

IMAGINING JUAN PLACIDO, IMAGINING CUBA: THE TRANSAMERICAN
GEOGRAPHIES OF ABOLITION IN J.G. WHITTIER'S "THE BLACK MAN"

By

RJ Boutelle

Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Vanderbilt University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

English

August, 2012

Nashville, Tennessee

Approved:

Dr. Teresa Goddu

Dr. Ifeoma Nwankwo

As the only extant slave narrative from Spanish America, Juan Francisco Manzano's *Autobiografía* (1835-9) has been properly positioned as a foundational piece in both the Afro Hispanic and Cuban literary traditions. Because of the Spanish government's strict oversight of publishing on the island and the text's potentially incendiary treatment of (anti)slavery, however, the primary vehicle for the dissemination of Manzano's autobiography in the mid-nineteenth century was actually British abolitionist Richard Robert Madden's English translation, "Life of the Negro Poet," which was collected along with a sampling of Manzano's poetry and Madden's antislavery writings as *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba* (1840). Until recently, critical considerations of the autobiography have emerged primarily out of area studies, where watershed works have articulated and complicated the racial and cultural politics inflecting the multi-layered textual production of Manzano's narrative.¹ Conversely, the more shallow pool of scholarship examining Madden's edition has only just begun to expand outside of his translation politics and into the transatlantic economy in which the text originally operated.² More surprisingly, despite the recent calls of scholars like John Ernest to expand the critical geographies of the North American slave narrative "Beyond Douglass and Jacobs" or to include what Eric Gardner would call "unexpected" hubs of early African American abolitionist print culture, Madden's translation of the Cuban slave narrative has been almost categorically excluded from conversation with the rich U.S. tradition of antislavery literature.³ One notable exception to this critical lacuna is Susan Willis's shockingly early 1985 essay "Crushed Geraniums: Juan Francisco Manzano and the Language of Slavery," in Charles T. Davis's and Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s *The Slave's Narrative*. But even here, Willis ultimately situates "Life of the Negro

Poet” as part of a distinct and therefore unrelated literary movement: “the slave narrative as a genre had no real presence in Cuba” (203). In large part, the successful incorporation of Manzano into a hemispheric discourse on antislavery literature has been limited by the perceived failure of the Cuban text to communicate properly with the nascent slave narrative tradition in the United States.⁴ Even in English, Fionnghuala Sweeney posits, Madden’s translation remained both culturally and structurally foreign to a U.S. audience: “Manzano’s narrative, though a self-authored text by a black man, produced and authorized by a prominent abolitionist, is laden with signifiers that contradict, or at best frustrate the expectations of the slave-narrative form, particularly those intersections with the representative mode of American self-fashioning, autobiography” (406).

This essay disrupts the partitioning logic that has precluded the theorization of a transamerican antislavery discourse, revealing the popular reception of “Life of the Negro Poet” by U.S. audiences through what Nicole Aljoe would term an “embedded” slave testimony.⁵ John Greenleaf Whittier’s essay “The Black Man,” collected in his long-since forgotten compendium *The Stranger in Lowell* (1845), elaborates the life of the emancipated slave, renowned poet, and recently executed conspirator of a Havana slave revolt, Juan Placido. The man that Whittier styles “the black Revolutionist of Cuba,” however, never actually existed. Instead, “Juan Placido” constitutes an accidental conflation of the lives of two different Cuban authors: Manzano and Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés (better known by his nom de plume, Plácido). Through Whittier’s complex narrative synthesis of Manzano’s early life in slavery into a biographical sketch of Juan Placido, this study unveils the avenues of the Cuban slave narrative’s circulation in the abolitionist print networks of the United States.

More than merely contributing further to the intentional palimpsest enveloping Manzano's text, Whittier's reworking of "Life of the Negro Poet" and its seamless integration into Plácido's martyrdom "translates" the Cuban slave narrative into a more legible form for dissemination within the U.S. abolitionist cultural marketplace.⁶ Stylistically, "The Black Man" signposts its prose with the familiar generic conventions of North American antislavery literature – its sentimental tone, a central whipping scene, and a resolution toward resistance – while also contextualizing the poetical prowess of Juan Plácido within a distinctly U.S. discourse on the intellectual equality between the races. Moreover, the emotionally-charged execution of the poet that concludes Whittier's biographical sketch, enhanced by Juan Plácido's heroic stoicism, offers an exemplary form of jeremiad that was immediately familiar to an antebellum audience. Due to popular U.S. fascination with the alterity of Cuba as "the tropics," the intensifying potential of North American annexation of the island as a slaveholding state, and gestating anxieties concerning large-scale slave uprisings, the figure of Juan Plácido carried exceptional affective capital in the United States, emerging as a cause célèbre among antebellum abolitionists.

In light of the widespread movement of Whittier's writings and its literary descendants, his reappropriation of Madden's "Life of the Negro Poet" ultimately calls for a reconceptualization of North American abolitionism as a hemispheric movement. "The Black Man" also helps to complicate narratives of the rapidly developing, highly efficient and mutually dependent U.S.-Cuban economy of persons and products throughout the nineteenth century, where Whittier's deployment of Juan Plácido reveals that the print and intellectual cultures of antislavery were also fundamental to this

international exchange system.⁷ Read within this Transamerican framework, “The Black Man” blurs the national and cultural borders that have been interpellated into the study nineteenth-century literature of the Americas as it runs counter to the dominant narratives of imperialism and nationalism that frame traditional readings of U.S.-Cuban relations. In their place, Whittier’s essay provocatively suggests that the concurrent maturation of a Cuban protonational identity and the failing coalescence of the “house divided” approaching the fracturing moment of the Civil War, as well as the purportedly hegemonic relationship that binds those two geographies, were always already intertwined. Also instructive, however, are the erasures at work in the revisions and expurgations in Whittier’s reconfiguration of Manzano’s autobiography. What are the consequences of evacuating a more complex Cuban racial ontology in order to essentialize Juan Placido into a representative par excellence of the intellectual capacity of “The Black Man” within the dyadic racial politics of the United States? And how can the appropriation of Juan Placido in a broadly-scoped argument about racial equality be reconciled with the excision of Madden’s essays and poetry on the illegal slave trade through Cuba? These inquiries remain essential to a responsible study of multilocal, polyvocal literature amid U.S. expansionism within the Americas.

1. From Matanzas to Massachusetts: A Literary Historiography of *Autobiografía*

In the spring of 1835, renowned Cuban literary critic and imprimatur Domingo del Monte enlisted Juan Francisco Manzano, a *mulato* slave already of some fame for his poetry, to pen a prose account of his experience in bondage.⁸ Later that same year, Manzano performed his poetry for Del Monte’s *tertulia* in Matanzas – a reading group

comprising Cuba's elite literati – where his verses moved the group to take up a subscription to buy his freedom; after a few short months they were successful.⁹ By 1839, Manzano had completed his autobiography and fellow Cuban author and Del Monte *tertulia* member Anselmo Suárez y Romero “corrected” a number of grammatical and orthographical errors in Manzano's narrative before returning the revised manuscript back to Del Monte.¹⁰ Because of the tense political environment at the time, however, Manzano's text was considered unpublishable in Cuba, forcing Del Monte to seek external outlets for its publication.¹¹ The most obvious choice was the island's newly appointed Superintendent of Liberated Africans on the Mixed Court of Arbitration, Richard Robert Madden. The relationship presented a mutually beneficial opportunity: the Delmontine *tertulia* found a forum for the publication of Cuban voices and Madden found source materials on Cuban slavery to carry back to London as evidence undergirding Great Britain's continued abolitionist pressure on the Spanish government.¹² Thus, when he prepared to leave Cuba in 1839, he convinced Del Monte to complete an interview on Cuban slavery and supply him with a portfolio of “Unpublished Samples” of writing from various Cuban authors on the subject of slavery, including Manzano's manuscript.¹³ After a brief trip to the United States as a special council in the *Amistad* trial, Madden sailed to London in 1840 to address the first British and Foreign Anti-Slavery convention on the illegal slave trade through Cuba, after which he advertised *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba* for sale.¹⁴

During the next four years, tensions over the institution of slavery in Cuba were mounting, exacerbated by the island intelligentsia's growing discontent with the Spanish colonial government. Following a slave revolt at the Santísima Trinidad sugar mill in

1843, newly appointed Captain-General Leopoldo O'Donnell learned of a "major" slave rebellion planned for Christmas Day and promising "the massacre of many whites" (Luis 16). Exacerbated by the increasing frequency of slave uprisings and the recent shift in the island's racial demographics (where Whites were now the minority), Spanish concerns that Cuba would be the next Saint-Domingue were palpable.¹⁵ As a result, the Captain-General's response to the rumor was swift and severe, enacting draconian measures to suffocate any potential rebellion: "In early 1844, about 4,000 people (in Matanzas) were suddenly arrested, including over 2,000 free negroes, over 1,000 slaves, and at least 70 whites. Negroes believed to be guilty of plotting were tied to ladders and whipped to confess... Seventy-eight were shot, and perhaps one hundred more whipped to death" (Thomas 205). Across western Cuba, thousands of slaves, free persons of color and even Whites who were known supporters of abolition were executed, exiled or imprisoned; others simply disappeared. Known for its iconic method of torture, *La Escalera* (The Ladder Conspiracy) functioned both punitively and as a spectacle to preclude future revolts.¹⁶ In both endeavors it was highly effective, fomenting the passage of more stringent slave regulations and, as Philip Foner adds: "It was to be many years before they dared attempt other uprisings. The ranks of the free Negro and white Cuban leadership of the anti-slavery struggle had been so decimated by the repression that it took almost two decades for it to recover" (219). Among the victims of this vicious colonial violence were both Del Monte and Manzano: the former fled to Paris in late 1843 and the latter was incarcerated for over a year, only to live out his life in obscurity as a cook after his release in 1845.

La Escalera and its reverberations quickly became international news. The U.S. press took particular interest in the execution of the alleged leader of the conspiracy, Plácido. A prominent member of Cuban society, frequent attendee of Del Monte *tertulias*, and author of poems containing “thinly disguised expressions of sedition” (Stimson 79), Plácido was named by colonial authorities as the leader of the revolutionary conspiracy. Consequently, he was arrested and purportedly “persuaded” him into informing on a number of his peers. Among those implicating including Del Monte, Manzano, and others.¹⁷ After his conviction and imprisonment, Plácido and ten of his supposed co-conspirators, were marched to the Cemetery of San Carlos in Matanzas, where they were shot before over 20,000 onlookers, according to one account.¹⁸ Although the execution took place in June 1844, there are at least two references to the mounting tensions around *La Escalera* and Plácido in U.S. newspapers that predate that climax. On 20 April 1844, the *New Orleans Picayune* described the imminent execution of “a mulatto poet, said to be very clever... known as ‘Emperador Placido Primero’”; one month later, the *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture* reprinted the work of a *New York Express* journalist who published a Havana prisoner’s confession naming “Placido” as “our chief.”¹⁹

By winter 1844, detailed accounts of the execution reached North American shores, already thoroughly inflected by the sensational international interest: on 15 November, William Lloyd Garrison’s *Liberator* published “The Martyr Poet Placido,” reprinted from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, which included numerous translated excerpts from the Madrid periodical, *Heraldo*.²⁰ In addition to recounting Plácido’s lachrymose last words and his recital of some “sorrowful verses” composed

during his imprisonment, the article supplies background for its originally British audience: “It may be interesting to our readers to know, that in Placido, they renew their acquaintance with a poet with whom, and his writings, they are in some degree familiar. He was, we believe, the author of the compositions published a few years ago under the title of *Poems by a Cuban Slave*, and edited by Dr. Madden” (184).

One avid reader of the *Liberator* would have no doubt happened across this article with great interest, especially since he was also familiar with Madden’s publication: John Greenleaf Whittier. In February 1841, the chief organizer of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the man to whom Madden dedicated *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba*, Joseph Sturge, solicited the Amesbury abolitionist as a like-minded guide for his a trip to the United States. As the North American author was then “personally unknown” to him, Sturge wrote that he was seeking a “companion, uniting with my views and with a pretty general knowledge of the individual character and standing, both of the abolitionists and the members of the Society of Friends in your land” (*Oak Knoll* 69-70). Enthused by the opportunity, Whittier accepted the invitation and accompanied Sturge throughout his tour of the United States, during which the pair developed an intimate friendship.²¹

Over the next seven years, the two men swapped letters, books and political news from opposite shores of the Atlantic; as early as December 1841, Whittier makes reference to the exchange of literary materials in these packets and mentions his excitement to receive a copy of Sturge’s *A Visit to the United States in 1841* in the next package (*Letters* v.1 526). If Sturge did not supply his friend with a copy of *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba* during his initial visit, the book no doubt changed hands

during their subsequent correspondence. But while Whittier could have read Madden's translation as early as 1841 visit, he could not possibly have known the slave of the title to be Manzano, who could hardly be called famous on the island and was virtually unknown to a foreign audience.²² More acutely though, Whittier could not have known the true identity of the Cuban "Negro Poet" because Manzano's name had been erased from the published English edition. In the literary portfolio that Madden received upon leaving the island in 1839, Del Monte had evacuated all of the authors' names from the manuscripts, except Manzano's. In a letter to Madden, Del Monte justifies his actions, but makes no mention of why Manzano's was the only name left: "Since nearly all of them allude to subjects forbidden by our Government, I did not wish that, if by chance the album ended up in other hands than yours, those inoffensive writers would be endangered through my fault, because the last thing they intended was to disturb the peace of their country" (quoted in Williams 19). Evidently following suit from an apparent sense of obligation, Madden decided to absent Manzano's full name from the English version of the autobiography.²³ As a result, Whittier's only other clues to identity of the author would have been the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter's* claim that "The Martyr Poet Placido" and "The Negro Poet" of Madden's volume were one and the same. Happening across Manzano's uncensored reference to himself as "Juan" in *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba*, Whittier imagined himself as reuniting divorced halves of the life of the author he dubs "the only Cuban poet": Juan Placido.

2. Cultural Translation and the Politics of Reappropriation

Whittier's fascination with the blossoming cultural prominence of Cuba became apparent when on 23 January 1845, he published "The Black Man" as part of a series of essays in his ephemeral weekly, the *Middlesex Standard*. "The Black Man" introduces a North American audience to the syncretic historical figure, Juan Placido, as "the black Revolutionist of Cuba – the acknowledged leader of the late wide spread and well planned revolt of the slaves in the city of Havana, and the neighboring plantations and villages" (51). The beginning parts of this biographical sketch are immediately recognizable as details from "Life of the Negro Poet": the "kindness" of his first mistress, her death when he was twelve, his relocation into "less compassionate hands," and a poignant account of watching his mother beaten.²⁴ After a laudatory analysis of Juan Placido's (actually Manzano's) poems "The Cucuya," "Dream," "Ode to Religion," and "To Cuba," the narration shifts seamlessly to his execution as the "leader and projector" of a slave revolt, including a translation of one of his (actually Plácido's) final poems, written in prison and purportedly recited aloud during his fateful procession to the cemetery.²⁵ In grandiose prose, "The Black Man" offers a melodramatic recreation of the poet's final moments:

At the last moment just as the soldiers were about to fire, he rose up and gazed for an instant around and above him, on the beautiful capital of his native land, and its sail-flecked bay, on the dense crowds about him, the blue mountains in the distance and the sky glorious with the summer sunshine. "Adios mundo!" (Farewell world!) he said calmly and sat down. The word was given, and five balls entered his body. Then it was, that, amidst the groans and murmurs of the horror-stricken spectators, he rose

up once more and turned his head to the shuddering soldiers, his face wearing an expression of superhuman courage. “Will no one pity me?” he said, laying his hand over his heart. “Here, fire here!” while he yet spake, two balls entered his heart and he fell dead. (59-60)

The sentimental and pastoral styling of this final scene evidences a keen familiarity with emerging generic conventions in North American antislavery writing. At the fatal conclusion, the “horror-stricken spectators” and “shuddering soldiers” are left equally mortified by the tragic site before them, as the poet reflects on the island’s paradisiacal landscape for the final time. Furthermore, “The Black Man” demonstrates a self-awareness of the enormous political purchase of Juan Placido’s martyrdom. As amanuensis for James Williams in the American Anti-Slavery Society’s first subsidized slave narrative, *Narrative of James Williams, an American Slave, Who Was for Several Years a Driver on a Cotton Plantation in Alabama* (1838), Whittier was acutely attuned the cultural capital of first-person narratives in the abolitionist movement: “It is in this way that the terrible reality of slavery is from time to time brought home to the people of this section of the country” (49). The masterful jeremiad and the heroic stoicism with which Juan Placido greets seven musket balls before succumbing to death offered one of the most effective and affective accounts of the slave experience at the time.

The emotional clout of the narrative became even more apparent as, per antebellum convention, “The Black Man” was reprinted promiscuously and disseminated widely throughout abolitionist periodical exchange systems. Whittier himself sent copies of *The Stranger in Lowell* to “numerous friends and literary men throughout the east” and even asked his publisher to forward a copy to Charles Dickens (*Letters* v.1 659n; *Letters*

v.2 10). Some of these friends even reprinted Whittier's essay on their own, including Joshua Leavitt, who reconstituted a version of "The Black Man" in an 1850 reading primer.²⁶ Additionally, as an experienced publisher, Whittier was readily familiar with what Jeffrey D. Groves calls "The Courtesy of the Trade": an economy among periodical publications in which the portable technologies of stereotyping and electrotyping, (molds which Whittier would have been more than happy to circulate after the *Middlesex Standard* ceased production later in 1845) were willingly exchanged.²⁷ Facilitated by the well-oiled machinery of the antislavery print network, the tragic story of Juan Placido was reprinted, in its entirety or excerpts, in no less than eleven periodicals between 1845 and 1859.²⁸ The viral movement of this figure was far-reaching, most famously appearing in Martin R. Delany's *Blake, or the Huts of America* (1861-2) and William Wells Brown's *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements*.²⁹ While a number of critics have identified the conflation of the two Cuba poets in Brown's ethnographic entry for "Placido," but that syncretic figure has been largely regarded as an unusual curiosity.³⁰ A close side-by-side reading of the Whittier and the Brown, however, reveals the latter to have descended, directly or indirectly, from the former. In their respective accounts of Placido's [sic] execution, the echoing language (each describes his "superhuman courage") and attention to the same minutia of his death ("five balls" enter his body initially, but the fatal blow was delivered as "two balls entered his heart, and he fell dead") are undeniable (Whittier 59-60; Brown 90).³¹

In fact, the influence of Whittier's Cuban character was so deeply ingrained into the U.S. literary landscape that even when the New York monthly *Non-Slaveholder* serialized Madden's translation of Manzano's autobiography in its entirety over the

course of eight issues in 1854, the piece was attributed to Juan Placido. The *Non-Slaveholder's* editor, W.J. Allinson, introduces the “credible species of negro literature,” which he reproduces from “[a present from our valued friend, Joseph Sturge,] a volume of his poems, with his Autobiography prefixed.” In addition to working directly from a copy of *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba* that “we have before us,” Allinson also possesses contextual knowledge of the supposed history surrounding the text and its alleged Cuban author: “At the time of the publication of the poems, Placido was residing at Havanna; and from prudential motives, his name was suppressed by the compiler, R.R. Madden. Such reasons no longer exist. From *The Stranger in Lowell*, we learn the tragical termination of his career.” Ironically, this attempt to redeem a silenced voice from literary obscurity further inculcated the conflation of Manzano and Plácido in the U.S. imagination, thereby effectively erasing an actual image of either poet.

The afterlife of Whittier’s fictive fusion and its continued circulation throughout antebellum literature underscore Ifeoma Kiddoe Nwankwo’s observation that the syncretic sketch “constitute[s] an abolitionist’s dream story: the experience of slavery, then freedom, followed by activism and martyrdom” (52).³² But what is lost or gained in their translation, as it were, across national and cultural borders? On the one hand, Whittier’s syncretic account of Juan Placido performs the dual functions of introducing Manzano’s writings to a wider audience than they ever could have enjoyed otherwise, as well as fomenting (if not initiating) a North American fascination with the martyrdom of Plácido/Placido. On the other hand, *The Stranger in Lowell* dissolves the more complex Cuban socio-racial configuration Cuba in its location of Juan Placido as a representative Black Man within the binary logic of race relations in the United States. Furthermore, the

expurgation of Madden's essays and poetry cleverly ostensibly distances the United States from the institutions of Cuban slavery and the illegal slave trade. In doing so, however, Whittier allows Manzano's writings to participate in anti-annexationist and abolitionist discourses from which Del Monte originally barred them.

Unlike the U.S. "one-drop rule," Cuba's nineteenth-century racial landscape was anything but black and white. In addition to the primary distinction – *libre* (free) or *esclavo* (slave) – Cuban society, both officially and informally, recognized a broad spectrum of racial diversity, including a plurality of terms for mixed race individuals.³³ Significantly, neither Manzano nor Plácido identified as *negro* or black, but instead, as a mixed race slave and a *pardo* respectively; both poets, in fact, signal their investment in distancing themselves from the label "black" throughout their writings.³⁴ Yet Whittier was indubitably ignorant of the multi-layered Cuban racial configuration and could not have been expected to translate Manzano's subtle negotiation of racial identity that Branche, for example, has only just exposed to modern audiences as a substantive subtext of *Autobiografía*. Instead, Whittier worked with what he was most familiar with: the binary logic of U.S. racial politics. These generic and cultural conventions run throughout "The Black Man," beginning with his introduction to Juan Plácido. Where Madden's original translation embeds the phrase "and in due time, I was ushered into the world" into the end of the first paragraph, Whittier commences his narration with the declaration of birth and self, thereby transforming the prose into the familiar form of the slave narrative: the conventional "I was born..." becomes "Juan Plácido was born a slave on the estate of Don Terribio de Castro" (55; 51). Similarly, in preservation of the lopsided structure of Madden's translation, Whittier reduces the entire first twelve years of

Manzano's narrative, during which he enjoyed a privileged mode of bondage and "nothing but happiness," to a single sentence: "His mistress treated him with great kindness and taught him to read" (Madden 57; Whittier 51). Instead, "*The Black Man*" concentrates myopically on Manzano witnessing his mother's beating and his resulting retaliation against the *mayoral*:

Leading me to the stocks, we met my mother, who giving way to the impulses of her heart, came up to complete my misfortunes. On seeing me, she attempted to inquire what I had done, but the mayoral ordered her to be silent, and treated her as one raising a disturbance. Without regard to her entreaties, and being irritated at being called up at that hour, he raised his hand, and struck my mother with the whip. I felt the blow in my own heart! To utter a loud cry, and from a downcast boy, with the timidity of one as meek as a lamb, to become all at once like a raging lion, was a thing of a moment--with all my strength I fell on him with teeth and hands, and it may be imagined how many cuffs, kicks, and blows were given in the struggle that ensued.

My mother and myself were carried off and shut up in the same place; the two twin children were brought to her, while Florence and Fernando were left weeping alone in the hut. Scarcely it dawned, when the mayoral, with two negroes acting under him, took hold of me and my mother, and led us as victims to the place of sacrifice. I suffered more punishment than was ordered, in consequence of my attack on the mayoral. But who can describe the powers of the laws of nature on mothers? the fault of my

mother was, that seeing they were going to kill me, as she thought, she inquired what I had done, and this was sufficient to receive a blow and to be further chastised. At beholding my mother in this situation, for the first time in her life, (she being exempted from work) stripped by the negroes and thrown down to be scourged, over-whelmed with grief and trembling, I asked them to have pity on her for God's sake; but at the sound of the first lash, infuriated like a tiger, I flew at the mayoral, and was near losing my life in his hands; but let us throw a veil over the rest of this doleful scene. (Madden 65-66)

At the age of eighteen, on seeing his mother struck with a heavy whip, he for the first time turned upon his tormentors. To use his own words, "I felt the blow in my heart. To utter a loud cry, and from a downcast boy with the timidity of one weak as a lamb, to become all at once like a raging lion, was a thing of a moment." He was, however, subdued, and the next morning, together with his mother, a tenderly-nurtured and delicate woman, severely scourged. On seeing his mother rudely stripped and thrown down upon the ground, he at first with tears implored the overseer to spare her; but at the sound of the first blow, as it cut into her naked flesh, he sprang once more upon the ruffian, who having superior strength beat him until her was nearer dead than alive. (Whittier 51-52)

While Manzano ushers his readers away from "this doleful scene," Whittier spotlights this instance alone among the many emotionally evocative that pulse through "Life of the Negro Poet," including his mistress's unjust accusation that he stole a *peseta* or his

spiritual nadir in which he declares “from an humble submissive being, I turned the most discontented of mankind” (86). Manzano recalls this particularly brutal episode as a traumatic incident within a pattern of violence, as “once above all, a memorable time to me” (66), but also signals the punitive albeit extreme nature of the beating: the lashings were castigatory in reaction to his falling asleep while driving. Whittier, conversely, offers no context for the violence, abruptly commencing the scene: “At the age of eighteen, on seeing his mother struck with a heavy whip...” By way of omitting the build-up, “The Black Man” effectively styles Manzano as an innocent victim and courageous defender of his helpless mother, thereby adding to the senselessness of the beating and further justifying Manzano’s retaliation. Readers of the slave narrative should immediately recognize convention in the framing of this scene: “he for the first time turned on his tormentors.”

Again, Whittier quotes almost directly from Madden’s text, but the transcriptional variances here are revealing. For example, Madden’s translation “meek as a lamb” becomes “weak as a lamb” in “The Black Man”; the descriptor “raging” attached to lion is maintained in both, despite its absence of any modifier for *león* in the original Spanish.³⁵ As if in anticipation of Fredrick Douglass’s famous realization of his “manly independence” after overcoming Covey, masculinity (that is, access to manhood) is at stake in the struggle.³⁶ Because Manzano’s attempted physical resistance is unsuccessful, Whittier’s version accordingly underscores the helplessness of “weak” “downcast boy” against the “superior strength” of the adult Don Sylvester. This paradigm functions as well in the added emphasis on the mother’s vulnerable nudity and her “delicate” nature. Whittier takes creative license in describing the first blow’s “cut into her naked flesh,” to

stress the visceral “vicissitudes of slavery,” not only augmenting the affect of the bodily suffering, but meeting readerly expectations.

Furthermore, Whittier erases perhaps the most significant aspect from this scene: race. “The Black Man” divides its characters neatly into either the oppressed or the tormentors and an American audience would (incorrectly) assume that this binary structure would be coextensive with the categories of white and black. The *mayoral* translates into an overseer and the “two negroes” who assist in the whipping and beating are expurgated from Whittier’s version in what becomes a passive construction: “On seeing his mother rudely stripped and thrown down upon the ground.” As Branche stresses, however, the casting of *negros* as villainous, violent instruments of (his) oppression within the Cuban slave system was essential to the racial politics negotiated in Manzano’s original text, namely distinguishing his own station as a mixed race *esclavo de razón*³⁷ with a “delicate, ‘poetic’ personality” from the “brutality of the Black males incorporated in the system of oppression” (79). Indeed, Manzano contrasts himself with the *esclavos negros* throughout his autobiography, narrativizing his access to “white” privilege and his acumen as signs of his elevation among the slaves: he and his parents are household servants, his godparents are white aristocrats, he called the *Marquesa* “my mother” and even attended school alongside her white grandchildren. Curiously, Madden, who would have been more familiar with the complex racial taxonomies of Cuba after living there for three years, announces Manzano’s racial genealogy in his introduction to the autobiography: “The former [his father] was a ‘pardo’ negro; the latter, [his mother,] the offspring of an African and a mulatto union” (iv). Even more curiously, however, Whittier decides to include these details in his otherwise highly exclusive summary

without any understanding of their significance: “His father was an African, his mother a mulatto” (51). Although Madden errs in use of the term *pardo* (Manzano’s father was never free from bondage) it is evident that Whittier is oblivious to the term’s denotative and connotative functions. As a result, *pardo negro*, a highly specific albeit paradoxical racial identification, is seemingly transliterated to the North American term “Negro” and Manzano’s father becomes a “full-blooded” African.

What, then, can be made of Whittier’s peculiar pattern of racial erasure and ethnic emphasis in his transformation of the text? As the essay’s title intimates, Juan Placido is situated as an exemplary member of “his race” and comes to signify the urbane propensity of the Black Man more broadly. While Whittier’s conflation of two poets who strove to distinguish themselves from the very racial identification into which “The Black Man” figures them is beyond ironic and perhaps just short of violent, his taxonomical locution of Juan Placido is facially consistent with the racial appropriations of Plácido among White abolitionists contended in *Black Cosmopolitanism*: an “African” poet and a “noble gentleman who was debased by the barbarism of colonial government on the island,” (Nwankwo 49). Yet Whittier’s deployment of this figure is more complex, if not outright contrary to many of his White peers who refused to imagine themselves “as part of Plácido’s community or Plácido as part of theirs” (49). In his introduction to the narrative of Juan Placido, the Amesbury abolitionist openly welcomes the Cuban martyr into “his” community:

We see that the black man, after all, is our brother. . . . We no longer regard slavery in the abstract; we cease to think of it solely as an “institution,” or to consider its victims as “property,” – the sight of one of them, standing

before us erect and manly, giving evidence of the possession of warm affections, strong passions of love and hate, intellectual vigor, and fine and delicate sensibilities, sweeps away at once all our air-woven apologies for this great American wrong; the sanctity which doth hedge” the legal relation is lost; we see only the oppressor and the oppressed; and our hearts involuntarily take sides with the latter. (49-50)

Not only, then, does “The Black Man” locate Juan Placido as a remarkable example of the “African race,” but the text mobilizes the Cuban poet in a racial equality argument. Here, for instance, possible explanation for the erasure certain characters’ racial identities in Manzano’s carefully crafted narrative presents itself: that system of organizing bodies is ancillary to the more primary distinction between “the oppressor and the oppressed.” Whittier’s adaptation race here is not without strategy or intention; certainly he was conscious that in unracing the *mayoral* and his cohort that these oppressors would be read as white by an antislavery audience, thereby strengthen the clout of his abolitionist motives. Instead, his humanitarian argument for equality depends upon the supersession of hegemonic power relations over racial relations.

To this end, the Cuban martyr poet must be a simultaneously extraordinary and ordinary representative of the Black Man: an outstanding example of unappreciated literary talent and a symbol of the suppressed intellectual potential of each and every slave. Structurally, the essay supports that project, prefacing the harrowing narrative of Cuba’s “hero-poet” with the less sensational story of John H. Fountain, a free African American from Virginia who was imprisoned on accusation of abetting slaves in their escapes. After being released on the condition of his leaving the state, Fountain came to

New England to enlist the help of abolitionists and philanthropists in freeing his family. While Fountain's case is unusual in its own right, within "*The Black Man*" it functions to ground Juan Placido's martyrdom in the everyday lived experiences of North American slavery and its repercussions.

Transamerican Abolitionism and the Counter-Narrative of U.S-Cuban Relations

More than forwarding progressive thinking about racial equality, Whittier's situation of Juan Placido alongside John Fountain reveals a hemispheric understanding of slavery, in which the Cuban poet's martyrdom resonates in the more quotidian injustices in the United States and the mechanics of subjugation intrinsic to slavery as a Transamerican institution take primacy over national or cultural identities. Accordingly, Whittier follows up this account with a quote from Emerson's *An Address Delivered in the Court-House in Concord, Massachusetts on 1st August, 1844, on the Anniversary of the Emancipation of the Negroes in the British West Indies*, which locates the "great American wrong" in a broader geographic framework:

So now, the arrival in the world of such men as Toussaint, and the Haytian heroes, or of the leaders of their race in Barbadoes and Jamaica, outweighs in good omen all the English and American humanity. The anti-slavery of the whole world, is dust in the balance before this, – is a poor squeamishness and nervousness: the might and the right are here: here is the anti-slave: here is man: and if you have man, black or white is an insignificance. The intellect, – that is miraculous! Who has it, has the talisman: his skin and bones, though they were of the color of night, are

transparent, and the ever-lasting stars shine through, with attractive beams.
(Emerson 32)

Notably, the geographic promiscuity of Emerson's speech carries over into "The Black Man", attacking the issues of abolition and racial equality within a hemispheric paradigm. Whittier's essay not only praises "Toussaint and the Haytian heroes," but presses even further naming the Cuban poet as their peer: "To the great names of L'Ouverture and Petion the colored man can now add that of Juan Placido" (60). The audacity of this move cannot be overstated, especially given the portentous tone of revolt that runs throughout "The Black Man." The references to the Saint Domingue rebellion were indubitably threatening enough to a U.S. audience, but Whittier goes as far as to contextualize this revolt alongside North American examples – namely, Gabriel Prosser and Madison Washington – thereby fueling most Southern slaveholders' worst nightmares. For many pro-slavery politicians and planters, the Black republic of Haiti was close enough to U.S. shores; Whittier was intimating the possibility of a Black Cuban republic less than a hundred miles off the coast of the Florida, which was admitted to the Union as a slave state a mere two months after "The Black Man"'s publication in the *Middlesex Standard*. And this is to say nothing of the efficient and expanding transportation system that linked the island to the United States, including regularly scheduled steamship service connecting Havana directly to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Mobile, New Orleans and Key West.³⁸

"The Black Man", then, not only argues for the humanity and intellectual potential of disenfranchised blacks, but characterizes a growing hemispheric discontent with their oppression and the institution of slavery. To situate Whittier's essay as a

foundational text in a broader dialogue on slavery in the Americas, however, is not to divorce it from the machinery of colonialism. Instead, text's blunt reminders of the constant potential for violent uprising and the increasing success of these revolts both in the Caribbean and in the U.S. South, helped fuel annexationist discourse. Amid the increasing economic and migratory movement between the two countries in the first half of the nineteenth century, the filibustering missions of General Narciso López, and the island's booming sugar production, Cuba was becoming increasingly valuable in the eyes of the United States. North American interests in Cuba were not only defensive, though, as Murray reminds us: "By the 1850s, the American South saw the annexation of Cuba as the key to expansion of slavery and the beginning of a Caribbean empire" (223). What kind of intervention was "The Black Man" and its extensive textual afterlife making into the hostile forum of annexation debate? And how, if at all, is this different from Madden's appropriation of the text, or even its original composition?

In *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1853* (2003), Meredith McGill's analysis of the convention of (un)authorized reprinting of European texts and articles in U.S. antebellum (and particularly abolitionist) print networks properly frames the manipulative nature of this mode textual reappropriation:

Running counter to the avowed intentions (if not always the interests) of authors and their publishers, unauthorized reprinting makes publication distinctly legible as an independently signifying act. In the multiplicity of their formats and points of origin, and in the staggered temporality of their production, reprinted texts call attention to the repeated acts of articulation by which culture and its audiences are constituted. (5)

What would it mean, though, in a narrative as heavily and thoroughly mediated as Manzano's to talk about authorial intent? In a sense, the opportunity afforded him the agency to vocalize his experience in a society where not only the publication of a slave's writing, but slave literacy was illegal. But because the composition was commissioned by Del Monte and only Manzano's half of their correspondence remains, it is uncertain what the author's personal politics were in penning *Autobiografía* or to what degree Del Monte influenced the production of the text.³⁹

In effect, Manzano's autobiography was always already composed at the crossroads of diverse and disparate political projects, including (anti)colonialism, annexation and abolition. While there remains much to be said on the competing ideologies molding Manzano's text in Cuba, a thorough analysis of the competing voices and political projects of *Autobiografía* lies beyond the purview of this project.⁴⁰

Furthermore, as Houston A. Baker Jr. has influentially argued:

the voice of the unwritten self, once it is subjected to the linguistic codes, literary conventions, and audience expectations of a literate population, is perhaps never again the authentic voice of American slavery. It is rather, the voice of a self transformed by an autobiographical act into a sharer in the general public discourse about slavery. (253)

An attempt to recover the unadulterated voice of Manzano here, then, would be misguided. Instead, Whittier's revisions and their relation to the political framing of Madden's *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba* provide an opportunity to reconsider what, exactly, the "to the linguistic codes, literary conventions, and audience expectations" of U.S. readers of this transnational text.

In one of the only close readings of Madden's shockingly understudied poetry and essays that serve as paratexts to Manzano's writings (but which actually comprise over half the pamphlet), Anna Brickhouse argues that the Anglo-Irish abolitionist projects "a revised antislavery geography that situated Manzano within an inter-American arena of unacknowledged economic and political affiliation – a geography that belied the official story of Cuban slave trading, repeatedly told in the U.S. public discourse, as inherently distinct from the peculiar institution of its neighbor to the north" ("Revisionist Geographies" 216). Indeed, Madden's texts go so far as to indict the United States as complicit in their turn-the-other-cheek diplomacy toward illegal human trafficking through Cuba and their tacit (or in certain circles explicit) support of the institution of slavery on the island.⁴¹

As with Madden's translation, "The Black Man" also remaps the geographies of slavery and also exposes the intense interconnectivity between the two spaces. As Nwankwo has noted in descendent sketches of the syncretic Cuban character, the project of casting Juan Placido as an outstanding representative of the Black Man, "rest[s] on a valuation of racial identity and social status and a devaluation of national identity" (46). In this regard, "The Black Man" marks a departure from *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba*. Where Madden's framing of "Life of the Negro Poet" collapses the perceived political distance between the United States and the Cuban slave trade, the effects of Whittier's framing the poet as a "race man" cannot be read as cleanly along the lines of racial and cultural identity. Juan Placido's nationality, for instance, can hardly be registered as devalued. "The Black Man" names the poet as "the black revolutionist of Cuba" and Whittier consistently reminds his audience of the foreignness of the poetry,

defining the *cucuya* (the Cuban fire-fly) and supplying plentiful signposts for Havana and Matanzas. At the same time though, it becomes difficult to pin down exactly what his national identity entails in the hemispheric American and black cosmopolitan cartographies of the text. The concept of “Cuba” here emerges from the U.S. imagination’s figuration of the island as, simultaneously, a tropical paradise and potentially the next Saint Domingue. Furthermore, as Louis A. Pérez Jr. and others have written, the nascent sense of Cubanness on the island was heavily inflected by its economic and migratory exchanges with the United States, which it regarded as a model for its future, dialectically opposed to the “backwardness” of colonial Spain.⁴² To become Cuban, then, was to become (North) American.

But although “The Black Man” nods to the binding of the two locales through the shared suffering of the slave, the essay erases any trace of Madden’s insistence on U.S. complicity in hemispheric slavery and remains suspiciously silent about growing U.S. imperial designs on the island. Though annexation discourse did not begin to intensify until the conclusion of the Mexican American War in 1848 (also the year of the United States’ first unsuccessful offer to purchase the island from Spain), increasing movement between the two geographies had raised awareness of the possibility in both spaces.⁴³ In fact, transatlantic rumors about annexationist schemes were circulating in the years and months leading up to *La Escalera*. In the letters between Del Monte and American diplomat turned close friend, Alexander Hill Everett, it becomes obvious that Del Monte was well aware of heightening external interest in the island. As early as 1842, the pair was in international correspondence about “the political situation in Cuba,” including information that Del Monte provided Everett about alleged British plans to annex the

island and establish a Black military republic, evidently hoping to agitate further prevalent analogy of Cuba to Haiti and encourage the U.S. to annex the island.⁴⁴

Although Everett eventually passed the information on to Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, Del Monte's fear-mongering proved to be baseless and ultimately unsuccessful. His attempts to exploit his connections in order to provoke a North American intervention evidence the intensifying U.S. political atmosphere and the burgeoning movement toward annexation.

And Del Monte was not alone. After *La Escalera*, a wave of Cuban exiles fled to the United States. As an offshoot of increased Cuban American population, Rodrigo Lazo's study of nineteenth century Cuban American periodical culture *Writing to Cuba: Filibustering and Cuban Exiles in the United States* (2005) argues that although Cuban exiles were anything but monolithic, a large percentage shared Del Monte's view and found themselves, oddly enough, fighting alongside North American slaveholders and "Manifest Destiny proponents who salivated at the thought of annexing Cuba" (5).

Against the rising tide of annexationists, "The Black Man"'s failure to combat, or at least acknowledge, the imperialist lust for Cuba, is superficially astounding. More subtly, however, the essay cleverly refuses to nod to this expansionist discourse by announcing his dialogic engagement with annexation. Instead, its blunt analogies between Juan Placido and fellow American (in the hemispheric sense) rebels L'Ouverture, Prosser and Washington, intimates that the acquisition of Cuba as a slave state would be disastrous for the United States. Many annexationist arguments gained traction from the idea that Cuba must be procured before it becomes the next Saint Domingue. The tragic tale of Juan Placido disrupts the preventative logic of this position,

portraying the martyr poet as, in the *Heraldo*'s words, "a man of great natural genius, and beloved and appreciated by the most respectable young men of Havana" (57). Juan Placido is cast as a wildly popular hero. During his fatal march to the site of his execution, "He passed thither with singular composure, amidst a great concourse of people, gracefully saluting his numerous acquaintances" (57-58). Similarly, his recital of his final poem, "thrilled the hearts of all who heard it" (58). In his imaginative recreation of the martyr's final moments surrounded by throngs of supporters and friends, paired with the thinly-veiled allusions to successful slave uprisings, Whittier paints Cuba as a ticking time-bomb for retaliation. Thus, "The Black Man" hardly ignores annexationist discourse, instead it subtly suggests that the political instability fomented by a potential U.S. takeover may very well catalyze the supposedly impending popular uprising.

"The Black Man" offers insight into the beginnings of a Transamerican antislavery movement, particularly at the loci of the United States and Cuba. Whittier's essay ultimately, though perhaps not explicitly, indicts "the great American wrong" of slavery with attention to the hemispheric valence of the term. In doing so, Whittier joins,

Many prominent Latin American intellectuals [who] viewed geopolitics in the Americas not along a border dividing North from South but along an ideological and even natural difference between the Americas and Europe, particularly Spain. In that sense, the separation of America as a hemisphere promoted by the Monroe Doctrine worked hand in hand with opposition to Spain in some sectors of Latin America. (Lazo 5)

Unlike the Cuban Americans who sided with North American slaveholders in an attempt to secure the island's admission into the Union, however, Whittier recognizes the

potential power of the Monroe Doctrine to support emancipation throughout the Americas. What emerges is a multinational abolitionist network. The blossoming slave narrative genre and freed African American lecturers like John H. Fountain offered a primary perspective of the suffering of slavery and the beginnings of a black intellectual class; Caribbean figures like L'Ouverture, but especially Juan Placido, hint at the inevitable violence which can be the only end to the continued enslavement of "our brother man."

3. The "Precious Legacies" and Revisionist Cartographies of Juan Placido

As Anna Brickhouse situates the text in its circum-Atlantic literary historiography, *Autobiografía*'s plurality of forms and circulations serve as "a valuable lens through which to reexamine the spatial logic that underwrites our own literary-historical narratives in American studies," including its elaboration of "a cartography that is both anti-nationalist and anti-imperial" ("Revisionist Geographies" 233). Whittier's evocation of Juan Placido performs similarly deconstructive and revisionist functions, insisting the de-centering of nationalism and imperialism as the organizing principles in multicultural American literature in the nineteenth century and resisting the impulse to narrativize the fictive martyr poet as emerging from a political space distinct from the United States' own struggles over slavery. Instead, "The Black Man" asks its antebellum audience to consider "the great American wrong" in hemispheric terms that bluntly intimate a teleology of resistance and slave-class consciousness, evolving from Prosser and the *Creole* to Juan Placido and L'Ouverture. Furthermore, it asks its contemporary audience to reconsider the purportedly distinct process of developing national identities

in Cuba and the United States as always already enmeshed and invested in one another; the imperial model of mid-nineteenth century U.S.-Cuban relations falls apart, the center-periphery model cannot hold and a competitive peer relationship emerges as an alternative narrative of the history between the two geographies.

Significantly though, the Transamerican framework toward which the text directs its twenty-first century readers does not suggest a monolithic history of “modernization” in the Americas. Despite their increasing interdependence, both Cubans and North Americans willingly accepted the resilient narrative of a hierarchical relationship between the two spaces, evidenced by the strong annexationist movements both on the island and in its neighbor to the north. Pérez articulates the mid-century movement toward Cubanness as deeply invested in this teleological model of modernity, in which colonial Spain metonymically represented backwardness, while the United States signaled civilization. Similarly, he asserts that,

Cuba entered the North American imagination as the ‘tropics,’ which is to say, as the opposite of what the United States was, specifically what it was not. This was travel less to a place than to a time, to a past in which to pursue undistracted pleasure, in which to linger delighted with the promise of a recuperation and rejuvenation – indeed, the island gave a new meaning to recreation and, if not to life eternal, certainly to life anew. (22)

“*The Black Man*” both reinscribes and undercuts this narrative of Cuban-American relations. Whittier’s prose takes care to maintain the tropical enchantments in its analysis of Juan Placido’s poetry, but instead of a quaint, colonial getaway, the island is painted as politically tumultuous, intraculturally contentious and an imminent threat of contagious

rebellion. “The Black Man” not only undermines the paradisiacal positioning of Cuba in the U.S. imagination, but explodes the attempted North American geographical, cultural and temporal self-distantiation from the island. Cuba no longer can signify an idyllic, preserved past. Instead, it becomes a ghost of the Americas yet to come, a harbinger of the consequences of the continued oppression of Blacks in North America. Ironically, Whittier’s inadvertent truthiness in regards to the lived experiences of Manzano and Plácido ultimately expose the superficiality of the hegemonic imagination and the political legacy of the Monroe Doctrine. Whittier’s accidental conflation of the Cuban poets not only reinterprets the events of their respective lives and Madden’s (cultural) translation *Autobiografía*, but offers an alternative historiography of the Americas.

Notes

¹ For Cubanist perspectives on *Autobiografía*, see Nicola Bottiglieri, “La escritura de la piel: la *Autobiografía* de Juan Francisco Manzano.” *Esclavitud y Narrativa En El Siglo XIX Cubano: Enfoques Recientes* (1995), ed. Salvador Arias, 58–84 and Jerome Branche, “‘Mulato Entre Negros’ (y Blancos): Writing, Race, the Antislavery Question, and Juan Francisco Manzano’s *Autobiografía*.” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 20 (2001): 63–87.

² For comparative readings of Madden’s translation and the Spanish text, see Sylvia Molloy, “From Serf to Self: The Autobiography of Juan Francisco Manzano.” *MLN* 104 (1989): 393-417 and William Luis, “La *Autobiografía* de Juan Francisco Manzano y la traducción de Richard Madden: Un texto con dos interpretaciones sobre la vida del esclavo poeta,” *Discurso: Revista de Estudios Iberoamericanos* 11 (1993): 95-111. Fernanda Macchi reads Manzano “dentro del contexto original de su primera

edición/within the context of its original edition [i.e. Madden's translation" in "Juan Francisco Manzano y el discurso abolicionista: Una lectura enmarcada." *Revista Iberoamericana* 73 (2007): 63-77. For transatlantic projects that have successfully mobilized Madden's translation in order to expound on Great Britain's relationship to Cuban slavery, see Gera C. Burton, *Ambivalence and the Postcolonial Subject: The Strategic Alliance of Juan Francisco Manzano and Richard Robert Madden* (2004) and Joselyn M. Almeida, "Translating a Slave's Life: Richard Robert Madden and the Post-Abolition Trafficking of Juan Manzano's Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba" *Romantic Circles Praxis: Circulations: Romanticism and the Black Atlantic* (2011). One of the most thorough studies of the triangular colonial politics among Cuba, Great Britain and Spain remains David R. Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain, and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (1980).

³ See John Ernest, "Beyond Douglass and Jacobs," *The Cambridge Companion to the African American Slave Narrative* (2007) ed. Audrey A. Fisch, 218-31 and Eric Gardner, *Unexpected Places: Relocating Nineteenth-Century African American Literature* (2009). For a timely response that addresses many of the lacunae that Ernest signals (though not Manzano's absence), see *Beyond Douglass: New Perspectives on Early African-American Literature* (2008), ed. Michael J. Drexler and Ed White.

⁴ The full text of *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba* is available online as part of William Andrews's *Documenting the American South* project. In spite of the archive's inclusion of Manzano, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave* (1831), and *A Narrative of Events Since the First of August, 1834, By James Williams, an Apprenticed Labourer in Jamaica* (1837?) within the ambit of its hemispherically framed "North

American Slave Narratives” collection, comparative readings remain sparse. A provocatively titled essay by Luis A. Jiménez argues that pairing the narratives of Frederick Douglass and Manzano “make this cross-cultural encounter possible by recurring to writing to express the complex connections between the self and other,” adding that each autobiography negotiates “language and culture” as “mutually constitutive and reciprocally revealing,” but ultimately falls short of suggesting these texts emerged from the same literary antislavery tradition. See “Nineteenth Century Autobiography in the Afro-Americas: Frederick Douglass and Juan Francisco Manzano.” *Afro-Hispanic Review* 14 (1995): 47-52.

⁵ In this remarkable archival project, Aljoe extracts a series of West Indian slave testimonies “embedded in other texts such as travel narratives, diaries, and journals or appear in the records kept by legal, medical, and religious institutions” and thereby “return[s] these voices to a conversation in which they had originally participated.” See *Creole Testimonies: Slave Narratives from the British West Indies, 1709-1838* (2012).

⁶ John Sekora famously describes the textual production of the North American slave narrative as an African American voice packaged or “enveloped” by a White one. After reflecting on the racial violence inherent in that production, he cautions readers to consider “a new literary history of the slave narrative which will not minimize the loss inherent in the creation of the slave narratives. Nor will it deny the cultural gain. Authority was indeed lost, yet authenticity was indeed gained.” See “Black Message/White Envelope: Genre, Authenticity, and Authority in the Antebellum Slave Narrative.” *Callaloo* 32 (1987): 482-515.

⁷ See Chapter One of Louis A. Pérez, *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality and Culture* (1999), 16-95.

⁸ For Manzano's letter to Del Monte discussing the details of the commission, see Robert Friol, *Suite para Juan Francisco Manzano* (1977), 165-6.

⁹ For a concise history of the Del Monte *tertulias*, see William Luis, *Literary Bondage* (1990), 29-36.

¹⁰ For Suárez y Romero's description of his edits in a letter to Del Monte, see *Centón epistolario* v. 2 (2002), 391-2. In that same letter, Suárez y Romero alludes to the second half of Manzano's autobiography, a manuscript that was apparently misplaced. Anselmo, who edited the first part of Manzano's autobiography that Madden would eventually publish in England, wrote to Domgino del Monte pleading with him to ask Manzano to recompose the latter half of the narrative: "Para enmendar el esquisito cuidado de Palma, no pudiera V pedirle á Manzano que escribiera de nuevo la segunda parte de su historia? – Yo me comprometo á copiarla – el caso es completar los diamantes de tan rica joya/ To rectify [Ramón de] Palma's exquisite care of the text, could you not request that Manzano rewrite the second part of his narrative? – I promise to edit it – the point is to finish with diamonds such a rich jewel." All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. See also Susan Willis's extensive analysis and criticism of the stylistic "flaws" in Manzano's prose "Crushed Geraniums: Juan Francisco Manzano and the Language of Slavery," errors which Lorna V. Williams suggests may have actually resulted from Suárez y Romero's own "grammatical deficiencies." See *The Representation of Slavery in Cuban Fiction* (1994), 24-31.

¹¹ Manzano's narrative was not published in Cuba until José Luciano Franco stumbled across the manuscript and published the text in Havana in 1937, approximately a century after its initial composition. See *Obras* (1972).

¹² David R. Murray argues that although their alliance was both strategic and convenient, "Their co-operation could never be close, certainly there could not be any fusion into a unified abolitionist movement combining Cuban creoles and British abolitionists.

Hampered by censorship, persecution and the hostility of Cuban government officials, the abolitionist campaign achieved little within Cuba. British abolitionists made use of the tenuous contacts they had with Creole opponents of the slave trade to gather information which would help to reveal the true nature of Cuban slavery to audiences in Britain." See *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain, and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (1980), 131.

¹³ This interview appears as "Questions Addressed to Senor [sic] – of Havana, by R.R. Madden" in *Poems by a Slave on the Island of Cuba*, 117-24. For the full contents of the antislavery portfolio that Del Monte gave to Madden, see *Autobiografía del esclavo poeta y otros escritos* (2007), ed. William Luis, 18n13.

¹⁴ Upon learning of the *Amistad* trial in the United States, Madden arrived in Connecticut as a special counsel to the case, eventually playing a major role in the vindication of the crew. From his intimate knowledge of the illegal slave trade in Cuba and his familiarity with Arabic, Madden was able to communicate with the prisoners and prove successfully that they were not *ladinos* (slaves from Cuba), but rather *Bozales* (illegally captured and trafficked Africans). For a full account of the trial, including Madden's pivotal participation see John Warner Barber, *A History of the Amistad Captives: Being a*

Circumstantial Account of the Capture of the Spanish Schooner Amistad, by the Africans on Board; Their Voyage, and Capture Near Long Island, New York; with Biographical Sketches of Each of the Surviving Africans; also, an Account of the Trials had on Their Case, Before the District and Circuit Courts of the United States, for the District of Connecticut (1840).

¹⁵ John Thrasher appends census information to Alexander von Humboldt's famous "Political Essay on the Island of Cuba," including the relevant period. By 1841 people of Africans and Afro Cubans actually outnumbered the white population on the island. According to the census, Cuba's population included 418,291 whites, 152, 838 "free colored" people and 436,495 slaves; in 1846, there were 425,767 whites, 149,226 "free colored" people, and 323,759 slaves. See Alexander von Humboldt, *The Island of Cuba: A Political Essay* (2000), 133-5.

¹⁶ Robert L. Paquette provides an extensive literature review of the diverse approaches to and opinions of *La Escalera* as he meditates on the academic debate about the true nature of O'Donnell's draconian reaction: "Some interpreters have called it a preempted revolution that threatened the foundation of Cuba's slave society. Others have doubted its existence, arguing that the government manufactured it to justify a Machiavellian policy of colonial repression." For his treatment of Plácido and his supposed involvement with the planned uprising, see *Sugar Is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba* (1988), 4, 256-62. For a more recent meditation on the debate over the "true" nature of *La Escalera*, see Daisy A. Cué Fernández, *Plácido, el poeta conspirador*, (2007), 68-76.

¹⁷ The extent to which De la Concepción Valdés admitted names or affiliations of others is dubious. Fredrick S. Stimson notes: “Certain biographers, failing to produce really incriminating or unquestionably authentic documents, insist that Brigadier Salas treacherously advised Plácido that, in payment for freedom, he should furnish O’Donnell a list of friends involved in abolitionist causes, and that the poet acceded to the request with a *revelación* containing fifty-five names.” See *Cuba’s Romantic Poet; the Story of Plácido* (1964), 80-81. Similarly, Luis suggests: “Plácido’s accusation against Del Monte may have been contrived since he never signed the confession.” See *Literary Bondage* (1990), 16-17.

¹⁸ For an overview of several contemporaneous accounts of Plácido’s trial and execution, see Fredrick S. Stimson, *Cuba’s Romantic Poet: The Story of Plácido* (1964), 79-89.

¹⁹ See “From Havana” *New Orleans Picayune*. (20 April 1844), 1; “The Recent Insurrection at Cuba” *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture* (25 May 1844), 4.

²⁰ The original article was authored by Thomas Clarkson, to whom and Joseph Sturge, Madden dedicated *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba*. See “The Anti-Slavery Reporter” in *The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines’ Friend (The British and Foreign Antislavery Reporter)* 5 (4 Sep. 1844), 172. Significantly, the editors prefix Clarkson’s article with a note that “His remarks are addressed on this occasion to the inhabitants of the northern states of the American Union; and we have no doubt they will attract the attention they deserve.”

²¹ Although Whittier was on several occasions forced to absent himself for health reasons during Sturge’s visit, the pair became very close. The development of this friendship is

well-documented in Sturge's *A Visit to America* (1841) where the author unyieldingly attaches the epithet "my friend" or "my close friend" to Whittier's name throughout the memoir. Additionally, Whittier's frequent correspondence to Sturge is collected by John B. Pickard in the first two volumes of *The Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier* (1975) and extends for about seven years after Sturge's visit.

²² According to Ivan Schulman, Manzano published poems in *La Moda* (1831), *Diario de la Habana* (1830-8), *El Pasatiempo* (1834), *El Aguinaldo Habanero* (1837-8), and *El Álbum* (1837-8). See Juan Francisco Manzano, *Autobiography of a Slave* (1996), ed. Ivan A. Schulman, 36. Luis also mentions the publication of a poetry manuscript *Flores pasageros* [sic] (1830), "del cual no se ha encontrado un ejemplar/of which no examples can be found." (Translation is mine). See *Autobiografía del esclavo poeta y otros escritos* (2007), ed. William Luis, 75. Once freed, Manzano also published a little known tragic play, *Zafira* (1842), before quitting writing all together after *La Escalera*.

²³ Critics debate about the Madden's intentions in doing so. Sylvia Molloy famously impugns Madden's motivations in publishing Manzano's text anonymously and as part of a book predominantly comprised of Madden's own writings. See "From Serf to Self: The Autobiography of Juan Francisco Manzano." *MLN* 104 (1989), 405-6. Conversely, Gera C. Burton has recently countered this claim, citing a number of Madden's letters that refer to his friendship with Manzano and buttressing arguments about Madden's sincere concerns for the Cuban's safety, including a letter from Madden to Joseph Soul, in which he describes the extent of his friendship with Manzano and mourns the (false) rumor of the poet's death: "I cannot tell you how grieved I am about poor Manzano, the Cuban poet. Many a time the poor fellow came to my house and talked over his trouble and

those of his unfortunate tribe with me.” See Gera C. Burton, *Ambivalence and the Postcolonial Subject: The Strategic Alliance of Juan Francisco Manzano and Richard Robert Madden*, (2004), 95. Madden’s extensive résumé as an international abolitionist in Ireland, England and the West Indies should speak for itself, but at the very least, Madden seems to have honored the prevailing opinion of Manzano’s literary peers in Cuba, evidenced here by José Echeverría’s 9 November 1845 letter to Del Monte: “Puede V. darle la noticia á Mr. Madden; y en obsequio del pobre Manzano tenga V. cuidado de que si alguno de esos literatos franceses escribe sobre su vida, no cometa la diablura de nombrarlo/ Could you give the news to Mr. Madden; and in service of poor Manzano take care that if any of the French literati write about his life, they do not commit the mischief of naming him.” See *Centón epistolario* v. 3 (2002), 529.

²⁴ According to Whittier, Juan Placido wrote several poems, “which have been published in Spanish at Havana and translated by Dr. Madden, under the title of “Poems by a Slave.”” There are a number of minor transcriptional errors between the Madden and the Whittier, however. For instance, Don Toribio de Castro becomes Don Terribio de Castro. Similarly, in Madden’s translation of the poem “Ode to Religion” the final stanza begins: “Oh, God of mercy, throned in glory high,/O’er earth and all its miseries, look down!”; in *The Stranger in Lowell*, the same line appears, “O God of mercy, throned in glory high,/On earth and all its misery look down.” In light of the direct references to Madden’s text, Whittier’s close relationship with Joseph Sturge and the overall resemblance between the two, there is no substantive reason to believe that Whittier was not working with *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba*. These mistranscriptions could be explained by any number of possibilities, including the hurried nature of its

composition (less than two months) or the Whittier potentially recreated the text from memory or fragments. See *The Stranger in Lowell* (1845), 51, 52, 55; See *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba* (1840), 55, 100.

²⁵ “The Black Man” includes a version of Plácido’s most famous piece “Plegaria a Dios” (“Prayer to God”), which Whittier states “I am indebted to a friend for assistance in rendering . . . into English verse.” A Spanish version of the poem was printed in the *British and Foreign Antislavery Reporter* on 28 August 1844 and in the following issue (4 September), the periodical printed two English translations evidently submitted by readers, neither of which match Whittier’s friend’s translation. Curiously enough, there were no fewer than three other translations of this poem circulating in the United States over the next decade: Maria Weston Chapman’s version from the 1845 *Liberty Bell*, William Henry Hurlbert’s from the *North American Review* 68 (1849), and H.G. Adams’s translation in *God’s Image in Ebony: Being a Series of Biographical Sketches, Facts, Anecdotes, etc., Demonstrative of the Mental Powers and Intellectual Capacities of the Negro Race* (1854).

²⁶ See Joshua Leavitt, *Selections for reading and speaking, for higher classes in common schools* (1850).

²⁷ For more on the circulation of stereotypes and electrotypes between publishers, see Michael Winship, “Manufacturing and Book Production” *A History of the Book in America Volume 3: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880* Ed. Scott Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship (2007), 45-48. For more on the periodical exchange network, see Jeffrey D. Grove, “The Courtesy of the Trade” *A History of the*

Book in America Volume 3: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880 Ed. Scott Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship (2007), 139-47.

²⁸ See “A Fine Sketch” *Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal* (13 Aug. 1845), 132; “Imprisonment of Eminent Men” *Prisoner's Friend* (1 Sept. 1856), 3; “Juan Placido.” *Friends' Intelligencer* (12 Mar. 1859), 826; “Juan Placido.” *Friends' Review; a Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal* (16 May 1857), 572; “Juan Placido” *Wisconsin Chief (Cayuga Chief)* (1 April 1857), 1; “Juan Placido, the Negro Poet.” *Rondout Freeman* (19 Sep. 1846), 1; “The last Prayer of Placido, the Martyr Poet of Cuba.” *Barre Patriot* (30 May 1845), 1; “Miscellany; A Cuban Slave.” *Christian Inquirer* (27 Jan. 1855), 4; “Miscellany: Juan Placido” *Liberator* (28 Aug. 1846), 140; “Miscellany; Juan Placido, Prayer of Placido.” *Prisoner's Friend* (19 Aug. 1846), 132.; “No Title” *Emancipator and Republican (Emancipator and Weekly Chronicle)* (5 Feb. 1845), 161; “Selections: Juan Placido” *The North Star* (7 Dec. 1849), 4.

²⁹ Though Delany invokes Placido as a fictional character, traces of Manzano remain. Near the novel's conclusion, Delany mentions, “Dr. M---n, the British consul” who was imprisoned for inciting a “Negro insurrection in Cuba.” See *Blake or the Huts of America* (1971), 294. Given the ubiquitous misattribution of Madden's *Poems by a Slave* to Plácido (and Placido), Delany's otherwise arbitrary inclusion of Madden signals his familiarity with Manzano's work read through the lens of Juan Placido. This possibility is also suggested tentatively in Eric Sundquist *To Wake the Nations* (1993), 209n and Anna Brickhouse *Transamerican Literary Relations and Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere* (2004), 128.

³⁰ Nwankwo provides the most thorough analysis of this conflation in Chapter Two of *Black Cosmopolitanism* (2005), 49-80. See also Frederick S. Stimson, *Cuba's Romantic Poet; the Story of Plácido* (1964), 99-102; Floyd J. Miller's "Notes to the text" in his edition of Martin R. Delany, *Blake or the Huts of America* (1970), 319; Edward Mullen's introduction to Juan Francisco Manzano, *The Life and Poems of a Cuban Slave* (1981), 12; Anna Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth Century Public Sphere* (2004), 127-9.

³¹ The original details of Plácido's execution from which Whittier was apparently elaborating can be found the Madrid paper *Heraldo*. In addition to the aforementioned references to this source as the originary account in the *British and Foreign Antislavery Reporter*, another U.S. periodical cites the specific issue (7 August 1844) and seems to be working from the same English translation available to Joseph Soul, whose letter to the editor of the *Jamaica Guardian and Patriot* Nwankwo uncovers and close reads in her book. See "Plácido, the Cuban Poet" *Friends' Weekly Intelligencer* (14 Dec. 1844), 302; *Black Cosmopolitanism*, 42-47. The full text of Soul's letter is printed as the first appendix in Daisy A. Cué Fernández, *Plácido, el poeta conspirador* (2007), 254-6.

³² Nwankwo's comments actually refer to the conflation of the two Cuban poets in an entry for "Plácido" in William Wells Brown's *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, His Achievements* (1863). As I will demonstrate, however, Brown's ethnography is heavily inflected, if not directly influenced, by Whittier's "The Black Man," as even their eponymous titles suggest.

³³ For more on Cuban racial categories, see *Black Cosmopolitanism*, 31-42, 91-5.

³⁴ Jerome Branche argues that *Autobiografía* signals the author's "avoidance of Blackness in the relation [to his racial identity], and his espousal of the cultural markers of Whiteness... point to a conscious constitution of self as a racial subject; one that is in strict accordance with the dictates of the dominant ideology of Whitening." See "'Mulato Entre Negros' (y Blancos): Writing, Race, the Antislavery Question, and Juan Francisco Manzano's 'Autobiografía'" *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 20 (2001), 81.

Similarly, Vera M. Kutzinski reminds us that Plácido's writings tend to circumvent issues of race almost entirely: "Since Plácido did not care to identify himself as a 'Negro writer' and indeed devoted precious little of his poetry to overt commentaries on racial issues, his poems have, more often than not, been criticized, and in fact dismissed, for their alleged preoccupation with white themes and forms and their overall lack of a clear, coherent racial identification." See *Sugar's Secrets: Race and the Erotics of Cuban Nationalism* (1993), 84.

³⁵ William Luis's authoritative (in its attention to the multiplicity of manuscripts) Spanish version of the text, cites the original phrase "convertirme de manso cordero en un león/transforming me from a meek lamb into a lion." See *Autobiografía del esclavo poeta y otros escritos* (2007), 93.

³⁶ In *My Bondage, My Freedom* (1855), Fredrick Douglass reflects, "I was no longer a servile coward, trembling under the frown of a brother worm of the dust, but, my long-cowed spirit was roused to an attitude of manly independence." See 247. Nicole Aljoe provocatively intimates that William Lloyd Garrison and others may have provided Douglass with textual models that influenced the composition of his canonical narrative. While an argument about the influence of Manzano's mediated autobiography on *My*

Bondage, My Freedom remains somewhat tenuous and extends beyond the scope of this project, Douglass was certainly familiar with Whittier's syncretic Cuban poet, as the *North Star* reprinted an article from an 1846 issue of the *Liberator* simply called "Juan Placido." Douglass included Garrison's preface to the excerpt: "Our readers will recollect the account given through the papers in 1844, of an intended insurrection of slaves in Cuba. Many may not be aware that the leader of that revolt was a '*Negro and a Man,*' one worthy to be ranked with George Washington or any other hero. We have made the following extracts from Whittier's '*Stranger in Lowell,*' believing it will be interesting to most of our readers. We regret we have not room to give the article entire." See Nicole Aljoe, *Testimonies: Slave Narratives from the British West Indies, 1709-1838* (2012), 3; "Juan Placido" *North Star* (7 Dec. 1849), 4.

³⁷ Ivan Schulman describes *un esclavo de razón* as a slave in possession of special talents, resulting from preferential training and education, thereby "creating in [Manzano's] soul the illusory notion of being able to overcome his condition as a slave through his intellectual aptitudes of the use of reason." See *Autobiography of a Slave* (1996), ed. Ivan A. Schulman, 45n2.

³⁸ In 1854, the Ostend Manifesto would make these anxieties clear, in its appeal to President Franklin Pierce to annex the island from Spain: "We should, however, be recreant to our duty, be unworthy of our gallant forefathers, and commit base treason against our posterity, should we permit Cuba to be Africanized and become a second St. Domingo, with all its attendant horrors to the white race, and suffer the flames to extend to our own neighboring shores, seriously to endanger our actually to consume the fair fabric of our Union."

³⁹ Entirely independent of Del Monte's influence on the text's production, Manzano's writing was, at the very least, self-censored because the slaveholders and tormentors who appear in his narrative were both alive and politically potent. See Lorna V. Williams, *The Representation of Slavery in Cuban Fiction* (1994), 21-31.

⁴⁰ As Murray and Branche have properly stressed, however, Del Monte's motivations in commissioning the personal narrative are worth examining more closely. Still, plantation-owner and slaveholder himself, Del Monte had no interest in abolitionism. Instead, Del Monte adeptly managed to endear himself to a plurality of external political interests in Cuba. As mentioned previously for instance, Del Monte provided a portfolio of writings on Cuban slavery to Madden and agreed to a personal interview on the topic, not from a sense of obligation to the subjugated voices of slavery, but rather because of the couple's shared interest in ending the illegal slave trade. Their ultimate goals could not have been more divergent, however. Madden regarded this move as a stepping stone toward racial equality and the abolition of slavery on the island. Del Monte and his cohort of Creole intellectuals, conversely, wanted to cease the importation of African slaves and sponsor European immigration programs in order to help "whiten" the Cuban population. For more on Del Monte's racial and racist ideologies, see Jerome Branche "Mulato entre negros' (y blancos): Writing, Race, the Antislavery Question, and Juan Francisco Manzano's "Autobiografía" *Bulletin of Latin American Research* (Jan. 2001), 72-5. For more on European immigration programs in Cuba see David R. Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain, and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (1980), 149-51.

⁴¹ Brickhouse even identifies a number of lines in Madden's poems "The Sugar Estate" and "The Slave Trade Merchant" as direct quotations from Madden's lengthy 1839 public

letter to William Ellery Channing on the U.S. flag protecting slave ships. See “Manzano, Madden, 'El Negro Mártir,' and the Revisionist Geographies of Abolitionism,” *American Literary Geographies*, ed. Martin Brückner and Hsuan L. Hsu, (2007), 234n12.

⁴² See *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture* (1999), 83-95.

⁴³ Pérez describes in detail the rapidly increasing economy of products, people and ideas between the United States and Cuba. He notes that Cubans came north for a variety of reasons, including education, business, and to develop familiarity with new agricultural technologies. U.S. citizens came to Cuba primarily for vacation, but many ended up staying, including sailors, for whom it was a popular destination in which to desert. See *On Becoming Cuban* (1999), 16-95.

⁴⁴ Del Monte was famously pro-annexation and anti-colonial rule. As the owner of over a hundred slaves and a 900-acre sugar plantation, he was well aware of the advantages of U.S. annexation of Cuba: governmental reform, freedom from Spain, and the preservation of the slave economy. See David R. Murray *Odious Commerce* (1980), 167-9; Hugh Thomas *Cuba, or The Pursuit of Freedom* (1971), 207. For Everett’s response to Del Monte see *Centón epistolario* vol. 3 (2002), 121-4.

Works Cited

- “A Fine Sketch.” *Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal* [Boston] 13 Aug. 1845: 132. Print.
- Aljoe, Nicole N. *Creole Testimonies: Slave Narratives from the British West Indies, 1709-1838*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Print.
- Almeida, Joselyn M. “Translating a Slave’s Life: Richard Robert Madden and the Post-Abolition Trafficking of Juan Manzano’s Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba.” *Circulations and the Black Atlantic*. Spec. issue of *Romantic Circles Praxis Series* (Oct. 2011). Web.
- Baker Jr., Houston A. “Autobiographical Acts and the Voice of the Southern Slave.” Davis and Gates Jr. 242-61. Print.
- Bottiglieri, Nicola. “La escritura de la piel: la *Autobiografía* de Juan Francisco Manzano.” *Esclavitud y Narrativa En El Siglo XIX Cubano: Enfoques Recientes*. Ed. Salvador Arias. Havana: Editorial Academia, 1995. 58–84. Print.
- Branche, Jerome. “‘Mulato Entre Negros’ (y Blancos): Writing, Race, the Antislavery Question, and Juan Francisco Manzano’s ‘Autobiografía’.” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 20.1 (2001): 63–87. Print.
- Brickhouse, Anna. “Manzano, Madden, ‘El Negro Mártir,’ and the Revisionist Geographies of Abolitionism.” *American Literary Geographies: Spatial Practice and Cultural Production, 1500-1900*. Ed. Martin Brückner and Hsuan L. Hsu. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007. 209–235. Print.
- . *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-century Public Sphere*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Print.

- Brown, William Wells. *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements*. New York: Thomas Hamilton, 1863. Print.
- Burton, Gera. *Ambivalence and the Postcolonial Subject: The Strategic Alliance of Juan Francisco Manzano and Richard Robert Madden*. New York: Peter Lang, 2004. Print.
- Cué Fernández, Daisy A. *Placido, El Poeta Conspirador*. Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente, 2007. Print.
- Davis, Charles T., and Henry Louis Gates Jr., eds. *The Slave's Narrative*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. Print.
- Delany, Martin R. *Blake or The Huts of America*. Ed. Floyd J. Miller. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971. Print.
- Del Monte, Domingo. *Centón Epistolario*. Ed. Sophie Andioc Torres. 4 vols. La Habana: Imagen Contemporánea, 2002. Print.
- Douglass, Fredrick. *My Bondage, My Freedom*. New York: Miller, Orton and Mulligan, 1855. Print.
- Drexler, Michael J. and Ed White, eds. *Beyond Douglass: New Perspectives on Early African-American Literature*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2008. Print.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *An Address Delivered in the Court-House in Concord, Massachusetts on 1st August, 1844, on the Anniversary of the Emancipation of the Negroes in the British West Indies*. Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1844. Print.

- Ernest, John. "Beyond Douglass and Jacobs." *The Cambridge Companion to the African American Slave Narrative*. Ed. Audrey A. Fisch. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 218-31. Print.
- Foner, Philip S. *A History of the Cuba and its Relations with the United States*. Vol. 1. New York: International Publishers, 1962. Print.
- "From Havana." *New Orleans Picayune*. 20 April 1844; 1. Print.
- Friol, Roberto. *Suite para Juan Francisco Manzano*. Havana: Editorial Arte y Literatura, 1977. Print.
- Gardner, Eric. *Unexpected Places: Relocating Nineteenth-Century African American Literature*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2009. Print.
- General Anti-slavery Convention (1st: 1840: London, England). *Minutes of the proceedings of the General Anti-slavery Convention : called by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held in London on the 12th of June, 1840, and continued by adjournments to the 23rd of the same month*. London: Johnson and Barrett, 1840. Print.
- Humboldt, Alexander von. *The Island of Cuba: A Political Essay*. Trans. J.S. Thrasher. Princeton: Marcus Weiner, 2001. Print.
- "Imprisonment of Eminent Men" *Prisoner's Friend* [Boston] 1 Sept. 1856: 3. Print.
- Jiménez, Luis A. "Nineteenth Century Autobiography in the Afro-Americas: Frederick Douglass and Juan Francisco Manzano." *Afro-Hispanic Review* 14.2 (1995): 47-52. Print.
- "Juan Placido." *Friends' Intelligencer* [Philadelphia] 12 Mar. 1859: 826. Print

- “Juan Placido.” *Friends' Review; a Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal* [Philadelphia] 16 May 1857: 572. Print.
- “Juan Placido.” *Non-Slaveholder* [New York] 1 Feb 1854; 18. Print.
- “Juan Placido.” *The North Star* [Rochester] 7 Dec. 1849; 4. Print.
- “Juan Placido.” *Wisconsin Chief (Cayuga Chief)* [Fort Atkinson, WI] 1 Apr. 1857: 1. Print.
- “Juan Placido, the Negro Poet.” *Rondout Freeman* [Rondout, NY] 19 Sep. 1846: 1. Print.
- Kutzinski, Vera M. *Sugar's Secrets: Race and the Erotics of Cuban Nationalism*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993. Print.
- “The Last Prayer of Placido, the Martyr Poet of Cuba.” *Barre Patriot* [Barre, MA] 30 May 1845: 1. Print.
- Lazo, Rodrigo. *Writing To Cuba: Filibustering And Cuban Exiles In The United States*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. Print.
- Luis, William. “La *Autobiografía* de Juan Francisco Manzano y la traducción de Richard Madden: Un texto con dos interpretaciones sobre la vida del esclavo poeta.” *Discurso: Revista de Estudios Iberoamericanos* 11.1 (1993): 95-111. Print.
- . *Literary Bondage: Slavery in Cuban Narrative*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990. Print.
- Macchi, Fernanda. “Juan Francisco Manzano y el discurso abolicionista: Una lectura enmarcada.” *Revista Iberoamericana* 73.218-219 (2007): 63–77. Print.
- Madden, Richard Robert and Manzano, Juan Francisco,. *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba, Recently Liberated; Translated from the Spanish, by R. R. Madden, M.D. With the History of the Early Life of the Negro Poet, Written by Himself; to Which*

- Are Prefixed Two Pieces Descriptive of Cuban Slavery and the Slave-Traffic*, by R. R. M. London: Thomas Ward and Co., 1840. Print.
- Manzano, Juan Francisco. *Autobiografía del esclavo poeta y otros escritos*. Ed. William Luis. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2007. Print.
- . *Autobiography of a Slave*. Ed. Ivan A. Schulman. Trans. Evelyn Picon Garfield. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996. Print.
- . *The Life and Poems of a Cuban Slave: Juan Francisco Manzano, 1797-1854*. Ed. Edward J. Mullen. Trans. Richard Robert Madden. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1981. Print.
- McGill, Meredith. *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1853*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. Print.
- Molloy, Sylvia. "From Serf to Self: The Autobiography of Juan Francisco Manzano." *MLN* 104.2 (1989): 393–417.
- "Miscellany; A Cuban Slave." *Christian Inquirer* [New York] 27 Jan. 1855: 4. Print.
- "Miscellany; Juan Placido, Prayer of Placido." *Prisoner's Friend* [Boston] 19 Aug. 1846: 132. Print.
- "No Title." *Emancipator and Republican (Emancipator and Weekly Chronicle)* [Boston]. 5 February 1845: 161. Print.
- Murray, David R. *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain, and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980. Print.
- Nwankwo, Ifeoma Kiddoe. *Black Cosmopolitanism: Racial Consciousness and Transnational Identity in the Nineteenth-Century Americas*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. Print.

- 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. Print.
- Pérez, Louis A. *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality and Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. Print.
- “Placido, the Cuban Poet.” *Friends’ Weekly Intelligencer* [Philadelphia] 14 Dec. 1844: 302. Print.
- Sekora, John. “Black Message/White Envelope: Genre, Authenticity, and Authority in the Antebellum Slave Narrative.” *Callaloo* 32 (1987): 482–515. Print.
- Stimson, Frederick S. *Cuba’s Romantic Poet; the Story of Plácido*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1964. Print.
- Sundquist, Eric J. *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993. Print.
- Sweeney, Fionnghuala. “Atlantic Countercultures and the Networked Text: Juan Francisco Manzano, R. R. Madden and the Cuban Slave Narrative.” 40.4 (2004): 401–414. Print.
- “The Recent Insurrection at Cuba.” *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture* [Boston] 25 May 1844: 4. Print.
- Thomas, Hugh. *Cuba or The Pursuit Of Freedom*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1998. Print.
- Whittier, John Greenleaf. *The Stranger in Lowell*. Boston: Waite, Price and Co, 1845. Print.

- . *The Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier*. Ed. John B. Pickard. 3 vols. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975. Print.
- . *Whittier Correspondence from the Oak Knoll Collections, 1830-1892*. Ed. John Albee. Salem, Massachusetts: Essex Book and Print Club, 1911. Print.
- Williams, Lorna V. *The Representation of Slavery in Cuban Fiction*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994. Print.
- Willis, Susan. "Crushed Geraniums: Juan Francisco Manzano and the Language of Slavery." Davis and Gates Jr. 199–224. Print.
- Winship, Michael. "Manufacturing and Book Production." *A History of the Book in America: Volume 3: The Industrial Book 1840-1880*. Ed. Scott Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007. 40-69. Print.