island was in a state of enviable peace, security, and

---

[85] Petition of the Junta de Comercio de Sevilla, sent to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Marina, Comercio y Gobernación de Ultramar, 18 March 1843, Ultramar 4617, Exp.12, AHN

[86] Martin Rodrigo y Alharilla's excellent study explores the enormous profits Spaniards based in major port cities such as Barcelona, La Coruña, Cádiz, and Santander, made from their investments in the slave trade. These men, when considered alongside the Spanish colonial employees in Cuba who profited from the bribes they received for turning a blind eye to the trade, typify mercenary European pro-slavery sympathies in the age of abolition. Martin Rodrigo y Alharilla, 'Spanish Merchants and the Slave Trade: From Legality to Illegality, 1814-1870' in *Slavery & Antislavery in Spain's Atlantic Empire,* ed. by Fradera and Schmidt-Nowara, pp. 176-200

[87] Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 2 May 1843, Ultramar 4617, Exp.12, AHN

calm.[88] While those keen to manipulate the Spanish Crown in order to continue trading slaves used the Supplication Script, Valdés used a Confidence Script in a bid to rebuff their allegations. This formula will be explored further in Chapter V. That conflicting parties saw use in manipulating the narrative surrounding Cuba's emotional state to serve and advance their respective objectives demonstrates that emotions were clearly thought of as having a political effect upon the Crown.

Writings from Cuba were similar in their appeals to Spanish national pride. While tactful and respectful, Claudio Martínez de Pinillos, Cuban-born Count of Villanueva, a capitalist with ties to the illegal slave trade, and who played a central role in the profitable modernisation of the island, stated forthrightly – and with intent – that the British flag loomed over Havana 'like a sign of domination.'[89] Teasing at the same abasement Spaniards on the peninsula had stated more clearly, writing to the Minister of the Treasury (in Spain) Martínez de Pinillos again used emotions in a bid to provoke the energies of Spain out of their submissive stupor:

> 'The Spanish government continued promising to her subjects in those dominions the traffic of blacks, in agreement with their situation and special interests, without it occurring to any other government to interrupt her in those pleasures, until it pleased England to attack the African commerce… in the height of peace, and without requirement… causing grave harm and danger to our commerce in both worlds… Whatever may be the faculty they have to dictate the laws in their lands as they see convenient regarding slavery, no-one doubts that every nation reserves the exclusive right to apply [those laws] according to their purposes and interest; it cannot be any other way, without infringing their own independence… This island, belonging to a powerful and independent nation that has lived in communion and community with Europe, respected for its glorious pomp and wise institutions, naturally, it is surprising that Spain would want to constrict that island by admitting the inquiry of the English cabinet on the origin and point of departure of her slaves.'[90]

---

[88] Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 2 December 1842 Ultramar 4617, Exp.11, AHN
[89] Claudio Martínez de Pinillos to Leopoldo O'Donnell, 20 April 1844, Indiferente 2828, AGI
[90] Claudio Martínez de Pinillos to Ministro de Hacienda, 29 April 1844, Indiferente 2828, No.657, AGI

When Cuba appealed to the paternal protection of Spain, slaveholders on the island were actually coercing Spain to exert force and fill the role they expected from their metropole, which owed them defence in return for their loyalty. In this sense, loyalty was a useful form of leverage, and not a unilateral advantage enjoyed solely by Spain.[91] The slaveholders of Cuba emphasised the foreign risks that surrounded them as often as they discussed the danger posed by their own slaves, lest Spain have complacently imagined that the only party with designs on Cuba were those enslaved there. Francisco Arango detailed to Spain those risks. When approached to draft a new slave code, his response placed greater emphasis the importance of safeguarding against the foreign risks to the island, as opposed to those emanating from within. Haiti, Mexico, and especially Britain, were described as the actors 'stoking the bonfire which consumed the French on the island of Santo Domingo.'[92] Arango was by no means claiming the dependency of slaves on their masters in the paternalist South Carolinian fashion, but stressed to Spain the danger facing Cuba should their volatile slaves be mobilised by a foreign power keen to appropriate the island.

The utility and effectiveness of fear as a bargaining tool is demonstrated in these letters. Cubans, affronted by British interference on the island, used their own fear as a means of emphasising their arguments to the Spanish government as to why the British needed to be expelled, using a Supplication Script. As ever, the use of evoking both fear and the threat of rebellion was cannily employed as a tool for coercing Spain to take action. 'The love of humanity does not authorise [nations] to introduce themselves in foreign kingdoms under the pretext of correcting crimes or rectifying grievances', Martínez de Pinillos advised, particularly when the promise of violent results was beyond a shadow of a doubt. 'These are not now vain theories' he added, 'it is the constant and confirmed experience in repeated examples… it makes obvious the immense dangers of giving freedom to the slaves when their number is excessive and superior to that of free men.' Proffering one possible response for the Spanish government to give to the British Foreign office, he spoke plainly, perhaps betraying his own growing frustration: 'since 1817 with the subsequent expansions of 1835, they bring the dogmas which were

[91] On the political uses of loyalty in Cuba, see Sartorius, *Ever-Faithful Isle,* pp. 52-94
[92] Francisco de Arango y Parreño to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Gracia y Justicia, 30 August 1830, Indiferente 2828, AGI

established by abolitionist societies of England… they could be told "property is everything the law declares it to be." "[93]

Conclusion

The incitement of pride and masculinity in both regions links each case by their common strategy of using emotions in order to trigger their respectively desired political reactions. In the Cuban case, the Supplication Script was deployed to emphasise the island's feminine vulnerability in order to provoke Spanish metropolitan aggression and defensiveness, while in South Carolina the Confidence Script was used to paint politically oppressed southerners as emasculated, rousing their loyalty to the redemptive nationalist cause. It is essential to consider emotions when analysing nationalism, for what is national identity but an amalgam of emotions linked to amorphous loyalties and tastes: pride, love, nostalgia, and devotion. In the context of the mid-nineteenth century discussion surrounding slavery in Cuba and South Carolina, by extension, it is essential to take nationalism into account when exploring slaveholder emotions. The political factors acting upon and within South Carolina affected and tailored their proslavery voices and claims. Their emotional worlds collided with, and were heightened by, their political worlds in reactive ways. Reciprocally, the political environment of obstinate sectionalism was a product of the emotional climate of humiliation and chagrin, potent forces in South Carolina, due to the importance of honourable reputation to slaveholders there. Their status as a would-be nation, ignited by discussions of shame, pride, righteous indignation and victimhood, was the political gasoline poured over their already flammable Emotional Regime. Out of those feelings, a very distinct type of proslavery emerged, which was, all at once, a manifesto for secession, and a treatise on southern bravery.

The Cuban case was contrasting. A sympathetic and protective metropole was forever poised to receive the supplications of Cubans, who increasingly used their childlike or effeminate emotions as leverage when that power failed to protect the island sufficiently. On the subject of continued Spanish possession of Cuba itself, the South Carolinian Confidence Script and Cuban Supplication Script came to meet, demonstrated in South Carolinian condemnations of Cubans, seemingly content with their colonial status, as somehow effeminate and politically faint-hearted, and in anxious Cuban supplications to

[93] Claudio Martínez de Pinillos to Ministro de Hacienda, 29 April 1844, Indiferente 2828, No.657, AGI

Spain expressing that the island risked annexation by the U.S. unless the metropole was able to demonstrate sufficient protection and authority over Britain. Whether emotional invocation in Cuba was more or less sincere because of these circumstances cannot be known, but the striking difference in the manner in which the slaveholders of South Carolina and Cuba respectively considered their slaves suggests that Supplication Scripts are more often the business of colonies, while independent nations are more limited to Confidence Scripts.

IV
The Private and Public in South Carolina: Emotional Proslavery and Selective Silences

The subject of this chapter is the defence made by South Carolinian slaveholders against the accusation that they lived in fear of their slaves. Although these refutations have been less heeded by scholars than the angry tirades delivered against mercenary northern abolitionism, deemed 'false philanthropy', and charges of southern inhumanity, they were just as central to the proslavery canon. Since outside criticism highlighted not only the moral and Christian, but also the *emotional* deficiencies of southern slave-owners, the South Carolinian defence of slavery was also a defence of southern masterfulness and southern resolve, which is termed in this chapter as Emotional Proslavery.[1] The Confidence Script, therefore, had an explicitly emotional objective, which became enmeshed into the vindication of southern republicanism, morality, Christianity and, most personally, masculinity. These men sought to take back control of the dialogue surrounding slavery, both in defence of the institution against the derision of (allegedly) ignorant abolitionists, and to reassure South Carolinian slaveholders of lesser determination that the risks of slaveholding were not sufficient cause to consider doing away with the institution.[2] This chapter first provides an examination of the Confidence Script, which propagated a vision of all that South Carolinian slave-owners felt was noble and Christian about slavery, and subsequently seeks moments when these same men uncharacteristically broke character and revealed their fear, the very emotion they so tirelessly insisted did not haunt the South.

Defamation and its Dangers

The southern states were confronted by the growing difficulty of attempting to control the narrative of slavery across the Union. Congressionally, the Gag Rule, enforced and

[1] For an overview of proslavery in the Antebellum South, see Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: a History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987); for an example of primary sources on the subject, see *Proslavery and Sectional Thought in the Early South, 1740-1829,* ed. by Jeffrey Robert Young (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006)

[2] As has been discussed in previous chapters, slaveholder contempt for outside involvement in the institution was also prevalent in Cuba. On this subject, see María de los Ángeles Merino Fuentes & Aisnara Perera Díaz, *Contrabando de Bozales en Cuba: Perseguir el Trafico y Mantener la Esclavitud, 1845-66* (Mayabeque: Ediciones Montecallado, 2015)

supported by southern Democrats, restricted the open debate of slavery in the Senate until 1850, prohibiting the introduction of all anti-slavery petitions.[3] But more difficult still was the battle to control the discussion of slavery in the printed works that infiltrated the southern states. South Carolinians decried periodicals such as *The Emancipator*, *The Anti-Slavery Record* and *The Slave's Friend*, as inflammatory slander, whilst William Lloyd Garrison, an abolitionist considered extreme even by the standards of the Anti-Slavery Society, disseminated *The Liberator* by whatever means possible, in a bid to reach an audience of free blacks and any slaves who might have been able to read. The act of three hundred South Carolinians raiding the Charleston Post House in 1835 in order to seize and burn undelivered abolitionist materials, which had been intentionally addressed to slaveholders, demonstrated the hostile atmosphere of the era.[4]

The danger presented by these materials was most commonly considered to be slave insurrection, or, at the very least, awareness among the slaves of the injustice of their enslavement, and the impression that they may have received support from outwith were they to have made a bid for freedom. Less enormous than outright slave rebellion, though, was the political risk to proslavery defenders that southern slaveowners - facing an endless barrage of defamation and aggression, and being reminded daily of the inherent dangers of slavery - might emancipate their slaves themselves, without any need for violence, revoking critical support for the institution. At this critical juncture, the South needed to act, stand, and speak in unison against abolition.

Anti-slavery defamations were energised by ire and urgency, generally charging that southerners were immoral, unsatisfactory Republicans, with backwards economic ideas and unchristian values.[5] Ex-slave Frederick Douglass' exposure of the hypocrisy of so-called Christian slaveowners was typical of the type of aspersion southerners were forced to refute:

---

[3] For a discussion of the Gag Rule, and John Quincy Adams' battle to overturn it, see Peter Charles Hoffer, *John Quincy Adams and the Gag Rule, 1835-1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017)

[4] Glenda Riley, Richard W. Etulain, *Presidents Who Shaped the American West* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), p. 43

[5] The argument affirming the efficacy of free wage labour over slavery had its roots in the Industrial Revolution, but the moral tenets of abolitionist rhetoric were far more bruising to the case of slavery. David Brion Davis, 'Reflections on Abolitionism and Ideological Hegemony', *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation*, ed. by Thomas Bender (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 161-180

> 'He who sells my sister, for purposes of prostitution, stands forth as the pious advocate of purity. He who proclaims it a religious duty to read the Bible, denies me the right of learning to read… the warm defender of the sacredness of the family relation is the same that scatters whole families… the slave prison and the church stand near each other… they mutually help each other… religion and robbery the allies of each other… a horrible sight, to see devils dressed in angels' robes, and hell presenting the semblance of paradise.'[6]

Migrant from South Carolina Angelina Grimké's account of the blinding cruelty she witnessed in her home state confronted proslavery advocates with yet more cause for defensiveness:

> 'It has horrors that can never be described. I was brought up under its wing… I have exiled myself from my native land because I could no longer endure to hear the wailing of the slave… throughout [South Carolina's] territory was continual suffering, on the one part, and continual brutality and sin on the other. Every Southern breeze wafted to me the discordant tones of weeping and wailing, shrieks and groans, mingled with prayers and blasphemous curses.'[7]

While these arguments troubled proslavery zealots with the threat that such shameful condemnations would be sufficient in convincing southern slaveholders that slavery was indeed out-dated and outplaced in the nineteenth century U.S., moral criticisms were uncomplicatedly counter-argued by proslavery voices that attested to the benevolence and devotion of paternalist slaveholders.[8] However, when anti-slavery broached the subject of murder, devastation and ruin, as William Lloyd Garrison's did, exemplified in

---

[6] Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (Dublin, 1846), pp. 119-120; Ira Berlin makes clear the shift towards militancy afforded by black abolitionists, among whom was ex-slave Frederick Douglass, whose caustic condemnation of slavery reached enormous audiences in the North. Ira Berlin, *The Long Emancipation: The Demise of Slavery in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), pp. 106-157

[7] Angelina Grimké Weld, 'Speech at Pennsylvania Hall', Philadelphia, 16 May 1838, in *Women's Rights Emerges Within the Anti-slavery Movement, 1830-1870: A Brief History With Documents,* ed. by Katherine Kish Sklar (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 153-156

[8] For some examples of these classic pro-slavery texts refuting allegations of unchristian cruelty, see Thornton Stringfellow, 'A Brief Examination of Scripture Testimony on the Institution of Slavery', in *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860*, ed. by Drew Gilpin Faust (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), pp. 136-167; James Henry Hammond, 'Letter to an English Abolitionist', printed in *The Ideology of Slavery,* ed. by Faust, pp. 200-203; George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All! Or, Slaves Without Masters* (Richmond, 1857)

the following quote, those same spokesmen were faced with the task of defending slavery based on no other foundation than their own confidence:

> 'Ye accuse the pacific friends of emancipation of instigating the slaves to revolt. Take back the charge as a foul slander. The slaves need no incentives at our hands. They will find them in their stripes - in their emaciated bodies - in their ceaseless toil - in their ignorant minds… wherever you and your fathers have fought for liberty - in your speeches, your conversations… your pamphlets, your newspapers - voices in the air, sounds from across the ocean, invitations to resistance above, below, around them! What more do they need?'[9]

Charlestonian Arthur P. Hayne's letters to Andrew Jackson communicated his paranoia that uncertain southerners were taking the risk of slave insurrection to heart. He pondered: 'there is in existence unfortunately a restless feeling now at the South… in relation to the Question of Property… and unless this feeling be put at rest, who would desire to live in such a community?'[10] Staunch Nullifiers, among them, James Henry Hammond, Francis Pickens, and, most forcefully, John C. Calhoun, stressed that southerners needed to stand together, more than anything else, on the subject of slavery. 'All we want is concert', Calhoun beseeched, 'to lay aside all party differences, and unite with zeal and energy in repealing approaching dangers.'[11] Returning once more to Lauric Henneton's theorisation, that fear concerns a 'category of emotions', it is clear that, in South Carolina, alongside the *fear* of slave insurrection hummed a tangible, pre-emptive *anxiety* among proslavery spokesmen that white support for the institution was being corroded by the risk of rebellion. This point is crucial: the Confidence Script was deployed equally as a method to convince abolitionists that slavery was a positive system, run ably and kindly, just as it was to reassure white slaveholders that the risks of slaveholding were not great enough to provoke doubt.

The act of lambasting abolitionists for their ignorance as uninformed members of the out-group called for the lives of enslaved people to be presented, in no understated manner, as idyllic. South Carolina Senator William Smith's congressional speech was

---

[9] William Lloyd Garrison, 'The Insurrection', *The Liberator*, 3 September 1831 <http://fair-use.org/the-liberator/1831/09/03/the-insurrection> [accessed 3 October 2019]
[10] Hayne to Jackson, 11 November 1835, quoted in Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War*, p. 343
[11] David Lindsay, *Andrew Jackson & John C. Calhoun* (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1973), p. 382

typical of that style: 'there is no class of labouring [people]… that are better clothed, better fed, or are more cheerful, or labor less, or who are more happy, or, indeed, who have more liberty and indulgence, than the slaves of the Southern and Western States.'[12] Smith's pronouncement is exemplary of one of the two core elements of the Emotional Proslavery that operated in South Carolina: the presentation of *happiness* as the norm among enslaved people. As former Governor of South Carolina, state Senator, member of the House of Representatives, and slaveholder Charles Pinckney (1757-1824) impassively stated: 'slaves are happier in their present situation than they could be in any other.'[13] 'They are well fed and well clothed, and in every respect seem cheerful, happy and contented', remarked slaveholder George Edwards when approached for comment, supported by the words of plantation owner Benjamin D. Roper, who stated: 'the negroes are generally as happy a people as any labouring class, perhaps, under heaven.'[14] While the tone of these four statements is consistent, the circumstances under which they were provided were not. Smith and Pinckney's testimonies were given in 1820, when nothing out of the ordinary could be said of the slaves in South Carolina. Edwards and Roper's were published in 1822, as part of a pamphlet composed by Edwin C. Holland concerning the insurrection attempt led by Denmark Vesey in Charleston that very summer.

Following the revelation of Vesey's attempt, which Walter Fraser has termed 'the most elaborate slave conspiracy in American history', one might expect that South Carolinian proslavery would have become less bullish as a result, given the obvious hypocrisy of the claimed docility and happiness of slaves who were in the process of being hung or deported for plotting insurrection against their supposedly benevolent masters.[15] The reality was quite the opposite. A public reaction of increasingly resolute and indignant composure was the norm for proslavery advocates faced with the enterprise of rationalising away intended slave violence in an atmosphere of increasing abolitionism and southern uncertainty. That the circumstances of these slaveholders had changed, while their language did not, demonstrates the function of the Confidence Script as a method of speech blockade: an impenetrable verbal defence which stood to protect southern slavery from outside attack, even in its most combustible moments. The

---

[12] Speech of William Smith, *Annals of Congress*, Senate, 16th Congress, 1st Session, p. 268
[13] Speech of Charles Pinckney, *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 16th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1325
[14] Edwards' and Roper's letters are printed in full in Holland, *A Refutation of the Calumnies,* p. 49-51
[15] Walter J. Fraser, Jr., *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), p. 202

challenge was formidable, for, faced with the reality that the slaves did not appear to be as 'cheerful' as their masters had boasted, it was inferred by abolitionists that southern slaveholders, in turn, were also less confident than they had claimed to be. In this context, Emotional Proslavery was forged.

Emotional Proslavery: Prescriptive Confidence

Senator William Smith's refutation against a pamphlet published pseudonymously under the name 'Marcus', which alleged that southerners lived in fear of their slaves, is intriguing for its emotional components:

> 'We may be happy to say this man Marcus would be mistaken, as well as many others who had supposed we were not only in a constant state of alarm, but that we were also in constant danger, from an insurrection of this part of our population. This people are so domesticated, or so kindly treated by their masters, and their situations so improved, that Marcus and all his host cannot excite one among twenty to insurrection.'[16]

There is more substance to Smith's claim than the contentment of southern slaves: the confidence of southern slave-owners is also reaffirmed. No less, it was explicitly the paternalistic, 'kindly' treatment provided by those slave-owners that guaranteed, so it was argued, the slaves' loyalty and subservience. Although Larry Tise argues, quite rightly, that 'southerners would never admit dissatisfaction among their slaves,' especially following the Missouri Compromise debates, during which time some of the most vehement defences for slavery were made, the truth remains: neither would they comfortably admit to being fearful slaveowners, even, if not, especially, during times of slave insurrection.[17] That reality is fundamental to the Confidence Script of the South Carolinian slaveholder, which was rife with evasion, projection, and performance. Proslavery arguments had personal ramifications for the slaveholder which must be taken into account when examining his lived experience. Again, William Reddy's Emotives are central to understanding the function of Emotional Proslavery: when a South Carolinian

[16] Speech of William Smith, *Annals of Congress*, Senate, 16th Congress, 1st Session, p. 267
[17] Tise, *Proslavery*, p. 60

slaveholder claimed the confidence of all masters, he was reinforcing his own, as much as he was prompting that of his fellow slaveholders.

The writing of slaveholder Edward B. Bryan is exemplary of the Confidence Script.[18] When bemoaning the incessant introduction of abolitionist tracts from the North - whether purportedly religious in nature; negative observational comments made by travellers who had visited the South; or publications speaking openly on the evils of slavery - Bryan testified that each accusation was a flagrant lie.[19] Yet, beyond exclusively taking issue with the falsehoods (as he saw them) concerning the brutality of slavery, Bryan also felt compelled to confront the emotional content of those publications, which he saw as futile attempts to unnerve southern slaveholders. 'The boldest *efforts* are made to alarm the slaveholder, by laying before him, in the most glaring colours, the eminent dangers of his situation', he remarked, only to clarify that, while the attempt was duly made, it did not meet its goal. Bryan conceded, partially, 'it is unquestionably true that the efforts of abolitionists to frighten *timid young men*, and terrify *nervous old women* with the horrors of rebellion have not always been without their effects', but his point was unmistakable: only the timid, the elderly, females, and children were truly alarmed by discussions of slave rebellion.[20] The slave-master was too cock-sure, wise and experienced to have been affected. This rhetoric which gendered fear as effeminate, laughable, and foolish - the folly of trembling women and men who had not yet come of age - indicated that the threat was unworthy of the concern of dominant gentlemen. Those who did not humour the discussion of such threats were real men, and able masters. No slaveholder of good social standing could disavow that truism and hope to escape libels on both his masculinity and his sectional loyalties. Emotional Proslavery presented the behavioural example that slaveholders were expected to emulate and demonstrate, reinforcing with every tract the pressure upon slaveholders to meet those expectations.

The rigidity of the Confidence Script, and its centrality to self-respect, contributed to its impressive durability which was, if anything, strengthened by the crises surrounding slaveholders. It surpassed all challenges to the institution of slavery, whether waged verbally by abolitionists, or violently by the slaves themselves. Following Vesey's attempt,

---

[18] For discussion on the reopening of the slave trade, and Bryan's role in the movement, see Ronald Takaki, 'The Movement to Reopen the Slave Trade in South Carolina', *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 6 No. 1 (Jan 1965), pp. 38-54

[19] Bryan, *The Disunionist,* see for example pp. 39,44,45,115,

[20] Bryan, *The Disunionist*, p. 43

and Turner's executed revolt, the Confidence Script not only prevailed, changing very little, but played a helpful psychological role for slaveholders, buoying up any faltering confidence by reassuring each other, and themselves, that there was nothing to fear. Combining both Reddy's Emotives, and Hochschild's Rule Reminders, the Confidence Script held South Carolinian slaveholders upright in their performances, reminding themselves of their own confidence, and prompting it in others.

Stephen Channing's seminal work, *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina,* is valuable in its focus on the role that fear of slave insurrection played in catalysing the Civil War. Arguing that the growing concern over 'fear-of-insurrection-abolition-syndrome' provoked South Carolina to secede - encapsulated by the raid on Harper's Ferry, where blacks were armed by extremist white abolitionist John Brown - Channing treats the prevailing public transcript of confidence more as a paradox than a determined act of defiance. 'To the end of the Civil War', Channing ponders, 'public and private correspondence contained heated denials of insecurity and expressions of confidence in the fidelity of the slaves. Refusing to see, *and being unable to see,* how often reality belied this confidence.'[21] [Emphasis added.] Channing frames the professed confidence of slaveholders as sheer pig-headed arrogance, not stopping to consider that it was the very reality of instability which most strengthened slaveholder proclamations of assurance. The greater the changeability and risk surrounding the institution, the greater the need to defend it at all costs, and at all levels, from Senate floor and newspaper column to social gathering.

Michael E. Woods' impressive study on the roles of emotion and affect in pre-Civil War sectionalism also confronts the power of proslavery as a guiding force for slaveholder behaviour. 'Proslavery writings,' he theorises, 'contained an inherently *prescriptive* message'.[22] Woods' study explores the advice given in these texts regarding the control of passions and rage in slave management, urging for a cooler, more stoic approach to discipline.[23] While Woods' work focusses on the importance of controlling anger, and not

---

[21] Stephen Channing, *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974), pp. 22-23

[22] Michael E. Woods, *Emotional and Sectional Conflict in the Antebellum United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 83

[23] Woods, *Emotional and Sectional Conflict*, pp. 83-89 This advice was given in a bid to enforce a mastery fashioned in the model of the burgeoning domestic sentimentalism of the 1830s which saw anger rejected as an ineffective form of winning the respect of children.

fear, he is quite right in noting that the model behaviour presented in proslavery literature had a significant effect on moulding the slaveholding experience. Proslavery texts, Woods explains: 'functioned as emotionological literature designed to teach readers which emotions to cultivate and which to repress… [they] taught southern slaveholders how to feel. To learn to feel bourgeois, Northerners turned to advice manuals and etiquette guides; to learn to feel like masters, slaveholders read proslavery texts.'[24] The theory that proslavery writing served a prescriptive function applies entirely to the role of the Confidence Script in South Carolina. Less clearly advised, and more usually implied, repeated declarations of confidence guided slaveholders to follow suit.

Edward B. Bryan's style demonstrates this process at work. Refuting the claim that 'the very idea of an armed *negro* startles [the slaveholders'] fearful imaginations,' Bryan was simultaneously correcting the account *and* guiding slaveholders on the tone they, too, should employ when refuting similar allegations. Nothing could be further from the truth, he declared. If masters appeared to be harsher on their slaves following insurrection attempts, it was not due to fear, he reasoned, but because they were reacting to new realities which saw outside agitators determined to turn slave against master. 'We have, in some measure', he explained, 'to abandon our efforts to attach them to us and control them through their affections and pride. We have to rely more and more on the power of fear… how far this process will go on, depends wholly, and solely on the abolitionists.'[25] There was clearly, then, an emotional dimension at play in the world of the slaveholder: who controlled fear, who meted it out, and who felt it. On that subject, Bryan was expressly clear:

> 'We are determined to continue masters, and to do so, we have to… assert strict mastery… [to] draw the reign tighter and tighter day by day, to be assured that we hold them in complete check. I do not mean by all this, to say that we are in a state of actual alarm and fear of our slaves; but, under existing circumstances, we should be ineffably stupid not to increase our vigilance and strengthen our hands.'[26]

Ostensibly, precautions were taken in the name of good sense, but in response to a climate of unease caused entirely by dangerous abolitionist machinations, as a result of which,

---

[24] Ibid., p. 84
[25] Bryan, *The Disunionist*, p. 44
[26] Ibid.

slaveholders were: 'compelled to view with distrust and severity those slaves, whom we would otherwise be disposed to regard with confidence and leniency.'[27] The paradoxical strengthening effect Vesey's attempt had upon the Confidence Script was that it provoked enslavers to confront their detractors, or risk their silence betraying the reality that they were actually as terrified of slave rebellion as the abolitionists were proposing. Thus, every effort was made to maintain total command over the emotional conversation, not because slaveholders were somehow oblivious to the danger inherent to their position, but because the Confidence Script served a defensive political and social purpose which meant that it necessarily needed to surpass the reality of its material circumstances. In that regard, the following comment by Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, Edisto Island plantation owner and later governor of South Carolina, must be appreciated for its intention:

> 'It has been asserted… that our slaves are wretched… that they are dangerous to the community, and this danger ought to be removed; and, that if the evils attendant on the circumstances of our black population, are not speedily eradicated, God, in his righteous judgement, will raise up Toussaint, or a Spartacus, or an African Tecumseh, to demand by what authority we hold them in subjection.'[28]

Seabrook's tone of utter disbelief regarding the assertion that slaves were a dangerous aspect of South Carolina society, while completely incongruous to the reality in which it was written, was a highly effective Emotive. Denying that there was any risk whatsoever in owning slaves was an approach that not only repudiated abolitionist rhetoric, but also acted to allay worries among slaveholders themselves. Politically, vocalising southern confidence acted to defend the continuation of slavery, mocking the ignorance of abolitionists. Socially, invoking southern bravery brought it into being during times when it ran the risk of faltering.

Presenting masculine bravery in an alternate manner, Edwin Clifford Holland, rather than rebuffing as impossible or laughable the risk of slave rebellion, instead conceded that it was a threatening likelihood. Discerningly, by taking pains to emphasise the gravity of the threat, Holland presented South Carolinian patriarchs as being braver still, not for scoffing at the suggestion of danger, but for facing it heroically, with a sense of duty and

---

[27] Ibid.

[28] Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, *A Concise View of the Critical Situation, and Future Prospects of the Slave-Holding States, in Relation to Their Coloured Population* (Charleston, 1825), p. 4

protection. His description of Charleston households during Vesey's insurrection attempt exemplifies his method:

> 'At a period of the deepest and most awful anxiety, when our whole community was thrown into the most anxious and painful suspense… the mother, petrified with fear, "strained her infant close to her breast", and the listening father held his breath to catch the first notes of that tocsin that was to summon him to the defence of all that was dear to him in life, against a merciless and vindictive foe.'[29]

Holland sought to emphasise the courage of South Carolina slaveholders when faced with danger. Hence, in each of the rhetorical approaches under analysis, slave-owners were presented as possessing bravery in two forms. Seabrook's means demonstrated southern valour by denying that there was anything fearsome about insurrection whatsoever. Holland corroborated it by reasoning that, while hypothetical insurrection was indeed tremendously dangerous, it was not enough to unnerve a South Carolina gentleman. The conceptual father-figure in Holland's publication was no fool as to the danger that surrounded him, but, no less, he was poised to protect his family with unfaltering bravery. The mother was paralysed by fear, while the father prepared himself for possibly lethal battle. No mention is made of his hesitation. Although Holland conceded that the theme of insurrection visited the minds of slaveowners with 'the utmost intensity of interest', it was not, so he claimed, because they feared it, but rather because they were conscious of their 'wives that look up to them for protection – and children who cling to them for safety and security.'[30] Phrases like 'intensity of interest' deny so much to historians of the emotions at first glance, withholding descriptions and even the names of the feelings that may have been associated with that state of mind, typifying the impenetrability of the Confidence Script, demonstrating how effective it was for shielding all weakness from view. That calculated self-defence makes the Confidence Script so ripe for inquiry.

The theme of Holland's tract, perhaps flavoured by the reality that Vesey's plot had left a vivid impression on the writer, is exceptional in its acknowledgement of the dangers inherent to rebellion, as similar publications did not entertain the subject at such length, if at all. The figure of the fearless patriarch, though, was also prescribed in published fiction, speaking to female expectations of heroic slaveholder masculinity. In a short story

---

[29] Holland, *A Refutation of the Calumnies*, p. 14
[30] Holland, *A Refutation of the Calumnies,* p. 86

entitled 'The Negro Insurrection, a Tale of New Orleans', published in *The Ladies' Companion*, the depiction of the virile male of the household demonstrates perfectly what Holland wished to celebrate as the proper masculine reaction to slave violence. Augustus Warren, despite being a 'Yankee', was the picture of protection in defence of his southern belle Celeste. Locked inside their home by loyal slaves:

> 'Augustus gnashed his teeth, "oh that I were among [the slaves defending the house]" he said, and flying to the door, shook it with all his strength, but it was fastened beyond his power… [Celeste's] agitation was extreme, and throwing herself on the floor, she buried her face in her father's lap and sobbed violently… the emotion of Augustus could not be repressed. Like a caged lion, he paced up and down, incessantly… while the frowning brow and clenched fist, told of the stormy passions which were working within.'[31]

That this tale was published in a ladies' magazine is a testament to the prevailing attitudes women held regarding their expectations of male bravery during moments of slave unrest. Propagating that same idea, Holland, pondering the scenes of bloodshed which would unfold in the event of insurrection, follows his rumination with assurances that no scene, no matter how diabolical, could be too frightening to compromise the courage of a southern patriarch:

> 'Valuable lives, it is true, may be lost, and blood may run in torrents for an hour, but defeat in such an insane project must be the inevitable result… while [threats of slave rebellion] give confidence to those who are naturally timid, they strengthen the courage of those who are born to be their protectors. Our wives and daughters need not indulge any serious apprehensions so long as we possess the powerful and efficient

---

[31] E.R.S., 'The Negro Insurrection, a Tale of New Orleans', from *The Ladies' Companion, a Monthly Magazine: Devoted to Literature and the Fine Arts,* printed in *The Rural Repository,* No.23, Hudson NY, 16 April 1836 p. 177-180 <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AUtAAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA177&dq=THE+NEGRO+INSURRECTION,+A+Tale+of+New+Orleans.+E+R+S&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi-jaPk5__hAhVxSRUIHUf3CvQQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=THE%20NEGRO%20INSURRECTION%2C%20A%20Tale%20of%20New%20Orleans.%20E%20R%20S&f=false> [accessed 3 October 2019] As Stephen Stowe's work has shown, so voraciously did southern women devour such fiction that occasionally men were concerned as to their ability to measure up to fictitious characters. As one anxious young beau expressed to the object of his affection: 'I have sometimes feared that… you may have been disappointed in finding my language in its ardour of expression fall so far short of what you may have read in the heated pages of romance. Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South*, p. 95

means which we do of giving them the safety they require, and for which no sacrifice can be too great.'[32]

Slaveholders were expected to demonstrate a level of fearlessness tantamount to literary proportions of heroism: to thrive under circumstances of slave rebellion, and to defend slavery on the grounds that none of its dangers warranted its abolition. The prescriptive objective of Emotional Proslavery was to remind South Carolina slaveholders of that emotional reality, and their emotional obligation to upholding it. The Confidence Script was therefore galvanised, and not weakened, by slave insurrection.

Although there were times in which privacy afforded elite slaveholders the opportunity to relax their performances somewhat, it should not be expected that whenever an enslaver composed a private letter decades of social conditioning simply melted away. The private sphere in South Carolina was still very much a stage for men – albeit a more intimate one – and their written words reflect that. The social norm among slaveowners to mock the risks of insurrection must be kept in mind, always, as the force influencing *both* hushed words *and* shouted pride. (Indeed, it was the social expectation of masculine bravery that resulted in the private admissions of doubt being as stifled, and incredibly rare, as they were.) Quips and wisecracks about 'old women' and 'timid young men' were internalised by every slaveowner, and sewn into the social fabric so intricately, that it would be remiss to analyse any dialogue, public or private, without acknowledging that expectation of bravado constantly humming in the background.

E. Horlbeck of Jasper County, South Carolina, writing privately to George Mackay, slaveholder and patriarch of a family with eleven children, demonstrated why, given South Carolina's social and political contexts, it was socially impossible for a slaveholder to admit his fears and insecurities in good company. Observing the same japing tone discussed above, Horlbeck stated that: '[as a result of] the private talks about the probable insurrection of the slaves & all that sort of thing… all the *old women* in town have been scared out of their senses.'[33] His flippancy when mentioning the subject of insurrection - '& all that sort of thing' - exemplifies the posturing necessary for South Carolinian slave-owners who wished to maintain their performances, and avoid being labelled an 'old

[32] Holland, *A Refutation of the Calumnies,* p. 68
[33] Letter from E. Horlbeck to George Mackay, 9 October 1830, Mackay Family Papers, SCL

woman' as a result of any apparent cowardice. That Horlbeck appears to have been maintaining public performances of blasé poise in private indicates how deeply social expectations were realised, and how unrelenting the pressure to meet them was.

Clearly, the Confidence Script was deployed in private writing, too. Governor of South Carolina, Thomas Bennett Jr., for example, exhibited similar aplomb when he stated, in that fateful summer of 1822: 'we shall continue in the enjoyment of as much tranquillity and safety as any state in the Union… I then expressed, and still repose the utmost confidence in the belief, that a formidable conspiracy cannot be matured in this State… [it] is barely within the scope of possibility.'[34] Bennett's words, written to the Managers of the Charleston Bible Society, were clearly written to reassure, his authority impressing upon the recipients the calm composure they, too, should all emulate. His letter betrays nothing of the inner workings of an enslaver whose own slaves just months prior had been on trial for plotting to murder him and, supposedly, make a bride of his daughter to one of their insurrectionary brothers in arms.[35] That Bennet most likely wrote this letter suspecting its later publication is probable, but, even if he had been confident of privacy, he would still have been unable to shed the weight of his emotional performance and send an outpouring of anxiety and fear. Recognising that tone of confident complacency as the norm is critically important when reading the extremely rare examples in which men discussed their fear, for only when the normative expectations of bravery are acknowledged, can instances when socially feminised emotions were admitted by men be appreciated for being as uncharacteristic, and incongruous, as they were.

The Risk of Southern Disenchantment

Yet, minimising the appearance of danger and fear was of political as well as social importance. Against such inflammatory proclamations as the following by New Jersey

[34] Governor Thomas Bennett, Jr. 'Letter To the Board of Managers of the Charleston Bible Society', 1 October 1822, printed in Douglas R. Egerton and Robert L. Paquette 'Of Facts and Fables: New Light on the Denmark Vesey Affair', *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol.105, No.1 (January 2004), p. 2

[35] Several of Bennett's own trusted slaves had been involved in the plot to murder him, one of whom explicitly expressed plans to "fix my old Buck" (referring to the murder of Bennett), in his testimony, which Bennet heard given aloud in court. Trials of Rolla and Batteau Bennett, 'Transcript of the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy Trial' (1822), in *Designs Against Charleston: The Trial Record of the Denmark Vesey Slave Conspiracy of 1822,* ed. by Edward A. Pearson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p. 168-172

clergyman and abolitionist Rev. Dr Lindsley, southern slaveholders were poised to bite back in defence of slavery:

> 'Our slaves must be emancipated upon the soil which they cultivate… emancipated, either by the fears, the interests, or the Christian kindness of their oppressors; or they will, by violence, wrest the rod from the tyrant's grasp, and drench in the white man's blood that soil which has long been watered by their tears… one daring effort will break their chains forever.'[36]

Lindsley's comment was insulting on two accounts: the first, the manner in which it prophesised violent revolution at the hands of the slaves, and the second, its emotional charge that slaveowner fear could have led to emancipation as a result of white panic and paranoia. In the minds of proslavery firebrands, there was only so much time that could pass before claims like Lindsley's, and the following by Garrison, would begin to convince the slaveholding classes that owning slaves had become suicidal. Mocking the professed confidence of slaveholders following Nat Turner's rebellion, Garrison prophesised ominously: 'true, the rebellion is quelled. Those of the slaves who were not killed in battle, have been secured, and the prison is crowded with victims destined for the gallows. "Yet laugh not in your carnival of crime Too proudly, ye oppressors!" You have seen it, it is to be feared, but the beginning of sorrows.'[37] The Confidence Script was put to work to refute such comments in the interest of allaying any germinating southern paranoia that threatened the continuation of slavery. The following letter, which had been sent privately from Charleston, and which was published in *The New York Gazette* following Vesey's insurrection attempt, typifies the rhetorical style:

> 'You will doubtless hear many reports and exaggerated ones, respecting an insurrection among the Negroes… some preparations [were] made by plantation negroes, to attempt to take the city…but from the arrangements for defence made by us, there is now little *hopes* that the attempt will be made; and, if made, of fear of the result. I say hopes, because we did hope they would progress so far as to enable us to ascertain and punish the ringleaders, in an exemplary manner.'[38]

---

[36] Seabrook, *A Concise View of the Critical Situation,* p. 3
[37] Garrison, 'The Insurrection', *The Liberator*, 3 September 1831
[38] 'From the New York Gazette, a Letter from Charleston', 17 July 1822, printed in *The Denmark Vesey Affair: A Documentary History*, ed. by Egerton and Paquette, p. 370

The writer, who may well have anticipated the publication of his letter, made several striking points. His first, that reports of the insurrection had been exaggerated. His second, that he wished the slaves *had* been successful, in order that their punishment could have been more severe. Whether enslavers dismissed insurrection as a farce, or acknowledged it as a threat they were more than able to quell, their point was much the same: they did not fear the prospect. Occasionally, though, public fear was seized, manipulated, and publicised, if it could be used strategically as a means of emphasising the ability of the state authorities to act, should any danger have presented itself. State authorities normally uninvolved in the daily lives of slaveholders, given the powerful emphasis on individual property rights in the Constitution, emblematised by slaveholder jealousy over their enslaved people, were mobilised during times of unrest as a means of demonstrating the capability and prowess of the armed white militia. By admitting to the alarm caused by Vesey's attempt - not diminishing it or mocking it, but presenting the threat as a very real danger quelled thanks to several loyal slaves, and the officials charged with the trials of the persons involved - fear was used to emphasise that whites would always triumph, no matter how grave the danger, or how dastardly the plot. With this in mind, that the gushing praise publicly showered upon the officials presiding over the trials chimes more as a public reaffirmation of white capability than a people astounded by the very fact of their own survival is no mere coincidence. For this reason Governor Thomas Bennett denied the request of the Managers of the Charleston Bible Society that he announce a day of thanksgiving, during which praise would be given to God for having delivered the people of Charleston from the murderous designs of Vesey's rebels.[39] Bennett deemed jubilant relief and breathless prayer completely inappropriate public reactions, when proclaiming faith in white protectors would better serve both to discourage any actors with evil designs and to reaffirm white dominance.

The foreboding words of James Hamilton, Intendant of Charleston during Vesey's plot, and spearhead of the proceedings against the accused suspects, are indicative of an overbearing, if not overwrought, desire to quell any suspicion that the master-class was in any way incapable of maintaining control, or in any way unnerved. 'There can be no harm in the salutary inculcation of one lesson, among a *certain* portion of our population' Hamilton warned: 'that there is nothing they are bad enough to do, that we are not

[39] Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil,* p. 256

powerful enough to punish.'[40] The emotional performance intrinsic to the Confidence Script was as much for the benefit of other slaveholders as it was to convince slaves of white dominance, and Hamilton's rhetorical decision to ridicule the optimism of Vesey's co-conspirators was a patent effort to reassert white mastery and confidence over black impudence:

> 'While such wretched expedients… that you could neither be taken nor destroyed, and that all who fought under your banners would be invincible… are calculated to *inspire* the confidence, or to alarm the fears of the ignorant and credulous, they excite no other emotion in the mind of the intelligent and enlightened, but contempt and disgust.'[41]

Hamilton, it could be argued, was so confident in his assertions because he was truly assured that the white militia would have quashed any further attempts at rebellion, a guarantee which was always less secure in Cuba. However, it is reasonable to assume that Hamilton was rattled by the very circumstances under which he was pushed to make that claim: pointing out that the slaves of South Carolina would never succeed in carrying out an insurrection against the whites, but facing a reality in which, the slaves' awareness of the likelihood of their failure notwithstanding, they had still made the attempt. Regardless of any doubt, Hamilton turned to the Confidence Script to impress whites as well as blacks with his message of composure and control.

Drawing abolitionists into an increasingly complex conversation, the statement printed in *The Camden Journal and Southern Whig*, originally made by the South Carolina Joint Committee on Federal Relations in 1835, merits focus. Declarations of slaveholding confidence existed discordantly alongside the accusation that dangerous abolitionist publications placed the South in real danger. The Joint Committee, which pushed for non-slaveholding states to make the printing and distribution of abolitionist materials a penal offence, strove to express the menacing threat of abolitionist publications in order for their censorship demands to have appeared reasonable, but did so while unwilling to admit slaveholder unease.[42] The tract is a conflicting emotional account which shows

---

[40] James Hamilton, *Negro Plot: An Account of the Late Intended Insurrection among a Portion of the Blacks of the City of Charleston* (Boston, 1822), p. 2
[41] Hamilton, *Negro Plot*, p. 50
[42] Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War*, p. 344

anxiety publicly colliding with obstinacy: 'although real danger can be long deferred… no people can live in a state of perpetual excitement and apprehension… such a condition of the public mind is destructive of all social happiness.'[43] But manipulating the claim that South Carolina suffered 'perpetual panic', due to villainous abolitionist attempts to incite the slaves to rebel, allowed slaveholding elites to affirm the capability of armed white men to guarantee peace in the South:

> 'By reason of an efficient police and judicious internal legislation, we may render abortive the designs of the fanatic and incendiary within our own limits… the torrent of pamphlets and tracts which the Abolition presses of the North are pouring forth… let it be declared that the three millions [sic] of white inhabitants in the slave-holding States are amply competent to hold in secure and pacific subjection the two-million of slaves.'[44]

Hence, for the benefit of trepidatious readers, but also in a bid to quash villainous abolitionist designs, the Confidence Script was strengthened and made more effective by the judicious mention of fear. A tract published by Thomas Pinckney had a similar effect. Pinckney was more emotionally forthcoming than most, and his rumination on the benefits of increased security reveal a valuable insight into his thought process at the time of Vesey's insurrection attempt. In the event of increased vigilance and measures, he reasoned:

> 'Not merely [would] we and our families… be safe from these horrors, but… we and they [would]… retire to our repose at night, with the certain knowledge of our immunity from the dagger of the treacherous internal assassin, and all the horrors which were so fatally exhibited at St. Domingo, and were distinctly threatened here.'[45]

But Pinckney's (ostensible) candour served a function: that of proving that he was totally confident in the ability of the militia to protect, preserve and safeguard the enslavement system, so much so that he was willing to place his life, and those of this wife and children, in the hands of his white protectors, in case of need. It can be assumed that, in this

---

[43] *The Camden Journal and Southern Whig*, 28 November 1835, Quoted in Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War*, p. 344

[44] *The Camden Journal and Southern Whig*, 28 November 1835, Quoted in Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War*, pp. 344-5

[45] Thomas Pinckney, *Reflections, Occasioned by the Late Disturbances in Charleston* (Charleston, 1822), p. 22

testament of his trust in the authorities, Pinckney allowed himself to be more descriptive than usual with regard to his emotions. In advocating the need for greater military protection – perhaps less for his own peace of mind than to reassure his readers, who may have felt themselves doubting the value of such a dangerous institution – his language provides an insight into his own relationship with his slaves in times of rebellion, even while writing for a public audience. Serving to reassure his readers as to the possibility of a safer enslavement system once safeguards had been put in place, Pinckney spoke with a candour that would have been impermissible under any other circumstance. His description of slaves as 'objects of apprehension to their proprietors, which in their present position must be the case, it is in human nature that they will be viewed with distrust, and considered as hostile to their safety,' is surprising for a South Carolinian. Moreover, his admission that slaves '[gave] rise to *unfriendly emotions*' - if we are to extrapolate that the emotions to which he was referring were terror or anxiety - is indeed revealing.[46]

This apparent revelation, far from a blundering, spontaneous admission of private emotions, furthered Pinckney's rhetorical point, allowing him to then revert back to the Confidence Script, to dismiss the possibility of insurrection as impossible, and to convince his audience (and perhaps himself) that fear was unfounded. Of the slaves in South Carolina, he commented that their chances of planning a successful rebellion were slight indeed, given that: 'it is very rare to find one who can plan or invent, even in the business in which he has been educated, and carefully instructed'. Nevertheless, Pinckney again embellished his point that white fear was futile when white protectors were at hand:

> 'Not only Charleston would be perfectly secure, but all thoughts of servile insurrection in the country, would be forever banished: for with a militia force of seven or eight thousand men, well armed and accoutred, which would then compose the militia of Charleston, on one side, and the numerous white population of the upper country, on the other; it would be more than madness for any portion of the country slaves to meditate an insurrection, destitute as they are of most of the advantages and facilities for such an enterprize.'[47]

---

[46] Pinckney, *Reflections, Occasioned by the Late Disturbances in Charleston*, p. 25
[47] Pinckney, *Reflections, Occasioned by the Late Disturbances in Charleston,* p. 23

Evidently, white masculine courage and confidence were key when defending the merits of the enslavement system against members of the uninitiated out-group, who spoke ignorantly on the subject. Judging when it was appropriate to deploy that confidence, though, was absolutely crucial, a lesson learnt by William Johnson Jr., state legislator and associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Following Vesey's insurrection attempt, Johnson felt compelled to publicise his feelings that the trial and executions of black Charlestonians involved in a plot which never came to fruition was an exaggerated reaction, and that the city court, presided over by magistrates Lionel H. Kennedy and Thomas Parker, was too tyrannous by far. The aspersions Johnson cast on his fellow South Carolinians were not welcomed at all kindly, and what he intended as a well-meaning cautionary tale was received as a stinging insult.[48]

The brief publication, entitled 'Melancholy effect of popular Excitement', narrated the unhappy account of a rumoured slave insurrection ten years prior, during which time panic had been allowed to run rampant in Georgia and South Carolina, plunging both states into an agitation bordering on hysteria.[49] Despite discovering the case to have been a hoax, 'the Governor of Georgia could not brook the mortifying discovery of his having been duped, and the whole country… was kept in agitated motion.' (Already Johnson gave a fascinating insight into how deeply pride and embarrassment were implicated in the discovery of, and reaction to, rebellion.) As the deployed militia rode through Chever's Creek, South Carolina, they were startled by a trumpeter from the Augusta Cavalry who, drunk on whiskey, startled the horsemen by sounding his bugle.[50] A scene of tragic frenzy ensued, as the militia assumed the bugle to have been sounded by an insurrectionary slave alerting his cohort to begin their misdeeds:

> 'The effect was electrical… the detachments galloped off in all directions in quest of the offender, and… returned with a single poor half-witted negro… he was first whipped severely to extort a confession, and then, with his eyes bound, commanded

---

[48] Egerton, *He Shall Go Out Free*, pp. 208-209; for the trial record published by Kennedy and Parker, see Lionel H. Kennedy and Thomas Parker, *An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes, Charged With an Attempt to Raise an Insurrection in the State of South Carolina: Preceded by an Introduction and Narrative; and in an Appendix, a Report of the Trials of Four White Persons, on Indictments for Attempting to Excite the Slaves to Insurrection.* (Charleston, 1822) printed in full in *The Denmark Vesey Affair,* ed. by Egerton and Paquette, pp. 157-278. Johnson, much to the disdain of his fellow statesmen, had previously expressed his doubts that the South Carolina Slave Codes were entirely legal.

[49] William Johnson Jr. 'Melancholy Effect of Popular Excitement', *Charleston Courier*, 21 June 1822, printed in full in *The Denmark Vesey Affair,* ed. by Egerton and Paquette, pp. 131-133

[50] Ibid. pp. 131-2

> to prepare for instant death from a sabre, which a horseman was in the act of sharpening beside him. He now recollected that a man named Billy, belonging to Capt. Key, had one of those long tubes which boatmen use on our rivers, and declared that *he* had sounded the horn… an armed force was immediately detached to the house of Billy and there found him quietly sleeping… although no evidence was given whatever as to a motive to sounding the horn, and the horn was actually found covered and even filled with cobwebs, they condemned that man to die the next day!'[51]

When Billy's enslaver attempted to convince the court of Billy's innocence, 'the presiding magistrate actually conceived his dignity attacked' (again, proof that white pride and emotion was woven into the business of slave insurrection) and Billy was hung.[52] The subtext of Johnson's fable left little to the imagination of Charlestonians who, days prior to its publication, had discovered a plot in their midst, and executed dozens of free blacks and slaves despite no white person losing their life or suffering any violence whatsoever. The reaction to the publication is revealing. Those who found the tract distasteful deemed it so not only because of its obvious criticism of the trial proceedings, but also because Johnson had inferred his own wisdom and courage to have been above that of his fellow South Carolinians. Johnson, painting himself as a sensible man too astute to have been unnerved by rumour and fear, implied that those Charlestonian slaveholders who had been disturbed by the plot were excessively skittish and hasty in their reactions.

For southerners so accustomed to facing the relentless aspersions of foreigners and northerners, it was an outrage to suffer the derision of one of their in-group. The published reaction sent by 'Members of a Court' (the court which had presided over the insurrectionary trials) to Aaron Smith Willington, editor of the *Charleston Courier* in which Johnson's tale had been published, is telling for the very reason that it was an emotional as well a logistical defence, taking issue with Johnson's inferred insults both to the court's legal proceedings and to Charleston's emotional resolve. 'This piece', the letter began, 'contained an insinuation, that the Court, under the influence of popular prejudice, was capable of committing perjury and murder, and implied that the author of it possessed sounder judgement, deeper penetration, and *firmer nerves*, than the rest of his fellow

---

[51] Ibid. pp. 131-3. Although Johnson did misremember some of the details of the event, there was indeed a panic in 1810. An intercepted letter, which gave information regarding the planned insurrection, was sent by General Thomas Blount to John Milledge, and was later printed in the *New-York Evening Post* on 30 March 1810. The transcript can be found in *The Denmark Vesey Affair,* ed. by Egerton and Paquette, pp. 43-44

[52] Ibid. pp. 133

citizens.' Clearly the writers, describing themselves as 'injured and defamed', were as wounded by the detraction against their judgement during the trials as they were by the charge that they had frantically overreacted to the threat of Vesey's insurrection.[53] James Hamilton, intendant of Charleston, was equally affronted, and wrote to set the record straight: 'I have only to remark that the *discretion* of the writer is altogether equal to the unjust libel he has insinuated against his Fellow-Citizens.'[54] Discretion was absolutely critical to the proper handling of the subject of insurrection. According to Martha Proctor Richardson's derisive condemnation of Johnson: 'delicacy should have kept him silent.'[55] Similarly to his brother-in-law Johnson, Governor of South Carolina Thomas Bennet's directives to dispel any discussion of Vesey's attempt were also met by indignation. His advice to '[give] no more importance to the transaction than it justly merits' in the interest of 'the reputation of the state', was seen as tone-deaf in its dismissiveness:

> 'a variety of rumours calculated to produce great excitement and alarm… [which] gave place to exaggeration, and the general impression sustained by the rumour of a very extensive conspiracy… the attempt has not only been greatly magnified, but as soon as discovered, it ceased to be dangerous… the scheme has not been general nor alarmingly extensive.'[56]

Slaveholders reacted badly to Bennett's arrogance, with one jeering privately: 'you will perceive that the Governor by his circular published today makes as little of [the insurrection attempt] as possible. I believe it is his wish that it may soon pass into oblivion.'[57] There is a sense that South Carolinians could see through the claims of Johnson and Bennett as having been misjudged, which, possibly, gives an indication that other bragging comments made by slaveholders attesting to their confidence were also untrue and misleading. Slaveholders could, and needed to, brag about the happiness of their slaves, and their comfort as masters, to abolitionists and outsiders. However, giving a swaggering commentary of a planned slave insurrection to other slaveholders was insulting if those same slaveholders had deigned it necessary to hold trials for, execute,

---

[53] 'Communication', *Charleston Courier*, 29 June 1822, printed in *The Denmark Vesey Affair,* ed. by Egerton and Paquette, p. 137
[54] 'To The Public', *Charleston Southern Patriot, and Commercial Advertiser*, 22 June 1822, printed in *The Denmark Vesey Affair,* ed. by Egerton and Paquette, p. 134
[55] Martha Proctor Richardson to James Screven, 6 July 1822, Arnold and Screven Papers, UNC
[56] 'Circular of Governor Thomas Bennett Jr.' 10 August 1822, printed in *The Denmark Vesey Affair,* ed. by Egerton and Paquette, p. 467
[57] Stephen Elliot to William Elliot, 23 August 1822, printed in *The Denmark Vesey Affair,* ed. by Egerton and Paquette, p. 448

and deport suspected rebels, which, of course, had been the case in Charleston. A Charlestonian could exalt his bravery by comparing himself to a northerner, but never by belittling a fellow South Carolinian. This fact reveals that there were various forms of censorship synchronously at play in South Carolina: the censorship one used with one's wife; that which was used with one's enemy; and that which one used with one's countrymen. The public conversation was a mix of tones and concealments, all based entirely on intuition and good judgement. South Carolinians officially censored inflammatory texts entering the state, but censored themselves intuitively. It comes as little surprise, then, that silence was a far safer option than speech.

The Expediency of Silence

Just as was the case in Cuba, a strong sense of ownership and propriety came across in southern discourses concerning who had, and who certainly did *not* have, the right to discuss slavery. South Carolinian defences most commonly scolded the out-group for presuming to speak authoritatively on a subject with which they were woefully unfamiliar; an act southerners found profoundly insulting. Charles Pinckney's defensive postulation delivered in Congress demonstrates how keenly he felt the effrontery of outsider commentary concerning southern institutions:

> 'members on the opposite side know nothing of the Southern States, their lands, products, or slaves [yet] there are but few numbers of their numerous periodical works, that have not an article on this copious topic – scarcely a book, whose pages are not sullied by the most distorted representations of the state of domestic servitude at the South.'[58]

A letter in *The Panoplist and Missionary Herald,* a Boston publication, illustrated how protective southerners were over the manner in which the theme of slavery ought to be circulated, discussed, and by whom, recounting that: 'slave-holders… are unwilling that the subject of slavery should be publicly discussed in any manner, or in any place, by

[58] Speech of Charles Pinckney, *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 16th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 1324-5

northern… people'.[59] As Frederick Dalcho, Episcopalian minister and co-editor of the *Charleston Courier* snidely commented: '[northerners] know nothing more of our society, than what they have learned within the walls of their college… we claim the right of managing our own affairs, according to our own discretion.'[60] Robert James Turnbull, nullifier, plantation owner, and member of the court which had tried Denmark Vesey and his co-conspirators, was vociferous in his denunciation of meddlesome northerners, and his support of forbidding all discussion of slavery in Congress:

> 'Congress must not be permitted to express any opinion, that slavery (which is the fundamental policy of this state) is an EVIL. The expression of any such opinion, would be an interference with a subject, which is not theirs. It would be an intolerably IMPERTINENT intermeddling with a concern, *peculiarly* OUR OWN. If there be an evil in slavery, the evil is ours. But our laws recognize it not as an evil, and it is the height of insolence in any other body, than our own Legislature, to decide what is, or is not, beneficial to South Carolina… how dare such men… professing as they do, friendship and good feelings towards us, presume to discuss a subject of which they know nothing, and when their discussions can produce no other fruit than the bitter apple of discord and disunion… to scatter firebrands, and say they mean well.'[61]

Decrying the risks posed by loose-lipped commentary on slavery and abolition, Southerners demanded silence from the out-group. Yet, at times, it was also considered the best course among themselves. When concentrating on the spoken, the announced, the blasted and the proclaimed, intentional silences and hushes are often left unexamined. What attention should be paid to things purposefully left unsaid, and what subjects do those surreptitious silences concern? Travellers often made mention of the refusal among southern enslavers to discuss the prospect of insurrection, and many commented on the emotional implications of that subject for the southerner in question. 'The Southerners',

---

[59] 'On the Condition of Blacks in This Country', *The Panoplist and Missionary Herald For the Year 1820*, Vol. 16, no.11 p. 484 <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=NT8EAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA484&dq=are+unwilling+that+the+subject+of+slavery+should+be+publicly+discussed+in+any+manner,+or+in+any+place,+by+northern…+people'&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwivxquj64DlAhVIeMAKHUx1DsQQ6AEILzAB#v=onepage&q=are%20unwilling%20that%20the%20subject%20of%20slavery%20should%20be%20publicly%20discussed%20in%20any%20manner%2C%20or%20in%20any%20place%2C%20by%20northern…%20people'&f=false> [accessed 3 October 2019]

[60] Frederick Dalcho, *Practical Considerations Founded on the Scriptures: Relative to the Slave Population of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1823), p. 5

[61] Robert James Turnbull, *The Crisis: Or, Essays on the Usurpation of the Federal Government* (Charleston, 1827), pp. 124, 130

began one English traveller, 'turn a deaf ear to everything that reminds them of their danger, saying, that the whites are so much more numerous in the United States than the blacks, that an insurrection could not be attended with any very fatal consequences.'[62] Of her time spent in Georgia following her marriage to Pierce Mease Butler, who held hundreds of slaves on his tobacco, rice and cotton plantations on Butler Island, Englishwoman and abolitionist Fanny Kemble made a key observation:

> 'I know that Southern men are apt to deny the fact that they do live under an habitual sense of danger; but a slave population, coerced into obedience, though unarmed and half-fed, *is* a threatening source of constant insecurity, and every Southern *woman* to whom I have spoken on the subject has admitted to me that they live in terror of their slaves.'[63]

Kemble's words highlight not just a strong propensity for southern silence, but her realization that it was a masculine silence. Her words 'I *know* that Southern men are apt to deny…' seem to reveal a weariness from being consistently faced with the same denials and performances from the southern men she confronted about insurrection: a frustration born of coming face to face with the Confidence Script. Kemble therefore valuably calls attention to the gendered disparity surrounding emotional discussion as far as slaves, and slave rebellion, were concerned. Generally, women discussed their fear of rebellious slaves freely, but privately (since the interest of defending the continuation of slavery was a southern, and not just a masculine business.) In private letters women were forthcoming with their emotional narration, which is to be expected in a social context where delicacy, vulnerability and fragility were the norm for genteel ladies. Women seemed perfectly comfortable and natural in their writing styles surrounding the subject of fear. Indeed, Charleston lady Anna Hayes Johnson, despite recognizing the chilling reality of her circumstances in 1822, readily began her account of Vesey's insurrection attempt as though spinning the yarn of a tall tale or horror story in a circle of friends when she began her letter to Elizabeth Haywood: 'And now my dear Betsey "I will a tale unfold" whose lightest word – Would harrow up the soul; freeze thy young blood. Make thy two eyes like stars start from thy spheres…Graceous [sic] Heaven when I think In

---

[62] William Newnham Blane, *An Excursion Through the United States and Canada During the Years 1822–23* (London, 1824), p. 214

[63] Frances Anne Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839* (New York, 1864), pp. 295-6

sober phase what I have escaped & what I may yet suffer my blood curdles – Alas!'[64] Contrast Anna Johnson's open, expressive style with the letters from John Potter, a prominent Charleston merchant, to politician, lawyer and staunch secessionist Langdon Cheves, who opens one letter on the subject of Vesey's insurrection with the word: '(confidential)', and ends another 'this is all private & confidential…'[65]

Those visiting the South evidently attempted to raise and discuss the obvious question of fear's role in slaveholding – perhaps out of sheer curiosity – but were faced with masculine walls of silence and avoidance. Alexis de Tocqueville painted the impenetrability of the Confidence Script vividly:

> 'The danger of a conflict between the white and the black inhabitants of the southern states… perpetually haunts the imagination of the Americans, like a painful dream… the inhabitants of the North make it a common topic of conversation, although directly they have nothing to fear from it… in the southern states the subject is not discussed; the planter does not allude to the future in conversation with his friends.'[66]

This obstinate silence – influenced by southern Emotionology and nationalism – was just as much a part of the Confidence Script as the words bellowed in Congress. Silence, in fact, was central to the southern defence of slavery, the vanguard of which was South Carolina. Bewildered visitors to the South repeatedly noted the theme of taciturn slaveholders. 'The slave region has pronounced its decision', observed James Trecothick Austin, Attorney General of Massachusetts, describing southern slaveholders as possessing 'deaf ears and marble hearts', whose institutions purposefully and defensively 'raise an atmosphere that will not transmit the sound' of Christian antislavery arguments. Austin alluded to that same silence de Tocqueville had discerned: 'within its borders Slavery shall not be discussed... Upon this subject they ask no instruction and they permit none. They have taken their stand. They refute all argument by silencing it.'[67] Strict and unrelenting, the atmosphere in South Carolina was truly one of censorship, but of a kind that was intuitive and axiomatic, shaped according to social rules, unlike in Cuba, where censorship was delineated and enforced by the governing authorities in accordance with

---

[64] Anna Hayes Johnson to Elizabeth Haywood, 28 June 1822, Haywood Papers, UNC
[65] John Potter to Langdon Cheves, 10 July 1822, Langdon Cheves Papers, SCHS
[66] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (London, 1835), p. 345
[67] James Trecothick Austin, *Extracts from Dr Channing's Slavery, With Comments* (Boston, 1836), p. 31

metropolitan wishes. The following words by native Georgian and Presbyterian clergyman Charles Colcock Jones, owner of three plantations and fervent advocate for the religious instruction of southern slaves, expressed the furtive psychological environment of the slaveholding South perfectly:

> 'The South, in view of the excitement on the general condition of the Negroes… has become sensitive. We have been thrown from necessity into an attitude of self-defence, and our strength consists in our union. Hence the public mind exercises a sleepless vigilance, that it may detect, either from abroad or originating at home, any sentiments or opinions hostile to our social constitution. There is less discussion, and less freedom of discussion, than in by-gone days…That man runs the risk of losing favor whose candid statements and appeals, designed to do good *at home*, are seized upon with avidity, and perverted and made matter of accusation against us *from abroad.* Under such circumstances there must be a strong inclination to silence; we will ponder the proverb: "a time to keep silence, and a time to speak" '.[68]

Each southern enslaver loyal to his state must have internalised Jones' proverb, untiringly judging whether silence or proclamation was the wisest path, depending on audience, circumstance, and subject of discussion. James Hamilton's published account of Vesey's insurrection attempt pays credence to that decision-making process. His justification: 'I have deemed a full publication of the prominent circumstances of the late commotion, as the most judicious course, as suppression might assume the appearance of timidity,' demonstrates that Hamilton had deemed the occasion "a time to speak", when silence would have risked ridicule.[69] One of the defining characteristics of South Carolinian self-censorship was this constant judgement, governed by propriety, of whether silence or speech was the most advisable route. That habitual assessment flavoured everything slaveholders spoke publicly, and, resultantly, their public claims of confidence resound as staged and preconceived. The question of whether each author anticipated the later publication of his private letter must also be central when reading correspondence, and the tone of each judged accordingly, as occasionally private letters were sent by the recipient to newspapers for publication.

---

[68] Charles Colcock Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (Savannah, 1842), p. 108
[69] Hamilton, *Negro Plot,* p. 2

Almost incongruous when compared to his otherwise impenetrable confidence, Governor Thomas Bennett's words offer a rare and striking occasion upon which a member of the master-class acknowledged, and even advised upon, the decision-making process behind words, silences, and performances during times of slave insurrection. Bennett demonstrated his acknowledgement of the Confidence Script, and the reality of constructing and maintaining it, when he sombrely offered a Rule Reminder to his peers: 'I do fear that if the present moment is pregnant with danger, we shall give birth to it. Much discretion is requisite. We must put ourselves in opposition to every course of proceedings, which shall conduce to prolong the public panic, or acknowledge its existence.'[70] Whether Bennett's 'discretion' was advised in the interest of calming the women and children of Charleston; disproving the theories of the North that slaveholders were nervous despots; reassuring slaveholders doubtful of the merits of slavery that there was nothing to fear; or presenting to slaves the invulnerability of white mastery, his admonition presented quite clearly the process of emotional suppression and adaptation in action. Compellingly, the tendency towards brevity in newspaper commentary on the subject of Vesey's insurrection attempt demonstrates that same emotional censorship being translated into print censorship in South Carolina.[71]

Prominent Baptist clergyman and proslavery advocate Richard Furman, founder of the Charleston Bible Society to whom Bennett had written advising discretion, did acknowledge the complexity of selecting the moment for silence when slaves and violence were concerned. On the question of whether a public day of thanksgiving should be held to praise God for having protected Charleston from Vesey's designs, Furman conceded the difficulty of judging whether: 'publicity, rather than secrecy [should be the] true policy… pursued on this occasion.' 'It is apprehended', Furman mused, in the event that Charleston should have observed a day of public praise, 'that an undue importance would be given to the subject in [the slaves'] view… that this would induce the designing and wicked to infer our fear and sense of weakness from the fact, and thus induce them to form some other scheme of mischief.' Furman's message was clear: should slaveowners have been seen thanking God for their safe deliverance, a terribly unfavourable impression of their uneasiness would have been transmitted to the slaves, or to their white

[70] Thomas Bennett Jr., Letter to the Board of Managers, in Egerton and Paquette 'Of Facts and Fables', p. 3

[71] An exhaustive overview of the newspaper coverage concerning Vesey's insurrection attempt is provided in *The Denmark Vesey Affair,* ed. by Egerton and Paquette, pp. 367-463

co-conspirators, who would have capitalised upon it. Furman's seeming indecision, though, when he asked rhetorically: 'would not our silence… undergo, at least, as unfavorable a construction, and with more reason?' also lends insight into the stalling uncertainty with which slaveholders may have chosen their words and silences, when that silence could have been interpreted by their enemies as fear.[72] Furman still deemed it advisable, though, to use the moment to boast to the black population the futility of a repeated attempt at insurrection which white strength would surely crush, (notwithstanding his belief, and relief, that God alone had saved Charleston that summer). 'The Negroes should know', he wrote with the ostensible air of calm authority, 'that their destitution in respect to arms, and the knowledge of using them, with other disabilities, would render their physical force, were they all united in a common effort, less than a tenth part of that with which they would have to contend.'[73] Furman exemplifies the South Carolinian slaveowner tampering with his public words and behaviour in a bid to maintain the semblance of unflustered control.

From the slaveholder's public speech and personal reactions, to his private conversations: every facet of life was measured with a view to managing the energy surrounding slave violence, which included maintaining an unerring atmosphere of white control, lest fearful slave-owners have begun to retract their support for the institution. On the social atmosphere during a time of legislative debate concerning slave literacy, Massachusetts minister Samuel C. Jackson's visit to Charleston affords insight into what he perceived as the southern relentlessness of balancing anxiety against performance: 'both parties are afraid that the blacks will take an opportunity in these commotions to cut their throats, yet they <u>appear</u> to disregard it, & not a word is said about it in print or in public.'[74] It would be nigh on impossible to find a more candid commentary of the masculine emotional atmosphere in South Carolina. Jackson's style, underlining the word '<u>appear</u> to disregard', with his pen, reveals that the easy nonchalance of slave-owners was, if not entirely artificial, then certainly conscious, a fact he wanted to communicate to the recipient of his letter.

---

[72] Ricard Furman, *EXPOSITION of The Views of the Baptists, RELATIVE TO THE COLOURED POPULATION In the United States IN A COMMUNICATION To the Governor of South-Carolina* (Charleston, 1822), pp. 5,4
[73] Furman, *EXPOSITION*, pp. 5,4
[74] Samuel C. Jackson to William True, 14 December 1832, Samuel C. Jackson Papers, SCL

In that sense, there is a furtiveness to the South Carolinian discourse that is absent in the Cuban. In South Carolina there was a circumspection, if not a rushed haste to the act of broaching the matter of insurrection; always briefly, often euphemistically, and never at length. Fearful comments were usually set in the middle of a letter, bookended by conversation concerning other, more light-hearted or appropriate matters, as though camouflaging the fact that the admission had ever taken place. This, in different ways, is indicative of truthfulness. Understanding how mortifying it would have been for a slave-owner to admit fearing his slaves, there is absolutely no reason to consider that he would have done so with any dishonest intentions at all, or in order to generate sympathy and concern, as slaveholders in Cuba did.

Sleep, Prayer, and Womanly Intuition

Of his study of the Kabyles of Algeria, Pierre Bourdieu noted: 'a man with honour can sleep and leave the door open'. This act advertised to society that the man in question could sleep in complete vulnerability without any doubt as to his safety, so great was his confidence. By virtue of his reputation, 'the man of honour', Bourdieu continued, 'is immune from any attack,' even in sleep.[75] Pertinently, the theme of sleep played a significant role in the words of southern slaveholders in order to perpetuate the very same idea Bourdieu had sketched. A slaveholder who reposed happily in a state of exposure communicated to his slaves the extent of his confidence in his authority over them, even when completely vulnerable. We can never know just how soundly each slave-owner really slept under such circumstances, but care was taken to create the image of the peacefully slumbering master, surrounded by loyal slaves, defending him as he rested. As the Civil War approached, James R. Sparkman, proprietor of a rice plantation in Georgetown County, South Carolina, wrote to his close friend typifying that trend. Having been asked by a northerner: 'if our slaves were not guarded by day with guns and secured at night with chains', Sparkman recollected that he responded with fondness and composure, if not amused surprise: 'my negroes locked me and my family up every night and frequently went off with the Keys in their pockets.'[76] The ardent southern nationalist and Virginia plantation owner, Edmund Ruffin, also demonstrated what at least appears

[75] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society', in *Honour and Shame,* ed by J. G. Peristiany, p. 214

[76] James R. Sparkman to Benjamin Allston (1858) in *The South Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston,* ed. by J.H. Easterby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 345

to be southern bafflement as to how the safety of white families inhabiting their plantations could have been doubted. On the theme of safety in sleep, he blustered:

> 'This… would seem incredible to Northerners… who suppose that every slave in the South wants nothing but a safe opportunity to kill his master… we all feel so secure, & are so free from all suspicion of such danger, that no care is taken for self-protection… not even the outer door is locked… I keep no available arms for defense … we all know, that if our slaves so choose, they could kill every white person on any farm, or even through a neighborhood, in any night. Yet so little ground is there to suppose the occurrence of such attempts, that no fear is entertained by the most timid of whites.'[77]

The motivation behind this discourse is perfectly understandable. Slaveholders were keen to dispel the theory that, as soon as their backs were turned, or their eyes closed, their once-loyal slaves took to sharpening their farm tools for the purpose of insurrection. To fall asleep unguarded was the ultimate act of vulnerability, and thus, the ultimate proclamation of confidence. Reality, however, was rarely so obliging as to allow slaveholders' claims to go unchallenged. Following Vesey's insurrection attempt, Charlestonian banker, legislator, and owner of dozens of slaves and properties, Stephen Elliot, wrote to his slaveholding nephew, to whom he referred as 'my dear William' (suggestive of their closeness) to relate that sleeping was suddenly less easy than it had previously been. His admission: 'this city can, and I think will, be very much reformed before our citizens are permitted again to slumber', is revealing in its brevity.[78] Elliot made no effort to specify 'before the *ladies* are permitted to slumber…' or 'before the *timid children* are permitted to slumber…' instead, he spoke plainly, and conceded that everyone in Charleston would have had trouble sleeping that summer. What could have been the thoughts keeping those slave-owners awake at night? What might have been the feeling in those moments, when a floorboard creaked, or keys were heard jingling? These intimate moments are almost unknowable, but their discomfort to a patriarch can be speculated upon realistically. Being unable to rest easily knowing that his wife and children, as well as he himself, were vulnerable to slave violence must have been intensely emasculating for any patriarch, his masculinity being, after all, contingent upon his

---

[77] Edmund Ruffin, *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin: Toward Independence, October 1856 - April 1861*, ed. by William Kauffman Scarborough (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), p. 557
[78] Letter from Stephen Elliot to William Elliot, 22 July 1822, Elliot Gonzales Papers, UNC

authority, strength, and ability to protect his dependents. The closeness between uncle and nephew – both slaveholding men – may have allowed them this confessional confidentiality which was incredibly rare between husband and wife, indicative, perhaps, that men felt more at ease discussing their shortcomings with others who were more likely to have understood their experiences, and not with those who would have been distressed by their protector's candour.

The same unease was communicated by John Potter to Langdon Cheves, whom he addressed as 'my dear Sir', initially suggesting an element of formality to their correspondence, but one underwritten by trust and confidentiality, as shown by Potter's continual mention that he wrote to Cheves – to whom he often referred as 'my friend' - in total confidence. Potter's tone in the summer of 1822 was characterised by a flustered energy quite uncommon to South Carolinian men, demonstrating his disquiet. Potter was unable (or perhaps unwilling) to put a name to those emotions, but, divulging his uncomfortable – and characteristically inappropriate – suspicion that plots such as Denmark Vesey's 'will constantly be in agitation', he made reference most cryptically, in two separate letters, to the 'unpleasant feelings' that the attempted revolt awakened in his mind.[79] As though yearning after his own lost confidence, tainted in comparison to Cheves' peace of mind (owing to his having had been absent from Charleston at the time of the attempted insurrection) Potter conceded, lamentingly: 'you are free from these unpleasant feelings'.[80] Given his near experience of being murdered in his sleep by his own trusted slaves, it can be safely assumed that the 'feelings' to which Potter was referring were – among others – fear and doubt, humiliating emotions he felt unable to name, and thus euphemised, but still longed to express in some form. At times Potter's letters forewent confidence and composure. His words to Cheves: 'you cannot think how cunningly devised the scheme was – and had the execution been well-supported, many of us this day would not have been left to tell the tale, if it had not been providentially discovered in time… good God, what have we come to,' resound more as the restless prayers of an insecure individual than the commanding tone expected from a slaveholding gentleman. Such a disclosure totally subverts the public claims that white expertise would have crushed Vesey's supposedly shabbily organised and amateur designs without great

[79] John Potter to Langdon Cheves, 29 June 1822, Langdon Cheves Papers, SCL
[80] Ibid.

difficulty.[81] It is therefore little wonder that such doubts were so well-hidden, and so rarely expressed.

That perturbation notwithstanding, Potter felt more comfortable voicing it to Cheves than to his own family (or so the archive suggests). 'This horror my friend is more than I durst own, before my family, who have been more alarmed, than I have ever been before.'[82] Potter's tone of covert divulgence is an insight into the pressures afflicting slaveholders who sought to upkeep the appearance of respectable masculinity for their families, despite privately acknowledging the emotional performativity and masquerade of the role. Clearly, then, even southern women were often regarded as the out-group to whom the male in-group's fears could not be revealed. Differing from Cuba, where the out-group was most often defined by geography and distance, at times, in South Carolina, the out-group was under the slaveowner's roof, in his marital bed. Yet, as though very much aware that he had strayed from the approved Feeling Rules of his gender by acknowledging those 'feelings', Potter made explicit to Cheves his insistence that every single one of his letters should be kept confidential, and ended his notes by making mention of the pleasant nature of the weather, holiday plans, or some financial matter more befitting of polite correspondence.[83]

Those women, performed to so tirelessly, were nevertheless not insensible to the unease their husbands, fathers and brothers attempted to smother. The letters of Charleston lady Mary Beach, whose late husband had been a planter, reveal the extent of community unrest following Vesey's attempt, and which was expressed in the most intimate, reverent setting. Beach described to her sister the increased tendency among her peers in Charleston to attend prayer meetings that summer, describing the mood as 'a time of much prayer here.' She did not, however, specify that only Charleston ladies had been attending such meetings. Beach's words subsequently imply images of both men and women, side by side, perhaps on bended knees, praying for protection, guidance, or strength. Her telling addendum that 'the Tuesday afternoon meeting is very full generally, & almost to crowding at times & there the prayers are under less restraint on account of no blacks being present,' suggests that attendees, regardless of gender, expressed their sincerest prayers which would have been unspeakable in the company of black church-

[81] John Potter to Langdon Cheves, 16 July 1822, Langdon Cheves Papers, SCL
[82] John Potter to Langdon Cheves, 5 July 1822, Langdon Cheves Papers, SCL
[83] John Potter to Langdon Cheves, 20 July 1822, Langdon Cheves Papers, SCL

goers. Whether or not those slave-owners prayed imploring God to protect them from their own slaves is unknowable, but Beach's words certainly suggest as much, and the brief admissions of slaveholder apprehension open up the possibility of that having been the case.

Descriptive writing such as Beach's is extremely revealing for historians of the emotions, demonstrating that the accounts of women can be of great use when probing masculine experiences, since women were not confined by the same emotional and behavioural conventions which muzzled men from broaching the subjects women narrated with such ease. In that vein, Beach's writing significantly undermines the carefully crafted public proslavery claims of paternal, cheerful coexistence of master and slave (though undoubtedly it was not her intention to do so). Making mention of the prevailing disillusionment of Charleston's slaveholding men following Vesey's attempt, she divulged that the event had: 'left a stain and bitterness on the men… an age must pass before it can be effaced - & the hatred to [the slave population is] so great that I expect and I was going to say [an] eternal one will exist reciprocally.'[84] Beach inadvertently revealed weak links in what southern men had hoped to present as a faultless chain of enslaved obedience and enslaver domination, giving voice to thoughts that should have remained private, if not suppressed entirely. Her commentary reveals to us what the Confidence Script kept suffocated.

The Uninterrupted Performance

These acknowledgements of the discomforting emotional experiences of male slaveholders demonstrates how fraught their circumstances had become during the summer of 1822. They were not oblivious, happily ignorant of the danger that surrounded them. To assume so underestimates their own perceptions of their world. Equally, though, to concede that they were constantly afraid ignores the complexity of the measures to which they went in order to conceal that fear from having been detectable. As James Hamilton recognised at the time of the insurrection attempt: 'I have not been insensible to the difficulties and embarrassments necessarily incident to the subject, as to what it might be politick either to publish or suppress'.[85] Resurrecting the consistent

[84] Mary Beach to 'My Dear Sister', 25 July 1822, Mary Lamboll Thomas Beach Papers, SCHS
[85] Hamilton, *Negro Plot*, p. 2

theme of this thesis, that of chosen versus shrouded words, Hamilton's concession subtly reinforced the importance of reticence and composure, flustered mindset notwithstanding. Hamilton demonstrated the need for self-censorship in the face of detraction, and during moments of doubt, evidence that slaveholder confidence was not quite as straightforward as would be presumed were these slight deviations betraying private thought not highlighted.

Intensifying circumspect self-monitoring was the multi-faceted need for such measures. Governor Thomas Bennett was well aware that slaveholding patriarchs, during the time of Vesey's insurrection, needed to save face in front of northerners and abolitionists the world-over; their own wives and dependents who were comforted by masculine fortitude; and, most urgently, the very slaves who ran the risk of rebelling against them again, were they not properly subdued. On the theme of hiding anxiety at all costs, Bennet advised the slave-owners of Charleston: '[do] not communicate such fears to [your] domestics; it is a mistaken policy, which should inform them, that the slightest apprehension of their power is entertained, or that we believe that any effort they can possibly make, would be attended with even partial success.' Here, Bennet did not deny the reality of slave-holder fear; he spoke as a man fully cognizant of the need to shroud it unrelentingly. Bennett's admonition was straightforward in its message: if any slaveowner was fearful, he should hide it, or risk endangering the entire white populace of Charleston.[86]

Perhaps it is for this reason that Vesey was never given notoriety, or used as the exemplification of evil hence. To have bestowed upon Vesey's name the accolade of representing all white fear would have been to acknowledge and resurrect the memory of that fear each and every time his name was spoken. This is not to suggest that the fear itself was absent, but it was furtive, and hence Vesey's name could not be permitted to become infamous. Far more than a momentary jolt in confidence, or a passing nervousness that subsided easily, the diary of James E. Colhoun posits that the whites of Charleston lived in disquietude for years following Vesey's plot, if not, perhaps, perpetually. Describing a party in 1826, which was forced to end abruptly and ahead of schedule following the alarm for fire being sounded, he noted in his journal:

[86] Bennett, Letter to the Board of Managers, in Egerton and Paquette 'Of Facts and Fables', p. 2

> 'The party was disturbed by the fire in the street + dispersed perhaps earlier than usual. These alarms of fire for several weeks past have been frequent & it is generally thought that incendiaries prowl the streets. The fears of many make them apprehend that they are attempts of that domestic enemy, whose detected conspiracies excited so much panic 3 or 4 years ago. There seems now a good system of vigilance under the rule of an energetic intendant. Besides a strong corps of City Guard, citizens alternate in keeping watch.'[87]

Whether this was speculation based on his own wavering nerves, or a conclusion drawn from conversations in which he had engaged his peers, Colhoun's comment proves that communities, including men, held sufficient suspicion towards their slaves to send them rushing home fearing the worst at the first sound of alarm. Slaveholders, even in South Carolina, despite their public proclamations of confidence, were reduced to panic at the slightest hint that their slaves were plotting. Vesey's name, interestingly, was not mentioned in Colhoun's diary: his legacy was only alluded to. The fact was, as demonstrated in a letter from William Zalmon to his daughter, that weak nerves in the years following Vesey's attempt were by no means solely female, but neither were they patent in the primary sources. Scholars should be very tentative indeed, therefore, when suggesting that fear was pervasive in the South, when in fact it was mentioned only extremely selectively. Zalmon's letter, written four years after Vesey's attempt, and by no means describing only the reactions of women, related that: 'the frequent attempts of incendiaries to set fire to this city has caused much alarm. The citizens have enrolled themselves to patrol the streets at night.'[88] Clearly, neither a slave-owner's authority, nor his honourable demeanour, and much less a slave's devotion to him, were sufficient cause for faultless confidence, and, given the choice, when it all came down to it, an armed guard was certainly preferable to relying on one's own authority to protect one's self and family. Although South Carolinians worked tirelessly to uphold the Confidence Script, their material surroundings and behaviour betrayed apprehension.

The same journal of James E. Colhoun, illustrative of the widespread performance of slaveholder masculinity, noted the very same disparity between his host's demonstrable confidence as it was performed to his slaves, and his confessed private doubts. Such

---

[87] Diary of James Edward Colhoun, 16 January 1826, John Ewing Colhoun Papers, SHC
[88] William Zalmon to 'My Dear Child', 20 January 1826, Zalmon Wildman Papers, SCL

descriptions, written in the moments of contemplation afforded by privacy, did not colour public speeches, and therefore rarely influence historical speculation of slaveholder confidence. Owing to the reflective act of journal writing, perhaps unthinkingly, Colhoun made note of a conversation with his host, a leading Beaufort planter, during which pantomime and reality come to contrast one another, revealing the shortfall between caricature, reality, and interior. 'Mr Kirk is very passionate' Colhoun noted, 'speaking to his negroes "loud as the tempest"… whips in a passion & half the time unjustly'. Descriptions of this ilk call to mind the classic tableau of plantation life as it has been presented to posterity; the tyrannical master, faultless in his Machiavellian authority. Nothing of this commentary resonates as surprising, indeed, it is overly and overtly typical.

Yet, Colhoun's addition, an addendum to an otherwise typical day, reveals much more of the reality of doubt, and even dread that slaveholders must have negotiated during their lifetimes. Recalling Mr Kirk's commentary on his slaves (no doubt a strictly confidential revelation) Colhoun proceeded to record an admission uncharacteristic of the slaveowner who, paragraphs prior, had been the quintessential force of authority. During a discussion on slave management, the following was disclosed: '[Mr Kirk] says however, that [he] believes if [he] lives 10 or 15 years longer that they will gain ascendency over him & that [he] is sensible they are gaining on him.'[89] In that moment, several of Mr Kirk's doubts were revealed. The waning of masculinity, authority, and strength during a master's elderly years; the method of using youth to establish a fearsome control which could then be taken as axiomatic once the same man had become too old to speak 'loud as the tempest', or to 'whip in a passion'. Colhoun's use of the word passion is also revealing. There is something of unbridled fury in Colhoun's description, and indeed, the picture painted of Mr Kirk is not that of the genteel sang-froid to which slave-owners aspired in their mastery, but was more akin, in fact, to the violent and explosive behaviour typically assigned to the lower classes. Mr Kirk seemed to regularly lose control of his composure during moments of punishment, which suggests that, at times, a slave-owner's unthinkable violence towards his slaves was a product of his own fear. In Mr Kirk's case, his fear could not be kept in check by something as abstract as his class, a compelling indication that violence was sometimes used as a physical manifestation of the

[89] Diary of John E. Colhoun, 31 January 1826, John Ewing Colhoun Papers, SHC

Confidence Script, meant to convince slaves of their enslaver's dominance when, in reality, it was waning.

The diary of Ladson Fraser, a university student, captures that dichotomy between publicly performed aplomb and private moments of hesitation and reflection, as they became internalised by a young gentleman. His journal demonstrates the knife-edge tension in which slaveholders dwelt, the rumour alone of insurrection being sufficient to lead men to take arms. Fraser painted performed cockiness and preparedness for insurrection as having existed in incongruous harmony. Over twenty years after the Vesey attempt, upon being informed that there was an insurrectionary movement in the nearby town, Fraser noted:

> 'Some of the students spread the report that Maj. Gladden requested the students to arm themselves and help to protect the town from the negroes. Accordingly the [four?] lieutenants had each man his squad prepared and armed with muskets and hastened uptown as quick as possible… when they got there, instead of finding the negroes and whites engaged in deadly combat… found, to their utter surprise that a perfect calmness reigned around and no person was to be seen except occasionally a guard placed for detecting the incendiaries. It all turned out to be a hoax, I never heard of such a ridiculous occurrence in all my life.'

Fraser recalled that, among his companions, at the first suggestion of an insurrection: 'this we laughed off and retired to bed.' It is probable that their laughter was a combination of true complacency mixed with performance. Yet, when reflecting alone later in the evening, Fraser was far less dismissive. His mind was spinning with thoughts of northern provocateurs and hidden subversives: 'that there are incendiaries trying to lay the town in ashes, I don't think that there can be the least doubt', he admitted, continuing with raw nerves: 'an open enemy is bad enough, but a secret enemy [is]… to be dreaded with the utmost horror.'[90] Three days later, news reached the school of another attempted insurrection. Fraser, again, put pen to paper to note his agitation.[91]

Conclusion

[90] Ladson Fraser Diary, 17 February 1845, Ladson L. Fraser Family Papers, SCHS
[91] Ladson Fraser Diary, 20 February 1845, Ladson L. Fraser Family Papers, SCHS

The South Carolinian Confidence Script was, all at once, prescriptive, defensive, and restrictive. For slaveowners defending the institution of slavery, the Confidence Script was used as a method for guiding the ideal South Carolinian discourse on the subject, creating an element of proslavery advocacy that included a distinctly emotional aspect - Emotional Proslavery - not only purporting the happiness of the slave, but boasting the confidence of the master. Blustering in the face of abolitionism, and standing firm as a means of reassuring any slave-owners who may have been losing faith in the institution, the Confidence Script was as much aggressive as it was meant to be reassuring, with each proclamation of self-assurance and dominance also buoying those emotions in the speaker himself, in an act of emotional affirmation. Very much a product of South Carolina's Emotional Regime, the Confidence Script was intensified both by the push towards secession, and, perhaps surprisingly, by slave rebellion.

The striking lack of private admissions of fear, therefore, is not so much surprising as it is impressive: that these men were dedicated to upholding their performances so unrelentingly is a testament to how committed they were to their honourable reputations, both in public and in private. Societal expectations mandated that elite men should behave as courageous paragons of southern masculinity, repressing any tendencies towards cowardice or effeminate panic. Truly, they observed that rule almost constantly. The error, though, would be to assume that silence on the matter of fear was an indication that fear did not exist. Examples of consternation in the private letters and journals of South Carolinian slaveholders do finally provide dimension and realism to the historical account of the emotional experiences of the South Carolinian slaveholding class, albeit occurring with astounding infrequency, and only under the most intimate circumstances. Rare and fleeting, those examples prove that South Carolinian slaveholders were at times uncertain, troubled and above all, fearful. Those shortcomings, however, were concealed expertly from the public eye.

V
The Private and Public in Cuba: Fear, Defiance and Censorship

---

Fear played a central role in the Cuban discourse on slaveholding, unlike in South Carolina. Weaponised, that emotion was put to work by those who wished to influence the future of slavery on the island, whether arguing for its continuation or its abolition. The issue for slaveholders was who controlled that emotional narrative. For those with proslavery interests, fear was a useful tool for manipulating the Spanish Crown, for example, when lobbying against new slave codes, which slave-owners claimed were a dangerous challenge to the masters' authority. When deployed by abolitionists and critics of the illegal slave-trade, however, fear was disruptive and prejudicial to investment and profit, particularly when the image of Cuba as a hotbed of rebellion and danger was propagated. This chapter will explore how those with interests in the continuation of slavery attempted to control the emotional narrative surrounding the institution by selectively deploying a private Supplication Script – communicating the image of an endangered Cuba, kept profitable and safe by the protective metropole – but acted to rebuff the counter-narrative offered by critics of the slave-trade (who were often also anti-colonial thinkers) by publicising a Confidence Script in censored periodicals that exhibited Cuba's tranquillity.

Compellingly, there were various versions of public writing at play concerning the future of slavery in Cuba. Some emanated from the island, others from writers who published in exile - differing combinations of pro-slavery and anti-slave-trade; pro-slavery and anti-colonial - but all of which claimed to be honest and representative accounts of the slaveholding experience in Cuba. Slaveholders in Cuba attested to the positive circumstances to be enjoyed on the bountiful island, while expatriated, or exiled, *Criollos* clamoured against allegations of Cuba's prosperity and flourishing economic state, which they deemed to be false to the highest degree. In this sense, the dialogue surrounding fear and slavery was, at times, a battle between in-group members, each of which claimed to know the "truth" about slavery in Cuba. Further to this, proslavery writers in Cuba and Spain - investors, slaveholders, and anti-slave trade voices - were pitted against discourses emanating from abolitionist Spaniards on the peninsula, British abolitionists, and

filibusterers in the U.S. Thus, a confrontation was taking place on the public stage, between what can perhaps be conceived of as the public/staged vs. the public/honest dialogue: one written to protect slavery and investment in Cuba, and the other written to shatter that illusion, both of which were composed by men who, by birth or by experience, felt vehemently entitled to comment on the state of slavery on the island. The question of fear, therefore, was minimised or amplified depending on the moment, the audience, and the agenda of the writer.

Fear Put to Work, Confidentially

At different moments, figures such as Francisco de Arango y Parreño, Priest Juan Bernardo O'Gavan, Claudio Martínez de Pinillos, and Spanish-born proslavery writer Mariano Torrente, emphasised the (alleged) brutishness of the Africans they wished to continue importing as slaves.[1] They made pains to argue forcefully, and publicly, that their effort to Christianise these people was a humanitarian objective; that enslaved people would benefit from the paternal protection of the Catholic Church and a merciful Iberian legal tradition. These proslavery spokesmen - at times, simultaneously, advocates of slavery and critics of the slave trade - professed the importance of rescuing these so-called savages from themselves, mounting what Manuel Barcia has aptly termed a 'charm offensive' in order to hide the unthinkable cruelty of enslavement by claiming the benevolence of Cuban slavery.[2] These unflinching proslavery arguments - every bit as lyrical as the South Carolinian style - despite professing the betterment of African slaves under the slave-owner's protection, did not base their public justifications of slavery upon a defence which explicitly proposed that a mutually familial bond existed between master and slave, as South Carolinians did. There emerges within the comparative examination of proslavery writings a comparison between professed paternalisms: one which was more institutional in Cuba, owing to the Catholic Church and the figure of the Monarch,

---

[1] For examples of these proslavery texts, see Juan Bernardo *O'Gavan, Observaciones Sobre la Suerte de los Negros del Africa, Considerados en su Propia Patria y Trasplantados a las Antillas Españolas; y Reclamación Contra el Tratado Celebrado con los Ingleses el año de 1817* (Madrid, 1817); Mariano Torrente, *Cuestión Importante Sobre la Esclavitud* (Madrid, 1841) Folleto C.51, No.138, BNJM; Mariano Torrente, *Slavery in the Island of Cuba: With Remarks on the Statements of the British Press Relative to the Slave Trade* (London, 1853). Torrente frames this work as his dutiful refutation of erroneous charges made by the British press against the Spanish government and Cuban authorities, which are, he explains, 'utterly lacking in foundation.' p. 4

[2] Manuel Barcia, 'Powerful Subjects: The Duplicity of Slaveowners in Nineteenth-Century Cuba' *International Journal of Caribbean Studies*, 7:1 (Spring 2015), p. 103; Barcia's study, highlighting the contrast between the publicly-made claims of benevolent mastery over the slaves of Cuba, and the private descriptions of the inhumane punishments meted out to those same slaves, captures excellently the stark disparity between public and private tones that has been central to this study of slaveholding in Cuba.

and one which was more personal in the U.S. South, attesting to the slaveholder's own relationship with his slaves. It was that avowed familial relationship which positioned the South Carolinian slave-owner to make verbal guarantees that his slaves were trustworthy, docile, and loyal to him, *even* during times of rebellion. Subsequently, slaveholders in Cuba were less emotionally muzzled by the tone of the proslavery claims they had made, praising the improved lot of Africans who were supposedly well cared-for in Cuba, without explicitly arguing that their docile slaves were loyal to them. They were therefore not undermining themselves when they admitted to being intensely fearful of the enslaved population.

The following diatribe by Martínez de Pinillos on the advantages of Cuban slavery over slavery in the South demonstrates the ability of slaveholders in Cuba to produce proslavery every bit as impassioned and self-righteous as South Carolina's. Claiming that even the inhabitants of Coastal Africa recognised the good treatment slaves received in the Spanish Antilles when compared to the southern U.S., he boasted:

> '…never, as is the case [in the South], has the slave been depressed to the extreme of levelling him with the rest of the livestock… [they are not subjected to] mutilations and atrocities… here the effort is not made with which the Anglo-Americans of the South keep [the slaves] in complete brutishness… our laws and our moderate habits have set a prudent limit to the master's power: examples of violence and disorder among the slaves of the countryside have been very rare here…'[3]

Yet, key to considering Martínez de Pinillos' tone is his agenda. That he had written in the hope of encouraging Spain to allow free blacks from Africa and Jamaica to emigrate to Cuba as labourers explains why he chose to minimise fear in his writing, opting instead for self-assured philanthropism. Clearly, serenity could be deployed persuasively alongside lengthy tirades on fear, depending on the propriety of the circumstance, as shall be discussed below. Strategically electing flattery, Pinillos' tone first obfuscated the reality that the slave codes imposed from Spain - which supposedly gave Cuban slavery the

[3] Claudio Martínez de Pinillos to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Hacienda, 19 January 1849, Indiferente 2828, AGI; For information on Pinillos' contribution to Cuban economic development, see Manuel Barcia, 'El Conde de Villanueva y la Alternativa de la Cuba Grande: Una Aproximación a la Labor de Claudio Martínez de Pinillos al Frente de la Intendencia de Hacienda de la Isla de Cuba, 1825-1851' in *Francisco Arango y la Invención de la Cuba Azucarera,* ed. by González-Ripoll, and Álvarez Cuartero, pp. 289-301

kindly manner he was celebrating - were in fact immensely frustrating to slave-owners, and second, that examples of slave violence were anything but rare in Cuba. This judicious adulation was part of the rhetorical armament of the slaveholders of Cuba, and was deployed effectively. Yet, given the greater frequency with which fear-writing was used in entreaties to Spain and the colonial authorities in Cuba, those same slaveholders clearly deemed it a significantly more persuasive emotion.

Pinillos demonstrates the ease with which slaveholders were able to interchange between emotional masks depending on the moment, evident when the contrast is made between his rhapsodic appraisal of Cuban slavery above, and the following ominous musing: 'neither the government of the island, nor the learned class… have been able to doubt that slavery would be dangerous in all eras… principally if slaves should become more numerous than the dominant class, with whom they maintain themselves in [a state of] hostility.'[4] Ruminations such as this one are both revealing and useful. Discussions pertaining to the supposedly benevolent nature of Iberian slavery when compared against anglophone slavery – be they contemporary proslavery claims, or more recent historiographical debates proffering that Spanish slavery was less barbarous in view of the juridical and religious protections offered to slaves by law - belie the deeply hostile emotional reactions masters had to their own slaves in Cuba.[5] When the prominence of fear-writing is highlighted in the discourses of the slaveholders of the island, the reality is reemphasised that these men largely spent their time detesting, distrusting and fearing their slaves.

---

[4] Claudio Martínez de Pinillos to Leopoldo O'Donnell, 20 April 1844, Indiferente 2828, AGI

[5] The argument that slavery was more benign in Spanish America due to the religious conscience of Catholic slave-owners, most famously argued by Frank Tannenbaum, and the famed 'Spanish Catholic Kindness' which supposedly characterised slavery in Spanish America as merciful and benevolent, has been proven as fantasy. Cuban slaveholders were as brutal and punitive as non-Catholic slaveholders, and if religion acted as a balm to calm and bridle the master's ire, it was a question of personal religiousness, varying from master to master, and mistress to mistress. Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1946); for a critique of Tannenbaum's theory, see Carl Degler, *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), pp. 19-20; and Leslie B. Rout *The African Experience in Spanish America: 1502 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1976), p. 93; Alejandro de la Fuente offers an interesting revision to these dismissals, commenting on the continued value of Tannenbaum's work as it concerned the path to manumission in Catholic Latin America, owing to the legal statutes of Castile, stating that: 'the colonial state was not necessarily out of the reach of enterprising slaves', while the Siete Partidas did protect slaves' rights to marriage and baptism, which tied them into a 'moral community' of social links with fellow worshippers who were occasionally above their own social status, as demonstrated by the choice of white Godparents. Alejandro de la Fuente 'Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannenbaum Debate Revisited', *Law and History Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 2004), pp. 350,357

Indeed, little distinction was drawn between the manner in which slaveholders expressed their feelings towards Haitian rebels and their own enslaved population. While the malevolent support Haitians (and, less frequently, newly emancipated Jamaicans) would lend to any attempt at Cuban slave rebellion was openly dreaded, slaves were viewed with circumspection in their own right. From the slaveholder's perspective, the key wasn't the effect that Haitians would necessarily have to impress upon Cuban slaves in order to persuade them to revolt, as was alleged in South Carolina. Rather, slaves were considered perfectly capable and likely to conceive of the idea themselves, if only given slightest indication of opportunity. These misgivings were no doubt aggravated by the reality that many of those slaves had recently arrived from Africa, and were mysterious, unknowable and unfamiliar to those who purchased them. Slave-owners, as such, regarded their slaves as a sinister presence. When Manuel M. Figuera, born in Santo Domingo and later settling in Cuba as Consejero de Indias, sent the following message to Dionisio Vives as one of many slave-owner testimonies advising against the colonial initiative to carry out checks on plantations for the purpose of regulating order, he reasoned that, from his experience, slaves waited with bated breath for any opportunity for violence against the whites. Figuera described the slaves in terms that presented them as malignant and vengeful, but totally autonomous in their schemes, which would have only been, he made explicit, encouraged by metropolitan desires to implement tribunals for the assurance of their fair treatment:

> 'I understand that to speak too much on the subject of improving the lot of the slaves by enforcing repressive methods on their masters, is to place the dagger in their hands in order that they should murder those they should obey and respect; to be an advocate for the blacks against the whites, and to prepare the catastrophic end of this island as they prepared it in Santo Domingo.'[6]

Domination, the slaveholders freely acknowledged, was precarious. Equipped and skilled rural police were welcomed in case of need, but any attempt to undermine the authority of the master, they argued, spelled disaster. South Carolinians unyieldingly rejected all outside interference based on the claim that all was well and stable within the state until

[6] The Spanish initiative that the entire island should implement the slave codes passed in Matanzas in 1825, including the use of tribunals and mandatory regulatory checks carried out on plantations, was rejected by the various slaveholders consulted in this communication. 'Testimonio de las Diligencias Formadas Sobre el Reglamento de Policía Rural' Manuel M. Figuera to Dionisio Vives, 11 June 1828, Ultramar 89, AGI

outside agitators provoked their credulous slaves to rebellion. In Cuba, the narrative was the opposite: the situation on the island was hazardous and combustible enough as it was, and any interference at all from outside would simply be the spark to set off the powder keg. A sense of fear and tension came forth in this defensiveness, perhaps in earnest sincerity, but also emphasised in order to drive home the point that control of the slaves on the island of Cuba should be placed squarely in the hands of the slaveholders who lived there. These men were negotiating a delicate reality in which they both needed, and wanted, the protection and aid of the metropole, but were cognizant that excessive interference would undermine and imperil their mastery. It is unlikely that their fear would have been fabricated or performed, given that all of the letters communicate the same nervous and agitated tone. It does seem, however, to have been consciously *used,* or brought to the forefront, when expressing to the colonial authorities the gravity of Cuba's circumstances. Fifteen years later, when Captain General Geronimo Valdés sought the feedback of various slaveholders on his proposed changes to the slave codes of the island, the reaction was almost identical: meddling in the relationship between slave-owner and slave was a recipe for race war, and fear played a central rhetorical role in those responses.[7]

These writings convey that slaves were believed to have had an innate tendency towards rebellion, based on their desires for liberty. In 1823, rattled by a recently attempted independence movement on the island, it was suspected that foreign agitators from Santa Fe, Caracas, and Mexico, unable to carry out their plans to liberate the island alone, might in future be aided by Cuba's slaves: 'the immense and excessive class of blacks and mulattos… those who, because of the natural desires of their hearts and liberties, never lose from sight that which in these times took place in Haiti.' Those slaves, poised for violence without any need for provocation, disconcerted the slave-owners, whose emotional states were narrated frankly by prominent Peninsular émigré to Havana, doctor Tomás Romay: 'these well-founded and violent fears have the good men distressed.'[8] Slaves were characterised as violent and malevolent, as expressed in an appeal to Gerónimo Valdés to which sought for Article 25 of the Slave Code (which mandated the construction and use of *barracones* on every plantation) to be repealed: 'their ideas, always animated by ferocious vengeance, and by the most frightening disorders… even drag

[7] For the complete transcript of these letters to Valdés, see Tardieu, *Morir o Dominar,* pp. 201-263
[8] Tomás Romay to Sr. Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 28 September 1823 Ultramar 88, No.118, AGI

those peaceful and docile slaves [into involvement] such is the effect of… seduction.'[9] In such testimonies the slaves themselves were corrupting each other to rebellion, quite independent of outside persuasion, and slave-owners recognised that their society was rife with 'motives which could excite the fury of the slaves… to break their chains of servitude'.[10] Totally distinct to southern voices, which offered disjointed, uncomfortable acknowledgements of their furtive unease, slaveholders in Cuba, owing to their combined political and social circumstances, elucidated on the subject of their own fear. Compared to the South Carolinian style, the Cuban dialogue is a deluge of emotions. To read the words of both groups of men is a difference as stark as night and day: the norm in Cuba was not only to express that they were afraid, but to give details of why *exactly* they were fearful; what of; which circumstances and changes unnerved them; what doubts plagued them. With willing, if not accommodating recipients in the Crown and the colonial authorities on the island, the slaveholders of Cuba had an obliging and sympathetic audience, conducive to emotional description.

The prevailing tone in Cuba surrounding the subject of rebellion was one of inevitability. The likelihood of insurrection was indisputable, the only questions were when and how. This pessimism, or realism, was verbalised repeatedly. Gerónimo Valdés, evoking scenes of destruction in a manner that would have been wildly untoward for a South Carolinian, illustrated his views with forthright emotional frankness: 'today is the day in which everything can be feared due to the excessive number of slaves that exists on the island of Cuba, which increases every day, if a solution is not set in place to remedy the evil… all of the men who possess an understanding of the occurrences in such countries are fearful of the possible risk of Cuba being converted into another Republic of Haiti.'[11] Relations between whites and non-whites were presented as though they existed on a perpetual knife-edge between survival and massacre. Nominated by the Junta de Fomento to compose a report on the proposal by the British to liberate all slaves imported to Cuba following 30 October 1820 (when the treaty abolishing the slave trade was ratified) the Marquis de Arcos Ignacio Francisco de Borja de Peñalver y Peñalver, Evaristo Carillo,

---

[9] 'Representación Acerca del Articulo 25 del Reglamento de Esclavos Pidiendo se Derogue el Mismo y Otras Observaciones Sobre la Situación de los Esclavos', [unmarked sender] to Gerónimo Valdés, 11 August 1843, C.M. Morales T.78 No. 132, BNJM. It must be noted that although some slaves were clearly regarded as docile and untroublesome, such language, while favourable, still does not claim that those slaves are *loyal* to their masters based on mutual familial affection.
[10] Andrés de Zayas to Dionisio Vives, 25 May 1827, GSC 936, No.33024, ANC
[11] Gerónimo Valdés [two accompanying signatures] to Sr Minsitro de Marina, Comercio, y Gobernación de Ultramar, 25 April 1844, Ultramar 3547, Exp.3, AHN

Narciso García y Mora and Tomás de Juara expressed their feelings with similar fatalism: 'die or dominate, this is the only alternative the white man has with respect to the black man'.[12] Meanwhile, three successful Havana merchants, and members of the Tribunal de Comercio, Jorge P. Urtetégui, Nicolás Galcerá, and Alejandro Morales, pondered uneasily: 'the terrible dilemma for the White inhabitants [is] either command or die, and no less odious for them [Cubans of colour]: either slaves or criminals'.[13]

However, the ominous musing of Urtetégui, Galcerá, and Morales that: 'perhaps there is no lack of those who have, to a degree of exaggeration, fears of an immediate insurrection of the blacks against the whites', while typical in its style of foreboding warning, was mobilising an agenda. The letter, warning against the dangers of mass emancipation, wasted no time in warning that the consequence, more than bloodshed, would also be the financial collapse of the island:

> 'What would be, going forward, the state of a population which was always living in continual alarm and anxiety, one part of the population against the other, and obligated to be cautious of an attack which is unforeseeable, but inevitable and terrible. The first consequence would be the discouragement of the capitalists, and the emigration [of those] who would be able to gather the necessities in order to go and live in peace [elsewhere]… The second would be the abandonment of sugar production companies, which are those that form almost exclusively the wealth which sustains the commerce… from which all classes live.'[14]

Masculine Fear

Fear, then, was extremely effective when proslavery voices hoped to push forward a point. This is perhaps best exemplified by the aforementioned report sent by Peñalver y Peñalver, Carillo, García y Mora and de Juara, which is a succinct but rich treatise on

---

[12] 'Informe de la Comisión, Nombrada al Efecto, Sobre el Proyecto de Convenio de SM Británica Relativo a la Libertad de los Esclavos', Ignacio Francisco de Borja de Peñalver y Peñalver, Evaristo Carillo, Narciso García y Mora and Tomás de Juara, 28 September 1841, C.M. Morales, T.78, No.123, BNJM

[13] 'Exposición Presentado por el Tribunal de Comercio de la Siempre Fidelísima Isla de Cuba en Solicitud de Apoyo Contra Cualquier Medida Inoportuna que se Proponga en las Cortes Sobre la Abolición de la Esclavitud en Esta Isla', Jorge P. Urtetégui, Nicolás Galcerá, Alejandro Morales, 30 March 1841, C.M. Exposición No.1, BNJM

[14] 'Exposición Presentado por el Tribunal de Comercio', Jorge de Urtetégui, Nicolás Galcerá, Alejandro Morales, 30 March 1841

dread, danger and fear, but not an aimless one. The testimony articulated sentiments that no South Carolinian man would have dreamed of expressing so barefacedly. When contemplating the likelihood of race war should the British have continued to meddle in Cuban slavery - spearheaded in their attempts by David Turnbull, to whom they referred as an 'imprudent fanatic' - the writers asked, not entirely hypothetically, how the male inhabitants of Cuba could possibly be expected to face the strength of the slaves 'if a nation as powerful as it is imprudent [Britain] were to give them protection and attempt to bring about their expected liberty?' The following passage typifies their tone:

> 'We dominate by custom, by prestige; but, difficult though it is to confess it, we do not dominate by force, and force is the only element that can sustain slavery. The slave makes continuous efforts to test the resistance and strength of his chains, and these chains today are imaginary. We have slept in this danger, and it's now necessary to awaken… this concerns our lives and plantations, the honour of our wives and daughters, it concerns questions of extermination, because, as the abolitionist Tocqueville expresses it: 'wherever the blacks are stronger, they destroy the whites.'[15]

Fear was used to press for Turnbull's expulsion from the island, and, although in that objective the writers took care to draw attention to the endangered honour of the white women of Cuba with regard to their imagined defilement at the hands of slave rebels, they did not make the point of scapegoating women as the only portion of the population that was fearful of the prospect of rebellion, as the slave-owners of South Carolina did. The slaveholders of Cuba articulated, without qualms, that every white inhabitant of the island had reason to fear, themselves included. These documents contain themes of paranoia, fear, and doubt, all of which were expressed with an apparently unflinching candour, demonstrating the freely spoken thought-process of slaveholders outnumbered by their slaves, uninhibited by social and political obligations to deny the fears their circumstances provoked. When Peñalver y Peñalver reasoned of the inevitability of slave rebellion in a separate letter to Gerónimo Valdés: 'what else should we expect for our public peace from a slave population this numerous, which has no control other than the fear of our punishment?' his words are striking in their resignation and clarity, especially

[15] 'Informe de la Comisión, Nombrada al Efecto, Sobre el Proyecto de Convenio de SM Británica Relativo a la Libertad de los Esclavos', Peñalver y Peñalver, Carillo, García y Mora and de Juara, 28 September 1841

when read alongside the thundering contempt with which such allegations were spurned in South Carolina.[16]

It was common for the slaveholders of Cuba to characterise their slaves as a hostile force, an enemy already established within their borders, but, on several occasions, one exemplified in the same lengthy report by Peñalver y Peñalver, Carillo, García y Mora and de Juara, the military prowess of the slaves was weighed against that of the white population of the island, should war have broken out between both forces. Against the white men, who viewed their women and children as genteel, weak, and defenceless, and therefore tactically useless in the event of race war, the slaves, comparatively, were considered intensely dangerous. It was reasoned: 'almost all of the slaves are young, strong, accustomed to labour: there are few women and children to be found among them... they would have such features to their advantage over us.'[17] There was no 'our family, white and black' rhetoric here. That many of those slaves had been warriors in Africa - often deploying West African battle strategies and weaponry in cases of violence in Cuba - certainly shrouded them in ominousness from the perspective of the slaveholders, whose words of apprehension therefore betray not only fear of the armed black man, but, in a sense, a fear of Africa.[18] As though setting down on paper the most harrowing realms of their imaginations, recognising if not the full military capabilities of African rebels, then certainly some proficiency for warfare, the slaveholders continued:

> 'Although brutish, they would march with encouragement, enchanted by the magical effect of the word 'liberty'… Contrary to our circumstance, the opposing force is entirely useful; the women and children and elderly are accustomed to work, to deprivation: the climate is theirs and serves them militarily: two plantains satisfy their every need: barefoot and naked, in the swamps, in the forests and in the rough ground they would know how to make themselves impregnable, as was the case in Santo

[16] Ignacio Francisco de Borja de Peñalver y Peñalver to Gerónimo Valdés, 19 May 1842, printed in full in Tardieu, *Morir o Dominar,* p. 213

[17] 'Informe de la Comisión, Nombrada al Efecto, Sobre el Proyecto de Convenio de SM Británica Relativo a la Libertad de los Esclavos', Peñalver y Peñalver, Carillo, García y Mora and de Juara, 28 September 1841

[18] The writers of reports such as that of the commission above, while aware of the strength and force of their armed African slaves, could not have grasped the extent of their military experience. Manuel Barcia has stated that, either as victims or aggressors, men, women and children in West Africa would have been involved with warfare at some point in their lives. Barcia has meticulously unearthed the undeniable prevalence and application not only of West African military strategies in Cuba and Bahía, but also the transplantation of weaponry, the use of drums, and leadership customs during instances of enslaved violence. Manuel Barcia, *West African Warfare*, particularly pp. 97-152

> Domingo, in Jamaica… incredibly distressing would be the aftermath, but we are exposed to it.'[19]

Although the writers of the above letter claimed that it was 'difficult to confess' their fears, the truth is that, comparatively speaking, it really wasn't. The readiness with which the slaveholders of Cuba gave voice to their emotions, even when motivated by a personal agenda which may have inflated their language, allows a spy-hole into the mind of the master-class to complement the South Carolinian emotional stronghold. The slaveholders of Cuba did not avoid the subject of fear, or euphemise the emotions to which they referred. The words 'fear', 'anxiety', 'worry', 'alarm', are used explicitly, without evasion or apology, and no emotions are left to the imagination of the recipient. Barefaced agitation was the stylistic norm across the three decades of this study, with the dreadful fate of the island warned in the 1840s as it had been in the 1820s. Just as Romay's words prophesised in 1823: 'we are surrounded by combustible elements, ready and prepared to reduce to ashes all of our properties, with only one spark, and in only an instant', Peñalver y Peñalver, writing to the Capitan General in 1842, cautioned: 'subject this race to a violent, harsh condition, and the explosion that we all ought to fear will detonate as soon as the day comes when they realise their own strength.'[20] The similarity is such that both letters could conceivably have been written by the same man, on the same day.

Unlike South Carolina, where even privately the charge of effeminacy was raised to make a mockery of those who feared slave rebellion, in Cuba, contrastingly, male fear was used to *emphasise* the enormity of the risk posed by the enslaved population. Dionisio Vives made that very point: not only were women and timid young boys frightened, but the head of every household was also at risk, and felt it. When reasoning that stricter legislation needed to be passed to keep slaves and free blacks from accessing weapons, there was no mocking accusation of emasculation to be found in Vives' words: 'if [such laws are not passed] neither the honoured patriarch, nor the peaceful citizen, would enjoy the protection of the laws, or the security of his life and property… Cuba will remain

---

[19] 'Informe de la Comisión, Nombrada al Efecto, Sobre el Proyecto de Convenio de SM Britanica Relativo a la Libertad de los Esclavos', Peñalver y Peñalver, Carillo, García y Mora and de Juara, 28 September 1841

[20] Letter from Tomás Romay to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 28 September 1823, Ultramar 88, AGI; Letter from Ignacio Francisco de Borja de Peñalver y Peñalver to Gerónimo Valdés, 19 May 1842 printed in full in Tardieu, *Morir o Dominar*, p. 213

embroiled in the most frightening disorder.'[21] His words carry a different gendered implication than that of the old women and schoolboys evoked in South Carolina: if even the paterfamilias and industrious, virile plantation-owner were at risk, the threat was presented not as exaggerated and foolish, but formidable. These agitated commentaries on the increasing slave population which would have chimed as effete in South Carolina, given their tone of dread, and the connotation of white mismanagement, had no such implications in Cuba. Referring to the 'suspicion and anxiety among the capitalists and land-owners concerning the future of the island', was not a derisive comment, or one confessed in hushed shame.[22] In Cuba such observations were straightforward commentaries. Clearly, in each case, the connection between men and fear served different rhetorical purposes.

A further insight provided by the Cuban documents is a view into the very moment an insurrection was discovered, and how men reacted to that stimulus, free from the romanticised claims made in South Carolina of the knightly bravery and heroism men should (supposedly) have demonstrated. Letters repeatedly reported (not from the perspective of those hiding, but from the military officials protecting them) entire families taking refuge in a state of hysteria, with armed groups on horseback organised to face 'the danger we were in of dying defenceless'.[23] Bruno Ignacio de Laborde, by no means presenting men as valiant, or exempt from fear, related the emotional atmosphere of the moment: 'since it is not the first time that the slaves of that plantation have risen against the whites, I must express… that the neighbours of this town find themselves uneasy and dismayed, fearful that the same scenes will be repeated, and that they will take shape and be transcendental for that same population.'[24]

Far from an opportunity for plantation owners to demonstrate their fortitude, slave rebellions appear to have been intensely stressful for all, regardless of gender. The inability

---

[21] Dionisio Vives to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 6 June 1823, Ultramar 88, AGI

[22] 'Exposición de la Junta de Fomento de Agricultura y Comercio de la Isla a la Regencia Provisional Del Reino Relacionada con la Abolición de la Esclavitud, Principally signed by El Conde de Villanueva, President of the Junta, [signed by 12 others, among them counts, marquisses, and prominent landowners] 27 February 1841, C.M. Exposición No. 2, BNJM

[23] 'Expediente en que el Capitán de Guamacaro da Cuenta de las Desgracias Que Ocurrieron en el Levantamiento de Unos Negros de Varias Fincas de su Jurisdicción', El Capital de Guamacaro, [unmarked recipient], 28 July 1825, GSC 936, No.33009, ANC

[24] 'Sumaria en Averiguación del Levantamiento y Resistencia que Hicieron los Negros Rafael etc. etc. Cafetal Nuestra Señora de la Asunción', Bruno Ignacio de Laborde to Dionisio Vives, 29 July 1830, GSC 936, No.33031

of men to be collected and stoic during those moments is exemplified by José Anillo, who, arriving at the home of Don Juan del Valle at seven o'clock in the morning, narrated: 'he was emigrating with his family telling me that the blacks of the sugar plantations had risen en masse killing the whites, and burning the houses.' Anillo made note in his letter to the military commander of the region, Boca de Jaruco, that in order to get information from Del Valle on the events of the rebellion, it was first necessary to help him gain composure: 'I tried to calm him down.'[25] These details, however, were only permissible in private. Fear, leaked into the public sphere, was a dangerous element indeed.

Fear and Censorship

Openly anti-colonial materials (normally printed in Spain), and publications vilifying the slaveholders of Cuba for illegally importing enormous numbers of slaves, thereby remaining shackled and subservient to Spain for guaranteed protection in the event of insurrection, were incredibly frustrating for those with proslavery viewpoints. Distant either by birth or by exile, the writers of such tracts, in their negative portrayals of slavery and colonialism, posed a three-fold threat to pro-slavery Cuba. The first, that the slaves and free population of colour on the island, buoyed by the arrival of anti-slavery texts, would mobilise themselves in a revolutionary movement, confident that they would receive support from the outside world. Second, that criticism of Spain would inspire nationalist sentiment among the *Criollos* both within and outwith the borders of the island, who would, with their slaves as added force, overthrow the Spanish military and claim independence. Third, that disruptive accounts of slavery and diplomacy would chase away investment, as businessmen could scarcely have been expected to bring their capital to an island seemingly in constant readiness for race war.

These financial concerns prompted proslavery voices to appeal to Spain for stricter censorship controls on the island, threatening tremendous commercial loss if due care was not taken. Officials writing from Cuba stressed that inflammatory newspapers and publications from Spain, the British Caribbean, and the U.S., would have adverse (if not catastrophic) effects upon Cuban productivity and trade, precisely because they were creating fear in the public realm. With word arriving from abroad arguing (in varying

[25] 'Expediente Sobre la Sublevación de los Negros del Partida de Rio del Norte', José Anillo to Comandante Militar de Boca de Jaruco, 27 May 1825, GSC 936, No.33007

degrees of urgency, depending on the author) for the abolition of the slave trade and the eventual abolition of slavery itself – themes, in the slaveholder imagination, synonymous with destruction, bloodshed, the complete upheaval of the island's workforce, and disturbance of profit – it was urged that these voices be silenced. There was a great sense of exasperation that these outside commentators were passing judgement on an institution upon which they themselves did not rely, but which the prosperity of Cuba so unquestionably did.

Demonstrating how destructive that externally provoked sense of fear could become, Captain General Pedro de Alcántara Téllez-Girón recounted that, upon reading publications originating from Spain on the subject of emancipation: 'plantation owners and property holders… threw themselves into lamentable hypotheses… as there are few among them in whose property is not included some black providing service… it was thought that the white race was in danger of a commotion placing them in the same painful situation as that of deplorable Haiti.'[26] In a thinly-veiled hint, the Captain General continued by relating that the only way in which he was able to calm the nerves of those slaveholders was to explain, privately, to each of them, 'that the supreme government has neither occupied itself with such questions nor will it ever think of anything other than to respect the existing property and to disregard the theories of some abolitionist fanatics.'[27] Gerónimo Valdés explicitly made the point that 'inconsiderate' publications were generating distrust and scepticism in the minds of 'timid' traders.[28] The Junta de Fomento was similarly barefaced in its assertions: a sensible capitalist would sooner invest his money in any other location than Cuba, which seemed to be approaching the same sad fate as Jamaica (whose productivity potential was ruined by emancipation) and that it would take a man of some intrepidity to establish a plantation in Cuba when publications from Madrid spoke of nothing but abolition:

> 'The very idea that in Madrid the discussion of such a dangerous question is tolerated (and then circulated profoundly here) which would reach our free blacks and not waste time in reaching the slaves of the cities and country as well, has been sufficient in

[26] El príncipe de Anglona Marques de Javal Quinto, Pedro de Alcántara Téllez-Girón to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 5 March 1841, GSC 940, No.33145 (No.174) ANC
[27] Ibid.
[28] Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobierno de Ultramar Ultramar, 31 May 1843, Expediente 4617, Expediente 13, No. 677, AHN

> introducing distrust and anxiety among the capitalists and plantation owners concerning the future luck of the island, for they think, with good reason, that the time has come to save the parts they still can of their fortune, moving it to countries which offer more stability and protection. No branch of industry can prosper without confidence, and it is needed all the more in the type of agricultural industry which constitutes our wealth.'[29]

The communication is compelling in its exposition of the extent to which emotions - particularly fear and confidence - influenced slavery. Yet, when the financial risks of weak censorship were wed to the risk of revolution, fear was used in another way. By centralising fear - of financial disaster; of ruin; of destitution - proslavery voices used emotion as a means of appealing to a sense of Imperial dread: Spain's own fear of losing Cuba, its most valuable colony.

Seditious and provocative publications entered Cuba from disconcertingly near, irritatingly far, and, at times, both simultaneously. With Peninsular, North American, and Cuban origins, they were equally alarming whether entering from Madrid, Charleston, New York, Jamaica or London. With papers swirling around the island from several, and, at times, all of those locations at any given moment, several Captains General confessed that no amount of vigilance could ever be sufficient to protect the colony from the effects of such material. As Miguel Tacón narrated it: 'Jamaica [and] Santo Domingo… publish [seditious documents]… and they never lose sight of the precious island of Cuba, free, until now, from the horrors of revolution, but exposed [to them] by proximity to these disturbances', outlining that dangerous materials emanated from ex-slaves themselves. Moreover, those groups, ominously close to Cuba, benefitted from British abolitionist support: 'which disseminates principles, writings, uses financial means, and leaves no stone unturned in order that the African race should triumph [in the Americas] over Europe.'[30] The slaveholders of Cuba felt it quite dangerous enough already having as neighbours Jamaica, with its huge population of free blacks, and Haiti, with its chilling

---

[29] 'Exposición de la Junta de Fomento de Agricultura y Comercio de la Isla a la Regencia Provisional Del Reino Relacionada con la Abolición de la Esclavitud, Principally signed by El Conde de Villanueva, 27 February 1841

[30] 'Comunicación Dirigida al Ministro del Interior en Donde Relata Extensamente las Actividades Antiesclavistas en Jamaica, SD y EU, Destacando la Influencia que Ello Pudiera Tener Para Cuba', Miguel Tacón to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho del Interior, 31 August 1835, C.M. Tacón No.19 (No. 121), BNJM

history, without the added threat that any attempt from those territories to kindle the flames of rebellion in Cuba would be funded and supported by meddling and powerful Britain. One of the greatest risks was that public knowledge of the island's uncertainty and explosiveness could have been exploited by opportunistic foreign powers who wished to encourage a movement for Cuban independence. For proslavery Spanish officials and *Criollos* alike, both unnerved and avaricious, maximising that fear was essential if the implementation of more stringent censorship was to have been considered necessary by Spain.

Private letters, therefore, carefully emphasised fear when stressing that lax censorship would not only have encouraged insurrection and diplomatic interference in Cuban slavery - both of which would have had violent and financially disastrous effects - but also that negligent censorship may have torn Spain's most valuable colony from its clutches. The use of loyalty when seeking concessions from Spain again demonstrates the shrewdness outlined in Chapter III: the Supplication Script was not the product of a jittery, inept group of slaveholders (though their fear, this thesis argues, was not insincere) but rather the careful manipulation of emotions and sentiments - such as fear and loyalty - deployed in times of requirement. Adding more depth, then, to the axiom that it was in Spain's interests to maintain slavery in Cuba in order that the overpowering fear of slave rebellion should keep the white populace compliant and loyal, it also becomes apparent that the proslavery voices and Captain Generals of Cuba discerningly used that very same fear as currency in a bid to protect the continuation of slavery on their own terms.

Recognising the acute threat posed by material that would undoubtedly corrupt the population of Cuba away from Spain, and towards revolution, Dionisio Vives ordered that 'the highest vigilance' be employed by all authorities. Every boat that entered Cuban ports would be searched, especially those carrying boxes of wine, or parcels. All seditious material hidden aboard would be burned, and all captains or owners of the boats would be charged with responsibility, regardless of their nationality.[31] Already in 1822 the use of paper bearing the official seal was introduced to facilitate the easier detection of material that was not officially sanctioned.[32] It was presented, thus, as being in the interests of

[31] 'Providencia Acordada Entre los Excmos. Sres. Presidente Gobernador y Capitán General e Intendente Superintendente General de Real Hacienda de esta Isla, Mandada insertar en Tres Diarios.' Dionisio Vives and Claudio Martínez de Pinillos, 10 April 1826, Ultramar 89, AGI

[32] Letter from Nicholas Mahy to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación. de Ultramar

both Spain and Cuba to silence dissenting voices, and correspondence to Spain left nothing to the imagination as far as the possible risks were concerned. Miguel Tacón bemoaned those publications, reportedly sailed over along with the mail, and distributed across the island, with origins ranging from New York, Bordeaux and Cadiz:

> 'An anarchic and disorganising faction… whose objective is to tear away this possession from the mother country… to denigrate the principal authority by means of the press in order to tempt everyone down the road to disorder… to see whether, from Madrid, they may win over dissidents via the medium of the anonymous press… dedicated to the muddy goal of losing this island for Spain… They [are]… met by the mockery of sensible people. But, at long distances, and in the farthest extremities of the island, they may leave unfavourable ideas in the minds of the simple people, and produce inconveniences most easy to conceive of.'[33]

The substantial profits Tacón notoriously enjoyed from the bribes he received from slave-traders positions him as a reliable mouthpiece for slaveholder interests on the island, giving voice to their frustrations since he, from a financial standpoint, arguably felt them too. Despite official safeguards, and with tenacity, a 'club of disloyal Cubans insistent on [Cuba's] ruin' was seen to be relentlessly designing the island's destruction, and the restless vigilance of the authorities was 'being mocked' as illicit papers flooded the ports of the island. In 1838 the Captain General was still required to review all printed books introduced to the island.[34] Spanish papers publishing material contrary to the honourable reputation of the Captain General, or to colonial authority and the status quo in general,

---

8 March 1822, Santo Domingo 1293, AGI

[33] Tacón makes reference to several publications: *Paginas Cubanas, Cuadro Politico de la Isla, Carta de un Patriota (osea) Clamores de los Cubanos,* and *La Isla de Cuba Tal Cual Está,* explaining that one was printed in New York, another in Bordeaux, and the other in Cadiz, though his main suspicion as to who was behind the authorship was 'disloyal Cubans, dedicated to the muddy ends of losing this island for Spain and for herself.' Miguel Tacón to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación (de Ultramar) 31 August 1836, Ultramar 4627, Exp.1, No.15, AHN; for Tacón's increasing frustration, see Josef Opatrný, 'El Estado-Nación o la "Cubanidad": Los Dilemas de Los Portavoces de los Criollos Cubanos de la Época Antes de la Escalera', in *El Rumor de Haití en Cuba: Temor, Raza, y Rebeldía,* ed. by M.D. Gonzales-Ripoll Navarro, C. Naranjo, A. Ferrer, G. García, and J. Opatrný, pp. 375-376

[34] Real Cedula, 25 July 1838, Ultramar 4627, Exp.1, AHN. It seems that, over the course of this study at least, the issue of censorship did not ease as time passed. The Captains General decried the difficulty of their frustrated attempts to protect the island from outside agitators and their dangerous publications from Dionisio Vives' term (1823-1832) until Federico Roncali's (1848-1850). From almost every Captain General in-between, there were consistent complaints made to Spain of the exasperating relentlessness of the introduction of inflammatory documents to Cuba. Francisco Arango, too, was passionate about strict censorship laws for the defence of the island as a colony of Spain, stating: 'I call out and will call out as long as I live for laws that undermine every flammable aspect of those materials.' Francisco de Arango y Parreño to Consejo Supremo de Indias, 30 August 1830, Indiferente 2828, Legajo 8, AGI

particularly those which directly questioned colonialism, were considered 'extremely harmful in America, where it is necessary to sustain love for the metropole, and a good impression of the governing power of both countries, at all costs.'[35] A royal decree, modified in 1838, but which had been altered several times since 1831, stated that, in Cuba: 'printed books… or leaflets… that should deal with material pertaining to the Indies, cannot pass through the Indies without licence and approval.'[36] This was a delicate exercise as, naturally, public knowledge of all censorship was to be kept to a minimum, lest the general population begin to feel uneasy about it. As Gerónimo Valdés outlined: 'works and pamphlets which pass through the customs offices can be reviewed and detained opportunely; but the same will not take place with the newspapers which come in the post, without establishing an investigation which would alarm our peaceful inhabitants.'[37]

Whether such tracts spoke abstractly about independence, or directly about abolition, the threat was precisely the same. Grouping together Cubans disloyal to Spain, Peninsular Spaniards, the British, or New World agitators, it was communicated to the Captain General that: 'those perverted men, who do not aspire to anything other than to satiate their revenge… will bring about in this land the horrible disgraces that covered the white inhabitants of Santo Domingo with mourning and tears'.[38] Reflecting on the bloodbath that was the Haitian Revolution, Joaquin de Cupeleta saw the same fate looming over Cuba, whose inhabitants were inundated by publications openly theorising on subjects that could very easily spark revolutionary impulses. Speaking of the diffusion of such documents, Cupeleta frankly explained: 'there is no-one they do not reach, nor a point [they do] not circulate', making the logical connection that: 'they will be precursors, if not efficient causes for emancipation. Let us always remember what happened in different times when Americans have received their rights… [we] have within our view the close island of Haiti… we will feel it painfully… it will be a weapon in their hands to facilitate their emancipation.'[39] In a similar vein, on the open discussion of abolition in a recent

[35] Ibid.
[36] Real Cedula, No. 26, Ultramar 4627, Exp.1, AHN
[37] Gerónimo Valdés to Sr Secretario de Estado y del Despacho d la Gobernación de Ultramar, 28 August 1841, No.133, Ultramar, 4627, Exp.1, AHN
[38] [Unmarked sender] to Miguel Tacón, 14 February 1838, Ultramar 4627, Exp.1, (No.4), AHN
[39] Joaquin de Cupeleta to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 14 January 1839, Ultramar 4627, Expediente 1, No.5, AHN

edition of the periodical *Corresponsal*, published in Madrid, the Havana Tribunal de Comercio recounted to the metropolitan government that:

> 'Touching upon this particular theme was enough to place [Cuban] souls in a state of excitement… upon seeing not only their properties, but their very lives threatened, they are left with no other option than to defend themselves at all cost. These sinister rumours circulating… have given rise to much alarm… the material… is grave and delicate, of vital interest to each and every inhabitant in this country, and it cannot be heard so much as whispered without the least skittish [of] souls being excited and surrendering themselves to fear.'[40]

The careful provocation of Spanish fear was one avenue by which these proslavery figures, otherwise bereft of political sway, appealed to the metropole when seeking to guide legislation on the island, demonstrating the political use of fear when appealing for changes and protections. Reports such as one composed by the Junta de Fomento directly linked the issue - weak censorship - to the eventuality most dreaded by Spain. 'It is worthy of the consideration of the regency's profound penetration', the council reasoned, 'that, on the question of the liberty of the slaves, there is no opinion or feeling in this island which would disagree with the common vote that [following] the arrival of the leaflets from Madrid…[Cuba] would be irredeemably lost for the metropole.' Conjuring images of the island's inhabitants 'losing their properties, endangering their lives and being left subordinate to the power of the blacks,' fear was the ideal tool for encouraging stricter censorship laws.[41]

Urtétegui, Galcerá and Morales provide an excellent example of proslavery actors deploying emotion in the service of self-interest. Portraying the island in a state of total dismay in their letter seeking 'support against any inopportune method which may be proposed in the courts on the subject of the abolition of slavery in Cuba', was the cunning strategy of three businessmen who combined emotion with capital when communicating their forecast of Cuban prosperity and loyalty to the Crown. As Maria Dolores Pérez Murillo has argued compellingly, proslavery capitalists such as these were appealing to 'a

---

[40] 'Exposición Presentado por el Tribunal de Comercio', Urtetégui, Galcerá and Morales, 30 March 1841
[41] 'Exposición de la Junta de Fomento de Agricultura y Comercio de la Isla a la Regencia Provisional Del Reino Relacionada con la Abolición de la Esclavitud, Principally signed by El Conde de Villanueva, 27 February 1841

false sentimentalism as the moral base of slavery' when they wrote of their fear that inflammatory tracts would be the factor which may have caused rupture between colony and metropole. Thus, the fear they evoked, and perhaps exaggerated, was done so pragmatically, with self-interest, and was not an impartial commentary on the state of the island's investors, the genuine possibility of their restive anxiety notwithstanding.[42] It is, of course, likely that some of the island's inhabitants were more confident, or more nervous, than others. This thesis, after all, argues that very point: men do not now and did not then have uniform emotions.

When the Spanish consul in the U.S. offered warnings to Miguel Tacón concerning the disconcerting tone of the anti-slavery discourse in American publications, and how it may have affected Cuba should the same message be disseminated there, Tacón was most grateful. He thanked the Spanish consul in Philadelphia for having communicated to him news from Charleston, where allegedly there had been a 'project of the northern fanatics to revolutionise the blacks against the whites', and assured his correspondent that he had taken every step necessary to scrupulously enforce that boats entering Cuban ports carried official documentation proving their affiliation, and stating their purpose, in a bid to prevent the introduction of incendiary material.[43] Tacón's recounting, however, of the same events to the Secretario de Estado is rich in the varying messages it communicated to Spain. 'We have heard that incendiary publications have been disseminated in Charleston, and they had terrible effects', he relayed. Highlighting themes of comparative proslavery censorship, Tacón argued: since the ideas of liberty so intrinsic to democracy in the U.S. were not considered incongruous to strict censorship in the South, why could the same censorship not govern Cuba?[44]

The threats imperilling slavery on the island, though, truly were very real, and hence the agitated tone of these appeals should be considered to have communicated popular feeling quite accurately. When London Methodists were working towards the total

---

[42] María Dolores Pérez Murillo, 'El Pensamiento Esclavista del Tribunal de Comercio de la Habana (Año de 1841) in *Esclavitud y Derechos Humanos: La Lucha Por La Libertad Del Negro en el Siglo XIX*, ed. by Fransisco de Solano and Agustin Guimerá (Madrid: CSIC, 1990), pp. 407-414

[43] Miguel Tacón to Consul General de SM en los Estados Unidos, 26 September 1835, GSC 937, No.33066, ANC

[44] 'Comunicación Dirigida al Ministro del Interior en Donde Relata Extensamente las Actividades Antiesclavistas en Jamaica, SD y EU', Miguel Tacón to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho del Interior, 31 August 1835, C.M. Tacón No.19 (No. 121), BNJM. The event to which Tacón was referring is likely to have been the 1835 raid on the Charleston post house, when local whites stormed the post house to burn abolitionist materials held therein, which had been sent privately to slaveholders.

equality of the races, translating the Bible into Spanish, and bringing copies into Cuba from Jamaica, 'adulterating texts, directing their plans to the slaves and people of colour, even if they are already free', there was no need to summon false fear in reaction. Tacón's concern that covert but forceful abolitionist energy would spill into Cuba from Jamaica: 'that island which threatens a tremendous explosion' and which 'is the result of the operations of those sectarians', logically didn't need to be manufactured or artificial.[45] The island truly was surrounded, and inundated, by risk.

It is very interesting at this point, and in this regard, to note that fear was rarely *owned* by the writer, in the manner of first-person profession: 'I am terrified'. Rather, it was often appropriated from others: 'the investors are nervous', to serve the purpose of alarming the Crown and coercively - but with a soft touch, always paired with claims of loyalty and humility - influencing the island's future. Consequently, fear was often referred to in impersonal terms: 'it is a time of great anxiety', 'the island is surrounded by danger', and, in this way, although the discussion of fear in Cuba was far more frequent than it was in South Carolina, it was also done in a much less intimate way.[46] Verbalised fear therefore reads less like a confession in Cuban writing than it does in examples from South Carolina; less of a disclosure, and more of an observation.[47] This raises the question of whether or not, since fear was used as political fodder in Cuba, it was more a tool than a transmission of inner feeling. I argue that it was both. These men most likely manipulated their own fear as a device for political leverage, as opposed to inventing it.

These commentaries on fear, however, while detailed and descriptive, were permissible because of their strict confidentiality. Fear could be made useful only when done so privately: publicly touted fear had the potential of being as chaotic in Cuba as it had in South Carolina, and, for that reason, its subversive qualities were commandeered by those whose goals were exactly that. Valdés' reflection that: 'a press, repressing everything

---

[45] Ibid. The discovery of a particularly incendiary document exhibiting the anti-slavery, pro-violence verse of Exodus 21:16 'and he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death', was deeply unsettling for any inhabitant of the island, regardless of whether or not they held slaves, and will have roused deep concern that no doubt flavoured the letters being sent from Cuba.
[46] This of course owes to the nature of the documents I was able to consult at this stage, and I cannot contrast the 'official/confidential/private' Cuba with the 'personal/intimate/private' Cuba as I was able to in South Carolina.
[47] This perhaps was owed to the Captains General role as government officials reporting to the Monarch, allowing them to survey their surroundings as part of the elite, but somewhat removed from them by virtue of their official role as colonial representatives. Of course, the same cannot be said of officials in South Carolina.

harmful and damaging, produces great positives and avoids tragedies difficult to calculate in these parts… where it's so easy for any badly meditated publication to create a bad effect', privately implied that Cuba was every bit as combustible as the seditious papers he was trying to suppress were claiming.[48] The difference was that Valdés used his fear privately, and they publicly: one type of fear was useful, and the other hazardous.

Insiders and Subversion Discourses

Angel Calderón de la Barca, Spanish ambassador to the U.S., criticised expatriated *Criollos* for taking advantage of their refuge in the U.S., publishing there what he claimed to have been flagrant falsehoods in a bid to win the support of abolitionists and annexationists. These men, De La Barca expressed, wrote endlessly on the tyranny under which the Cuban people lived, creating the impression that 'it would [have been] preferable to live in those islands under the domination of the Ottoman Sultan.'[49] The perceived risk was that these publications exposed Cuba to the annexationist interests of the U.S., where, upon inferring that slaveholders in Cuba were miserable and writhing under colonial oppression, the opportunity seemed ripe for acquisition. José Vicente Brito, a lawyer from Havana, had been publishing letters openly in the U.S. using his real name, and fanning that very flame.[50] Published in *The Sun*, a New York periodical, Brito painted a lamentable picture of the tyrannical despotism under which Cubans lived; unable to write to each other candidly without their letters being opened by government spies, and facing the possibility of being subsequently arrested.[51] Such articles as Brito's caused the Spanish authorities strife well into the mid-nineteenth-century, evidence that the competition

[48] Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del despacho de la Gobernación De Ultramar, 3 September 1843, Santo Domingo 1308, AGI

[49] Legación de España en Washington, Sr D Angel Calderón de la Barca to 'Mi muy estimado amigo' 6 September 1848, Ultramar 90, AGI

[50] Letter signed by undersecretary Antonio Caballero dictated by Plenipotentiary Minister of the Crown in Washington DC to Ministro de la Gobernación del Reino, 1 December 1847, Ultramar 4626, Expediente 25, AHN. It was proposed in this letter that Brito had received funding for his efforts from the U.S. and Havana.

[51] Translation of an article inserted in *The Sun* (New York), 19 October 1847, enclosed in letter signed by undersecretary Antonio Caballero to Ministro de la Gobernación del Reino, 1 December 1847, Ultramar 4626, Expediente 25, AHN. Brito evoked images of a disaffected proletariat ready to revolt if given the signal: 'the poor workers see themselves reduced to the greatest misery, in the middle of a rich and fertile island, capable of maintaining in abundance the entire population', continuing that he had received written word confirming that the Cuban people 'are prepared to seize arms, and, without counting their number, to buy with their blood the liberty of their island.'

between rival versions of the truth wrestling for primacy was an issue for the entirety of the period covered by this thesis.[52]

Viscerally, Brito described metropolitan censorship attempting to suffocate those seeking to argue for Cuba's liberty: 'why doesn't the Cuban press permit this question [independence] to be discussed?' he jibed. 'Why is its voice asphyxiated so villainously? Because the government knows very well that Cuba would rise that very instant to conquer her liberty.'[53] In these texts, the island - frothing with rebellious slaves and malcontent *Criollos* - was portrayed by her émigrés as a disastrous location for investment and migration, which posed a tremendous risk to Cuba's future prosperity. José Antonio Saco, exiled native of Bayamo, Eastern Cuba, described a scene of similar repression: 'today the Cuban press groans under an iron censorship… not only have certain papers died… but also well-informed, hard-working persons, who could write and speak, have been forced to be mute'. His addition that: 'there are social positions in which a man must suffocate his feelings and sacrifice his ideas to the circumstances in which they find themselves', painted the picture of a society where words concerning subjects including slavery were stifled even on the private, conversational level, comparable to South Carolinian personal censorship.[54] These antagonistic versions of the truth - this public airing of 'dirty laundry', to borrow James C. Scott's phrasing - created a circumstance in which control over the definitive narrative on slavery was paramount in the effort to maintain placidity in Cuba. Fear was only an advantageous tool for the slaveholding classes when it was privately evoked to their ends. For that very reason, the subversive qualities of fear were commandeered by those with disruptive goals. To the frustration of those with proslavery interests, in neither South Carolina nor Cuba could non-compliant voices be completely silenced, leaving the institution vulnerable to attack in spite of censorship.

---

[52] Letter signed by undersecretary Antonio Caballero, dictated by Plenipotentiary Minister of the Crown in Washington DC, to Ministro de la Gobernación del Reino, 8 December 1847. Ultramar 4625, Expediente 25, AHN. Francisco Stoughton, the Spanish consul in New York, reported that every day the number of publications similar in tone to Brito's was increasing, and that, while the risk of losing Cuba wasn't immediate, he estimated that within three to four years from that point Cuba would be seized by another power.

[53] Ibid. Enclosed, translation of an article in *The Sun* (New York), 2 November 1847. Brito's comment 'I am Cuban, and I deserve to refute the falsehoods published against my oppressed and wretched country', again, show Cuban identity very much in formation, even outside the island, in 1847. Brito's article began by advertising that the ship 'Norma' would be sailing to Cuba that same day, offering any reader the opportunity to send to the island a copy of that same date's publication, demonstrating how it was that so many copies reached Cuba, and were read by the island's inhabitants despite colonial censorship efforts.

[54] Saco, *Paralelo Entre La Isla de Cuba y Algunas Colonias Inglesas* (Madrid, 1837), p. 8

Fascinating and particular to the Cuban case, therefore, is the question of exile and the rebellious exposition it permitted. José Antonio Saco, expelled from the island in 1834 owing to his liberal political views, is exemplary of that group. Saco had not owned slaves in Cuba, but recognised the necessity of slavery, fearing both the loss of Spanish culture on the island, and race war, should African culture overpower European. Yet, Saco condemned slavery no less for its power to subdue Cuba under what he felt was autocratic Spanish control, leaving Cubans politically impotent.[55] He supported the verdict of British abolitionist P.J.G. Alexander, that the slave trade to Cuba in the 1840s, despite its official abolition, was 'more extensive than ever,' but Saco went further, stating that slave traders had worsened, if possible, in their cruel and unfeeling treatment of the Africans they transported.[56] 'I don't blame the Cuban who buys them', he reasoned, 'his plantation needs workers, and, finding no-one else to employ, should he lose his property? That which I accuse and incriminate, is the government, who can and should end the infamous African contraband.'[57] Subversive and confrontational, from New York, *La Verdad* newspaper demanded the same: the end of the slave trade from all origins, and compliance with the anti-slave-trade treaty of 1817: 'manage this, and we will begin to believe and hope for something good from the Government of Spain: in the meantime, no, nothing!'[58] Additionally, a pamphlet entitled *Paginas Cubanas,* which came into Tacón's possession, decried the public auction of legally emancipated black persons that took place in light of day, and with scant regard for the prior freedom the people being sold illegally into enslavement.[59]

---

[55] Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Slavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833-1874* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999), pp. 18-21

[56] For an example of the unflinching British criticism of Cuban slavery and the continued slave trade, see P. J.G. Alexander, *Observaciones Sobre la Esclavitud y Comercio de Esclavos, E Informe del Dr Madden Sobre la Esclavitud en la Isla de Cuba* (Barcelona, 1841), Follete, C.16 No.2, BNJM pp. 4,18, 8, 9. Alexander's report is a scathing account of the brutality of Cuban slavery, and of the barefaced, tireless continuation of the slave trade in breach of the two laws passed abolishing the practice. See also the comments of British Quaker J.J. Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies: Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay* (New York, 1840); Saco exposed the reality that, while previously those Africans were subject to vaccinations; quarantine in case of contagion; cured, when possible, of any diseases they may have developed on the journey; and kept in at least an attempted state of sanitation, since the abolition of the slave trade, the slave trader's only goal was to fill his boat with as many slaves as physically possible, losing as many as was necessary to death and disease along the way. José Antonio Saco, *Mi Primera Pregunta. ¿La Abolición del Comercio de Esclavos Africanos Arruinara o Atrasara la Agricultura Cubana? Dedicado a los Hacendados de la Isla de Cuba Su Compatriota* José *Antonio Saco* (Madrid, 1837), p. 14

[57] Saco, *Paralelo Entre La Isla de Cuba,* p. 17

[58] 'Cuestión Negrera de la Isla de Cuba, Por Los Editores y Colaboradores de La Verdad', [Day not specified] August 1851, 082 Morales, T.70, No.4, BNJM

[59] 'Paginas Cubanas, No.2', Excerpt Sent by Captain General Tacón to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación, 31 August 1836, Ultramar 4627, Exp.1, AHN

Saco was a bona fide in-group member of Cuban slavery, and it was that status which afforded his work, and the writings of other expatriated *Criollos*, such subversive power. His writing, an exposé of the brutality of slavery in Cuba, was also, in a subtler sense, an excellent example of a member of the in-group deploying fear to advance his anti-slave-trade agenda, in contrast to proslavery voices which used fear to perpetuate slavery on the island. Saco's use of fear to criticise and cast aspersions upon Spain, and the slave trade, was incredibly seditious, and is perhaps best characterised as a Subversion Discourse, which attempted to seize and direct a negative narrative on Cuban slavery and the slave trade, determining its course, content, and tone, in spite of censorship laws.[60]

Saco's Subversion Discourse insisted not only that slavery kept Cuba in a state of subjection, and that the slave trade was criminal, but also that Cuba was in immediate and extreme danger because of it, an angle which stood to harm those with proslavery interests, and to negatively affect white migration to the island, which was already an issue. His evidence was compelling in its treatment of fear as having been manifested in the tentative investment patterns of planters. 'Are there not many plantation owners who keep funds in foreign banks?' Saco put forward rhetorically, questioning: 'how much does that capital yield? Isn't it a low interest in comparison to what it would gain in Havana? Is this not a loss they are suffering because of the fear in which they live?'[61] Saco stressed that those skittish tendencies were influenced entirely by fear of slave rebellion, which kept investors from ever feeling fully at ease with their capital or their businesses. The inevitability of that fear having been well-founded and wise, though, was a common theme of Saco's writing, as he pleaded with his fellow Cubans: 'my beloved compatriots, wake up, wake up. Don't live any longer entrusted to dreams and wishful thinking… you can no longer put off the calamity which announces itself to you… the tremendous hour will sound, and we will all perish in the universal tragedy.'[62] Alongside passing moral comment, Saco was attempting to guide the emotional narrative, exposing his perception that the slave trade, and fear of slave rebellion at the hands of newly-arriving Africans, was undermining Cuban cultural development.

---

[60] Subversion Discourse is more appropriate than Subversion Script, as Saco's words do not fit the performative, hyper-aware nature of a Script, as far as this thesis defines that word. That said, Saco does still discerningly use emotion to bolster his arguments as the Supplication and Confidence Scripts did.
[61] Saco, *Mi Primera Pregunta,* p. 25
[62] Saco, *Mi Primera Pregunta,* p. 30

As a side-effect, the Subversion Discourse provides a fascinating emotional insight into slaveholding in Cuba, the equivalent of which doesn't exist in the same way for the southern U.S. Although slave narratives from the South sought to appeal to the emotions of the abolitionist reader by exposing the infernal cruelty of slavery, while the emotions they exposed - namely the slaveholder's lust and ire - were a powerful weapon against slavery, they did not compromise his authority or masculinity by alleging his fearfulness. Moreover, those slaves cannot be considered part of the southern in-group, given their social position: they had experienced slavery at its worst, but not slave-ownership. Equally, while the few examples of defected slave-owners from South Carolina (such as the Grimké sisters) also appealed to the emotions of their audiences, they were neither exposing slave-owner fear in their work, nor, by virtue of their gender, were they members of the South Carolinian in-group, which, in the emotional scope of this thesis, excluded women.

Similarly, clippings from *The Morning Journal of Jamaica*, which were also emotional in their content, were sent to the Captain General with the warning that they 'deserved his attention'. According to that publication, slaveholders from Cuba had been sending letters attesting to the relentless anxiety they suffered:

> 'Let us (they say) – cast a glance only over the countries which surround us. The firmest mind may well tremble to contemplate the dense mass of Negroes, which so horribly obscures our horizon. Nine hundred thousand are to be found to the eastward, in the military republic of Hayti, with disciplined armies, and holding at their disposal, the whole means of transport which Great Britain has to give… 400,000 in Jamaica, who await only the signal of their proud liberators, to fly to the rescue in our Eastern mountains. Twelve thousand, at least, are scattered over the Bahama archipelago… in the direction of the capes of Florida, and the ports of Louisiana, Georgia and the Carolinas, which place us almost in contact with the continent, where nearly 3,000,000 negroes are presented to us, a number so immense as to excite alarm, not in Cuba only, but through out the whole American confederation, whose very heart is sooner or later to be in consequence convulsively agitated and devoured.'[63]

[63] 'Este articulo es digno de la atención de VE', *The Morning Journal*, 5 July 1841, sent to Gerónimo Valdés, GSC 940, No.33148, ANC

The next letter was similar in its resignation:

> 'We ought immediately to prefer to live in poverty, but security, rather than, with blind cupidity, aspiring to seize a rich harvest for a single year, expose ourselves the next to lose, not only this, but all that has preceded it, together with the soil, the machinery, and the whole territory of the island in one general insurrection of the negroes.'[64]

The tone of these two letters matches the confidential anxiety expressed by the private proslavery Supplication Script. The difference is the act of a normally private fear being aired in public. The public Subversion Discourse was, therefore, an act of defiant speech. Bypassing censorship entirely, it forced its way into the public dialogue without being asphyxiated by official restrictions, defiling officials and institutions, speaking truths the authorities wished silenced. In this way, the same emotions expressed privately among the slaveholders of Cuba slipped through the cracks and were publicly exposed, uncensored and uninhibited by their very nature, empowering the counter-narrative.

Acerbically, *The Morning Journal of Jamaica* made deductions about those emotional confessions. Speculation such as: 'the Spanish authorities appear seriously apprehensive of the consequences which [will] result… from the continuance of [the] slave trade, and the possession of property in their fellow man', was clearly considered dangerous enough to warrant the Captain General's attention.[65] Perhaps especially relevant was the fact that this newspaper was published in an emancipated island only a stone's throw from Cuba's borders, and whose metropole was aggravating the Spanish Crown as much as imaginable on the same issue. 'Their fear is seriously beginning to manifest itself', was the paper's bold and unapologetic verdict: 'slavery had made cowards of the authorities of Cuba.'[66] The forthright and candid stance of those writing for *The Morning Journal of Jamaica* - that wherever slavery existed, so too did white fear - merits further comment. 'Slavery made cowards of us all', the writer reasoned, as though expressing a sympathetic camaraderie with slaveholders still subject to those anxieties: 'year after year [slavery] found us yielding to… apprehensions arising from fear lest the… subject… end in loss of property or life.' Offering a compelling counterargument to the axiom that slavery was abolished in the British colonies because it was no longer financially profitable, or because of

---

[64] Ibid.
[65] *The Morning Journal* [excerpt cut without date] sent to Gerónimo Valdés, GSC 940, No.33148, ANC
[66] *The Morning Journal*, 5 July 1841, sent to Gerónimo Valdés, GSC 940, No.33148, ANC

philanthropic abolitionism, the *Morning Journal* theorised otherwise. Was the institution done away with 'because we were convinced that the system was wrong?' No, the paper confessed. Rather, it was 'because we knew it contained within itself the elements of strife, rebellion and bloodshed. Because we knew there was neither security for life nor property where it continued. Now however that we have overthrown the system, we feel that we are indeed free, and that we have nothing to apprehend from within nor without.' Only in the absence of slavery could be found the absence of fear, the paper stated. Thanks to emancipation there was calm in Jamaica: 'happily for us we are beyond, far beyond the reach of such apprehensions.'[67]

That these clippings were sent to the authorities in Cuba demonstrates that their emotional content was considered relevant reading in the same way that explicitly political/anti-slave-trade material was. In short, the emotional account mattered, and was consequential, as part of the discussion surrounding slavery. The Subversion Discourse of expatriated and disillusioned *Criollo* in-group members is invaluable for its emotional components. Such publications reveal nothing that can't be found in the Supplication Scripts of slaveholders who remained on the island. Yet, dragging those emotions unceremoniously into the public gaze for subversive aims prompted rebuttal by capitalists on the island, creating an intriguing public conflict of emotional 'truths': the sanctioned account, which attested both to Cuba's safety and prosperity, and to the confidence of investors on the island; and the subversive version, which testified to Cuba's endangered status, buttressed by the portrayal of nervous inhabitants and investors.

Engineering a Confidence Script

The compelling case surrounding Cuba's emotional narrative is that, conversely to South Carolina, which shifted from a colonial Supplication Script to an antebellum Confidence Script, in Cuba, the two opposing Scripts operated alongside each other, deployed selectively, depending on the political agenda of the writer. The Captains General of the island provide a particularly interesting case study in that regard, given their vested interest

[67] *The Morning Journal*, 5 July 1841; *The Morning Journal* [excerpt cut without date], sent to Gerónimo Valdés, GSC 940, No.33148, ANC. This frank, emotional discussion is incredibly illuminative, both for serving as an example of the manipulation of fear to serve as an abolitionist tool, and for its revelation of the emotional experience of slaveholders in Jamaica, opening the dialogue for a comprehensive History of the Emotions across the greater Caribbean, which, with hope, I will be able to explore in future projects.

in presenting Cuba in vacillating states of safety and danger. Always Spanish-born individuals, usually with military backgrounds, these men were tasked with maintaining Spanish possession of Cuba, and their words sent to Spain concerning the state of the island, when read with their objectives in mind, reveal a discerning appreciation of the differing uses of fear and confidence, depending on the message being sent.

Miguel Tacón, Gerónimo Valdés and Leopoldo O'Donnell, captain generals across fourteen years (1834-48) stressed that their dedication to the preservation of peace in Cuba was inextricably linked to, if not directly driven by, their wish to preserve colonialism. [68] When Leopoldo O'Donnell wrote of the irksome publication of inflammatory writings concerning the theme of slavery, he used confidence to his advantage. The inclination to discuss independence is always dangerous in a territory whose political situation is so delicate, he began, but, 'when it's combined with a sinister intention, and the impudence of discussing it brazenly, the harm is more grave still… published or written by evil Spaniards more still by Habaneros… [whose] boldness goes so far as to openly excite sedition and independence among the inhabitants here.'[69] O'Donnell's additional comment, though, that 'currently I fear very little these incendiary writers… I am certain that [Cuba] will maintain herself safe and peaceful as long as I am in command', demonstrates aptly the ways in which fear and confidence were manipulated according to the author's agenda. Here, O'Donnell, wishing to emphasise his own capabilities as Captain General, deployed a Confidence Script, expressing that incendiary papers would only be a cause for concern in the event of his discharge.[70] Tacón's tone, too, juxtaposed the threat of antislavery against his own confidence, neutralising it, implying that his command and insight was the reason behind Cuba's security: 'I consider it indispensable to inform the government of all of the particulars that I leave briefly indicated… regardless of presently enjoying in all of her [Cuba] an enviable security and tranquillity.' [71] These Captains General demonstrate that, occasionally, a Confidence Script was more expedient than one of Supplication.

---

[68] Tacón, referring to himself as a 'loyal Spaniard', pledged his determination to 'the conservation of this island in union with the mother country.' Miguel Tacón to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, Habana 31 August 1837, Ultramar 4627, Exp.1, No.434, AHN

[69] Leopoldo O'Donnell to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 15 March 1847, Ultramar 4627, Exp.1, No. 691., AHN

[70] Ibid.

[71] 'Comunicación Dirigida al Ministro del Interior en Donde Relata Extensamente las Actividades Antiesclavistas en Jamaica, SD y EU', Miguel Tacón to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho del Interior, 31 August 1835, C.M. Tacón No.19 (No. 121), BNJM

Initially appearing anomalous amidst the cacophony of complaints as to the danger surrounding the whites in Cuba, the decisions of the Captains General to claim that the island was completely tranquil were expertly made. Their motivations were straightforward: undoubtedly, they wished to communicate their ability, and affirm their authority over the island when the converse would have led to their dismissals. Hence, when Gerónimo Valdés used a Supplication Script to complain to the Crown that periodicals in Cadiz 'paint a picture so piteous to the point of falsehood on the state of insecurity' on the island, he then used a Confidence Script to claim Cuba's safety, lest his command be deemed ineffectual in the metropole. He then advocated for stricter censorship laws to avoid the threat that such false words could have been believed by those with sinister designs. Confidence Scripts were used as a means to close disadvantageous discussions, and, in that vein, the authorities strategised to reframe the public discourse surrounding Cuban slavery in less inflammatory, more flattering, terms.[72]

The pressing allegation with which colonial authorities and proslavery voices took issue was that theirs was an island in peril; destructively and despotically governed, in a state of economic disarray, and endangered from all angles. Such claims threatened a future of economic decline, given the poor forecast they offered to those who may otherwise have brought their fortunes to the island. Not only did proslavery advocates therefore feel compelled to counter-argue that out-group observers were fundamentally mistaken in that analysis, but also that they had no business making comments on matters that didn't concern them in any regard; matters they didn't understand, and had no claim to. These men refuted the vilification of their government as a means of balancing the scales, and dissuading those who may otherwise have been encouraged to seize the allegedly imperilled and unhappy island crumbing under Spain's tyranny. Although proslavery and pro-colonial figures sought to keep abolitionists, nationalists, and annexationists from publishing defamations on the state of the island, when they couldn't prevent those publications, they refuted their content. As a solution, it was decided that Spanish-backed periodicals would be published in order to disseminate the approved and sanctioned discourse surrounding Cuban affairs: the "official" truth. Deploying the Supplication Script when stressing to the Crown how threatening subversive tracts were, it was

[72] Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 2 December 1842, Ultramar 4617, Expediente 11, No.529, AHN

explained that the official narrative needed to: 'publish… our refutations against the incessant calumnies and incendiary articles via which these public papers attempt to discredit our superior authorities and promote riots on the island of Cuba'.[73] According to the Spanish Captain General Federico Roncali, Conde de Alcoy, 'those facts or doctrines… which attack the Spanish government, merit opposition.' His proposition was:

> 'to finance one or two popular periodicals… [and] authorise the same objective to *La Gaceta de la Habana*: to respond when subversive doctrines are divulged… according to the judgement of the most superior authority… giving particular preference to news or orders offering a favourable tendency to Spanish interests in general, and in the domination, administration and prosperity of these possessions in particular… [with] the principal objective of defending the Spanish cause in North America… to answer to the calumnies of our enemies.'[74]

A pro-colonial Confidence Script, proclaiming the happiness, peace, and loyalty to be found on the island, was also propagated beyond Cuba's boundaries, in the United States, a precaution taken to discourage displaced *Criollos,* republican Latin Americans, and annexationist American politicians therein from scheming to mobilise Cuba's separation from Spain. The strategy was:

> 'to establish in New York a periodical written in Spanish with the exclusive objective of… countering the enemies of order who fight against the Spanish Government via the medium of the press… the objective of these articles [is] to re-establish the truth of those transcendental facts which would be altered by the opposing periodicals, and… to write monarchic principals, identities and interests ascribing to those of the metropole, in order that, by means of articles that would be inserted in the *Gaceta Oficial de la Habana* and in other periodicals approved by said authority, [we may] respond to those of opposition such as the aforementioned *La Verdad* of New York, or any others which disfigure the truth and spread subversive doctrines.'[75]

---

[73] Letter to Sr Ministerio de la gobernación del Reino, signed by undersecretary Antonio Caballero [Dictated by Plenipotentiary Minister of the Crown in Washington DC] 30 July 1849, Ultramar 90, AGI
[74] Conde de Alcoy to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar, 9 January 1849, Ultramar 90, AGI
[75] Ministerios de Estado y de Gobernación del Reino to Ministro de Estado y Dirección de Gobierno Ultramar, 3 November 1848, Ultramar 90, AGI

As such, sanctioned writers and periodicals set to work constructing a Confidence Script as per the agendas of colonial and pro-slavery forces. The *Noticioso y Lucero*, founded in Matanzas in 1832, and later operating out of Havana, did so in no uncertain terms. Against 'those who have an interest in destroying the prosperity and the primary elements of wealth of the island, and in disturbing the enviable peace we enjoy', the periodical warned, '[we] have raised a unanimous shout of indignation… a solemn: *you're all lying!*'[76] These publications emphasised that the island was in a state of total tranquil security. The private discussion of how to best achieve that goal demonstrates just how artificial those assertions were. 'Cuba finds herself in a state of peace,' proffered the *Faro Industrial de la Habana*, founded in 1841, and circulated across the island.[77] 'We enjoy the most perfect peace, and complete security,' added the *Diario de la Habana,* with cool assurance.[78] Such descriptions intentionally belied the horror that struck slave-holders that same year, when *La Escalera* conspiracy was denounced.

'The tranquillity that's enjoyed across the island, equally because of the peace and calmness… and the methods of policing that the government adopts' proved, as the *Diario de la Habana* argued, that 'the only persons who can deny such facts are those who, with sinister glances, seek to obtain by whatever means imaginable… their plans.' The newspaper offered a more favourable verdict: 'we can most ably clarify to the face of the entire world, that never has the general peace in this country, nor the personal security of every inhabitant, been greater. Here we live without the least of frights.'[79] It is critical to note that this Confidence Script was completely curated: there was nothing off-hand or improvised about it. It was the approved discourse provided by those men whose financial interest depended upon the continuation of slavery in Cuba, and in Cuba's loyalty to Spain.

The relaxed confidence of those columns would be enough to convince any credulous or uninformed reader that the island was utopian. 'While civil wars and other calamities afflict almost every city in Europe, Asia and America' the *Diario de la Habana* ruminated,

---

[76] *Noticioso y Lucero*, No.152. Vol.12, 2 June 1843, excerpt sent from Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobierno de Ultramar, 31 May 1843, Ultramar 4617, No.677, Exp.13, AHN
[77] *Faro Industrial de la Habana*, No.150, 31 May 1843, excerpt sent from Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobierno de Ultramar, 31 May 1843, Ultramar 4617, No.677, Exp.13, AHN
[78] *Diario de La Habana*, No.150, 29 May 1843, excerpt sent from Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobierno de Ultramar, 31 May 1843, Ultramar 4617, No.677, Exp.13, AHN
[79] Ibid.

'no other has managed to maintain peace, tranquillity and order to as high a degree as in the island of Cuba.'[80] Privately, meanwhile, although a war of independence had not yet erupted in Cuba, officials on the island wrote constantly and consistently to Spain relating a different narrative: that they lived surrounded by peril, whether from Haiti, Jamaica, or within their own borders, without mentioning the threat that loomed from Venezuela, Colombia and Mexico. That was not, however, the narrative they wanted to promulgate publicly. 'We laugh upon reading that which deserves no other name than that of [a] despicable hoax,' proffered *Noticioso y Lucero*, whose public, and publicised, performance was faultlessly cavalier, and even mocking in its rejection of the suggestion that Cuba was in danger of any sort. Leaving no room for doubt in its protestation, the Cuban Confidence Script attested: 'we want these lines to be read in Spain so that our brothers there… may calm themselves from worrying on our behalf, and that they may respond to those journalists whose intention it is to cause alarm:…YOU ARE MISLEADING US!'[81]

The Confidence Script tirelessly boasted of the island's flourishing trade; of the all-time-high global demand for Cuban coffee and sugar; the faith of the inhabitants in their Cuban and Peninsular governmental authorities; and, of course, the unflinching confidence that all slaveholders had in their own state of security. The publications also made a very firm (and repetitive) point to assert that the population of the island was growing considerably and healthily. They did not clarify *which* sectors of the population were increasing in number, but, when the *Diario de la Habana* related that this increase in inhabitants served to engender a society of high culture 'almost at the level of the foremost European cities,' it is clear that the writers wished to suggest that the white population was the one increasing.[82]

In actual fact, the white population on the island was not increasing in any satisfying manner at all. As the Conde de Villanueva privately, and curtly, noted some years later: 'all of the efforts made until now to achieve the increase of the white population [of Cuba]

---

[80] Ibid.
[81] *Noticioso y Lucero*, No. 152. Vol. 12, 2 June 1843, excerpt sent from Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobierno de Ultramar, 31 May 1843
[82] *Diario de La Habana*, No.150, 29 May 1843, excerpt sent from Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobierno de Ultramar, 31 May 1843

have been useless.'[83] Indeed, the 1841 the census demonstrated that the white population had reached, for the first time, a status of minority. While publications attesting to Cuba's stable state sought to positively influence the white population, which was profoundly unnerved, in private letters to Spain it was admitted that fearfulness was a valid and proper reaction. The Confidence Script was deployed to mask that reality. Despite claims such as José Antonio Saco's that investment in the island was harmed by the tumultuous combination of slavery, independence attempts, and Atlantic abolitionism, all of which dissuaded foreign investors, censored newspapers avowed the island's thriving economic state, which, despite 'certain detractors', was characterised by 'a productive and flourishing agriculture, active and extensive commerce [and] the confidence… which inspires all nations.' Cuba allegedly enjoyed global attention from speculators, whose investment: 'forms the prosperity of these peaceful inhabitants'.[84] Saco's subversive attempt to attack the illegal slave trade by highlighting fear was countered by officially sanctioned confidence.

The obstinate sense of ownership in Cuba over the discourse surrounding the future of slavery strongly resembled proslavery feeling in South Carolina. 'The local government of Havana… the entire rest of the island, [and] the economic societies… who are truly interested in its future and happiness… have demonstrated the small worth of the representations of those organisations who have no right to involve themselves in our business.'[85] There was a protectiveness over who had the right to discuss Spanish colonial affairs in Cuba; what was *ours*, and what was, therefore, not up for public discussion. The language of the Junta de Fomento very much conveyed that defensiveness, deriding foreign agents 'hardly able to place judgement on our local interests, who, this fact notwithstanding, still assume the right to decide the destiny of the island'.[86] The periodical *Faro Industrial de la Habana* made the point explicit: 'private interest, and not public, is that which drives corrupt quills, disposed to favour whoever pays best… in their work of perdition and calumny… [who] shouldn't involve themselves in the administration of our

[83] Conde de Villanueva to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Hacienda, 7 February 1849, Indiferente 2828, No.5910, AGI
[84] *Diario de La Habana*, No.150, 29 May 1843, excerpt sent from Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobierno de Ultramar, 31 May 1843
[85] *Noticioso y Lucero*, No. 152. Vol. 12, 2 June 1843, excerpt sent from Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobierno de Ultramar, 31 May 1843
[86] 'Escritura Acerca de las Infundadas Afirmaciones de la Prensa de la Península Sobre los Asuntos Económicos de la Isla Firmada por Julian de Alfonso.' 7 July 1843, C.M. Morales T.78 No.138, BNJM

land'.[87] Agents considered either destructive or ignorant, and at times, catastrophically, both, were advised to keep their ideas to themselves: 'these voices [act either with] cunning and harmful intentions, or because they ignore our true state, and thus, either way, they neither can, nor should, speak about us.'[88]

Rule Reminders were also given in these publications to the men of Cuba, summoning them to rebut slanderous accounts of their island as a matter of patriotism and pride:

> 'Who… being a lover of their country, could perceive such falsehoods with indifference, and filled with righteous indignation, not feel obliged to refute such slander? Despite knowing that these falsehoods would create no echo whatsoever among those who are familiar with the prosperity and calmness that reign in this country, can we then leave to suspicion the alarm they may have momentarily caused among overly gullible or credulous souls, if, with our weak voice, we do not ensure that we can dispel the unfounded fears they caused them to conceive? Ought we to continue indifferently until the point of extremity whereupon our silence may be interpreted maliciously? No… we expound clearly to our colonial brothers, and to the entire world, that the island of Cuba, this rich and beautiful jewel of Spain, enjoys, more than ever, supreme happiness, owed to the just and transparent authorities which govern correctly.'[89]

The tone of this tract is arresting in its similarity to the South Carolinian Confidence Script: not only a logistical, practical claim of Cuba's safe and stable status with prescriptive overtones, but also a testimonial of Cuban confidence. In an identical sense, there was a lingering paranoia among the slaveholders of both regions that silence would have been misinterpreted as an unspoken admission that the disapproved counter-narrative had been correct. The Cuban Confidence Script was therefore styled to confront and refute political and emotional aspersions. While fear had been useful in the private Supplication Script, used to appeal to Spanish paternalism and protection (as examined in Chapter III), confidence was more functional for promoting the positive account of

---

[87] *Faro Industrial de la Habana*, No.150, 31 May 1843, excerpt sent from Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobierno de Ultramar, 31 May 1843
[88] *Noticioso y Lucero*, No. 152. Vol. 12, 2 June 1843, excerpt sent from Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobierno de Ultramar, 31 May 1843
[89] *Diario de La Habana*, No.150, 29 May 1843, excerpt sent from Gerónimo Valdés to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobierno de Ultramar, 31 May 1843

slavery on the island when publicly seeking to dispel abolitionism. This emotional/rhetorical decision-making process was the case both in private and in public, and hence the Supplication Script should not necessarily be confused with sincerity, even though it drew on real emotion. Indeed, just as the Confidence Script may truly have been informed by very real feelings of confidence and calm, the possibility remains that forceful claims of tranquillity were provoked by deep unrest and anxiety.

The Cuban Confidence Script is so arresting precisely because it can be read alongside the private musings on how it should have best been expressed: public claims of confidence working adjacent to private discussion of the strategy for engineering them. The South Carolinian Confidence Script, conversely, must be read alone, without the luxury of complimentary private sources that show slaveholders scheming to decide amongst themselves the best narrative to publicise when rebuking criticism. Private documents sent from and within Cuba, therefore, provide historians considering proslavery in South Carolina with an insight into how proslavery groups thought best to convince the outside world of their confidence and contentment. Between Cuba and Spain, that strategy was privately discussed and decided upon with clarity and explicitness. Evidently, only the most pre-meditated, artificially designed Confidence Script in Cuba can compare to the normative South Carolinian Confidence Script, which was upheld axiomatically by the social intuition of each speaker, and often maintained even in private. This does not suggest that South Carolinian slaveholders were necessarily more confident than those in Cuba, but rather, that the construction of their Confidence Script was more automatic.

As the process of designing a proslavery narrative demonstrates, fear was only useful to those with vested interests in Cuba when *they* controlled it. Central to this chapter is the reality that fear was immensely useful when controlled confidentially by proslavery voices loyal to Spain, but, in the hands of those who wished to disturb the continuation of either slavery or colonialism, it was disruptive, subversive and dangerous. The evocation of fear was therefore utilised with judgement and balance, and not regardless of the effect it would have, as though with abandon. Certainly, proslavery voices were forthcoming with vocalisations of fear, but not everyone was considered privy to them. Fear was undoubtedly more prevalent in the Cuban writing style, but by no means was it more public: the slaveholders of Cuba were just as inconvenienced as those in South Carolina

by the public accusation of fearfulness. Absolutely key to Cuban proslavery, then, was who controlled the public narrative on fear.

Conclusion

The relationship between fear and censorship in Cuba existed in two ways. The first was the practical understanding that the limitations of censorship on the island, and the entrance of inflammatory materials, caused a fearful reaction among the land-owners and capitalists, threatening their potential emigration to safer lands. The second, slightly more abstract, was that the very mention of fear required censorship: it was not to be touted in the printed materials of dissidents. It was that belief which made the Subversion Discourse of expatriated Cubans so dangerous. These paranoias necessitated the creation and publication - literally - of the Confidence Script, visibly tailored and structured with the expressed objective of calming investors, attracting more white migrants to the island, and propagating the international idea of Cuba as a tranquil and safe island by using censored newspapers as the method for spreading these artificial truths. The Supplication Script, meanwhile, was brought into play by the slaveholders and proslavery voices of Cuba who used fear to sway the development of slavery in a time when they were politically impotent. Expressing their fear, paradoxically, was their advantage, and their strength. The Captains General, usually more prone to the Supplication Script, shrewdly drew from the Confidence Script, often with motives of self-interest, in moments when they felt it prudent to avoid presenting the island as excessively unstable. Their judgement demonstrates how calculatingly fear could be broadcast, or concealed, at the discretion of the writer, according to his objective.

Fear in Cuba had deeply political roots, and, when it was conjured, questions must be asked: why? To what ends? With that said, the very words used by slaveholders in Cuba to describe their fear, I have argued, were not imaginative renditions of an unease never felt, and created for political purposes. Fear, despite being manipulated for political purposes, was no less real for it. Occasionally it may have been communicated during times when slaveholders actually felt quite in control and relaxed, but its exaggeration should in no way invalidate its reality. The emotional words of slaveholders were most likely drawn from memories and experiences they gained during genuine instances of

unrest, which were tremendously frequent in Cuba. For this reason, the rich, descriptive elements of such letters and writings serve historians of the emotions incredibly well.

Conclusion

In an 1826 debate in the national legislature, Virginia planter John Randolph, who served in the House of Representatives, proffered the following when musing on the southern refusal to discuss slavery in Congress:

> 'I know there are gentlemen… who think that… negro slavery, which the Constitution has vainly attempted to blink, by not using the term, should never be brought into public notice… Sir, with every due respect… it is a thing which cannot be hid – it is not a dry-rot that you can cover with the carpet until the house tumbles about your ears – you might as well try to hide a volcano in full operation – it cannot be hid; it is a cancer in your face.'[1]

Meanwhile, Tomás Romay, complaining that British abolitionist influence may provoke the slaves of Cuba to a state of rebellion, communicated what resounds as a rumination on destruction:

> 'The island of Cuba's dangerous situation… the excessive majority of the people of colour, their immorality… the opposing interests which constantly agitate their spirit and foment day after day the necessary elements for the destruction of the country… the combustible materials which constitute the principal, almost only, wealth of the island… the harm from the most tiny explosion would be irredeemable… [the territory would be] reduced to a horrifying desert… covered by debris and ashes.'[2]

These approaches – one, stubborn, hushed, proud; the other explicit, detailed, perhaps even sensational – aptly capture the different relationships the slaveholders of Cuba and South Carolina had with fear between 1820 and 1850. Yet, in each region, the linguistic styles for evoking slave rebellion itself are more similar than different. In both, common tropes surround the theme of insurrection: combustion, fire, the contagion of rebellion, race war, volcanoes, burning cane fields, and ashes. Even in cases where fear was only nominated rarely, there emerged a prevailing style for speaking about it, or conjuring its

---

[1] Quoted in full in Hugh A. Garland, *The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke* (New York, 1850) p. 262
[2] Tomas Romay to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Gobernación de Ultramar 88, 28 September 1823, AGI

forms, which was not specific to one region. This imagery spanned the southern U.S. and the wider Caribbean, if not the greater slaveholding Atlantic.[3] As this thesis has demonstrated, central to mastery was not only the control of fear, but also controlling, and sometimes silencing, the conversation surrounding it. Being part of the in-group meant understanding the appropriate uses of fear: when it served a purpose, when it was corrosive, and how to summon it. It would also appear that knowing the correct descriptions of fear was an element of that same writing canon, which raises questions of a Fear Discourse familiar to all slaveholders.

This thesis has argued that the slave-owners of Cuba and South Carolina developed, and expertly deployed, the appropriate stylistic Scripts relative to fear and slave rebellion. Under different but connected historical contexts, these two highly profitable regions, industrialising during the Second Slavery in order to capitalise upon the forced labour of their enslaved populations, were faced with increasing abolitionist antagonism that required each to seek ways in which to guarantee their continued economic success. Censoring fear in its most literal sense, slaveholders in South Carolina and Cuba attempted to extinguish all abolitionist discussion within their borders, producing proslavery narratives to repudiate the public allegation that each region was populated by fearful slaveholders whose surroundings were precariously combustible. Yet, alongside muzzling fear by discrediting those who claimed its existence, in South Carolina that emotion was also suppressed by judicious silence. It has been argued that contributing to masculine South Carolinian silence on the subject of fear was their Emotional Regime, which demanded that men behave in private as they would in public, creating a social context wherein casually confessing unease or trepidation would have been profoundly shameful. In Cuba, conversely, it has been demonstrated that the private realm offered an Emotional Refuge, where fear was regularly voiced. Concepts such as the Emotional Regime, the Emotional Refuge, and Rule Reminders, have been utilised to analyse the discursive habits of slaveholders, revealing the social dynamics at play behind the denial or admission of fear, and emphasising that confidence was inherent neither to masculinity, nor to mastery.

---

[3] Gillian McGillivray, *Blazing Cane: Sugar Communities, Class, and State Formation in Cuba, 1868-1959* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009) pp. 1-13

The slave presence in Cuba was discussed as though it were a volcanic force. That potential explosiveness and destructive capacity was pondered quite openly, as though disregarding it would have been imprudent, if not absurd. There was nothing expressly Cuban about the *threats* the slaveholders on the island faced, but the frequency with which they were recounted is striking. It would have been unthinkable for an antebellum South Carolinian to have spoken or written in the Cuban style publicly (and, most often, even privately). Yet, South Carolinians, it must be recognised, were also surrounded by danger. While the extent to which a rebellion could have spread across substantial territory was more limited in the U.S., a slaveholder in Lowcountry South Carolina stood as great a chance of being murdered in his bed by his slaves, along with his wife and children, as his counterpart did on his *ingenio* in Matanzas. Indeed, while it is not known whether slaveholders in Cuba were in the habit of locking the doors to their bedchambers at night, had they done so, in a practical sense they would have been better protected than the slaveholder of South Carolina who boasted that his slaves were entrusted with the keys to his home, sleeping with the doors unlatched regardless. Future studies into the material surroundings of the slaveholder questioning, for example, the distance of his *casa de vivienda* or Big House from the *barracones* or slave quarters, and whether a horse was needed to traverse between the two, or whether the journey could be made on foot, would yield extremely illuminating implications for the architecture of fear.

In the southern U.S., by contemporary approximations, the slaves simply *shouldn't* have been rebelling. The cognitive framework of the master did not allow for scheming, intelligent, murderous, traitorous slaves. Not, at least, as far as he was permitted to admit. Moreover, surrounded by other slaveholding states with their own large white populations and militias, dwarfed by the size of the country, and restricted in their communications by slave codes that made socialising between free blacks and slaves extremely difficult (unless they were located in urban areas), these factors not only made plotting insurrection greatly challenging, but also rendered any attempt at slave rebellion in South Carolina practically suicidal. And yet… those rebellions *still* occurred, resounding, as senseless, directionless aberrations to the master-class. Perhaps it is for this reason that Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner loomed so large in the white imagination: for their defiance not only of the law, of common sense, and of logic, but also of fear itself.

There is possibly something more fearsome about a rare, hopeless insurrection attempt executed in the southern U.S. when compared to the constant, almost predictable rebellions being undertaken in Cuba, which may have normalised white fear to the extent where it was, by virtue of its constancy, less potent. When slaves rebelled in Cuba, it was perceived not so much as extraordinary as simply monstrous. When slaves in the southern U.S. partook of insurrection, it was a disturbing abnormality. Alongside these fears, it has been argued, there also existed potent anxieties in the mind of the slaveholder: be they the anxiety that abolition would bring about his economic ruin; that paranoid whites would do away with slavery in South Carolina; or that the overwhelming population of people of colour in Cuba, and their African customs, would impede, if not forestall, the development of white culture in Cuba. Outright insurrection was but one of many possible crises presented to the slaveholder.

While it would be presumptuous to assume that the fears verbalised in Cuba were identical to those unspoken in South Carolina, they may still offer valuable insights into the South Carolinian emotional experience. The sense of linguistic continuity in Cuba, at least over the thirty-year period bookending this thesis, is suggestive (but not proof) of emotional candour. To claim otherwise would be to suggest that those men consistently falsified their emotional experiences over three decades. Exaggeration was certainly the case, at times, but lying outright about their fear was simply unnecessary. Neighboured by a menacing black republic and newly emancipated slaves in the British colonies; inhabited by an enormous population of colour with formal military training; aware of the acquisitive glances of the U.S., and with revolutionary independence coups having been attempted by Latin Americans within Cuba itself, already this was an island surrounded, and infiltrated, by abolitionism and revolution. Slaveholders had ammunition enough to substantiate appeals to Spain based on the dangers that surrounded them without needing to distort the truth about fearing their slaves as well.

It has been demonstrated that South Carolina's fundamentally disruptive objective - to maintain slavery by rupturing an otherwise peaceful Union - necessitated a posture, and a discourse, of self-assurance and defiance. Mobilising humiliation and indignation to provoke otherwise hesitant southern men to support secession by jibing that loyalty to the Union was tantamount to effeminacy and submission, the Confidence Script was galvanised as the South Carolinian style in a historical moment of antagonistic obstinacy.

Within that political climate, South Carolina's Emotional Regime, which guarded the sacrament of a gentleman's word and his authority (expecting in return his dominance and bravery) bound slaveowners to a discourse of aplomb not only by their political needs, but also by their social constraints. Critically, slaves were, according to paternalist proslavery fire-eaters, both supposedly devoted to their masters, and a weak, incapable enemy. South Carolinian enslavers had spent decades explaining the ignorance of the slave: his childish contrariness, credulity, and rudimental intellect. How, then, could any South Carolinian gentleman have admitted that he - an enlightened, honourable, righteous, intelligent individual - lived in fear of such uneducated, low-minded people? The tone of their proslavery arguments had backed them into a corner. This thesis does not claim that the attitudes of elite white male slaveholders towards fear in South Carolina should be considered as representative of the rest of the South, though, indeed, they may have been. Future studies would fruitfully track the correlations and disparities between white male expressions of fear across the South, most probably, and most interestingly, revealing differing behaviours across class divides.

The private Supplication Script deployed in Cuba set out to preserve slavery by placid means: maintaining the protection of Spain by propagating the metaphor of a weak, defenceless and feminised island. Publicly, censoring and tailoring a positive national discourse on slavery, the Cuban Confidence Script was developed to silence all dissenting voices by refuting them. A Confidence Script was also used, at times, by the Captain Generals whose positions would have been undermined by constantly presenting Cuba as a tumultuous territory under their leadership. Indeed, the Captain Generals demonstrate perfectly the canny decision-making process behind selectively using fear and confidence depending upon the more expedient rhetorical emotion for the circumstance. Privately, fear was mobilised by slaveholders - otherwise at the mercy of colonial legislation regarding slavery - as a tool for influencing change as they saw fit. Emphasising the fear of slave violence via the Supplication Script was a method for slave-owners to contest slave codes which were considered prejudicial, to lobby for the dismissal of Captains General who had fallen out of their favour by policing the illegal slave trade too rigorously, and to impel the Crown to resist British diplomatic pressure to liberate Africans brought illegally into the island following the abolition of the slave trade.

The public and private in Cuba acted as demarcations between the Confidence and Supplication Scripts, but that should not necessarily be taken as a cleavage between public/artificial and private/honest. While the fears evoked in private, this thesis argues, were drawn from real emotion, that fear was put to work with an objective in mind. As such, while colonial officials in Spain were kept abreast of the composition of the Confidence Script, the Supplication Script - presented to them as a sincere and un-choreographed communication of emotion - was a purposeful mobilisation of fear employed to fulfil an objective. Meanwhile, disregarding the accepted norms of confining fear to the private realm, exiles and expatriated Cubans subversively dragged slaveholder fear into public view to serve their agenda. José Antonio Saco, exposing the precariousness of the island's economy in his crusade to end the illegal slave trade, demonstrated his understanding that fear was a potent political tool. A defected member of the in-group, Saco used his knowledge of slaveholder fear in a Subversion Discourse to attack their Confidence Script.

The principal objective of this thesis was to discern the factors that contributed to the evolution of such disparate styles for discussing fear and slave rebellion in South Carolina and Cuba. It concludes that the respective discourses surrounding fear were forged by two factors: the governing emotional norms and the political contexts of each region. The abandonment of the Supplication Script utilised in colonial South Carolina, and the mobilisation instead of a bullish antebellum Confidence Script, demonstrates that uncertainty was incongruous to South Carolina's political 'moment'. In their attempt to catalyse secession based on the defence of racial enslavement, it was essential for the enslavers of South Carolina to maintain, at all costs, an impenetrable stance of composure regarding their slaves. Fearfulness, however, was conducive to Cuba's colonial circumstance, within which the paternal metropole was best appealed to by demonstrations of unease. Working in harmony with these political differences were the Emotionologies of each. In Cuba, just as in South Carolina, masculinity and honour were maintained and asserted by authority and dominance, but in Cuba that public dominance could coexist with private admissions of disquietude quite agreeably from the standpoint of social expectations. For that reason, privately voicing fear to the Crown while publicly proclaiming the safety of the island was perfectly aligned with Cuban conceptions of honour. South Carolinian honour, conversely, which demanded that a gentleman's behaviour in private and public be uniform, offered slaveholders no Emotional Refuge,

creating a culture of masculinity characterised by impervious dominance perfectly suited to the political context of inexorable southern nationalism, at the helm of which stood South Carolinian men. In the marriage of these two factors, fear was both personal and political.

Human imperfection marred an otherwise flawless record. South Carolinians did admit to fear privately, albeit with great discomfort and tentativeness, creating a context of extremes. Their public bombast was grandiose, and their admissions of fear were fleeting and rushed, as though the presence of that emotion to any degree of excess was mortifying. By contrast, the slaveholders of Cuba wrote tirades on their fears. Where South Carolinians left two lines of shrouded language and euphemism in an intimate letter, the slaveholders of Cuba provide pages of adjectives, projections, reflections, and embellishments regarding their fear. Each, whether brief or lengthy, reveals an insight into the intimate spaces fear inhabited in the slaveholder mind-set.

* * *

In the nineteenth century work of fiction *Cecilia Valdés*, often lauded as the first Cuban novel, following the ferocious whipping of a slave by his young and incensed master Leonardo in the small hours of the morning, the author Cirilo Villaverde questions:

> 'Following this, which of the two, the victim or the tormentor, was the first to find repose in their bed?... What passed through the soul of the master when he lay down in his? What, through the soul of the slave, when he collapsed onto the rigid wooden flooring? It would be difficult for those who have never been in either position to attempt to explain it, and it would be impossible for those who have never lived in a slave society to understand it fully.'[4]

Villaverde is precisely right. The uninitiated, the abolitionists, the antagonists, but also we as scholars are part of the out-group, forming the audience for the words of slaveholders, but never truly comprehending the subjective experience of the men who spoke them. We can never know exactly what thoughts plagued the master's mind in his private moments, or how fully he was able to convince himself of his own dominance. For that reason, the study of his fear and confidence will always be an elusive exercise. By gathering and scrutinising evidence of emotions left by slave-owners in writing, and examining them within their political and emotional contexts, this thesis has worked to begin filling that historical void. The question at hand has not been who had more cause to be more or less afraid, the slaveholders of South Carolina or Cuba. Rather, it's been one of shedding light onto the enslaver's relationship with fear. This thesis has sought to highlight the repugnant reality within which oppressive slave codes, sexual violence, emasculating punishments and sadistic whippings were fuelled by the belief shared by slaveholders in South Carolina and Cuba that white dominance was contingent upon black fear. By meting out fear, white slaveholders attempted to appease their own, a fear that was at times furtively hidden, and others patently clear, but for which we can claim to have documentary evidence. This rigorous analysis of fear will hopefully open similar dialogues surrounding slaveholder anger, lust, sorrow, and pride, among other emotions, which will avoid speculation, or the temptation to project onto those men modern assumptions surrounding how they *should* or *must* have felt, instead seeking out their emotional accounts.

---

[4] Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés o la Loma del Angel,* p. 159

Interrogating the slaveholder's masculinity and subjectivity is by no means a bid to undermine the importance of enquiries into the slave experience, nor is analysis of his emotions undertaken with a view to garner sympathy for his position. On the contrary, to emphasise the mortality of the master only serves to amplify the inhumanity of his actions, allowing scholars to consider slavery more fully not simply as an interchange between "master and slave"; "capitalist and slave", or "tyrant and slave", but as two emotionally active people interacting as humans within the wretched context of racial enslavement. There is an important difference between writing, for example: 'John Grimball: South Carolina slaveholder', and: 'John Grimball, who wept for days when his mother died, recalling of her 'my heart is broken – she was my best friend – and her place in my heart is empty forever'; who fell into a depression when his brother passed away, writing with heartache: 'God knows we loved him dearly - the future is dark and dreary with me - hope seems dead'; who was in emotional anguish after losing his temper with wife; and who kept his fellow human beings enslaved.[5]

[5] John Grimball Diary, entries: 18 June 1834; 10 July 1834; 13 October 1837; John Berkley Grimball Diaries, 1832-1883, SHC

Bibliography

Archival Sources

AGI

Ultramar, 88, 89, 90

Indiferente, 2828

Santo Domingo, 1293,1308

AHN

Ultramar, 4617, 3458/9, 4627, 3547, 4625, 4626

Estado, 8033

ANC

Gobierno Superior Civil

BNJM

Colección de Manuscritos, Sala Cubana:

C.M. Exposición,

C.M. Tacón,

C.M. Vidal Morales y Morales

SCHS

Langdon Cheves Papers

Ladson L. Fraser Family Papers

Mary Lamboll Thomas Beach Papers

SHC

Arnold and Screven Papers

Elliott Papers

Elliot Gonzales Papers

Haywood Papers

John Berkley Grimball Diaries, 1832-1883

John Ewing Colhoun Papers

Middleton Papers

Nicholas Phillip Trist Papers

Robert Barnwell Rhett Papers

Simpson Papers

SCL

Mackay Family Papers

Manuscripts Misc.

Samuel C. Jackson Papers

Zalmon Wildman Papers

Newspapers

Camden Semi-Weekly Journal, Camden SC

Cheraw Gazette, Cheraw SC

The Keowee Courier, Pickens Courthouse, Pickens, SC

Edgefield Advertiser, Edgefield SC

Primary Sources

Alexander, P.J.G., *Observaciones Sobre la Esclavitud y Comercio de Esclavos, E Informe del Dr Madden Sobre la Esclavitud en la Isla de Cuba* (Barcelona, 1841)

An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and Other Slaves in this Province, May 1740 <https://archive.org/stream/negrolawsouthca00goog/negrolawsouthca00goog_djvu.txt> [accessed 22 September 2019]

Austin, James Trecothick, *Extracts from Dr Channing's Slavery, With Comments* (Boston, 1836)

Blane, William Newnham, *An Excursion Through the United States and Canada During the Years 1822–23* (London, 1824)

Bryan, Edward B., *The Disunionist: Or, Secession, The Rightful Remedy* (Charleston, 1850)

Charles Colcock Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States*, (Savannah, 1842)

Dalcho, Frederick, *Practical Considerations Founded on the Scriptures: Relative to the Slave Population of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1823)

De Tocqueville, Alexis, *Democracy in America* (London, 1835)

Douglass, Frederick, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*, (Dublin, 1846)

Fitzhugh, George, *Cannibals All! Or, Slaves Without Masters*, (Richmond, 1857)

Furman, Richard, *EXPOSITION of The Views of the Baptists, RELATIVE TO THE COLOURED POPULATION In the United States IN A COMMUNICATION To the Governor of South-Carolina*, (Charleston, 1822)

Garrison, William Lloyd, 'The Insurrection', *The Liberator*, 3 September 1831

Gurney, J.J., *A Winter in the West Indies: Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay* (New York, 1840)

Hamilton, James, *Negro Plot: An Account of the Late Intended Insurrection among a Portion of the Blacks of the City of Charleston*, (Boston, 1822)

Hewitt, Alexander, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia* (London, 1779)

Holland, Edwin Clifford, *A Refutation of the Calumnies Circulated Against the Southern & Western States Respecting the Institution and Existence of Slavery Among Them*, (Charleston, 1822)

Jones, Charles Colcock, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States*, (Savannah, 1842)

Kemble, Frances Anne, Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839 (New York, 1864)

Kennedy, Lionel H., and Parker, Thomas, *An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes, Charged With an Attempt to Raise an Insurrection in the State of South Carolina: Preceded by an Introduction* (Charleston, 1822)

Madden, R.R., *A letter to W.E. Channing on the Subject of the Abuse of the Flag of the United States in the Island of Cuba and the Advantage Taken of its Protection in Promoting the Slave Trade* (Boston, 1839)

O'Gavan, Juan Bernardo*, Observaciones Sobre la Suerte de los Negros del África, Considerados en su Propia Patria y Trasplantados a las Antillas Españolas; y Reclamación Contra el Tratado Celebrado con los Ingleses el ano de 1817* (Madrid, 1817)

'On the Condition of Blacks in This Country', *The Panoplist and Missionary Herald For the Year 1820*, Vol. 16, no.11 <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=NT8EAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA484&dq=are+unwilling+that+the+subject+of+slavery+should+be+publicly+discussed+in+any+manner,+or+in+any+place,+by+northern…+people'&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwivxquj64DlAhVIeMAKHUx1DsQQ6AEILzAB#v=onepage&q=ar

e%20unwilling%20that%20the%20subject%20of%20slavery%20should%20be%20publicly%20discussed%20in%20any%20manner%2C%20or%20in%20any%20place%2C%20by%20northern…%20people'&f=false> [accessed 3 October 2019]

Philalethes, Demoticus (pseud). *Yankee Travels Through the Island of Cuba; or, The Men and Government, The Laws and Customs of Cuba, as Seen by American Eyes* (New York, 1856)

Pinckney, Thomas, *Reflections, Occasioned by the Late Disturbances in Charleston*, (Charleston, 1822)

Saco, José Antonio, *Paralelo Entre La Isla de Cuba y Algunas Colonias Inglesas* (Madrid, 1837)

Saco, José Antonio, *Mi Primera Pregunta. ¿La Abolición del Comercio de Esclavos Africanos Arruinara o Atrasara la Agricultura Cubana? Dedicado a los Hacendados de la Isla de Cuba Su Compatriota José Antonio Saco* (Madrid, 1837)

Seabrook, Whitemarsh B., *A Letter on Southern Wrongs and Southern Remedies Addressed to the Hon. W.J. Grayson, in Reply to His Letter to the Governor of South Carolina, on the Dissolution of the Union* (Charleston, 1850)

Seabrook, Whitemarsh B., *A Concise View of the Critical Situation, and Future Prospects of the Slave-Holding States, in Relation to Their Coloured Population* (Charleston, 1825)

S., E. R., 'The Negro Insurrection, a Tale of New Orleans', from *The Ladies' Companion, a Monthly Magazine: Devoted to Literature and the Fine Arts,* printed in *The Rural Repository,* No.23, Hudson NY, 16 April 1836 p.177-180 <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AUtAAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA177&dq=THE+NEGRO+INSURRECTION,+A+Tale+of+New+Orleans.+E+R+S&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi-jaPk5__hAhVxSRUIHUf3CvQQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=THE%20NEGRO%20INSURRECTION%2C%20A%20Tale%20of%20New%20Orleans.%20E%20R%20S&f=false> [accessed 3 October 2019]

Speech of Charles Pinckney, Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 16th Congress, 1st Session

Speech of William Smith, *Annals of Congress*, Senate, 16th Congress, 1st Session

The Confessions of Nat Turner, The Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Va. As Fully and Voluntarily Made to Thomas R. Gray, in the Prison Where He Was Confined, and Acknowledged by Him to be Such When Read Before the Court of Southampton (Richmond, 1832)

Torrente, Mariano, *Slavery in the Island of Cuba: With Remarks on the Statements of the British Press Relative to the Slave Trade* (London, 1853)

Turnbull, Robert James, *The Crisis: Or, Essays on the Usurpation of the Federal Government*, (Charleston, 1827)

Villaverde, Cirilo, *Cecilia Valdés o La Loma Del Angel* (New York, 1882)

Secondary Sources

Aguilera, Manzano, José María, *La Formación de la Identidad Cubana (El debate Saco-La Sagra)* (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005)

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin & Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983)

Armstrong, Frederick H., H. Bates Neary, K. Smardz Frost, B. Walls eds. *Ontario's African-Canadian Heritage: Collected Writings by Fred Landon, 1918 – 1967* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009)

Ayers, Edward L., *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth-Century American South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986)

Baptist, Edward E., *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014)

Barcia, Manuel, 'El Conde de Villanueva y la Alternativa de la Cuba Grande: Una Aproximación a la Labor de Claudio Martínez de Pinillos al Frente de la Intendencia de Hacienda de la Isla de Cuba, 1825-1851' in *Francisco Arango y la Invención de la Cuba Azucarera,* ed. by M. González-Ripoll, and I. Álvarez Cuartero (Salamanca: Cícero, 2010), pp. 289-381

—— *The Great African Revolt of 1825: Cuba and the Fight for Freedom in Matanzas* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012)

—— 'Powerful Subjects: The Duplicity of Slaveowners in Nineteenth-Century Cuba', *International Journal of Cuban Studies*, Vol.7 No.1, (Spring 2015), pp.99-112

—— *West African Warfare in Bahia and Cuba: Soldier Slaves in the Atlantic World, 1807-1844* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

Beckert, Sven, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage Press, 2014)

Belich, James, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Berg, Ulla D., and A.Y. Ramos-Zayas, 'Racialising Affect: a theoretical Proposition', *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 56, No. 5 (Oct 2015), pp. 654-677

Bergad, Laird W., *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Bergad, Laird W., Iglesias Garcia, Fe, and Del Carmen Barcia, Maria, *The Cuban Slave Market, 1790 – 1888* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Berlin, Ira, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974)

Berlin, Ira, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

—— *The Long Emancipation: The Demise of Slavery in the United States*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015)

Blight, David W., *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018)

Bolster, Jeffrey W., *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997)

Bourdieu, Pierre, 'The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society', in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society,* ed. by J. G. Peristiany (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1965), pp. 191-241

Bradley, Patricia, *Slavery, Propaganda, and the American Revolution*, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998)

Bruce, Dickson, *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979)

Burkholder, Mark A., 'Honor and Honors in Colonial Spanish America', in *The Faces of Honour: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America,* ed. by L. L. Johnson and S. Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. 18-45

Burnard, *Trevor, Planters, Merchants and Slaves: Plantation Societies in British America, 1650 – 1820* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015)

—— *Mastery, Tyranny and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and his Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004)

Casanovas, Joan, *Bread or Bullets! Urban Labor and Spanish Colonialism in Cuba, 1850-1898* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998)

Caro Baroja, Julio, 'Honour and Shame: A Historical Account of Several Conflicts', in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society,* ed. by J. G. Peristiany (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1965), pp. 79-139

Chambers, Stephen, *No God But Gain: The Untold Story of Cuban Slavery, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Making of the United States* (London: Verso, 2015)

Channing, Stephen, *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974)

Childs, Matt, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion in Cuba and the Struggle against Atlantic Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006)

Clegg, John J., 'Capitalism and Slavery', *Critical Historical Studies*, Fall (2015), pp. 281-304

Clinton, Catherine, *The Plantation Mistress* (New York: Pantheon, 1982)

Cohen, Elizabeth S., 'Honor and Gender in the Streets of Early-Modern Rome', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol.22 (Spring, 1992), pp. 597-625

Connell, R. W., *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995)

Corwin, Arthur F., *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba, 1817*-66 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014)

Cowling, Camillia, *Conceiving Freedom: Women of Color, Gender, and the Abolition of Slavery in Havana and Rio de Janeiro* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013)

Cruz-Taura, Graciela, 'Annexation and National Identity: Cuba's Mid-Nineteenth Century Debate' *Cuban Studies,* Vol. 27 (1998), pp. 90-109

Davis, David Brion, 'Reflections on Abolitionism and Ideological Hegemony', in *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation*, ed. by T. Bender (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 161-180

De la Fuente, Alejandro and A. Gross, 'Slaves, Free Blacks, and Race in the Legal Regimes of Cuba, Louisiana and Virginia: A Comparison' *North Carolina Law Review* Vol.91, No.5 (2013), pp. 1699-1756

—— 'Comparative Studies of Law, Slavery, and Race in the Americas, *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, Vol.6 (2010), pp. 469-485

De la Fuente, Alejandro, 'Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannenbaum Debate Revisited', *Law and History Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 2004), pp. 339-369

—— 'Slaves and the Creation of Legal Rights in Cuba: Coartación and Papel', *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 87:4 (2007), pp. 659-92

De los Ángeles Merino Fuentes, María, and A. Perera Díaz, *Contrabando de Bozales en Cuba: Perseguir el Trafico y Mantener la Esclavitud, 1845-66* (Mayabeque: Ediciones Montecallado, 2015)

Deyle, Steven, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Degler, Carl, *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971)

Demertzis, Nicolas, 'Introduction: Theorizing the Emotions-Politics Nexus' in *Emotions in Politics*: *The Affect Dimension in Political Tension,* ed. by N. Demertzis (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 1-16

Denning, Greg, 'Texts of the Self', in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early Identity,* ed. by R. Hoffman, M. Sobel, and F.J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 157-163

Dillon, Elizabeth Maddock, and M.J. Drexler, eds, *The Haitian Revolution and the Early United States: Histories, Textualities, Geographies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016)

Gonzales-Ripoll Navarro, María Dolores, C. Naranjo, A. Ferrer, G. García, and J. Opatrný, eds*, El Rumor de Haití en Cuba: Temor, Raza, y Rebeldía* (Madrid: CSIC Press, 2004)

Dunkley, D. A., *Agency of the Enslaved: Jamaica and the Culture of Freedom in the Atlantic World* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2013)

Dusinberre, William, *Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000)

Easterby, J.H., ed., *The South Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945)

Edelson, Max S., *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006)

Egerton, Douglas R., 'Forgetting Denmark Vesey; Or, Oliver Stone Meets Richard Wade', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Jan., 2002), pp. 143-152

—— *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of Denmark Vesey* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004)

Egerton Douglas. R. and R.L. Paquette, eds, *The Denmark Vesey Affair: A Documentary History* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017)

Elias, Norbert, *The Court Society* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 1969)

Ely, Roland T., 'The Old Cuba Trade: Highlights and Case Studies of Cuban-American Interdependence during the Nineteenth Century', *The Business History Review*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Winter, 1964), pp. 456-478

Engerman, Stanley L., E. V. Mariscal, and K. Sokoloff, 'The Evolution of Schooling in the Americas, 1800–1925', in *Human Capital and Institutions: A Long-run View,* ed. by D. Eltis, F.D. Lewis, and S.K. Sokoloff (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 93-142

Fattah, Khaled and K.M. Fierke, 'A Clash of Emotions: The Politics of Humiliation and Political Violence in the Middle East', *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol.15 No.1 (2009), pp. 67-93

Faust, Drew Gilpin, ed., *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981)

—— *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982)

Ferrer, Ada, 'Cuban Slavery and Atlantic Anti-slavery', in *Slavery & Antislavery in Spain's Atlantic Empire,* ed. by J. M. Fradera and C. Schmidt-Nowara (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), pp. 134-158

—— *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

—— 'Cuba en la Sombra de Haití: Noticias, Sociedad y Esclavitud' in *El Rumor de Haití en Cuba: Temor, Raza, y Rebeldía,* ed. by M.D. Gonzáles-Ripoll Navarro, C. Naranjo, A. Ferrer, G. García, and J. Opatrný (Madrid: CSIC Press, 2004), pp. 179-233

Fierke, K. M., 'Whereof We Can Speak, Thereof We Must Not Be Silent: Trauma, Political Solipsism and War', *Review of International Studies*, 30 (2004), pp. 471-491

Finch, Aisha K., *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba: La Escalera and the Insurgencies of 1841-1844* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015)

Finnegan, Terence, 'The Equal of Some White Men and the Superior of Others: Masculinity and the 1916 Lynching of Anthony Crawford in Abbeville County, South Carolina', in *Men and Violence, Gender, Honor and Rituals in Modern Europe and America,* ed. by P. Spierenburg (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), pp. 240-255

Fogel, Robert William, and S. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1974)

Follet, Richard, *The Sugar Masters: Planters and Slaves in Louisiana's Cane World, 1820—1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005)

Foner, Philip S., ed., *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass: Pre-Civil War Decade, 1850-1860* (New York: International Publishers, 1950)

Ford, Lacy K., *Deliver Us From Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Fornet, Ambrosio, 'Criollismo, Cubanía y Producción Editorial, 1855 – 1885', *Santiago*, 17, (March, 1975), pp. 109-21

—— '*Literatura y Mercado en Cuba Colonial, 1830 – 60' Casa de Las Américas*, 84 (1974), pp. 40-52

Forret, Jeff, *Race Relations at the Margins: Slaves and Poor Whites in the Antebellum Southern Countryside* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006)

Forsting, Richard Meyer, *Raising Heirs to the Throne in Nineteenth Century Spain: The Education of the Constitutional Monarch* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

'Forum: the Making of a Slave Conspiracy, Part 2', [Roundtable], *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Jan., 2002), pp. 135-202

Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988)

Franklin, Sarah, *Women and Slavery in Nineteenth Century Cuba* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2012)

Fraser (Jr.), Walter J., *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1989)

Frederickson, George M., *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1988)

Freehling, William, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina 1816-1836* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965)

—— *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay 1776–1854* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990)

Freeman, Joanne B., *The Field of Blood: Violence in Congress and the Road to Civil War* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018)

French, Scot, *The Rebellious Slave: Nat Turner in American Memory* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Hardcourt, 2004)

Frey, Sylvia R., *Water From the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983)

Friend, Craig Thompson and L. Glover, eds, *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004)

Garland, Hugh A., *The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke* (New York: Appleton, 1850)

Geggus, *David P.* ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001)

—— Geggus, David P., 'Slave Resistance in the Spanish Caribbean in the Mid-1790s' in *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean,* ed. by D.B. Gaspar and D.P. Geggus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997)

Genovese, Eugene and E. Fox-Genovese, *Fatal Self-Deception: Slaveholding Paternalism in the Old South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Genovese, Eugene, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974)

—— *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988)

—— *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992)

—— *The Sweetness of Life: Southern Planters at Home,* ed. by D. Ambrose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

—— ' " Our Family, White and Black": Family, Household in the Southern Slaveholders' World View', in *In Joy and Sorrow: Women, Family and Marriage in the Victorian South, 1830-1900,* ed. by C. Bleser (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 69-88

Gilmore David D.,, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990)

Glover, Lorri, 'An Education in Southern Masculinity: The Ball Family of South Carolina in the New Republic', *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol.69, No. 1 (Feb. 2003), pp. 39-70

—— *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007)

Gonzáles-Ripoll, María Dolores and I. Álvarez Cuartero, eds, *Francisco Arango y La Invención de la Cuba Azucarera* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 2009)

Gorn, Elliot J., 'Gouge, Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch: The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry', *American Historical Review*, 90 No.1 (Feb. 1985), pp. 18-43

Gott, Richard, 'Latin America as a White Settler Society' *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol.6 No.2 (April 2007), pp. 269-289

Graden, Dale T., *Disease, Resistance and Lies: The Demise of the Transatlantic Slave Trade to Brazil and Cuba* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014)

Graham, Sandra Lauderdale, 'Writing From the Margins: Brazilian Slaves and Written Culture', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49:3 (2007), pp. 611-636

Greenberg, Kenneth, *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, The Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)

Guerra y Sánchez, Ramiro, *Manual de Historia de Cuba Desde su Descubrimiento Hasta 1868* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1971)

Hadden, Sally, 'The Fragmented Laws of Slavery in the Colonial and Revolutionary Eras' in *The Cambridge History of Law in America: Volume I, Early America (1580-1815),* ed. by M. Grossberg and C. Tomlins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Hall, Catherine, 'Going a-Trolloping: Imperial Man Travels the Empire' in *Gender and Imperialism*, ed. by Claire Midgley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998)

Havard, John C., *Hispanicism and Early U.S. Literature: Spain, Mexico, Cuba, and the Origins of U.S. National Identity* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2018)

Heaney, Jonathan, 'Emotions and Nationalism: a Reappraisal' in *Emotions in Politics, The Affect Dimension in Political Tension,* ed. by N. Demertzis (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 243-264

Hemphill, C. Dallett, *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Henneton, Lauric, 'Introduction: Adjusting to Fear in Early America' in *Fear and the Shaping of Early American Societies,* ed. by L. Henneton and L.H. Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 1-37

Hewstone, Miles, Rubin, Mark and Willis, Hazel, 'Intergroup Bias', *Annual Review of Psychology* (2002, Vol. 53), pp. 575-604

Hirschman, Albert O., *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organisations and States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970)

Hochschild, Arlie, *The Managed Heart: Commercialisation of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983)

Hodes, Martha, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997)

Hoffer, Williamjames Hull, *The Caning of Charles Sumner: Honor, Idealism, and the Origins of Civil War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010)

Hoffer, Peter Charles, *John Quincy Adams and the Gag Rule, 1835-1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017)

Holeman, Jamie, ' "A Peculiar Character of Mildness": The Image of a Humane Slavery in Nineteenth-Century Cuba' in *Francisco Arango y La Invención de la Cuba Azucarera,* ed. by M.D. Gonzáles-Ripoll and I. Álvarez Cuartero (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 2009), pp. 41-55

Horne, Gerald, *Race to Revolution: The U.S. and Cuba During Slavery and Jim Crow* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2014)

Howard, Philip A., *Changing History: Afro-Cuban Cabildos and Societies of Color in the Nineteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998)

Hunefeldt, Christine, *Liberalism in the Bedroom: Quarrelling Spouses in Nineteenth Century Lima* (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999)

Hunt, Alfred N., *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988)

Hutchinson, Emma, *Affective Communities in World Politics: Collective Emotions After Trauma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Ibarra, Jorge, *Nación y Cultura Nacional* (Havana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1981)

James, C.L.R., *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938)

Jensen, Larry R., *Children of Colonial Despotism: Press, Politics, and Culture in Cuba, 1790-1840* (Gainesville, FL: University of South Florida Press, 1987)

Johnson, Michael P. 'Denmark Vesey and His Co-Conspirators', *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 58, No. 4 (Oct., 2001), pp. 915-976

Johnson, Michael P. and J. L. Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984)

Johnson, Lyman L. and S. Lipsett-Rivera, 'Introduction', in *The Faces of Honour: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America,* ed. by L.L. Johnson and S. Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. 1-18

Johnson, Lyman L., 'Dangerous Words, Provocative Gestures and Violent Acts', in *The Faces of Honour: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America,* ed. by L.L. Johnson and S. Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. 127-152

Johnson, Sherry, *The Social Transformation of Eighteenth Century Cuba* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001)

Johnson, Walter, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Kantrowitz, Stephen, 'White Supremacist Justice and the Rule of Law: Lynching, Honor and the State in Ben Tillman's South Carolina', in *Men and Violence, Gender, Honor and Rituals in Modern Europe and America,* ed. by P. Spierenburg (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), pp. 213-240

Kelly, Joseph, *America's Longest Siege: Charleston, Slavery, and the Slow March Towards Civil War* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2014)

Kiple, Kenneth F., *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984)

Klein, Herbert, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967)

—— 'The Colored Militia of Cuba: 1568 – 1868', *Caribbean Studies*, Vol.6 No.2 (July 1966), pp. 17-27

Knight, Franklin W., *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974)

—— 'Origins of Wealth and the Sugar Revolution in Cuba, 1750 – 1850', Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol.57 No.2, (1977), pp. 231-253

Koger, Larry, *Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina, 1790–1860* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985)

Kolchin, Peter, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge, MA: Belknapp, 2009)

Kornwiebel, Karen Ruth, *Writing for Inclusion: Literature, Race, and National Identity in Nineteenth Century Cuba and the United States,* (London: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2018)

Graham, Sandra Lauderdale, *The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988)

Lazo, Rodrigo, *Writing to Cuba: Filibustering and Cuban Exiles in the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005)

Lear, Jonathan, *Freud* (New York: Routledge, 2005)

Levine, Philippa, 'Introduction: Why Empire?' in *Gender and Empire,* ed. by P. Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 1-13

Lewis, Kay Wright, *A Curse Upon the Nation: Race. Freedom, and Extermination in America and the Atlantic World* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2017)

Lindsay, David, *Andrew Jackson & John C. Calhoun* (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1973)

Littlefield, Daniel C., *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981)

Lockley, T.J., *Welfare & Charity in the Antebellum South* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida)

Lussana, Sergio, 'To See Who Was Best on the Plantation: Enslaved Fighting Contests and Masculinity in the Antebellum Plantation South', *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (Nov. 2010), pp. 901-922

Machor, James L. *Reading Fiction in Antebellum America: Informed Response and Reception Histories, 1820 – 1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011)

Maitner, Angela T., E.R. Smith, and D.M. Mackie, 'Intergroup Emotions Theory: Prejudice and Differentiated Emotional Reactions Towards Outgroups', in *The Cambridge Handbook of the Psychology of Prejudice,* ed. by F. K. Barlow and C. G. Sibley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 111-130

Mangan, J.A., and J. Walvin, eds, *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987)

Marquese, Rafael, T. Parron, and M. Berbel, *Slavery and Politics: Brazil and Cuba, 1790-1850* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016)

Martínez-Alier, Verena, *Marriage, Class and Color in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1989)

Martínez-Fernández, Luis, *Fighting Slavery in the Caribbean: The Life and Times of a British Family in Nineteenth-century Havana* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1998)

—— 'Geography, Will it Absolve Cuba?' *History Compass*, 2 (2004), pp. 1-21

Mayfleid, John, *Counterfeit Gentlemen: Manhood and Humor in the Old South* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2009)

Gillian McGillivray, *Blazing Cane: Sugar Communities, Class, and State Formation in Cuba, 1868-1959* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009) pp. 1-13

McClintock, Ann, *Imperial Leather: Gender, Race, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995)

Menard, Russel R., *Migrants, Servants and Slaves: Unfree Labor in British Colonial America* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2001)

Méndez Rodenas, Adriana, *Gender and Nationalism in Colonial Cuba: The Travels of Santa Cruz y Montalvo, Condesa de Merlin* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1998)

Merrill Jr, Boynton, *Jefferson's Nephews: A Frontier Tragedy* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1987)

Merritt, Keri Leigh, *Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Miller, Randall M. and J. D. Smith, eds, *Dictionary of Afro American Slavery: Updated, With a New Introduction and Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997)

Miller, William Ian, *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort and Violence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993)

Milwood, Rev. Dr. Robinson A., *European Christianity and the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Black Hermeneutical Study* (Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2007)

Mintz, Sidney, *Caribbean Transformations* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1974)

Morgan, Kenneth, 'Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston' *The English Historical Review*, Vol. CXIII, No. 453 (September 1998), pp. 905-927

Moreno Fraginals, Manuel, 'Nación o Plantación: El Dilema Político Cubano Visto A Traves de José Antonio Saco' in *Homenaje a Silvio Zavala,* ed. by J. Le Riverend (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1953), pp. 243-272

Morrison, Karen Y., *Cuba's Racial Crucible: The Sexual Economy of Social Identities, 1750-2000* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015)

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah, *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1982)

Mullin, G., *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972)

Murillo, María Dolores Pérez, 'El Pensamiento Esclavista del Tribunal de Comercio de la Habana (Año de 1841), in *Esclavitud y Derechos Humanos: La Lucha Por La Libertad Del Negro en el Siglo XIX,* ed. by D. Solano and A. Guimerá (Madrid: CSIC, 1990), pp. 407-414

Murray, David, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain, and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2002)

Naish, Paul D., *Slavery and Silence: Latin America and the U.S. Slave Debate* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017)

Schmidt-Nowara, Christopher and J.M. Nieto-Phillips, eds, *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations and Legends* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005)

Olwell, Robert, *Masters, Slaves, & Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1740 – 1790* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998)

Okllopčić, Biljana, ' "The Nigger That's Going to Sleep With Your Sister": Charles Bon and Joe Christmas as Black Rapists in William Faulkner's Oeuvre', in *Black and White Masculinity, 1800-2000,* ed. by S. Lussana and L. Plath (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 134-158

Opatrny, Josef, 'José Antonio's Path Toward Cubanidad', *Cuban Studies*, Vo.24, (1994), pp. 39-56

—— 'El Estado-Nación o la "Cubanidad": Los Dilemas de Los Portavoces de los Criollos Cubanos de la Época Antes de la Escalera', in *El Rumor de Haití en Cuba: Temor, Raza, y Rebeldía,* ed. by M.D. Gonzales-Ripoll Navarro, C. Naranjo, A. Ferrer, G. García, and J. Opatrný (Madrid: CSIC Press, 2004), pp. 321-416

Ortiz, Fernando, *Los Negros Esclavos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1986)

—— '*La Antigua Fiesta Afro-Cubana del "Día de Reyes" ', Revista Bimestre Cubana*; 15 (1920), pp. 5-26

—— 'Los Cabildos Afro-Cubanos,' *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, 16 (1921), pp. 5-39

Panksepp, Jaak, *Affective Neuroscience: The Foundations of Human and Animal Emotions* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Paquette, Robert L., *Sugar is Made With Blood: the Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict Between Empires Over Slavery in Cuba* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988)

Patterson, Orlando, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982)

Pavich-Lindsay, Melanie, ed., *Anna: The Letters of a St. Simons Island Plantation Mistress, 1817-1859* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2002)

Pearson, Edward A., ed., *Designs Against Charleston: The Trial Record of the Denmark Vesey Slave Conspiracy of 1822,* ed. by Edward A. Pearson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999)

Pérez, Lisandro, *Sugar, Cigars and Revolution: The Making of Cuban New York* (New York: New York University Press, 2018)

Pérez Jr., Louis A., *Slaves, Sugar, & Colonial Society: Travel Accounts of Cuba, 1801-1899* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1992)

—— *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008)

—— *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution* (5th Ed.) (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015)

—— 'In the Service of the Revolution: Two Decades of Cuban Historiography', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol.60, No.1, (Feb. 1980), pp. 79-89

Pitt-Rivers, Julian, *The Fate of Shechem, or the Politics of Sex: Essays in the Anthropology of the Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977)

—— 'Honour and Social Status', in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society,* ed. by J. G. Peristiany (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1965), pp. 19-79

Plamper, Jan, 'Fear: Soldiers and Emotion in Early Twentieth-Century Russian Military Psychology', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 68, No.2 (Summer, 2009), pp. 259-283

Plamper, Jan, W. Reddy, B. Rosenwein, and P. Stearns, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview With William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory*, Vol.49 No.2 (May 2010), pp. 237-265

Planitzer, Walter Kyle, *A Dangerous Class of Men, Without Direct Interest in Slavery: Proslavery Concern about Southern Nonslaveholders in the Late Antebellum Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2007)

Plath, Lydia, 'North Carolina and Nat Turner: Honour and Violence in a Slave Insurrection Scare', in *Black and White Masculinity in the American South, 1800-2000,* ed. by S. Lussana and L. Plath (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 16-37

Powers, Bernard E., *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822-1885* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1994)

Pressly, Paul M., *On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013)

Puleo, Stephen, *The Caning: The Assault That Drove America to Civil War* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2013)

Quigley, Paul, *Shifting Grounds: Nationalism & the American South 1848-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Raboteau, Albert J., *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995)

Reddy, William, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of the Emotions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Reid-Vazquez, Michele, *The Year of the Lash: Free People of Color in Cuba and the Atlantic World* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011)

Riley, Glenda, and Etulain, Richard W., *Presidents Who Shaped the American West* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018)

Ripodas Ardanaz, Daisy, *El Matrimonio en Indias: Realidad Social y Regulación Jurídica* (Buenos Aires: Fundación para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura, 1977)

Rood, Daniel B., *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Rose, Sonya O., *What is Gender History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010)

Rosengarten, Theodore, and S.W. Walker, eds, *Tombee: Portrait of a Cotton Planter: With the Plantation Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin (1822-1890)* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, 1986)

Rosenwein, Barbara, 'Worrying About Emotions in History', *The American History Review* Vol. 107, No.3 (June 2002), pp. 821-845

—— *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007)

—— 'Problems and Methods in the History of the Emotions' *Passions in Context*, Vol.1 (2010), pp. 1-32

—— *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018)

Rotundo, Anthony, 'Learning About Manhood: Gender Ideals and the Middleclass Family in Nineteenth Century America', in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940,* ed. by J.A. Mangan and J. Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987)

—— *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity From the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993)

Rout, Leslie B., *The African Experience in Spanish America: 1502 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1976)

Rowland, Lawrence R., A. Moore and G.C. Rogers Jr., eds, *The History of Beaufort Country, South Carolina: 1514-1861 Vol.1* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996)

Ruben, Vera D., and A. Tuden, eds, *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1977)

Saether, Steinar A., 'Bourbon Absolutism and Marriage Reform in Late Colonial Spanish America', *The Americas* (April 2003, Vol.59:4), pp. 475-509

Samuels, S., ed., *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in 19th-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992)

Sartorius, David, *Ever Faithful: Race, Loyalty, and the Ends of Empire in Spanish Cuba* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013)

Sasley, Brent E., 'Theorising States' Emotions' *International Studies Review* Vol.1, No.3 (Sep. 2011), pp. 452-476

Scarborough, W. K., ed., *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin: Toward Independence, October 1856-April 1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972)

Scheff, Thomas, *Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism and War* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2000)

—— 'Shame in Self and Society', *Symbolic Interaction*, Vol.26, No.2 (2003), pp. 239-262

Scheff, Thomas, and Retzinger, Susanne M., *Emotions and Violence: Shame and Rage in Destructive Conflicts* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 2001)

Schmidt-Nowara, Christopher, *Empire and Slavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833-1874* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999)

Scott, James C., *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990)

Scott, Rebecca J., *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008)

Schoeppner, Michael, 'Peculiar Quarantines: The Seaman Acts and Regulatory Authority in the Antebellum South', *Law and History Review*, Vol.31 (2013), pp. 559-586

Searle-White, Joshua, *The Psychology of Nationalism* (New York: Palgrave, 2001)

Sellick, Gary, 'Black Skin, Red Coats: the Carolina Corps and Nationalism in the Revolutionary British Caribbean.' *Slavery and Abolition*, Vol.39 No.3 (2018), pp. 459-478

Senese, Donald J., 'The Free Negro and the South Carolina Courts, 1790-1860', *The South Carolina Historical Magazine,* Vol. 68, No. 3 (Jul., 1967), pp. 140-153

Sidbury, James, *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia 1730 – 1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

—— 'Reading, Revelation and Rebellion: The Textual Communities of Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner', in *Nat Turner: A Slave Rebellion In History and Memory* ed. by K. S. Greenberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 119-133

Sinha, Manisha, *The Counter-revolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000)

Sinha, Mrinalini, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the Effeminate Bengali in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995)

Sirmans, Eugene M., "The Legal Status of the Slave in South Carolina, 1670–1740." *Journal of Southern History* 28 (November 1962), pp. 462-73

Sklar, K. K., ed., *Women's Rights Emerges Within the Anti-slavery Movement, 1830-1870: A Brief History With Documents* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Smith, Eliot R. and D.M. Mackie, 'Intergroup Emotions' in *Handbook of Emotions,* ed. by M. Lewis, J.M. Haviland-Jones and L.F. Barrett (Third Edition) (New York: Guilford Press, 2008), pp. 428-440

Smith, Mark M., ed., *Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005)

Smorkaloff, Pamela Maria, *Readers and Writers in Cuba: A Social history of Print Culture, 1830s-1990s* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997)

Socolow, Susan M., *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

—— 'Acceptable Partners: Marriage Choice in Colonial Argentina', in *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America,* ed. by A. Larvin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), pp. 209-246

Spierenburg, Pieter, *Men and Violence: Gender, Honour and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998)

—— 'Masculinity, Violence and Honour: an Introduction' in *Men and Violence: Gender, Honour and Rituals in Modern Europe and America,* ed. by P. Spierenburg (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998)

Spurling, Geoffrey, 'Honor, Sexuality and the Catholic Church: The Sins of Dr. González, Cathedral Canon', in *The Faces of Honour: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America,* ed. by L.L. Johnson and S. Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. 45-67

Stearns, Carol Z., and Stearns, Peter N., 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 90 (1985), pp. 813-836

Stearns, Carol Z. and Stearns, Peter N., *Anger: The Struggle For Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986)

Stoler, Ann Laura, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rul*e (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002)

Stowe, Steven, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1990)

—— 'The Touchiness of the Gentleman Planter: The Sense of Esteem and Continuity in the Antebellum South', *Psychohistory Review* 8, (1979), pp. 6-15

Stringfellow, Thornton, 'A Brief Examination of Scripture Testimony on the Institution of Slavery', *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860,* ed. by D.G. Faust (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), pp. 136-167

Stuckey, Sterling, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Summerville, Diane Miller, *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004)

Tajfel, Henri and J.C. Turner, 'An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict', in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations,* ed. by W. G. Austin and S. Worchel (Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1979)

Takaki, Ronald, 'The Movement to Reopen the Slave Trade in South Carolina', *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 6 No. 1 (Jan 1965), pp. 38-54

Tannenbaum, Frank, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1946)

Tardieu, Jean-Pierre, *Morir o Dominar: En Torno al Reglamento de Esclavos en Cuba, 1841-66* (Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2003)

Tezanos Toral, Lorena, 'The Architecture of Nineteenth-Century Cuban Sugar Mills: Creole Power and African Resistance in Late Colonial Cuba', (unpublished doctoral thesis, City University New York, 2015)

Thomas, Hugh, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997)

Thompson, Michael D., *Working on the Dock of the Bay: Labor and Enterprise in an Antebellum Southern Port* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2015)

Tise, Larry E., *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987)

Tomich, Dale, 'The Invention of the Cuban Sugar Mill: Space, Time and Labour Management, 1820 – 1860', in *Francisco Arango y la Invención de la Cuba Azucarera,* ed. by M. González-Ripoll, and I. Álvarez Cuartero (Salamanca: Cícero, 2010) pp. 133-49

—— 'The Wealth of Empire: Francisco Arango y Parreño, Political Economy, and the Second Slavery in Cuba', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.45 No.1 (Jan. 2003), pp. 4-28.

—— *The Politics of the Second Slavery* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016)

—— 'Material Process and Industrial Architecture: Innovation on the Cuban Sugar Frontier, 1818-1857', in *Nature, Raw Materials, and Political Economy* (*Research in Rural Sociology and Development, Vol.10),* ed. by P. Ciccantel, D. Smith, and G. Seidman (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2005), pp. 287-311

Tomich, Dale, and Nieto-Phillips, John M., *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations and Legends* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005)

Trouillot, Michel Rolph, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995)

Turner, Jonathan H., and Stets, Jan E., *The Sociology of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Turner, Jonathan H., *Human Emotions: A Sociological Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2007)

Twinam, Ann, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999)

—— 'The Negotiation of Honour', in *The Faces of Honour: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America,* ed. by L.L. Johnson and S. Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. 68 – 103

—— *Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015)

Van Norman, William C., *Shade-grown Slavery: The Lives of Slaves on Coffee Plantations in Cuba* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2013)

Vaughan, Umi, *Rebel Dance, Renegade Stance: Timba Music and Black Identity in Cuba* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012)

Veracini, Lorenzo, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

Walker, R.B.J., *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Wallace Taylor, Frances, C.T. Matthews, and T.J. Power, eds, *The Leverett Letters: Correspondence of a South Carolina Family, 1851-1868,* ed. by Catherine Taylor Matthews, and Tracy J. Power (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2000)

Waterhouse, Richard, *A New World Gentry: The Making of a Merchant and Planter Class in South Carolina, 1670 – 1770* (Charleston: The History Press, 2005)

Weiner, Marli F., *Mistresses and Slaves: Plantation Women in South Carolina, 1830-80* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998)

White, Ashli, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010)

Wikramanayake, Marina, *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973)

Williams, David, *I Freed Myself: African American Self-Emancipation in the Civil War Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Williams, Jack Kenny, *Vogues in Villainy: Crime and Retribution in Ante-bellum South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959)

Wood, Betty, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia, 1730 – 1775* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1984)

Wood, Peter, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Knopf, 1974)

Woods, Michael E., *Emotional and Sectional Conflict in the Antebellum United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behaviour in the Old South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982)

Yelvington, Kevin A., Sainton, Jean-Pierre, Hector, Michel, and Casimir, Jean, 'Caribbean Social Structure in the Nineteenth Century' in *General History of the Caribbean: the Long Nineteenth Century,* ed. by K.O. Lawrence and J. I. Cuesta, IV (London: Macmillan, 2011), pp. 283-334

Young, Jeffrey Robert, ed., *Proslavery and Sectional Thought in the Early South, 1740-1829* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006)

—— *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina 1670 – 1837* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999)

Zanetti, Oscar and A. García, *Sugar & Railroads: A Cuban History, 1837–1959*, trans. by Franklin Knight and Mary Todd) (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998)

Zeuske, Michael, 'Slavery and Racism in Nineteenth Century Cuba', in *Racism in the Modern World: Historical Perspectives on Cultural Transfer and Adaptation,* ed. by M. Berg, Manfred and S. Wendt (New York: Berghahn, 2014)

Zuckermann, Michael, 'Identity in British America: Unease in Eden' in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500 – 1800,* ed. by N. Canny and A. Pagden (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 115-159