Deniz Bozkurt-Pekár

Imagining Southern Spaces

Dialectics of the Global

Edited by
Matthias Middell

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Deniz Bozkurt-Pekár

Imagining Southern Spaces

Hemispheric and Transatlantic Souths in Antebellum US Writings

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On the Series

Ever since the 1990s, "globalization" has been a dominant idea and, indeed, ideology. The metanarratives of Cold War victory by the West, the expansion of the market economy, and the boost in productivity through internationalization, digitization and the increasing dominance of the finance industry became associated with the promise of a global trickle-down effect that would lead to greater prosperity for ever more people worldwide. Any criticism of this viewpoint was countered with the argument that there was no alternative; globalization was too powerful and thus irreversible. Today, the ideology of "globalization" meets with growing scepticism. An era of exaggerated optimism for global integration has been replaced by an era of doubt and a quest for a return to particularistic sovereignty. However, processes of global integration have not dissipated and the rejection of "globalization" as ideology has not diminished the need to make sense both of the actually existing high level of interdependence and the ideology that gave meaning and justification to it.

The following three dialectics of the global are in the focus of this series:

Multiplicity and Co-Presence: "Globalization" is neither a natural occurrence nor a singular process; on the contrary, there are competing projects of globalization, which must be explained in their own right and compared in order to examine their layering and their interactive composition.

Integration and Fragmentation: Global processes result in de- as well as reterritorialization. They go hand in hand with the dissolution of boundaries, while also producing a respatialization of the world.

Universalism and Particularism: Globalization projects are justified and legitimized through universal claims of validity; however, at the same time they reflect the worldview and/or interests of particular actors.

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Introduction

"I wonder why they put the South so far south" ponders Bugs Bunny in a 1953 episode of *Looney Tunes*. Shortly after, he spots a "Mason Dixon Line" sign on an ostensibly natural border separating a barren and drought-ridden North from an Edenic green slope along what seems to be the Mississippi River accompanied with an iconic steamer. Bugs is headed to "the lil' ole South" singing "I wish I was in Dixie, hooray! Hooray!" – the de facto anthem of the Confederate States – not only because he cannot find a carrot worth eating in the North but also because the newspaper he reads (dated 2 September 1952) heralds "The Record Carrot Crop in Alabama". And from the moment he sees the sign, everything about the episode's plot and setting indicates a plethora of differences between the two parts of the country. Beside the verdant fertility of the South against the desert that represents the North, the former is marked by a typical white plantation house while the only human-made items on the Northern side are crooked utility poles, clearly marking the South as agricultural and the North as industrial. The viewer cannot help but feel a tendency towards the aesthetic superiority of the "Dixie". But, uh-oh! 15 seconds after its first appearance on screen, the tropical beauty of the South already becomes tainted by the emergence of Yosemite Sam as a Confederate soldier screaming "charge!" Sam, reportedly ordered by General Robert E. Lee to protect the Mason-Dixon Line, will not let Bugs, a "Yankee", cross to the South. The rabbit tries to reason with him explaining "the war between the states ended almost ninety years ago". Yet, Sam "ain't no clock watcher!"[1] Despite its alluring scenes, the image of the South is spoiled by the obvious lunacy of fighting a war that has long been ceased.

This *Looney Tunes* episode called "Southern Fried Rabbit" manages to fit as many problematic and stereotypical images about the US South – including a scene where the famous rabbit is in black-face to represent an enslaved African American while being whipped by the Confederate Yosemite Sam – as possible into a six-minutes-long cartoon. While these images are also worthy of lengthy analysis, let us briefly concentrate on the question why a mid-twentieth-century episode of a cartoon would depict the Southerner as a man fighting a war that he has lost almost a century ago. The Southern Yosemite Sam is depicted as a dullard who refuses to listen both reason and technology – as far as a watch can be considered a technological item – and wages a war that he is condemned to lose over

1 F. Freleng, "Southern Fried Rabbit", *Bugs Bunny*, Warner Bros. Pictures, https://vimeo.com/77345861 (accessed 18 August 2020).

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and over again. He is easily deceived and mislead by the sly Northern rabbit several times in the episode, and eventually turns his gun toward his own Southern people who are acting as the Yankee soldiers in an "exhibition game" in Chattanooga. The Southerner as portrayed by Sam emerges as an unreasonable and delusional man inflicting only self-harm. Moreover, he is so provincial and lives in such isolation from the rest of the world that he is not even aware that the war has now been over for almost a century. His irrational behaviour eventually costs the initial image of tropical South its charm by inflicting it with negative connotations and, thus, letting the Northern side of the Mason-Dixon Line appear in comparatively positive light.

The episode of *Looney Tunes* shows that the most persistent undertones of the disparity between the US North and the South as well as the obstinate images about the South have long evolved and still continue to evolve around the notions of Civil War antagonism and racial slavery. The history of the US South, as the twentieth and twenty-first centuries understand it, is marked by half-fictitious narratives about a completely free antebellum North against a slave-holding South and postbellum chronicles of the Reconstruction Era[2] accentuating the distinction of the region as a sophomore in a pedagogic civilizing relation with the rest of the country. Whereas these accounts serve to plea the rest of the country not guilty of the history of racial oppression and secessionism, the commonplace white Southern embracement of these accounts and imageries through ideologies like the Lost Cause has only strengthened these already persistent images. During the 1950s when "Southern Fried Rabbit" was first broadcasted, the Jim Crow Laws[3] further established racial segregation as well as active and passive disentrancement of people of colour in the Southern states, making it no object of surprise that the cartoon chose to depict the South as an absurd little region far, far away. It is also no surprise that the Mason-Dixon Line did no longer appear just as a figure of speech but as a tangible borderline dividing the country into two juxtaposing regions.

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2 Charles R. Wilson summarizes the Reconstruction period as a "the period from 1865 to 1877, when national efforts were concentrated after the Civil War on incorporating the South back into the Union". The period was marked by efforts of eradicating Confederate institutions and reestablishment of US educational, cultural, political legal, military etc. institutions such as the Freedman's Bureau in the Southern states of the country. C. R. Wilson, "Reconstruction", in: C. R. Wilson, J. Abadie, and A. Haley (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989, p. 68.

3 Jim Crow Laws refer to a "series [of] law and ordinances passed by Southern states and municipalities between 1877 and 1965 legalizing [racial] segregation [. . .] within their boundaries." See L. V. Tischhauser, *Jim Crow Laws*, Greenwood: ABC-CLIO, 2012, p. 1.

These contrasting markers were, however, not always as obstinate and negative as they have been for the last one and a half centuries. As the captivating visualization of the US South in the *Looney Tunes* episode implicate, the region was for a long time also a symbol of agricultural prosperity and luring tropicality. Neither has the line separating the South from the North appeared always so discernible and solid to everyone. This book lays bare that the image of the South as a distinct region within the US is mostly a nineteenth-century construct that found inspiration in early colonial narratives about the area and have come to be coagulated way into the twenty-first century. This conceptualization of the region as such in the antebellum era has been neither a uniform nor an uncontested process. The US South was and has ever since been a dynamic concept which simultaneously emerged from and brought about a plenitude of coexisting and divergent spatial imaginations.

This book is an investigation of the functioning of spatialization processes, rather than an attempt to reconstruct a 'true' presentation of the antebellum US South. That is, *Imagining Southern Spaces* demonstrates the constructedness of any particular image and representation of the South. It does not build a 'true' history of the South, present an exact location for it, or display what constitutes a 'true' Southern identity. It sets out to study the work of intellectual, i.e. cognitive, construction, that is, the imaginative processes that has come to shape the image of the US South, and thus, to go beyond the commonplace representations of the region by unearthing alternative visions about it in literary works by authors whose spatial imaginations about the South do not necessarily correspond with the more established spatial narratives about the region and nation. In this sense, the political, social, and cultural ideologies of these authors locate them as well as their works in marginal positions. While the texts studied in *Imagining Southern Spaces* emerge as but mere examples of numerous visions that have been obliterated from the national memory and exceptionalist spatial metanarratives of the US, they nonetheless serve to illustrate, besides the multiplicity and heterogeneity of antebellum spatial imaginations, the ways in which the consolidation of a US national identity and its spatial configurations were negotiated, contested, affirmed, and stabilized into seemingly homogeneous and national spatial discourses.

It is almost universally accepted in the academic world today that the US South (as any other regional configuration) signifies different things to different (groups) of people, thanks to the impact of the spatial turn on scholarly works concerned with the history, society, and culture of the US and of the US South. Scholars such as Paul Giles, Paul Gilroy, Vera Kutzinski, Caroline Levander, Robert S. Levine, Martha Schoolman, Robert E. May, Matthew Pratt Guterl, and

Gretchen Woertendyke[4] have shown that the boundaries of the newly-founded country remained unclear and permeable up until the late nineteenth century. Their works have also established that the uncertainty of spatial conditions and configurations has led to transborder connections within the American Hemisphere and across the Atlantic. Drawing on their understanding of the nineteenth century in the United States as a cartographically and demographically undefined national consolidation process[5] which was accompanied by various transnational and transregional entanglements by various (groups of) actors, my book sets out with the premise that the spatio-cultural and political uncertainty of the antebellum US brought about an abundance of competing or complementary visions about country. These visions were accompanied by different spatial imaginations by a multitude of actors with diverging interests and desires in diverse spatial configurations. Especially on the southern frontiers (very much like the western/north-western frontiers), a myriad of such alternative imaginations could be found, given their peripheral condition which weakened the "power and influence of the nation state" and "the identification with a national agenda" in these places.[6] The ambivalent place that the South has in the dominant spatial narratives of the nation as a problematic space simultaneously resisted and reinforced imperialist civilizing missions and territorial expansionist desires prevailing in these narratives. The abolition of slavery coupled with the strengthening abolitionist sentiment in the Northern US as opposed to the continuing plantation slavery and illegal slave trade in the South

4 P. Giles, *The Global Remapping of American Literature*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011; P. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993; M. P. Guterl, *American Mediterranean: Southern Slaveholders in the Age of Emancipation*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013; V. M. Kutzinski, "Borders, Bodies, and Regions: The United States and the Caribbean", in: C. L. Crow (ed.), *A Companion to the Regional Literatures of America*, Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003, pp. 171–192; C. F. Levander and R. S. Levine, "Introduction: Hemispheric American Literary History", *American Literary History* 18 (2006) 3, pp. 397–405; R. E. May, *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire, 1854–1861*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973; R. E. May, "Reconsidering Antebellum US Women's History: Gender, Filibustering, and America's Quest for Empire", *American Quarterly* 57 (2005) 4, pp. 1155–1188; M. Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014; G. Woertendyke, *Hemispheric Regionalism: Romance and the Geography of Genre*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

5 Giles, *Global Remapping*, p. 5.

6 G. Pisarz-Ramirez, S. Wöll, and D. Bozkurt, *Spatial Fictions: Imagining (Trans)National Spaces in the Southern and Western Peripheries of the Nineteenth Century United States*, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2018, p. 5.

not only added to an image of the antebellum South as an "internal other"[7] but also increased the peripheral nonconformity with the national identity and spatial agendas among Southern actors. These conditions resulted in a proliferation of alternative spatio-cultural and -political visions in the region. To complicate this already iconoclastic position of the region in the national metanarratives even further, contestations to race-based slavery through the image of the US South as the heart of this malevolent economic system produced its own diverse responses and spatial imaginations blended with different abolitionist ideals. All of these alternative spatial imaginations necessarily responded to and drew upon the material, political, and cultural conditions and structures surrounding them, such as globalization processes, nationalization impulses, and imperialist and expansionist movements.

Scholars of US history, culture, and literature have so far focused on the different ways the US South has been constructed and imagined, problematized the resilient and othered images of the region, and located the South in hemispheric and Circumatlantic contexts. *Imagining Southern Spaces* draws on these previous works and treats the antebellum USA and its Southern states not as isolated locales but as relational spatial constructs within global entanglements. It goes a step further – or, to be more precise, backward – and takes the discussion back to the question of the production of space. Observing that none of the existing studies on the intellectual construction and emergence of the US South engages itself primarily with space and the relationship between cognitive processes of spatiality and spatial configurations, in this book, I aim at filling this gap and investigate discursive formations of alternative spatial imaginations about the South by adopting the new spatial semantics developed at the SFB 1199.[8]

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7 J. R. Greeson, *Our South: Geographic Fantasy and the Rise of National Literature*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010, p. 1.

8 The Collaborative Research Centre (SFB) 1199: "Processes of Spatialization under the Global Condition" is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). "The SFB 1199 is a cooperation between Leipzig University and two non-university research centres: the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO) and the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography (IfL). [. . .] The SFB 1199 is based on a wide spectrum of area studies as well as disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. Introducing the two main categories of spatial formats and spatial orders, the SFB 1199 develops a systematic approach that establishes a typology of spatial formats as well as a historical narrative about the change of spatial orders under global conditions". "SFB 1199", in *SFB1199* (blog), https://research.uni-leipzig.de/~sfb1199/about/sfb-1199/ (accessed 18 August 2020).

This book has been realized as part of the first funding phase of the SFB 1199 (2016–2020), as one of the two dissertation manuscript written under the Subproject C02 "Spatial Fictions: (Re)Imaginations of Nationality in the Southern and Western Peripheries of the Nineteenth-

This spatial semantics proposes two new concepts to the language of space, i.e. spatial formats and spatial orders. Benefiting from the theoretical and methodological toolsets provided by this new language of space, my book demonstrates how spatial imaginations about the US South found in antebellum American texts negotiate, justify, or challenge existing spatial formats and orders, or even cognitively create new ones.

Imagining Southern Spaces shows how the ambivalent connotations and multifarious identity formations in the southern peripheries of the US triggered the work of imagination in antebellum literary texts in which the South as a region emerges as a focal point of reference. These texts communicate different spatial imaginations about the region that respond to existing spatial formats and orders or suggest new ones. Through examinations of divergent antebellum spatial imaginations about the South, this book illustrates the heterogeneity of the spatial formats that these spatial imaginations produce or refer to not only as opposed to but also alongside the monolithic spatial representations of the region that have come to dominate the ways in which the region is imagined today. It demonstrates the relevance of these alternative imaginations not only in insular settings in which they were produced but also in larger national, transregional, transnational, and global frameworks. Thus, it contributes to and addresses the discussions on common regional, national, and racial identities, expansionist and secessionist desires, as well as hemispheric, Transatlantic, and global economic entanglements. The antebellum South constitutes an outstanding investigative ground for such an undertaking since it is marked as a transitional space and time by the concurrence of competing and corresponding spatialization processes after the colonial period between expansionism and national consolidation, on the one hand, and the years of increased sectionalist sentiments before the Civil War, on the other.

The works by the aforementioned scholars locate the US globally and, thus, take a step toward overcoming the discourse of American exceptionalism in the study of US history. In doing so they inspire my book in seeking an answer to the questions which global and local circumstances (or the spatial orders, to already use the new spatial semantics, here) prepared the ground for such a discourse to become a dominant metanarrative in the first place, and how, as Frank Kelleter suggests that a study of US American history should do.[9]

Century United States". The sister dissertation of this book is penned by my dear colleague Steffen A. Wöll, see S. A. Wöll, *The West and the Word: Imagining, Formatting, and Ordering the American West in Nineteenth-Century Cultural Discourse* (Dialectics of the Global, 13), Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020.

9 F. Kelleter, "Transnationalism: The American Challenge", *Review of International American Studies* 2 (2007) 3, pp. 29–33.

Accordingly, my inquiry into the antebellum spatial imaginations about the US South in this book is guided by the following questions: What distinct spatial imaginations about the US South do the antebellum literary texts produce and how do these imaginations relate to each other as well as other predominant visions of the region? How do these imaginations relate and respond to existing spatial formats and, alternatively, what kind of alternative formats do they construct? Which role does the nineteenth-century acceleration in transnationalization and globalization processes play in the construction of these imaginations? Where and how do these spatial imaginations locate the South on the globe? How do the spatial narratives and imaginations in these texts relate to the spatial narratives that are canonized and solidified as the American national history?

Approaching these questions through a spatial analysis of antebellum literature about the US South allows for a multilayered study that demonstrates the tensions between the coexisting and competing spatial formats of empire and nation state as well as the discursive construction of other formats such as periphery and region. Through intertextual readings of the texts and by contextualizing them among other antebellum texts, in this book, I illustrate that the antebellum South was imagined as a complex and multidimensional space that fluidly responded to the changing spatial orders under the increasingly global conditions in the world and generated its own – imagined and/or realized – spatial configurations, as opposed to the commonplace, monolithic, and subordinate image that it generally assumes. Accordingly, "Imagining a Region" gives an overview of the ways in which the South has been represented, imagined, and constructed as a stereotypical 'other' opposing the North through cultural productions, and of affirmative and contradicting responses to these constructions from within the South, with an emphasis on the work of antebellum textual productions. It serves as a critical synopsis of Southern history that accompanied this imaginative construction and an overview of the current state of academic discussions on the South and Southern literature, especially those that are informed by the spatial turn and inspire this work in its inquiry.

In "Speaking of Space", I outline the theoretical and methodological framework that guide this book. Taking the developments in the social sciences and humanities ever since 1970s with the impact of the spatial turn as the theoretical foundations of my work, I build the case for the necessity for employing a new spatial language that can help to advance the research on spatiality and spatialization processes and to systematically study diverse (re)spatialization processes under the global condition. To this end, a number of concepts of space that are essential to this book are surveyed. These include well-established notions such as social space and spatial imaginations, as well as newly-developed

ones such as spatial formats and orders. In each case, these concepts are (re)examined to demonstrate how they can be analytically employed to study antebellum spatial imaginations via close-readings of literary texts and how they can contribute to American literary and cultural studies. Subsequently, I employ these concepts to study some established spatialization patterns and spatial configurations from globalization to frontier that characterize the study of US history. The study of these patterns and configurations serves to historically contextualize the texts and spatial imaginations that are examined in chapters "The Slave Holding South in a Hemispheric Context" and "The South Within Abolitionist Networks" within the larger setting of the antebellum US.

The texts analysed in this book are carefully selected to reflect diverse spatial imaginations about the US South that involve a variety of spatial configurations. To this end, I have made, although limited in number for pragmatic reasons, a selection of diverse texts by authors from different social backgrounds and classes, with distinct ideological and religious convictions, of different genders and places, and with diverging target audiences. I have paid great attention to analysing texts that generate discernible and coherent spatial imaginations which also engage in a dialogue with each other once they are studied together.

Less central in the choice of texts is the relative popularity with which they are received either by their contemporary audience or by academic and general readers ever since their publication. Although the case can easily be made that a less recognized literary production that gathers little or no interest by the public has little value in terms of contributing to the collective imagination of the South that is shared by many and reinforced by several media outlets today, it has been the oblivion of the less popular, obscure, and marginalized spatial imaginations that has allowed for the coagulated and binary image of the region to emerge, in the first place. The text that I analyse in this book have been received in different eras by different (and sometimes unexpected) audiences with diverging interest. They have experienced both popularity and obscurity. (Although it is often hard to estimate the real popularity of a text published before the twentieth century, as, our knowledge is restricted to reprint numbers, book reviews, and criticisms, if these are available, at all.) Yet, an overall evaluation of their experience of popularity and lack of thereof would simply implicate that seen from the perspective of (especially their contemporary) reader's reception, the impact of these texts were rather limited in communicating their visions and philosophies. Instead, I suggest rethinking the question from a New Historicist perspective: Rather than asking how these texts influenced their audience, I propose, we ask how these texts were influenced by their surroundings. How do the texts studied in this book reflect the

conditions of their time and space? What can we discern about the society, culture, political stance, literary movement, time, and space that they stand and speak for? Considered from such a vantage point, the texts become more significant for the study of the antebellum US than their popularity may imply.

I have divided this corpus of texts into two discursive clusters as proslavery and abolitionist texts following the most well-established and stereotypical markers of the South determined by the region's position in the slave economy and the Civil War, in order to problematize the aforementioned predominant images. The US South was under the impact of many other phenomena and events with significant spatial consequences, such as the frontier conditions pertaining in the region, the Indian Removal, and other demographic and geographic fluctuations including the continuing migration into the US throughout the antebellum period and the annexation of neighbouring lands such as the French Louisiana and the Spanish Texas into the territories of the United States. As these influences played significant roles in shaping the spatial imaginations of different (groups of) actors in divergent ways, they often become relevant in the textual analyses in this book. However, the debates on slave economy and its continuation (or respectively its termination) was undoubtedly the most compelling factor shaping the spatial imaginations about the region in the antebellum era. The fact that the most commonplace and clichéd imageries about the US South even today draw on the notions of racism and the Civil War antagonism – in which the region is imagined as the proslavery and secessionist scapegoat of the US nation – attests to the utmost impact of the debates on slavery in triggering and shaping spatial imaginations about the region. In attending to texts located on the opposing ends of the two poles of the debates on slavery in two separate chapters, my book demonstrates both the productivity of these antebellum debates in terms of (both cognitive and material) spatialization practices and the heterogeneity of these seemingly-homogenous philosophical and political stances.

Undoubtedly, this thematic division of texts here runs the danger of reinforcing existing stereotypes about the region. The careful selection of the texts in each cluster, however, is intended to avoid such pitfalls by pointing to the existence of a multiplicity of voices and stances even within these seemingly-homogenous ideological poles, which produced diverse spatial imaginations about the region. The magnetic tendency to envisage Southern slaveholders as a one-dimensional assembly of people standing against a fiery, radical, and united group of abolitionists is broken in the textual analyses via the diversity of spatial visions appearing in the antebellum texts, illustrating similarities as well as dissimilarities between the two discursive clusters. Although it is impossible the capture the diversity of antebellum literary voices about the region in

its entirety, the literary texts chosen for analysis here represent a variety of viewpoints and spatial imaginations within these seemingly monolithic discursive poles and of popularity among readership, as well as in terms of racial, gender, and class backgrounds of their authors.

Accordingly, in chapter "The Slaveholding South in a Hemispheric Context", I address the first of these clusters via analyses of two proslavery texts written by two white Southern authors who envision different versions of a slaveholding South within hemispheric contexts. The first of these authors is William Gilmore Simms, who was considered one of the most distinguished Southern authors of his time. In contemporary academic literature, Simms often emerges as the *quintessential antebellum Southern man* with his ardent proslavery, Southernist, sectionalist, and secessionist stance and through recurring references to his dream of a slaveholding slave empire in the Americas. Focusing mainly on this 1855 novel *Southward Ho!* and contextualizing it among his other fictional and nonfictional texts, I scrutinize Simms's regionalist, secessionist, and expansionist spatial imagination which often almost perfectly coincides with the spatial narrative represented as 'the antebellum southern mindset'.[10] The analysis of his novel helps to understand these most clichéd spatial narratives of the antebellum South from an insider's perspective and locate these narratives in larger transregional and transnational contexts rather than the isolated and liminal positions within which the (antebellum) US South is often imagined. As a collection of 13 short stories (with different original publishing dates from early 1830s to mid-1850s and on many diverging themes which Simms employed in his most popular longer fictional works) gathered in a frame story about a southward marine voyage from New York to South Carolina, *Southward Ho!* captures the oeuvre of this most prolific antebellum Southern author, offering a through reading of the spatial imagination of the author generated in the span of two and a half decades before the Civil War.

The chapter continues with an inquiry of the semi-fictional novel *The Free Flag of Cuba* written by Lucy Holcombe (penname H. H. Hardimann) to vindicate Narciso López's last filibuster expedition to Cuba.[11] *The Free Flag of Cuba* has so far been read in previous studies under the influence of its author's bellum and postbellum Confederate advocacy as a secessionist and aggressively expansionist argument in line with the spatial imagination that appears in Simms's literature. Instead, I analyse Holcombe's novel through the lenses of a

10 W. G. Simms, *Southward Ho!*, Redfield: Elibron Classics, 2006.

11 H. H. Hardimann (L. Holcombe), *The Free Flag of Cuba or the Martyrdom of Lopez*, New York: De Witt & Davenport Publishers, 1885, http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/filibusters/free-flag-cuba.pdf (accessed 26 October 2020).

more space-oriented approach which allows for a reading that unearth anti-expansionist and unionist arguments in the novel. Holcombe's fame as a *Southern belle* and a most ardent supporter of the Confederate States of America as the only woman whose portrait was displayed on a banknote of the short-lived Southern country makes the antebellum unionism discovered in her novel especially an intriguing case, showing fluctuations of opinions and spatial imaginations of Southern actors over the time. The domestic setting of the novel provides a new angle via which spatial imaginations that traverse not only domestic but also national borders offers a new approach not only in studying spatial metaphors and analogies for larger spatial imaginations but also understanding domestic women's fiction of the antebellum era as addressing issues that pertain to political and social terrains. Moreover, the juxtaposition of Simms's and Holcombe's spatial imaginations as they appear in their works supports the argument that even those antebellum actors who pursued similar political ends such as the continuation of the slave economy in the region engaged themselves with different and sometimes conflicting spatial agendas, challenging the prevalent images of the Southern slaveholder as an isolated and single-minded person.

In the chapter "The South within Abolitionist Networks", the focus shifts onto the examples of abolitionist literature of the era, which locate the South within different spatial configurations in striving to put an end to the slave economy in the US through different means and arguments. In this chapter, I first study William Wells Brown's well-known speech *St. Domingo and Its Revolutions and Its Patriots*.[12] The multitude of rhetorical strategies interwoven in *St. Domingo*'s account of the Haitian Revolution discloses a spatial imagination that unite the US South and Haiti in a space of revolution not only through abolitionist struggles but also via their analogous anticolonial pasts. Through these anticolonialist and anti-slavery arguments, the speech surpasses both the dominant linear understanding of time and the solely physical conceptualization of proximity and space, and extends its imagined space of revolution in time and space, blending the ancient with the modern and the 'Old World' with the 'New'. In this regard, my analysis of Brown's speech illustrates the ways in which what seems at first glance to be primarily historical imaginations entail also spatial imaginations and the inseparability of the spatiality and the temporality from each other. The focus on hemispheric, especially Caribbean, entanglements encountered in *St. Domingo* locate the speech in a dialogue with both

12 W. W. Brown, *St. Domingo: Its Revolutions and Its Patriots: A Lecture Delivered Before the Metropolitan Athenaeum, London, May 16, and at St. Thomas' Church, Philadelphia, December 20, 1854*, Boston: Bela Marsh, 1855, https://archive.org/details/stdomingoitsrevo00brow (accessed 26 October 2020).

the proslavery literature and the other abolitionist texts that I study, in terms of the positioning and imaginations of the US South in the American Hemisphere, albeit in different manners and to different ends.

Following Brown's speech, the chapter continues with the reading of a novel by the only Northern author to be studied in this book. Elizabeth D. Livermore's 1855 novel *Zoë; or the Quadroon's Triumph: A Tale for the Times* does not only provide a Northern and abolitionist vision of the South.[13] The rather unknown and understudied status of the novel offers a spatial imagination of the region that has remained largely unacknowledged and obliterated from dominant spatial narratives of the South, as opposed to other and more popular literary examples from the North the spatial narratives produced in which are often echoed in the ways that the region is habitually represented. *Zoë* locates its abolitionist argument via a Unitarian Transcendentalist rhetoric in an expansive geography, demonstrating the philosophical, political, and societal entanglements in the Circumcaribbean and the Circumatlantic created through the slave economy and its long-lasting effects on societies and individuals. These spaces and entanglements appear in the novel to picture the Circumatlantic world as the space of an abolitionist and feminist Christian Republic that is to flourish and spread from the US North. The narrative negotiates the potential position of the South in such a spatial configuration via its African-Caribbean and US American characters' intellectual developments.

Martin R. Delany's *Blake or the Huts of America* (1859–1862) similarly offers a setting that encompasses a large area in the Circumatlantic and the Circumcaribbean, hence often standing in dialogue in, posing parallels to, or challenging the spatial imaginations appearing in other abolitionist texts and proslavery writing studied in this book. The cross-border entanglements and networks one finds in *Blake* has attracted the attention of several scholars influenced by spatial and transnational turn, making the novel both an already well-studied and without doubt the most famous text to be studied in *Imagining Southern Spaces*. It is by building on this existing literature on *Blake* and reassessing it through the lenses of the newly-proposed spatial semantic, I conclude this book with an original reading of Delany's *Blake*. This approach reveals the two different spatial configurations within which the South is imagined in the novel, that is, two different imaginations of the South: first as integral to the spatial order of the slave economy and second in an imagined space of a united Black nation.

13 E. D. Livermore, *Zoë, or the Quadroon's Triumph*, 2 Vols, Cincinnati: Truman and Spofford, 1855, https://archive.org/details/zoorquadroonstr01livegoog (accessed 5 October 2020).

The Conclusion serves to bring these readings together, highlighting commonalities and divergences both within and between each clusters of texts, and shows that drawing on the same or similar cultural, social, economic, political, and military events and phenomena with significant spatial implications, antebellum authors and texts produced a large diversity of spatial imaginations within which they located the US South according to their varying goals and desires for the futures of their communities. This cumulative reading illustrates, through the examples that the spatial imaginations that these antebellum texts create, the large array of diverse ways in which the South was imagined and how this diversity has within time been reduced to the commonplace, monolithic representation of the region that we are accustomed to encounter today.

Chapter 1
Imagining a Region

> In the South they are fiery; voluptuary; indolent; unsteady; zealous for their own liberties, but trampling on those of others; generous; candid; without attachment or pretentions to any religion but that of the heart.[14]

> Vast pastures here,
> For thought to browse in. Empires for the chase,
> Of grand imaginations, which shall crown,
> The future with a glory all her own,
> And rear up sovrereign [sic] temples for the heights,
> Now lonely, in a realm of natural wealth,
> That lacks but Art for beauty![15]

A Genesis of the South

The South's own Corra Mae Harris[16] describes the environmental circumstances that she observes to have caused the literature of the South to remain inferior to that of the North in the USA with the following words:

> In the first place, there is the natural explanation. Climate, the economic conditions of nature, tend toward all forms of activity in the North. [. . .] Further South the natural order changes. The poetic languor of the climate produces physical lassitude, and that mental miasma, depression. Nature is prolific, but intellectually we somehow miss the creative faculty. This accounts for the fact that most of our fiction is legendary. We have the historical imagination, and we lack originality.[17]

14 T. Jefferson, "Letter to Chastellux Paris, Sep. 2, 1785", http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/let34.asp (accessed 18 August 2020).

15 W. G. Simms, "Literary Prospects of the South", in: J. E. Bassett (ed.), *Defining Southern Literature: Perspectives and Assessments, 1831–1952*, Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press and Associated University Presses, 1997, pp. 92–107.

16 Corra M. Harris (1869–1935) was an American journalist and novelist from Georgia. Among her numerous books are most famously *A Circuit Rider's Wife* and *The Co-citizens*. See C. M. Harris, *A Circuit Rider's Wife*, Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company, 1910, https://archive.org/details/circuitriderswif00harr/page/n3 (accessed 18 August 2020); C. M. Harris, *The Co-Citizens*, New York: Silver Scroll Publishing, 2015.

17 C. M. Harris, "Fiction, North and South", in: Bassett (ed.), *Defining Southern Literature*, p. 244.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110692471-002

She is neither alone nor the first or last one to describe the South as essentially inferior and antithetical to the North. For example, in the 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville had similar impressions of the South. However, unlike Corra Harris's, his words were not indented to encourage the Southern literary production to develop further. Tocqueville wrote:

> The North presents me, externally at least, with the picture of a strong, regular, durable government, perfectly suited to the physical and moral state of things. In the South there is in the way things are run something feverish, disordered, revolutionary and passionate, which does not give the same sense of strength and durability.[18]

The Southern fauna, flora, topography, and climate, which astonished and bewildered the early colonizers, soon raised questions about the inhabitability and assimilability of these lands that seemed to be covered with undesirable swamplands, laden with tropical diseases, and haunted by hostile weather conditions. Combined with the circumstances caused by the frontier life and, later, by the slave economy, beside the unfavourable climate condition, life in the South brought images of diseases like malaria and yellow fever, and of incomplete rural settlements (if any settlements at all) to the minds of many non-Southerners. Environmental (or climatic, or geographical) determinism shaped the stereotypes and imaginations about the life in and people of the US South and the places surrounding it. These remained strong influences shaping the ideas about the region from the colonial era deep into mid-twentieth century. These discourses formulated an image of a "tropical South" that "resonated with Western imperialist imagery and legitimated and reflected practical efforts to reform and reconstruct the domestic tropics in America's own backyard".[19]

The tropical image of the South resulted in both negative and positive depictions of the region, on the one hand as "deviant" and idle, and on the other as "bountiful" and "Edenic".[20] The same rhetoric of untamed tropicality whet the imperialists' appetite for *civilizing* the exotic, in similar ways as Orientalist discourses did. This ambivalence of responses to the tropical South can be observed in various literary works. In Léon Beauvallet's *Rachel and the New World* (1856) – a non-American representation of the US –, for example, the French protagonist Rachel describes her passage to the US South.[21] Rachel is astonished by the charming

18 A. de Tocqueville, *Journey to America*, J. P. Mayer (ed.), George Lawrence (trans.), New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1971, pp. 160–161.

19 N. J. Ring, "Inventing the Tropical South: Race, Region, and the Colonial Model", *The Mississippi Quarterly* 56 (2003) 4, pp. 619–620.

20 Ibid., pp. 621–622.

21 Written by the French playwright and novelist Léon Beauvallet, *Rachel and the New World* is an account of the tour that the author took with the French actress Elisabeth Félix (also

weather in North Carolina after dressing "like genuine Esquimaux" in the North, however, she is utterly disgusted by the "dreadfully filthy", "very ugly, and outrageously built" Charleston where she is "in the midst of slavery". While she does not seem to have a problem with slavery in general (as she writes, "slaves do not seem unhappy at all! They are gayer than in New York, where they are as free as if they were in the woods"), she despises the Black sex-workers around the landfills of Charleston, who remind her of "the female vampires of the Arabian Nights".[22]

C. Vann Woodward, when he wrote his influential book *The Burden of Southern History* in 1968, suggested that it was, more than anything else, the experience of military loss in the Civil War and the following period of Reconstruction – the awakening from the "illusion that 'history is something unpleasant that happens to other people'" – that marked the South as distinct from the rest of the US, granting the region the "un-American" experiences of "defeat", "poverty", and "submission".[23] While Woodward's assertion has ever since been criticized from divergent vantage points (especially because after he wrote *The Burden of Southern History*, the nation as a whole had to experience military loss and economic depression in some instances), his work makes a legitimate point in signalling the significance of the Civil War and the Reconstruction Period in solidifying and popularizing a certain and mostly negative image of the South. Jack T. Kirby, too, some two decades after Woodward, marks the postbellum era as a period when "the pervasive image of the South was negative. [. . .] The South was brutal and backward, and un-American".[24] It is not difficult to find evidence to this persistence, which can be argued to have found reinforcements in several ways up until today. These reinforcements have come not only from popular representations but also from within academic studies. John Hope Franklin's *The Militant South* (1958), a study of the antebellum South as an essentially martial

known as Mademoiselle Rachel), performing in the US and Cuba. Originally written in French in 1855, *Rachel and the New World* was published in English in the US in 1856. The book depicts Rachel's travels and illustrates the life and conditions in the Americas from her point of view in a first-person narrative. See L. Beauvallet, *Rachel and the New World: A Trip to the United States and Cuba*, New York: Dix, Edwards & Co., 1856, https://archive.org/details/rachelnewworldtr00beau (accessed 26 October 2020).

22 Ibid., pp. 298–308.

23 C. V. Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993, p. 190.

24 J. T. Kirby, *Media-Made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986, p. 79.

community, for example, depicts the region in the antebellum era as uncivilized both in the infrastructure and in the cultural life:

> There persisted, down to the Civil War, a remarkable number of the elements of the most rudimentary frontier existence, including the long stretches of an inhabited land, inadequate roads, and means of transportation, and a few towns of any considerable size. [. . .] The lack of cities of any considerable importance contributed to the persistence of the primitive nature of antebellum South. There was neither sufficient industry no commerce to support the dynamic, urban civilization with the exception of centers such as New Orleans Charleston and Baltimore, no Southern community deserved to be called a city. [. . .] The proximity of Indian tribes to southern settlements gave the section an additional flavor of frontier living. [. . .] Free public schools developed very slowly and failed utterly to exercise any considerable influence over manners and morals.[25]

This image of the South translated itself (as evident in the last sentence by Franklin) to stereotypes of behaviours and capacities of the Southerners. Today, similar imageries about the region and its peoples dominate popular presentations of the US South, as well. TV shows and movies rely on commonplace imagery of the region as populated with poor, uneducated, rude, working-class white men embodied in the stock character of "rednecks" and "hillbillies" (such as in the 2017 TV series *Ozark*), as so antithetical to an anti-racist North to a degree that Black characters experience racism almost for the first time once the invisible line dividing the two regions is crossed southward (for example, in the 2018 movie *Green Book*), and with its big white plantations representing the "Lost Cause" and its fiery proponent, the "Southern Belle" (as one observes in the 2018 TV series *Sharp Objects*).[26] Hence, a rhetoric of the "Problem South" continues today.[27]

Yet, diminishing these clichéd imaginations regarding the US South simply as "pure imagination" would be to dismiss the history that has contributed to the construction of these visions. Here it is important to refer to Steffi Marung's definition of spatial imagination "not as the opposite to reality, but as a creative human faculty to react to the world".[28] Thus, different regional imaginations are approached here not as accurate representations but as interest-driven

25 J. H. Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800–1861*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1964, p. 20; 22; 25; 127.
26 J. Bateman, "Ozark", *Netflix*, 21 July 2017; P. Farrelly, "Green Book", *Universal Pictures*, 2018; M. Noxon, "Sharp Objects", *HBO*, 2018; Also see, V. Hutter, "Sharp Objects: The Sickness and Death of the Southern Belle" *Dismantle Magazine*, 17 September 2018, https://www.dismantlemag.com/2018/09/17/sharp-objects-sickness-southern-belle/ (accessed 18 August 2020).
27 N. J. Ring, *Problem South: Region, Empire, and the New Liberal State, 1880–1930*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012.
28 S. Marung, "Imaginations and Processes of Spatialization under the Global Condition", *TRAFO – Blog for Transregional Research*, 22 May 2018 (accessed 18 August 2020).

ideological spatial discourses that are informed by factual as well as ideological, material, and cultural forces of time and space. Natalie J. Ring reminds her readers of the material and cultural conditions of the US during the postbellum period and early-twentieth century when the "image of southern backwardness" became solidified. She notes that this period was marked by "rapid industrialization, political consolidation, urbanization, and overseas expansion" which led to the "national tendency to identify economic, racial, and social problems in the South [which] worked to highlight the importance of modernization and the advance of civilization".[29] In this sense, the South became, as Jennifer Rae Greeson describes, an "internal other for the nation, an intrinsic part of the national body that nonetheless is differentiated and held apart from the whole":

> The United States simply never would have existed without the five southernmost of its original thirteen states, or without its founding documents penned by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, or without its great icon of national emergence, George Washington. On the other hand, our South in its most enduring associations – slavery, white supremacy, underdevelopment, poverty, backwardness – bluntly contradicts the national ideal.[30]

This discourse about the South as an "internal other" did not emerge only with the Civil War. It was as much a product of the continuing rhetoric of geographical determinism of the colonization era as it was of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Later, in the twentieth century, racial segregation and the Civil Rights Movement solidified this image even further. Michael O'Brien underlines the role of the abolition of slavery in the Northern states at the turn of the nineteenth century as another milestone in this othering of the South as it gave the region "a distinguishing social institution" which was regarded as a "pernicious social anachronism" outside the slaveholding world and marked it as opposite to the progressive and modern world.[31] Greeson, similarly, marks a shift from the discourse of tropicality to a discourse of the "slave South" against the industrial and proletarian north-eastern US in the 1830s with the emergence of immediate abolitionist political discourse.[32]

None of these early-republican and antebellum visions about the South was uncontested or homogenous. Surrounded by similar influences and material conditions, Southerners employed and appropriated these discourses and developed their own unique conceptualizations for self-identification in various ways which sometimes endorsed and sometimes objected the othered image of the South.

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29 Ring, *Problem South*, p. 6.

30 Greeson, *Our South*, p. 1.

31 M. O'Brien, *Placing the South*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011, p. 100.

32 Greeson, *Our South*, p. 14.

Literary magazines proved a useful medium through which antebellum Southerners' urge for self-identification was expressed. On the one hand, magazines played a primal role in popularizing and solidifying the image of the South as both internal and other, through repeated early-republican era descriptions of the region as "disease-ridden, swampy, and inimical to animal and human development" and as home to "a drunken, lascivious, lazy, gluttonous, and violent cast of degenerate planters".[33] On the other hand, especially published within the region, such magazines provided a platform for Southern authors to express their responses to negative depictions of the region and draw unique portrayals of their home region. John Earl Bassett's minutely detailed collection *Defining Southern Literature* (1997) provides a large corpus of antebellum Southern texts on national and Southern literature that include such insider depictions of the region.[34] Of these, three examples are sufficient here to demonstrate how in responding and objecting to outsider disapproval of the South, Southern authors constructed their own narratives about the South, which oftentimes adversely also served to reinforce the distanciation of the region from the rest of the nation.

In 1859, while still "a promising young poet and critic from South Carolina", Henry Timrod published an essay in *Russell's Magazine* addressing the in-betweenness of the Southern author, whom he calls "the pariah of modern literature".[35] According to Timrod, Southern authors are either completely ignored by the US Northern audience or condemned by the Southern audience for depicting the "peculiar state of society" even though the same audience seeks Northern and British approval to respect its own literary products. Against this situation, Timrod calls for the rejection of the outdated external norms imposed upon Southern literature and suggests implementing "ideas characterizing Southern society, as distinguished from Northern and English society" into Southern literature and culture.[36] Timrod's ideas align with those of James E. Heath, the first editor of *The Southern Literary Messenger*. Writing two decades before his younger counterpart, in an 1834 essay, Heath argues against the idea that it is only the "descendants of the pilgrims of the Hollanders of Manhattan, or the German adventurers of Pennsylvania" who are "entitled to cater for us in our choicest intellectual aliment"[37] and criticizes Southern audience for not welcoming a

33 Ibid., p. 70.

34 Bassett (ed.), *Defining Southern Literature*.

35 C. Hutchison, *Apples and Ashes*, Athens: Georgia University Press, 2012, p. 4; H. Timrod, "Literature in the South", in: Bassett (ed.), *Defining Southern Literature*, p. 108.

36 Timrod, "Literature in the South", pp. 108–120.

37 J. E. Heath, "Southern Literature", in: Bassett (ed.), *Defining Southern Literature*, p. 50.

regional literature as warmly as Northern literature. In calling for a distinctly Southern literature and promoting its appreciation again by a Southern audience, both Timrod and Heath unavoidably and adversely reinforce the rhetoric that regards the South and the Southerner in contrast to the rest of the nation, in one way or another.

There were also other Southern authors such as William Gilmore Simms who had less romantic approaches to Southern literature. In his 1858 "Literary Prospects of the South" published, like Timrod's article, in *Russell's Magazine*, Simms observed industrial cities to be a driving force in the emergence of great literary movements, and their absence to be an obstacle to Southern authors. Referring to Francis Bacon, who identifies three essential qualities for "the prosperity of a nation", which are, in Simms's words, "Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures", Simms compares the South to a "carriage [running on] a single wheel" and adds that "without Education, none of these wheels can go properly!"[38] Hence, similar to J. H. Franklin, who wrote almost a century after him, Simms, too, regards the South to be a mainly agrarian society that lacks proper educational institutions. But in Simms's writing, these qualities of the region are not mirrored in the intellectual and mental qualities of its people. Simms agrees with the commonplace imagery of the South as mainly a rural region only to suggest that the obstacles to Southern literature are not indispensable. He takes the recent educational and industrial developments in North Carolina, such as the new school system and the construction of a railroad connecting the inaccessible interior to the older coastal cities, which goes hand in hand with a recent development of North Carolina's literature, as an example of how Southern states can develop unique and strong intellectual movements. Nor does Simms consider agriculture to be, as it appears at times in progressivist modernist discourse, a sign of "backwardness". For him, agriculture is a pillar for a prosperous society providing the most essential needs of as well as a moral compass for humanity.

Such examples of antebellum discussions on Southern regional literature can surely and easily be multiplied. However, it suffices here to note that Southern authors in the antebellum era in attempting to outline Southern literature also defined the region and its characteristics from their own perspectives. This tendency to redefine and reimagine the South from within can also be traced in other texts of the era, leading to a plethora of spatial imaginations about the South. Yet, no two such imaginations perfectly matched each other and the South meant something different to every actor in the antebellum era,

38 Simms, "Literary Prospects", pp. 97–98.

as it continues to do today. Timrod, Heath, and Simms were all white, pro-state-rights, and proslavery men of influence and power in the antebellum South, although they were positioned marginally in the post-US-Civil-War world. Their diverging opinions about the region in their antebellum texts, however, illustrate the diversity of visions regarding the region even for actors with relatively similar interests and ideals. Neither were these white literary men the only actors to have imagined different Souths for their respective communities. Nor was the region imagined only from within. Greeson highlights this "fluidity of meaning" that the US South carries and points to the work of this abundance of connotations in "generating the work of imagination".[39]

The solidification of the commonplace spatial discourse about the US South as the national other, John W. Lowe writes, "consisted of linking the South negatively with the Caribbean, which also featured a slave economy, a debilitating climate, tropical diseases and epidemics, hostile jungles, and a feudal agricultural and social system that enriched a relatively idle upper class".[40] One of the most prevalent representation about the South included a colossal area reaching from Virginia in the north as far as Brazil in the south. Immanuel Wallerstein famously refers to this area, where agricultural products that are regarded tropical (such as sugar, tobacco, and cotton) were grown and slavery was considered the "optimal" mode of production, as "the extended Caribbean".[41] This image was certainly influenced by the tropicality discourse. It also found its positive reflections in Southerners' self-identification and spatial imaginations. Some Southerners saw, beside geographical, also historical and socio-political connections among their region, the Caribbean, and Central and South America: "European colonization, Amerindian genocide and displacement, and African slavery [. . .] create[d] a region of perplexing but compelling commonality among" the people of this large area. The cumulation of this large tropicality became coagulated as "Plantation America".[42] While "Plantation America" elicited a vision of a large slaveholding Southern empire for many white plantation owners in the US, as well as many others who in one way or another had interest in the continuance

39 Greeson, *Our South*, pp. 1–2.

40 J. Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia: The Crosscurrents of Caribbean and Southern Literature*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016, n.p.

41 I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600–1750*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011, p. 103.

42 G. B. Handley, "A New World Poetics of Oblivion", in: D. Cohn and J. Smith (eds.), *Look Away! The U.S. South in New World Studies*, Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2004, pp. 24–26.

of the slave economy in the Americas, the same image led to other visions for those wishing an end to slavery.

Lowe points out the interpretive productivity brought about by the US American expansionist rhetoric of 'empty lands' about the tropical and non-US-territory regions in the extended Caribbean. He suggests that the intermingled histories of the US South and the extended Caribbean, where the porous national and colonial borders led to socio-cultural interactions among the Spanish, French, and British subjects, served to justify annexationist agendas in the US South.[43] To these, Gretchen Murphy adds the impact of the Monroe Doctrine, which "promoted the U.S. expansion" while "proscribing future European colonization" in North, Central, and South America.[44] Maybe even more than these, however, slavery and the concerns of white US Southerners about its continuance in the larger region contributed to these southward expansionist visions. The Texas Revolution with "so many American private military companies hasten[ing] to Texas" – "the most successful filibuster in American history", as Robert E. May calls – constitutes one of the clearest examples of the degree to which slave economy influenced the spatial imaginations and agendas of many white Southerners reacting to the gradual abolition of slavery by the Mexican government in 1830.[45]

Similarly, the idea of annexing Cuba occupied the minds of Southern slaveholders, as well as of other US Americans with commercial interest in the continuance of slavery in the American Hemisphere. This idea often triggered plans and actions such as filibuster expeditions as well as the purchase of the island from Spanish rule. Probably the most ambitious one of these expansionist schemes revolved around a secret organization called the Knights of the Golden Circle emerging in the mid-1850s with the intention to expand slavery in the hemisphere. "The name of the organization symbolized its purpose – the creation of a great slave empire. The 'Golden Circle' had Cuba at its centre, and its circumferences included most of the border states, the south part of Kansas, Mexico, Central America, part of the South America, and the West Indies."[46] Such southward expansionisms that located the continuance of slavery in the centre of their agendas usually included various responses to the increasing sectional tension within the US. The plantation South was growing anxious in

43 Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n.p.

44 G. Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire*, Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2005, p. 6.

45 R. E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2002, p. 9.

46 May, *The Southern Dream*, pp. 148–152.

the face of a potential abolition of slavery in the US. Annexation of various Caribbean islands or Central and South American territories as new slave states into the Union would mean more political power for the proslavery cause in the government and would lead to the opening up of more markets in the American Hemisphere.

The southward annexationist schemes were not restricted to those involving the spread of slavery to a larger area. Believing in the irreconcilability of the cohabitation of different races in a single country, many abolitionists including senator Frank P. Blair of Missouri, too, turned their gazes further south. In a speech, delivered in the House of Representatives in 1858, Blair argued for the annexation of Central and South American territories "to sustain free institutions under stable Governments". Such an annexation would "plant those countries with a class of men who are worse than useless to [the US, but] who would prove themselves to be of immense advantage to those countries". Blair was, without doubt, referring to free people of colour. His ideas, as well as the ideas of those who promoted similar visions, were sustained by the notion that emancipation, unless it involved such emigrationist programmes, would turn the US South into a second St. Domingo.[47] The fear that the Haitian Revolution and other slave uprisings in the American Hemisphere caused among the white US Americans especially among the slaveholding Southerners cultivated many expansionists and emigrationist projects that oftentimes reached much further than the Southern neighbours of the US. The American Colonization Society (ACS) and its Liberian colonization schemes, for instance, were a product of a white US American imagination involving the emigration of free people of colour from the US in the colony established by the Society on the African West Coast. Such plans and actions were supported not only by white abolitionists. Many Black abolitionist actors including the African Civilization Society and Martin R. Delany also contributed to African-American emigrationism in various ways.

Finally, it should be noted that slaveholders in the South, especially in the last two decades immediately before the Civil War, found themselves forced to reconsider the future of their livelihood, which depended on slave labour, in the face of the increasing abolitionist pressures both from the rest of the country and from across the Atlantic. This led many Southern slaveholders to regard parts of the extended Caribbean beyond the US national borders as possible

47 F. P. Blair, *Speech of Hon. Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, on the Acquisition of Territory in Central and South America, to Be Colonized with Free Blacks, and Held as a Dependency by the United States Delivered in the House of Representatives on the 14th Day of January, 1858*, Washington: Buell & Blanchard Printers, 1858, p. 5, https://archive.org/details/speechofhon franc00blai (accessed 5 October 2020).

destinations where they could rebuild their lives as they are used to in case slavery was abolished in the US. Such plans and imaginations often derived from the existing intimate and personal connections among planters of the extended Caribbean. Many Southern slaveholders owned plantations in Cuba or were involved in various commercial enterprises in the Caribbean. Moreover, the Creoles of these places formed families through marriage. "They were bound together as slaveholders in the New World, possessed of a shared 'white Creole consciousness.'"[48] In this sense, the Caribbean and South America ceased to be solely rich ports, markets, or empty lands, and became possible second homes and spaces of personal and emotional relations. Blended with emigrationist and expansionist visions, these intimate connections, too, contributed to the emergence of various visions that geographically, socio-culturally, politically, and economically interweaved the US South with a much larger space extending far beyond the US national borders as far as Brazil in the south and the African coast in the east. The entwined histories and cultures of the extended Caribbean reinforced the image of the South as part of a larger hemispheric region for various actors.

Correspondingly, enslaved and abolitionist people of colour in the extended Caribbean shared similar collective cognizance and affinities. Paul Gilroy's painstaking observation on the figure of the slave ship offers a profound insight on the formation of distinct Black socio-political cultures in the New World, as a mobile space whereupon the very roots of a shared consciousness among the enslaved was built.[49] However, the mobility of enslaved people was not restricted to the Transatlantic slave trade and their forced migration through the Middle Passage to the Americas. Their lives were marked by both forced and (often secret) voluntary movement. Enslaved people, reduced to commodities and deprived of even the most basic human rights, were bought and sold from plantation to plantation not only within the national borders of a single country but also among surrounding slaveholding lands. Hence, the spread of slavery built secret and silent alliances and affiliations among Black people in the American Hemisphere.

The places that caused anxiety, aversion, and concerns for the colonialist, expansionist, and proslavery agendas among various groups of actors in the US conversely offered opportunities and generated abolitionist legacies for Black people. Among such places were the swamps of the US South and Haiti. The Great Dismal Swamp, which was considered uninhabitable by many, provided a secluded home for thousands of runaway slaves who formed distinct societies

48 Guterl, *American Mediterranean*, pp. 185–186; p. 6.
49 Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*, pp. 17–18.

known as Maroon communities. The occupancy of swamps by these communities further enhanced the anxiety associated with tropicality among many white people, adding the fear of slave insurrection to the many negative connotations that wetlands already had for white US Americans in the antebellum period. Emerging as the first independent Black country in the Caribbean, Haiti, too, featured different overtones for the Black populations of the US than it did for the slaveholders. Many abolitionists found inspiration in the successful insurrection in St. Domingo and this inspiration translated itself to an affinity, sympathy, and some sort of common history and legacy among Black populations in the Circumcaribbean. Both Haiti with its successful revolution and the Great Dismal Swamp with its Maroon communities offered visions and opportunities of freedom for the enslaved people in the US. The colonial imagery of the tropics as dangerous and mysterious lands re-emerged in the antebellum Southern literature by Black actors as (literary and spatial) strategies for liberation. Especially in the three decades before the Civil War, which were marked by the emergence of immediate abolitionism, many Black intellectuals (re) adopted and appropriated the white slaveholders' perplexing imagery about these places as a tool of intimidation and means to immediate emancipation in their own depictions of the US South.

Africa, too, occupied a large place in antebellum African-American thought. Many African-American intellectuals in the US saw shared cultural and ethnic heritages among the African, European, American, and Caribbean people of African descent. Beside emigrationist schemes about returning to a homeland, Africa also inspired pan-African and Ethiopianist notions based on a biblical reference interpreted to designate people of African descent as chosen people whose sufferings under slavery were to come to an end by divine providence. These notions "provided intellectually and emotionally satisfying narrative structures for Black hopes and aspirations".[50] Such narratives challenged "the confining structures of the nation state" as well as a restricted understanding of the notion of region.[51] Within antebellum African-American Ethiopianist thought, the South and the United States as a whole lost their precedence in forming spatial imaginations of Black actors. These thoughts produced and enhanced sociopolitical and emotional connections among people of colour almost globally.

Finally, the imaginative work of the American Civil War should be mentioned here in delineating a postbellum vision of the antebellum South as a

50 G. M. Fredrickson, *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 63.
51 Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*, p. 151.

monolithically white, racist, and secessionist region – an image that persists to interfere with the most critical and thorough analyses of what constitutes the US South even more than one and a half centuries after the war. It is true that the sectionalist politics in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century (following the War of 1812, accelerated by the tariff of 1828 and the Nullification Crisis) helped the development of a particular self-definition among the white residents of slaveholding Southern states as Southerners.[52] However, it was also the Secession Crisis, the Civil War, and Reconstruction Period that marked the entire history of sectionalism and secessionism in the US as a particularly and singularly Southern issue. This singling-out of the South as the sole producer of sectionalist and secessionist discourse has revived a rhetoric of Southern exceptionalism that, as Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino note, reinforces a positive American exceptionalism, a "myth of American innocence from responsibility for the past".[53]

That is not to mean that sectionalism and secessionism were not popular opinions among white US Southerners. Nor it is my intention to justify a certain vision of US American and Southern history. Sectionalism in the South was, without doubt, a widespread sentiment and secessionism rose even further following the abovementioned crises. Otherwise, how could we explain the events leading to the Civil War? Moreover, Southern sectionalism has appeared and reappeared in different epochs of US American history in reaction to various events (to name just a few, one can simply refer to the Twelve Southern Agrarians of 1930 penning the famous *I'll Take My Stand*[54] or to the recent white-supremacist rallies that took place in 2017 in Charlottesville). While these historical facts hold true, the postbellum image of the secessionist South has served to blur more complicated and dynamic antebellum visions regarding the South's position within or outside of the Union. The multitude of economic, political, military, and diplomatic controversies around the discussions of secessionism in the nineteenth century aroused the imaginations of various groups of actors with different agendas, desires, and interests. Secession and establishment of a new independent country were only one – although perhaps the most successful in some terms – of the many designs that Southerners had in mind. Many other white Southerners opposed the idea and pointed to the dangers of such an undertaking.

52 Greeson, *Our South*, p. 50.

53 M. D. Lassiter and J. Crespino, *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 8.

54 Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930.

Daniel W. Crofts reminds us that it was only seven of the 15 slaveholding states (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas) that initially declared their independence from the Union. These were later joined by four more states (Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) following the outbreak of the war.[55] The question of secession had ambivalent implications for many white Southerners, among whom there was also a strongly felt unionist sentiment. A considerable number of white male Southerners even joined the Union Army during the war. Robert E. May attracts attention to the mobility of American people in the antebellum era which made the birthplace of little relevance in terms of the "sectional royalties". Probably one of the most famous examples of such antebellum figures was John A. Quitman: Born in Rhinebeck, New York, the later governor of Mississippi was not only an ardent supporter of slavery and Cuban annexation but also of secession to such a degree that he gained reputation as the "father of secession in Mississippi".[56] On the other hand, one of the most well-known names in Confederate history, the commander of the Confederate Army, Robert E. Lee "was a reluctant confederate". Lee's was an in-between position that was shared by many white Southerners whose concurrent unionist nationalism and sectionalist patriotism proved conflicting once their home states joined the Civil War alongside the Confederates. As a "proud Virginian", Lee had supported unionism in the years preceding the war. Finding himself in-between "two loyalties" with the outbreak of the war, he felt a responsibility to fight for his home state alongside the Confederate Army.[57] Jon L. Wakelyn in his 1999 book neatly catalogues a series of unionist pamphlets written by white Southerners during the Civil War, providing a great reference for the multifacetedness of sectionalism in the South.[58]

Despite the efforts of scholars in illustrating this diversity of allegiances and opinions, this multiplicity often disappears and its examples are reduced to mere exception in the overall narratives about sectionalism, secession, and the Civil War. The antebellum ideologies and imaginations among the white US Americans are instead commonly imagined to follow a linear and binary logic, putting denominators like proslavery, Southern expansionist, filibusterist, agrarian, rural, provincial, and secessionist on one side, abolitionist, western

55 D. W. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press Books, 1989, p. xv.

56 May, *Southern Dream*, pp. 46–47.

57 M. Fellman, *The Making of Robert E. Lee*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, p 83.

58 J. Wakelyn (ed.), *Southern Unionist Pamphlets and the Civil War*, Columbia: University of Missouri, 1999.

expansionist, modern, industrial, urban, universalist, and unionist on the other: the US South on one side, the US North on the other. Such binarisms serve more purposes than only to encourage a wilful omission of racial, ethnic, gender- and class-based differences among actors who imagined, negotiated, and shaped the antebellum South – although this inadvertence alone hinders a thorough, detailed, and intersectional understanding of the South. They also reinforce exceptionalist readings of US history by creating an "Other" within the country as "the antithesis of a progressive America" and Southernize the problematic and reprehensible parts of this history.[59] Orville Vernon Burton highlights that this binarism and the Southern exceptionalism result in uncritical embracement of an imagined regional history – "my history, my country, my region, right or wrong" –, possibly strengthening an affinity with a (further) radicalized legacy of racism, white supremacy, and separatism deriving from a strong feeling of being marginalized.[60]

Kirsten Silva Gruesz, too, questions the validity of the Civil War as the sole defining marker of the South. She points to a larger problem in the ways "[t]he conventional landmarks of nineteenth-century history offer instructive examples" including "the debates over sectionalism, slavery, and expansionism that led to the Civil War". Her work signals that while such benchmarks do indeed constitute significant moments in understanding US history, the excessive emphasis upon them serves to blur the Transamerican position of the US which can otherwise be made visible through attention paid to other significant moments and concepts that connected the country to its hemispheric neighbours, such as the Monroe Doctrine, filibusterism, "the Caribbean slave-and-sugar trade".[61] Following Gruesz's remarks, it is appropriate to conclude this short debate with the following inference. The Civil War, sectionalism, and secessionism as exceptionally Southern markers do not only serve to conceal the diversity of opinions about these debates existing in both sections of the Union in the antebellum period and to create a disillusion of US American innocence from racism, slavery, and Civil-War antagonism by assigning only a single region of the country as the scapegoat. The disproportionate weight assigned to these markers also inadvertently causes inattention to other significant moments in US Southern history which may help us go beyond the narratives

59 Lassiter and Crespino, *Myth of Southern*, p. 7.

60 O. V. Burton, "The South as 'Other,' the Southerner as 'Stranger'", *The Journal of Southern History* 89 (2013) 1, p. 50.

61 K. S. Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, pp. 10–11.

that represent the region as a provincial space and to approach it as consisting of multiple actors engaging in different processes of globalization and (re)spatialization.

Where do we Stand?

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, social sciences as well as the humanities experienced a major paradigm shift, ever since been called "the spatial turn", which reflected itself as an increased attention to space as an analytical category and reaction to its subordination against time, i.e. historicism. Often attributed to the works of scholars like Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, and – drawing on them – David Harvey and Edward Soja (and the New Cultural Geographers), spatial turn has inspired scholars to reinsert spatiality into conversations on society and culture in various different ways and fields.[62] Rather than referring back to the traditional methods and disciplinary habits of the studies of space established in the fields of geography, cartography etc., spatial turn scholars asserted the social constructedness of space – most famously known with Lefebvre's statement "(Social) space is a (social) product" –, as opposed to the absolute and material space, by introducing social and Marxism theories into their analyses of space.[63] They have argued for a cultural and ideological work invested in spatial practices and social space, which are otherwise hidden by "the illusion of transparency" and "the illusion of opacity" in the absolute understanding of space.[64]

Consequently, scholars of American studies, too, has paid a "renewed attention [to space] as an important category of inquiry", especially ever since the 1980s. Two major tendencies can be detected to have emerged out of this renewed concern with spatiality in the field. The first of these has been "a shift of critical attention from the spatial 'center' towards the 'peripheries' of the United States, zooming in on liminal zones [. . .] as well as real and imagined

62 During the same period, beginning in the 1980s, the field of geography similarly begun to pay increased attention to the cultural context with the impact of post-modern and post-structuralist theories, which has ever since been called the "cultural turn". Especially the field of human geography started to "reflect on the consequences of its own spatial production and visualization practices" ("die Folgen seiner raumbezogenen Herstellungs- und Visualisierungspraktiken [. . .] zu reflektieren" [own translation]). See M. Möhring, G. Pisarz-Ramirez, and U. Wardenga, *Imaginationen*, Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019, p. 8.

63 H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991, p. 26; B. Warf and S. Arias, "Introduction: The Reinsertion of Space in the Humanities and Social Sciences", in: B. Warf and S. Arias (eds.), *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, London: Routledge, 2008, pp. 4–5.

64 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 27.

spaces of cultural encounter".[65] This shift has led to conceptualizations of such spaces as "contact zones",[66] "borderlands",[67] and "thirdspaces".[68] These metaphors have translated themselves to re-examinations of American historiography which had hitherto relied on Eurocentric interpretations of the US history that had long ignored the Native, African, and Mexican American pasts in the country. These re-examinations have brought crucial notions like the Frontier under scrutiny. The history of expansionism in the US has since been studied by scholars such as Annette Kolodny, Patricia Limerick, and Richard White[69] from novel perspectives that have taken internal colonization patterns, imperial impulses, and intercultural encounters into account.

The second tendency has been the relocating of the US in the world by scholars who have sought to develop an understanding of the US that points beyond the limitations of national borders and narratives which regenerate exceptionalist discourses. These scholars have shifted the focus from the national to the transnational, transregional, transcultural, and global, particularly also with the impact of the postcolonial theory. Their works have manifested themselves in the last two decades in new disciplines and paradigms such as Transnational studies, Inter-American studies, Circumatlantic studies, Hemispheric American studies, Global American studies, and Transnational American studies. This shift has marked what Shelley Fisher-Fishkin refers to as the "transnational turn" in her inaugural address to the American Studies Association in 2004.[70] The undertaking of locating the US in the world and among the processes of globalization has resonated in the works of scholars such as Rachel Adams, Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, and Frank Kelleter.[71]

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65 Pisarz-Ramirez, Wöll, and Bozkurt, "Spatial Fictions", p. 6.

66 P. N. Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, New York: Norton, 1987.

67 G. Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012.

68 E. W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1996.

69 A. Kolodny, "Rethinking Frontier Literary History as the Stories of First Cultural Contact", *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 17 (1996) 3, pp. 14–18, https://doi.org/10.2307/3346866; Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*; R. White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

70 S. Fisher-Fishkin, "Crossroads of Cultures: The Transnational Turn in American Studies – Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, November 12, 2004", *American Quarterly* 57 (2005) 1, p. 21.

71 R. Adams, "The Worlding of American Studies", *American Quarterly* 53 (2001) 4 pp. 720–732, https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2001.0034; A. Kaplan and D. E. Pease (eds.), *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1993; Kelleter, "Transnationalism", pp. 29–34.

These fields and paradigms have paid privileged attention to space on different scales from local to global and engaged themselves in the study of the US society, history, politics, culture, and literature in more heterogeneous, inclusive, and intersectional ways. Responding to the methodological problems arising from transnationalization and post-exceptionalism tendencies in the field, Kelleter directs the attention of scholars of US history to the challenges posed by studying history with contemporary approaches which, besides providing better solutions to present-day issues, give special attention to spatiality over temporarily.[72] Kelleter suggests that rather than being marked by an urge to overcome nationalist and imperialist discourses in the US historiography that produce an exceptionalist rhetoric, transnational historical studies of the US should be marked by an impulse to understand the global and local conditions that led to the emergence of these discourses as the dominant narratives of the country. Following Kelleter's stance, I take a cautious and perceptive step in this book in (re)reading the antebellum South, taking into account the dynamics of and the tensions between the spatial formats of nation state and empire and regarding them among the many spatialization tendencies that occupied the imaginations of antebellum actors.[73]

I am not alone in the pursuit to approach early American history from a transnational and transcultural perspective. Several earlier publications influence my attempt to scrutinize the US Southern and American histories of national consolidation and expansionism. To begin with, the works of the scholars whose critical regionalist approaches have brought a hemispheric perspective to the literary and cultural studies of the US and US South should be acknowledged. In their 2006 introduction to *American Literary History*'s special issue on "Hemispheric American Literary History", Caroline Levander and Robert S. Levine document the development of a paradigm away from the US-centric studies of the neighbouring nations, regions, and cultures. This paradigm puts the presumption of "the US nation as the default unit of intellectual engagement governing 'comparativist' approaches" under scrutiny. Instead, it offers a hemispheric approach which recognizes the "asymmetry and interdependence" among cultures in the American Hemisphere and examines their histories with the manifold entanglements between different peoples of the hemisphere.[74] Even though my book engages itself with primarily US-American literary productions – mainly due to limitations posed by linguistic diversity and, thus, locates itself in a rather

72 Pisarz-Ramirez, Wöll, and Bozkurt, "Spatial Fictions", p. 7.
73 Kelleter, "Transnationalism", p. 29.
74 Levander and Levine, "Introduction", pp. 400–401.

flawed US-centrist position –, it nonetheless strives to locate itself under the light shed by the hemispheric understanding by analytically distancing itself from the abovementioned hegemonism. Following the comprehensive works by scholars like Deborah Cohn and Jon Smith, Matthew Pratt Guterl, Vera Kutzinski, Robert E. May, Gretchen Murphy, and Gretchen Woertendyke,[75] hemispheric entanglements are studied in this book as reciprocal exchanges that simultaneously blur and reinforce national borders, obscure and solidify national, ethnic, racial, and regional identities, and create spatial imaginations that reflect this simultaneity. The Central and South American and the Caribbean settings are taken concurrently both as locus of imperialist and expansionist US American desires and as axes of social, cultural, and political discourses that influenced various other imagined and realized spatial configurations in the US. Moreover, these locales with unsteady and permeable borders are understood here as homes to multiple identities and communities that oftentimes commingle and collide, as are the US South and the US as a whole.

Among the works with a hemispheric approach that are of particular significance to this book is Guterl's *American Mediterranean*, in which Guterl traces reactions of the slaveholding "master class of the Old South" to the changing world around them, while seeking answers to the problems posed upon them by the abolitionist waves both in the Americas and from Europe. Guterl's book suggests that "looking from a distance, [this master class seems] a little bit like our own border-crossing, cosmopolitan CEOs, shifting production and manufacturing to whichever town, country, or continent can offer the least expensive – though often most abusive – system of labor".[76] In this way, Guterl answers to the concerns of presentism raised above. Anna Brickhouse responds the questions in a similar fashion in her 2004 *Transamerican Literary Relations*. Brickhouse shows that transnational and transregional considerations, which are often addressed by modern actors and critics engaged in questions of transnationalism and globalization, were already topics of discussion for nineteenth-century actors.[77] Likewise, May's *Manifest Destiny's Underworld* provides an exhaustive research on the history of illegal expansionist movements which were also partially fed by the hemispheric consciousness of the slaveholding class that Guterl talks about. Beside the

75 D. Cohn and J. Smith (eds.), *Look Away! The U.S. South in New World Studies*, Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2004; Guterl, *American Mediterranean*; Kutzinski, "Borders, Bodies"; Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings*; Woertendyke, *Hemispheric Regionalism*.

76 Guterl, *American Mediterranean*, p. 185.

77 A. Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 6.

slaveholding classes, May's work traces the participation and support of other different groups of actors from different parts of the hemisphere to these illegal filibuster expeditions. Alongside his *The Southern Dream of Caribbean Empire*, his *Manifest Destiny's Underworld* exhibits the permeability of borders and instability of national identities and loyalties in the late eighteenth and early to late nineteenth centuries in the Americas.[78]

Martha Schoolman in her 2014 *Abolitionist Geographies* focuses on abolitionists literature in which "geography [emerges] as a key discourse of abolitionist political intervention", challenging the expansionist spatial practices of national consolidation processes in the antebellum period.[79] While, at first glance, her book seems to concentrate more on the national, it demonstrates the intellectual, political, and cultural bridges reaching from the United States to the West Indies, Canada, and Britain built in the abolitionist literature of the era. Therefore, it extends the transnationalism established in May's and Guterl's works both geographically and ideologically to include dissident actors in the question of slavery and to reach beyond the Atlantic. Likewise, in her *Black Atlas*, published just a year later, Judith Madera examines the role of spatial reconfigurations in African-American literature in the nineteenth century and the production of spatial knowledge therein. *Black Atlas*, too, locates these narratives in hemispheric and transnational contexts, however, as Levine notes, "the large achievement of the book lies in its intranational approach to African American writers' geographical imaginations".[80]

Walter Johnson brings together the African-American and slaveholder narratives, taking the Mississippi River as a focal geographical reference that shaped the imaginations of both the enslaved and slaveholding classes at the same time. Johnson connects this national topography through its functions in slave capitalism, imperialist ambitions, and technological developments to the rest of the world, creating a global history out of a seemingly local one.[81] A leading figure in globalizing the history of New World Slavery is doubtlessly Paul Gilroy. Writing two decades before Schoolman, Madera, and Johnson, in his seminal book *The Black Atlantic* (1993), Gilroy have opened up the paradigm of Circumatlantic and global approaches to the study of slavery in the US.

78 May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*, p. 6.

79 Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies*, p. 1.

80 J. Madera, *Black Atlas: Geography and Flow in Nineteenth-Century African American Literature*, Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2015; R. S. Levine, "Book Review Black Atlas: Geography and Flow in Nineteenth-Century African American Literature", *Modern Philology* 114 (2017) 3, p. 189, https://doi.org/10.1086/688023.

81 W. Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Gilroy examines the role of what he calls the Atlantic world in the emergence of W. E. B. Du Bois's "double consciousness". He offers a methodology that takes "the Atlantic as one single, complex unit of analysis [. . .] to produce an explicitly transnational and intercultural perspective" that goes beyond "the nationally and ethnically absolute approaches" to the study of race. Gilroy exhibits how Atlantic experiences produced new political cultures for the people of the Circumatlantic world.[82] Since Gilroy published his *The Black Atlantic*, a proliferation in the number of studies inquiring the links between the national and beyond has been experienced. Among these, Giles's 2011 *The Global Remapping of American Literature* should be mentioned as an influence on my work with its comprehensive research in the transnationalization of the study of US American literature. Giles's book traces the "territorializing impulse of early nineteenth-century American culture" which was brought about by the uncertain borders and national identities that characterized the era.[83]

These and other works that locate US American history, literature, and culture within the world and to illustrate the local (trans)regional, and (trans)national formations that marked the early republican era provide an important basis for my book. They establish the methodological instruments that help me move away from canonical national narratives of early US-American spatialization patterns. Besides the transnationalization and globalization paradigms, a large corpus of scholarly works that deconstruct these spatial narratives and focus on alternative spatial visions manifested in US literature contribute to the interpretive approach in my work. Among them are Stephanie LeMenager's 2004 *Manifest and Other Destinies* with its stimulating revisiting of the "uninhabitable" landscapes – i.e. desert, ocean, and river – that challenged the continentalist and agrarian logic of Manifest Destiny in the nineteenth century.[84] Amy S. Greenberg's *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* which provides a reading of the gendered conceptualizations of aggressive expansionisms in the decades prior to the Civil War that regarded the southern and western continental and oceanic peripheries of the country as feminized new frontiers to overcome; and lastly Jennifer R. Greeson's *Our South* which traces the role that the South played as an "internal other" in the construction of a US national identity, thereby drawing on the methodologies of the postcolonial, transnational, and global studies.[85]

82 Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, p. 15.

83 Giles, *The Global Remapping*, pp. 1–7.

84 S. LeMenager, *Manifest and Other Destinies: Territorial Fictions of the Nineteenth-Century United States*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004, p. 2.

85 A. S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005; Greeson, *Our South*.

These are but a few examples of the scholarly works that have emerged as products of the increased attention paid to spatiality in the humanities and social sciences and the transnational turn in American studies. These previous works make the inquiry in *Imagining Southern Spaces* possible by providing a solid basis upon which a transnational and hemispheric understanding of a study of the US American cultural production can advance. They constitute a significant step in overcoming the subordination of spatiality over temporality in cultural and literary studies. However, I aim to take a step further and carry this augmented attention paid to spatiality to a more predominant position in the analyses in this book. To do so, I study the relationships between actors and spaces with a particular attention to their imaginative, performative, and constructive functions. I take transnational, transregional, global, and hemispheric (re)configurations and entanglements not simply as "spatialization" in itself but as metaphorical boundaries where different conceptualizations of space(s) encounter one another, blend, and clash, leading to the stabilization of dominant spatial formats and orders – and imaginations thereof – as well as the emergence of new ones, sometimes at the expense of (the obliteration of) others.

Before concluding the overview of the previous studies, the impact of New Historicism to literary criticism and literature should also be acknowledged in inspiring the methodological approach of my work. New Historicism provides critical semantic and hermeneutic toolsets to approach literary products in a larger context surrounding and surpassing their textuality, treating them as products of their socio-cultural and historical surroundings rather than of single actors in isolation. The acknowledgement of the interminglednes and inseparability of different forms of texts from each other as well as their surrounding material and social circumstances and practices[86] and of "literary and nonliterary texts as constituents of historical discourses"[87] inspires the textual analyses in my book. While New Historicist scholars themselves make little reference to spatialization processes, their approach opens up a heuristic path that allows me to read literary texts as reactions to the spatialization patterns surrounding their production. Accordingly, I understand these spatialization patterns from a historical point of view as subject to the knowledge-power relations of the spatio-temporality in which they are produced as well as to the semantic changes over space-time. Seeking to explore intellectual and cognitive

86 H. Veeser (ed.), *The New Historicism Reader*, New York: Routledge, 1993, p. xi.

87 C. Gallagher, "Marxism and New Historicism", in: Veeser (ed.), *The New Historicism Reader*, p. 37.

spatialization processes such as imaginations and abstractions with an inspiration derived from New Historicism, I treat texts not only as reflective of the spatiotemporalities within which they are produced. I also pay attention to the fluctuating connotations of the spatial references found in these texts. For example, nation state in the nineteenth-century US context is not understood in this book as identical to either French contexts of the same century, or German contexts in the twenty-first.

Chapter 2
Speaking of Space

> If there is no terra incognita today in an absolute sense, so also no terra is absolutely cognita.[88]

> [I]t is in space that, from the outset, language unfurls, slips on itself, determines its choices, draws its figures, and translations. It is in space that it transports itself, that its very being 'metaphorizes' itself.[89]

A New Language of Space

The paradigm shift that has inspired scholars of American literature, culture, and history in the last four to five decades to engage their attentions on the one hand to liminal areas and the nation's inner and outer peripheries, on the other beyond the national and to larger spatial scales in their research, that is the so-called 'spatial turn', has not been limited to the field of American studies. Nor has it occurred as a result of solely intellectual and theoretical reconsiderations occurring in a vacuum. As its most fundamental prepositions also imply, the spatial turn was born in response to the rapid changes experienced in the post-WWII world. As Ulf Engel observes, the experience of space has rapidly changed ever since the mid-twentieth century with the proliferation in the number of regional and transregional organizations following the war.[90] This experience was enhanced by the ever-accelerating globalization processes, accompanied by faster and cheaper transportation, bigger waves of migration, the opening up of the cyberspace, just to name a few. One of the few positive outcomes of the rivalry between the Cold War powers leading to the first attempts to conquer "the final frontier",[91] that is, the space race, contributed to this, as well, resulting in a largely-shared feeling that the world is "shrinking" ["Schrumpfung"].[92] The theoretical rejection of space as solely a physical entity – "fixed, dead, unproblematic

88 J. K. Wright, "Terrae Incognitae: The Place of the Imagination in Geography", *ANNALS of the Association of American Geographers* 1 (1947) 37, p. 4.
89 M. Foucault, "The Language of Space", in: S. Elden and J. W. Crampton (eds.), *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, Aldershot: Routledge, 2007, p. 163.
90 U. Engel, *Regionalismen*, Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018, p. 7.
91 M. Daniels, "The Man Trap", *Star Trek*, NBC, 8 September 1966.
92 S. Günzel, *Raum: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2010, p. 60.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110692471-003

background, the stage or container of social processes and history"[93] – thus, can be regarded as an academic reflection of this condensed experience of space in the latter half of the twentieth century.

However, the roots of the shift can be traced back at least as early as the seventeenth-century debate between Isaac Newton and Gottfried Leibniz over the conceptualizations of absolute and relational space, as summarized by Barney Warf:

> One of the most famous debates in the intellectual history of time and space took place in the seventeenth century between Isaac Newton and Gottfried Leibniz. For Newton, greatly influenced by the invention of the clock, space was like time: If the clock showed that time existed independently of events, then the same was true of space. Newton viewed time and space as abstract, absolute entities that existed independently of their measurement, i.e., their existence was absolute, for their reality remained real regardless of whatever they contained or how they were measured. [. . .] Leibniz, in contrast, [. . .] held that time and space were relational rather than absolute in nature, i.e., comprehensible only through frames of interpretation: distance, for example, could only be understood as the space between two or more objects situated in space. Space and time, therefore, had no independent existence in and of themselves, but were derivative of how we measured them. Eventually, for reasons having little to do with inherent intellectual merit and much to do with the emergence of early capitalist modernity, Newton's view triumphed decisively [. . .].[94]

It has been this wide acceptance of Newtonian understanding of absolute space, or as Lefebvre puts it, the "obsession with absolute space",[95] that the vanguards of what has been called "spatial turn" in social and cultural sciences reacted against in the last quarter of the twentieth century in the face of the aforementioned social, political, cultural, and technological developments. This turn has been pioneered by French Marxist theorist Lefebvre's 1974 *The Production of Space*. Highlighting the role that the production of space plays in the reproduction of social relations of production and the illusion of transparency that the notion of "space as innocent, as free of traps or secret places" that the absolute understanding of space generates, Lefebvre's work has inspired others such as David Harvey and Edward Soja to examine spatial configurations and relations as reflective of (spatial) justice.[96] Their works have resulted in an increased attention to power relations embedded in the construction of space.

Matthias Middell points to the proliferation in spatial metaphors following this criticism of "traditional strategies for reducing the (ever-present) complexity of processes of space-making", which has reflected itself in a series of new

93 E. W. Soja, "Taking Space Personally", in: Warf and Arias (eds.), *The Spatial Turn*, p. 19.
94 B. Warf, "From Surfaces to Networks", in: Warf and Arias (eds.), *The Spatial Turn*, p. 59.
95 Ibid., p. 122.
96 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 28–32.

compound words of space such as "social and political spaces, literary spaces, spaces of violence and of peace, border regions and de-territorialized spaces, imperial and transnational spaces, spaces of knowledge, global spaces, geographic spaces, spaces of entanglement, interstitial spaces".[97] The conceptualizations of such spaces widen our understanding of the relationship between human actions and space. These metaphors often provide useful categories for an empirical understanding of certain social actions as generators of space, contributing to the theoretical considerations detailed in the following pages. However, such spatial metaphors more often than not end up treating space as a container of a certain type of social action, "failing to consider how spatial relations and representations of those relations continually stabilize, destabilize, and change these spaces".[98] To overcome this impediment, in *Imagining Southern Spaces*, I contribute to the formulation of a new empirical language of space that can allow for a study of the ways in which cultural, social, political, and economic actions by collective and individual actors construct imagined (and real) spaces through "repetition, institutionalization, performance, and reflexivity".[99] To this end, I benefit from a new typology of spatialization processes that advances on the concept of spatial imaginations and suggests two new concepts, namely, spatial formats and spatial orders. These altogether construct the three ladders of a heuristic triangle of spatialization processes.

Social Space and Spatialization Processes

The principal premise of this most recent spatial turn[100] resonates as a shift in the conceptualization of space from a strictly physical and mathematical to a

97 M. Middell, "Category of Spatial Formats: To What End?", in: M. Middell and S. Marung (eds.), *Spatial Formats under the Global Condition*, Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019, pp. 18–19.

98 Ibid., pp. 18.

99 Ibid., pp. 17.

100 Middell notes that the labelling of this shift that has been experienced ever since the late-twentieth century as "the spatial turn" mistakenly implies that this has been the first and only tendency to focus on space and spatiality in academia. As it can be well seen in the discussion of the Newtonian and Leibnizian conceptualizations of space which have their roots back in ancient philosophy, however, philosophers and scholars have dealt with issues of spatiality from different perspectives throughout history, only with diverging emphasis on its role. See M. Middell, *Raumformate – Bausteine in Prozessen der Neuverräumlichung*, Working paper series des SFB 1199 an der Universität Leipzig, vol. 14, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2019, p. 8.

social one in the formulation of social space.[101] Lefebvre conceptualizes social space as

> not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object. At the same time there is nothing imagined, unreal or 'ideal' about it as compared, for example, with science, representations, ideas or dreams. Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others. Among these actions, some serve production, others consumption (i.e. the enjoyment of the fruits of production).[102]

Some pages later he adds:

> Social spaces interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another. They are not things which have mutually limiting boundaries and which collide because of their contours or as a result of inertia.[103]

Following his steps, then, social space can be defined not necessarily as opposed to the material container of social action but as a product of these social actions which, in turn, also produce the spatial knowledge/literacy[104] that shape and regulate social behaviour. That is, social space simultaneously results from the repeated, institutionalized, and performative actions of individuals and groups of individuals which, in turn, assign spaces with meaning, "appropriate"

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101 Not to be confused, as one may often encounter in attempts to define social space, with public space which refers to places that are accessible to the public and hence appropriated for the use of the public general, like parks, public libraries, roads, and governmental buildings. Moreover, neither social space nor public space should be confused with Habermas's conceptualization of public sphere which is part of the immediate life experiences of individuals whereupon they come together, exchange ideas, and form opinions. Public sphere refers less to a spatial formation than to an assumed assemblage. See J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989.

102 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 83.

103 Ibid., p. 86.

104 Marung and Middell define spatial literacy as "the capacity to 'read' spatial configurations and to have tools available to make such perceptions visible to others" which is "not gained once for all, but [. . .] has to be appropriated again and again against. [. . .] [It] is more than having the right map at hand. It is the capacity to orient oneself within the world and to formulate priorities for one's own organization of relevant spaces." S. Marung and M. Middell, "The Respatialization of the World as One of the Driving Dialectics under the Global Condition", in: S. Marung and M. Middell (eds.), *Spatial Formats under the Global Condition*, Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019, pp. 1–13, at 4.

them, and define rules and regulations of "accessibility", use, and control (to borrow from David Harvey[105]).

Although, at first glance, they may appear to be mutually exclusive, social spaces constantly interact with, define, and complement each other. Therefore, all social actions in their capacity to conceptually and materially produce and make use of social spaces (what Lefebvre categorizes as production and consumption of space) have "at least, one, but often more, spatial dimensions" ("jede soziale Interaktion [hat] mindestens eine, oft aber mehrere räumliche Dimensionen").[106] Lefebvre defines these dimensions as a triad of "spatial practice", "representation of space", and "representational space".[107] This triad has later been extended by David Harvey, who created "a grid of spatial practices" that included four categories of spatial practices, namely, "accessibility and distanciation", "appropriation and use of space", "domination and control of space" and "production of space". The intersection set of each of these categories with the spatial dimensions defined by Lefebvre, hence, indicate distinct spatialization patterns.[108]

The triad developed by Lefebvre and Harvey's adaptation of it are inspirational for scholars that seek to develop an understanding of the production and functioning of social spaces, as it can be observed in the proliferation of scholarly works that followed these conceptualizations and theories. However, the persistent lack of clarity on the functioning of spatialization processes in the academic world today points to a gap, a necessity for a language of space that can systematize the ways in which space is (socially) produced. An attempt to develop such a language requires a historical focus on various transnational and transregional processes of spatialization which can develop an empirical understanding of the ways in which different (groups of) actors produce different social spaces under the global condition or in reaction to various globalization projects. The diverse interdisciplinary research conducted at the Collaborative Research Centre (SFB) 1199 since 2016 provides the historical focus in larger and multiple settings necessary for the formulation of such a spatial semantics. The case studies of different spatialization processes taking place under the global condition that are examined side by side at SFB 1199, allow for a systematic analysis of complex and intertwined spatialization processes that extend over long periods. The analysis of these processes requires investigation of several spatial and social practices that contribute to, intervene in,

105 D. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992, pp. 218–222.
106 Middell, *Raumformate*, p. 1 (own translation).
107 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 38–39.
108 Harvey, *Condition*, pp. 218–222.

and/or resist these productions and their outcomes. This complexity and temporal length make the transregional, transnational, and global emphases imperative, since space-making usually occurs on more extensive scopes than only the local, regional, or national, even though actors usually have only parts of the world, that is, restricted spaces, in mind while imagining various spatializations.

That is, space-making does not stop at national or natural borders. Both the direct involvement of cross-border individual or groups of actors and the intellectual exchanges and influences among these actors contribute spatialization processes to assume transregional, transnational, and global characters. This is equally the case for the emergence and the anchoring of the South as a distinct region within the US: Notwithstanding the implications of commonplace representations of the South as an insular and isolated region, both the material and cognitive spatialization processes that have led to the emerge and solidification of the southernmost parts of the US as a distinct regional unit have happened under the influence and as part of several (and often simultaneously occurring) globalization processes. Therefore, while the newly-developed language of space constitutes an appropriate theoretical framework for the study of the spatial imaginations about the South with its emphasis on globalization processes, reciprocally this book itself, too, empirically contributes to the theory-building.

The more intellectually and cognitively inclined exchanges and influences that occur as part of spatialization processes hint at the primary concern of this book, that is, the imaginative and creative actions involved in spatialization processes. While spatial imagination appears as a previously more thoroughly studied and hence better understood concept among the triad of processes involved in the production of space, more often than not it is treated simply as creative and dreamlike mental constructions by single and isolated individuals, that is, spatial actors in vacuum.

Spatial Actors

In order to understand the role of spatial imaginations in the functioning of spatialization processes, a clarification on the concept of spatial actor is essential. It is implied in the notion of social space that spatial processes are results of spatializing actions of actors or groups of actors, which grants these actors the agency to legitimize, question, or transform the world around them. However, not all actions with spatial implications and space-making capacity can be regarded as intentional and hence a product of

agency.[109] Nor can actors calculate every single spatializing implication of their actions. The picture gets even more complex once texts are also taken as spatial actors that communicate imaginations, plans, and desires that explicitly or implicitly suggest and intervene in processes of space-making. Notwithstanding how they complicate the picture, however, texts-as-spatial-actors illustrates my approach to the notions of actor and agency the clearest.

Taking texts as spatial actors implies a life of the text independent of the author. Without doubt, literary texts are products of individuals writing with certain intentions, distinct ideological stances, economic drives, personal desires. On the other hand, as the author with their intentions was famously declared dead by Roland Barthes in 1967 – my book revitalizes them along with their intentions –, one needs to consider three more aspects of texts which reduce the hegemonic agency of the author over the text that they have produced (or the artists over their painting, actor over their actions . . .), to a considerable degree. First of all, social actions do not occur in a vacuum. They are shaped and informed by the material and cultural circumstances demarcating them. In this sense (as Anthony Giddens's structuration theory also implies), the relationship between the author, their text, and material and cultural structures surrounding them resembles the fluid, fluctuating, and reciprocal relationship between structuralism and agency. The author produces the texts under the influence of these structures and in response to them, while they have the capacity to disregard, appropriate, and challenge – or even lie about and manipulate – those structures, if not physically and directly, at least in abstract, verbally, or intellectually.

Once the text is publicized and meets its audience, its author loses, at least to a certain extent, their authority over the interpretations and implications of the text. This is the point where the text gains its own limited textual agency. Massimo Leone asserts that neither "a totally inert text" nor "a completely active text" is possible: Text's agency "always depends on the fact that someone

109 At this point, turning very briefly and superficially to Antony Giddens's structuration theory can be beneficial so as to take a look at the constraints of agency and structural determinism. Structuration theory, "an unlovely term" as Giddens acknowledges, points to the junction between agency and structure, and suggests that social behaviour cannot be explained solely by either one of them. Instead, Giddens argues that a structure emerges as a product of routinized human behaviour upon the very existence of which human agency plays a role. This dialectic relationship hence also applies when the direction of the relationship is altered. Human action, i.e. agency, is informed by these structures which enable or constraint them; individuals being aware of the structural contexts act accordingly to achieve the desired results from their actions. See A. Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984, pp. xvi, 1–25.

at least recognizes it as a text, and deals with it as such, that is, as a source of meaning enshrined in it at another time or in another space".[110] This discussion is fundamentally one of discourse analysis and textual performance ("I name this ship the *Queen Elisabeth*" poses a great example of this type of performance[111]), but it surely has implications beyond strictly textual analyses. Benedict Anderson's famous take on print capitalism and the rise of nationalism is probably one of the clearest examples of these implications, illustrating how essentially a profit-driven market decision – dissemination and popularization of serialized print culture – led to the emergence of a sense of community among people sharing common languages and consuming the same information.[112] No matter what the authors or the printers intended with their writings and market decisions, the result, that is, the rise of nationalism, can be attributed to the performativity and agency of the text independent of these intentions. Similarly, one can think of the cave paintings of bison by prehistoric people: These first known painters presumably used these paintings as a medium of interhuman, interspecies, or divine communication. Modern people, however, look at them as artefacts that hide the unknown, unwritten histories of prehistoric peoples to arrive at conclusions that these painters might not have even thought about, such as what kind of dyes and hunting tools were available at a certain date, whether the painter was left or right-handed etc.[113]

This is the point where the audience steps in with their distinct histories (inter) textual familiarities, spatio-temporal experiences, and expectations, that is, with their unique readings of the text. Despite the shortly declared intention to bring the author back to life in this book, at this point, we can safely return to Barthes, who champions

110 M. Leone, "The Roots of Textual Agency: The Semiotics of Motivation and Demotivation", *Annali Di Ca' Foscari Serie Orientale* (2018) 1, pp. 451–452, https://doi.org/10.30687/AnnOr/2385-3042/2018/01/021.

111 J. L. Austin, J. O. Urmson, and M. Sbisà, *How to Do Things with Words*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, p. 5.

112 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 2006.

113 Another humorous example can be found in the famous satirical essay by Horace Mitchell Miner "The Body Rituals among the Nacimera" which provides a cultural relativist critique of Western-centric ethnography and ethnocentrisms in cultural analysis through a reading of the unusual sacred and magical bodily customs of a North American society called Nacimera – which happens to be the US Americans themselves. Within the essay, Miner craftily reads ordinary objects and spaces related to mundane bodily actions as signs and relics of a belief system whereupon restrooms become domestic temples, medicine boxes are read as chests of magical potions etc. See H. Miner, "Body Ritual among the Nacirema", *American Anthropologist* 58 (1956) 3, pp. 503–507, https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1956.58.3.02a00080.

"the birth of the reader" upon "the death of the author", for it was Barthes who articulated most clearly the function of the reader in semantic processes:

> We know now that a text is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the 'message' of the AuthorGod) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture. [. . .] [A] text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is tane [sic] place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author. The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination. Yet this destination cannot any longer be personal: the reader is without history, biography, psychology; he is simply that someone who holds together in a single field all the traces by which the written text is constituted.[114]

Barthes's reader is, of course, not an individual but an abstraction "without history, biography, psychology". It is a "space" where the various readings of the text cumulate. Still, his considerations illustrate the semantic experience of the reader as a spatial actor with history, biography, psychology, and agency. The abstract reader as a condensed space of textual, intertextual, and performative meanings signals the dense reading experience of the individual reader. That is, there is no individual reading experience, as there is no individual authorship occurring in a vacuum.

The multifacetedness of textual agency which functions as a triad of author, text, and reader emerges as a challenge in conducting close-readings primarily due to the difficulties of accessing and evaluating the receptions and perceptions, especially if the said reader is not a contemporary but a nineteenth-century reader. Therefore, not all constituents of the triad receive equal emphasis in the textual analyses in this book. Instead, this multidimensional understanding of textual agency becomes a productive tool through the challenges that it poses. It urges a self-reflexive consideration of the analyses in the book as individual readings of literary texts, which are similarly informed by a series of previous readings not only of the text under study but also of other texts and conditions circumscribing them. This should emerge as a productive acknowledgement of a temporal and spatial semantic multilayeredness allowing a trajectory into complex semantic and semiotic accoutrement attached to each text, "liberating", as Foucault asserts, "writing from narrative, from its linear order".[115] Once this multilayeredness and interminglednes of author-text-reader, on the one hand, and fluctuating and altering space-time, on the

114 R. Barthes, "Death of the Author", in: *Image Music Text*, London: Fontana Press, 1977, p. 48.
115 Foucault, "The Language of Space", p. 163.

other, are taken into consideration, the spatialization function of the text can be understood with its various dimensions as one that does not only reflect an author's imagination but one that keeps reproducing and reinterpreting this imagination, or generating new ones.

Spatial Imaginations

The concept of spatial imaginations lies at the very heart of this book. Even though the concept itself appears rather uncontested and unequivocal, the methodical challenges of a textual study of spatial imaginations pose nonetheless requires a detailed explanation. Probably the most famous definition of the concept belongs to David Harvey, who, inspired by C. Wright Mills's theorization of social imagination, formulates what he calls "spatial consciousness" or the "geographical imagination" as the following:

> "Spatial consciousness" or the "geographical imagination" [. . .] enables the individual to recognize the role of space and place in his own biography, to relate to the spaces he sees around him, and to recognize how transactions between individuals and between organizations are affected by the space that separates them. It allows him to recognize the relationship which exists between him and his neighbourhood, his territory, or, to use the language of the street gangs, his "turf". It allows him to judge the relevance of events in other places [. . .]. It allows him also to fashion and use space creatively and to appreciate the meaning of the spatial forms created by others.[116]

Derek Gregory differentiates between "geographical imaginary" – "a taken-for-granted spatial ordering of the world" that "involve[s] bordering as well as ordering: the hierarchical division of the globe into continents, states and other sub-categories" – and geographical (that is, spatial) imagination emphasizing the creative practices and cognitive processes involved in the latter.[117]

The productive impetus embedded in these definitions of spatial imagination constitutes a point of departure for the development of the new language of space. Accordingly, borrowing from Marung, I employ an approach to spatial imagination, which adopts

> [. . .] an understanding of "imagination" not just as mental images or representations of the world, and exactly *not* as the opposite to reality, but as a creative human faculty to

116 D. Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009, pp. 23–24.
117 D. Gregory, "Geographical Imagination", in: D. Gregory et al. (eds.), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, pp. 282–285; D. Gregory, "Geographical Imaginary", in: ibid., p. 282.

> react to the world, to put oneself into a relation to it, to define one's position. This can be linked to the realization of ambitious projects or to undertakings which have not turned out to be successful. [. . .] [I]maginations are powerful instruments to produce spaces, as a way to react to a world which is characterized by multiple connections across longer and shorter distances, but certainly beyond the frameworks we can physically experience in our everyday lives. A world also shaped by ruptures and inequalities as well as by visions of how to expand power and wealth. Spatial imaginations are key dimensions of processes of spatialization, because they activate actors, provide 'scripts' for their actions, mobilize them to challenge existing spatial formats and fight for the establishment of new ones, question the dominant spatial order or legitimate it.[118]

Spatial imaginations do not occur in a vacuum. Rather, they are affirmative or dissenting reactions to socio-spatial conditions that surround individuals. No matter how distinct these responses may be, spatial imaginations – including utopian visions – are necessarily informed by prevailing spatial formats and orders. In this sense, even the contestations to existing spatial structures serve to underpin them by effectively reaffirming their prevalence. Or as D. Harvey puts it: "social definitions of space and time operate with the full force of objective facts to which all individuals and institutions necessarily respond. [. . .] Even when we do not conform to [these], we know very well what it is that we are not conforming to."[119]

That is not to say that human beings and their imaginations are simply objects to these spatial configurations without any agency or capacity to transform space: "Social space, when contested within the orbit of a given social formation, can take on new definitions and meanings."[120] Therefore, I suggest that the analysis of different actors' spatial imaginations, especially at moments of social discontent and (re)formations, allows access to a thorough understanding of the function of (re)spatialization processes. These moments are significant in that they are abundant with unique and diverse spatial imaginations, some of which gain more momentum and are shared among more people, hence, becoming more pronounced and established, while others remain marginal, unproductive, and left to be erased from the collective social memory. Notwithstanding their level of success in becoming realized, materialized, or scripted in the collective memory, spatial imaginations emerging during such moments are valuable in that they signal both existing socio-spatial norms and structures and different

118 Marung, "Imaginations".

119 D. Harvey, "Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80 (1990) 3, p. 418.

120 Ibid., p. 422.

characteristics of various vantage points of contestation or reconciliation raised by actors with diverging agendas, interests, and desires.

However, spatial imaginations barely ever get circulated or expressed in pure form of *spatial* imaginations (except, perhaps in architectural, cartographical etc. instances). This leads to the question of where to locate them, even before the question of how to approach spatial imaginations analytically. In this regard, it is useful to refer back to D. Harvey's remarks on the embeddedness of space and spatial structures in the social actions and biographies of individuals, including those of writers. Understood as cognitive processes of meaning-making and creative use of space, spatial imaginations are inherent in textual productions: Just as social space, literary and non-literary texts are also social products and they necessarily address spatial configurations, concerns, and complications that surround their production processes, if not directly then in their allusion to the social, political, economic, and moral aspects of the human condition. Furthermore, as social products, texts and the spatial imaginations that they implicate are (inter)relational: They address and engage in direct or implicit dialogues with other texts and authors, different social groups and distant spaces, form intertextualities and intersectionalities. It is in this sense, as Möhring and her colleagues write:

> Literary imagination can [. . .] influence, strengthen or undermine cultural ideas about spaces, it can contribute to the affective appropriation of or emotional identification with real spaces; it can extend, stabilize, and question cultural, spatial and knowledge systems and spatial formats. Consequently, literary spatial construction can serve as a vehicle for an "ideological condensation" of certain collective self-images, as well as, as an ideology-critical instrument and generator of alternative spatial imaginations.[121]

While most alternative historical spatial imaginations (meaning, those that have not established as canonical spatial ideologies of a certain era and location) are obliterated from the public memory mainly because they have not been penned, written texts, at least momentarily, stabilize such visions and perceptions. These stabilizations function almost like snapshots, allowing analytical readings of otherwise dynamic cognitive processes. In this sense, the

121 "Literarische Imagination kann mithin kulturelle Vorstellungen von Räumen mitprägen, verfestigen oder unterlaufen; sie kann zur affektiven Aneignung von oder emotionalen Identifikation mit realen Räumen beitragen; sie kann kulturelle Raum- und Wissensordnungen und Raumformate verbreiten, stabilisieren, aber auch in Frage stellen. Folglich kann literarische Raumkonstruktion zum einen als Vehikel einer, ideologischen Verdichtung, bestimmter kollektiver Selbstbilder, aber auch als ideologiekritisches Instrument und Generator alternativer Raumvorstellungen fungieren." Möhring, Pisarz-Ramirez, and Wardenga, *Imaginationen*, pp. 22–23 (own translation).

textual production by (ethnically, politically, economically, sexually etc.) marginalized or dissident authors proves productive in attempts not only to recuperate forgotten spatial imaginations but also to discover and understand the concealed aspects of more popular ones better. Reading spatial imaginations in such texts helps to demonstrate past attempts to "interpret changing spatial conditions and make them the basis of action".[122] In this sense, spatial imaginations found in written texts emerge as a ground upon which different spatial formats and orders are conceptualized, compared, discussed, and applied to varying locales and conditions.

Spatial Formats and Spatial Orders

> Spatial formats are the lenses through which the otherwise solely metaphorically-existing spaces can be intersubjectively communicated.[123]

Setting forth from the assumption that "the spatial production under modern [as opposed to archaic] global condition since the mid-eighteenth century is marked by a three-stage process that can be empirically observed",[124] the new semantics of space proposes a heuristic model that composes of spatialization, spatial format, and spatial orders.

Spatial formats (German: *Raumformate*) are products of space-making processes that come to gain stability (or, at least a collective imagination thereof) through routines, performances, and institutions. Although spatial formats refer more to patterns and ideal types (such as city, region, nation state, empire, international trade network, and national market) and are results of abstractions of spatial actions performed by different actors in various ways, they are still deeply rooted in the perception of daily life routines of many. Actors recognize and name spatialization processes and their outcomes that are considered to be socially significant and relevant via spatial formats.[125] "Spatial formats are thus both structures that shape social actions and imaginations that guide social

122 Middell, "Category", p. 25.

123 "Raumformate sind dabei die Linse, durch die ansonsten ja nur metaphorisch existierenden Raume intersubjektiv kommunizierbar werden." Engel, *Regionalismen*, p. 4 (own translation).

124 "[D]ie Herstellung von „Räumen" unter modernen Globalisierungsbedingungen [ist] seit Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts durch einen dreistufigen Prozess geprägt [. . .], der empirisch beobachtet werden kann." Möhring, Pisarz-Ramirez, and Wardenga, *Imaginationen*, p. 1 (own translation).

125 Middell, "Category", p. 20; Engel, *Regionalismen*, pp. 3–4.

actions."[126] They can therefore be regarded as hypothetical conceptualization of existing spatial configurations.

In this sense, spatial formats may be not easily distinguishable from spatial imaginations at least on the basis of their definitions, even though they refer to different categories and stages of space-making processes. The keywords that separate spatial formats from spatial imaginations point to the widespread acceptance, institutionalization, and recurrence of the former over a long period of time. Middell suggests that spatial formats are relational in that they associate with other spatial formats and are conceptually reproduced and redefined in reaction to fluctuations in social, cultural, economic, and political conditions and needs. They can also be replaced by other spatial formats in the *longue-durée*, if their reproduction and redefinition do not suffice to answer the needs emerging from the societal transformations: "From a systematic point of view, spatial formats originate from the multiplicity of processes of space-making and from a historical point of view; they replace, complement, or compete with already existing spatial formats."[127]

Spatial orders (German: *Raumordnungen*), on the other hand, while also products of spatialization processes, represent less abstract and more stabilized spatial configurations than spatial formats. They are outcomes of the relational characteristics of spatial formats as the constellations and interactions among a variety of spatial formats leading to the ordering of space. The counteraction, coexistence, and even co-dependency among existing spatial formats configures space into orders.[128] Ordering of space by – what Engel calls – (not only political, economic, but also cultural) "spatial-entrepreneurs" means assigning spatial configurations certain meanings and institutional functions. It charges spatial configurations with the notions of "adequacy" (*Adäquatheit*), "relevance" (*Relevanz*), and "appropriateness" (*Angemessenheit*), and, if successful, produces spatial orders.[129]

The concept of spatial order should not be misread as an understanding of the world under a single homogenous order. Spatial orders are characterized by a multitude, interdependency, and heterogeneous power relations between them under the global condition. In this sense, the multitude spatial orders also point

126 Middell, "Category", p. 20.
127 Ibid., pp. 20–21.
128 Ibid., p. 10.
129 Engel, *Regionalismen*, pp. 4–5.

to the multitude of globalization processes occurring on local (trans)regional, and (inter-, trans-, or supra-) national levels.[130]

Engel highlights the "replicable" (*replizierbar*) and "politicizable" (*politisierbar*) nature of spatial orders, which produces "hierarchische oder nichthierarchische Beziehungen zwischen Raumformaten" (hierarchical or non-hierarchical relationships between spatial formats) and can be subject to contestations.[131] Objections to spatial orders may result in transitional spaces and periods, leading to renegotiations and reinterpretations of existing spatial formats. These transitional processes may bring about further confirmation and legitimization to these formats or yield new ones which would, in turn, follow the above-summarized process of stabilization.[132] These rather long-lasting and uncertain shifts are significant for the study of spatial imaginations as they lead, as both Engel and Middell in their individual works suggest, to a proliferation in spatial semantics as well as in spatial imaginations by different spatial actors reaffirming or contesting the existing order. Therefore, the study of such periods of spatial reconfigurations can help to illustrate the nature of spatialization processes as well as formatting and ordering of space. Similarly, spatial imaginations emerging during such transitional periods, whereupon existing orders and formats are placed under scrutiny, can allow access to the ways in which these orders and formats are negotiated (re)defined, performed, conceptualized, and idealized by various actors.

The antebellum period in the US with the immense momentum it witnessed in space-making practices, led both by expansionist impetuses and nation consolidation processes, undoubtedly constitutes such a period of transition; literary texts produced during which emerge as a stage on which spatial disputes and reconciliations become constructed and performed. A re-reading of the literary production during this era through the lenses of this new language of space can allow for a systematic examination of the ways in which different spatialization processes in the antebellum US were imagined and negotiated. Yet to conduct such analyses of individual texts, it is necessary to employ this new approach to briefly restudy some fundamental spatialization processes and spatial configurations that characterize the material and social circumstances and the study of the antebellum US.

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130 Middell, "Category", pp. 10–11; F. Hadler and M. Middell, "Global History: Current Perspectives on World Orders from Europe and Beyond. A Look Back to and from the Second European Congress on World and Global History, Dresden, 2008", in: F. Hadler and M. Middell (eds.), *World Orders in Historical Perspective: Opening Lectures of the Second European Congress on World and Global History*, Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsanstalt, 2011, p. 15.

131 Engel, *Regionalismen*, p. 5 (own translation).

132 Middell, "Category", pp. 5–6.

Spatial Orders and Formats in the Antebellum US

Recent scholarship demonstrates that late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the US were a golden age for geography and cartography,[133] in which geographical knowledge worked hand in hand with the efforts of developing a national consciousness. Susan Schulten, for instance, documents the advancement in knowledge, data, and technology which made cartographical visualizations part of the didactic domain of nationalization within which "the emergence of the United States" was explained "particularly in territorial terms". She traces the first US American attempts of writing geography textbooks, publishing atlases, establishing national archives for maps, and of experiments on environmental, medical, and statistical maps that collectively integrated cartography and geography into the daily lives of many US Americans.[134] Alongside the advancement in cartographical printing technologies such as lithography, gazetteers, geographical readers, world atlases, and maps also contributed to the momentum of the expanding geographical literacy during these period. Becoming symbols of higher intellectual inclination, wealth, "good citizenship, [and] moral compass", geographic and cartographic prints provided aesthetic pleasure for the consumers as decorative pieces.[135] "Geographical writing" hence came to be "considered [. . .] a patriotic genre" in the pre-Civil-War US.[136]

Still, this golden age of geography in the nineteenth-century US cannot be seen as a triumph of spatiality over temporality. Rather, Foucault acknowledges, "the great obsession of the nineteenth century was [. . .] history",[137] and geographical knowledge, at its best, was regarded as supplementary, not as complementary, to historical knowledge: "To learn geography in the early nineteenth century was to learn history".[138] Very illustrative of this condition is William Gilmore Simms's geography textbook – a bestselling genre of the

133 See, for instance, S. Schulten, "Maps for the Masses", in: *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880–1950* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002, pp. 17–44; S. Schulten, *Mapping the Nation: History and Cartography in Nineteenth-Century America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012; M. Brückner and H. L. Hsu, *American Literary Geographies: Spatial Practice and Cultural Production, 1500–1900*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007; M. Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

134 Schulten, *Mapping the Nation*, p. 11.

135 Brückner and Hsu, *American Literary Geographies*, p. 13.

136 B. A. Harvey, *American Geographics: U.S. National Narratives and the Representation of the Non-European World, 1830–1865*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002, p. 28.

137 M. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces", Jay Miskowiec (trans.), *Diacritics* 16 (1986) 1, p. 22.

138 Schulten, *Mapping the Nation*, p. 14.

time – about his home state South Carolina. Simms's book carries the full title *The Geography of South Carolina: Being a Companion to the History of that State by William Gilmore Simms Compiled from the Latest and Best Authorities and Designed for the Instructions of the Youth*.[139] This very lengthy title represents with utmost clarity the significance given to the study of geography, yet only as part of and in order to support the study of history in the nineteenth-century US.

This situation was symptomatic of the nineteenth-century Western understanding of history in relation with progress, the conviction that "civilization has moved, is moving, and will move in a desirable direction",[140] with the ultimate destination often interpreted in lieu of the emergent European nation states with their strong modern industries. In the United States, this idea also often translated into a synthesis of the belief in the progress of the society with the principle of (mainly westward) territorial expansion. Indeed, the very foundations of the US simultaneously shaped and were shaped by spatial conditions, configurations, and imaginations even before the independence. Struggles over space and territory profoundly influenced the very arrival of European colonizers and the entire colonial history of North America. This assertion remains true, even when the concept of frontier is not taken as a strictly spatial condition but, as Kolodny suggests, as an "initial encounter" and "a specifiable first moment on that liminal borderland between distinct cultures", as the experience of the settler colonialist and Native populations still emerges as a fundamentally spatial one. While the colonial experience of European settlers was neither homogenous nor strictly Anglo-Saxon, the founding ideologies of the nation blended these experiences into a shared history that reflected itself in clearly spatial terms – as Jennifer Heil judiciously demonstrates, for example, in taking Columbus's "'discovery' of the Caribbean" as the beginning of US American history.[141]

Later in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with the foundation of the newly-independent country, the need for self-identification as a nation autonomous from Europe also found embodiment in expansionist spatial metanarratives like the Frontier, the Errand into the Wilderness, and Manifest Destiny,

139 W. G. Simms, *The Geography of the South Carolina Being a Companion to the History of That State*, Charleston: Babcock & Co., 1840, https://archive.org/details/historyofsouthca00sis (accessed 5 October 2020).

140 J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress*, London: Macmillan, 1920, p. 2.

141 A. Kolodny, "Letting Go Our Grand Obsessions: Notes toward a New Literary History of the American Frontiers", in: Crow (ed.), *A Companion to the Regional Literatures of America*, pp. 46–50; J. Heil, "The American Columbus: Geography, Chronology and the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Literature", PhD thesis, Ann Arbor, 2012, p. 1.

all of which demonstrate a "territorializing impulse" that seeks to "fill in the blank spaces on the map, to subjugate the continent".[142] The seemingly non-spatial national ideologies involving mythic figures like the self-made man, American Adam, and Jeffersonian yeoman, too, as Heike Paul demonstrates, served to portray "social mobility in analogy to geographical expansion".[143] People imagined themselves prospering while performing the civilizing mission of the nation in cultivating the 'empty,' 'unsettled,' 'virgin' lands of the continent, hence also contributing to the progress of humanity. These ideals reflected themselves in various forms and arts. Probably the most famous of these is the 1872 painting by John Gast called "American Progress" in which progress is depicted in purely westward expansionist terms.[144] Yet, the centrality of the spatial aspects of the early-US experience can also be seen, maybe even more than in most other forms of art, in the literature of the nineteenth century, as Brückner summarizes:

> In the hands of Anglo-American authors, the real geographical landscape became the foundational topos through which authors imagined a variety of American selves. In forging links between the land, the heart, and the home, early American writers expanded references to physical geography into strategic settings, including the 'American wilderness,' the 'American garden,' and 'American nature'. Cast in these terms, the descriptions of American geography have served as deterministic, symbolic, or ontological metasettings in which authors turned the continent's physicality into a dynamic literary trope that could be used to explain social changes and at the same time ground individual characters.[145]

However, the literary employment of landscape and geography was neither univocal nor unwavering. Antebellum authors, as autonomous spatial actors, desired and envisioned various American (and non-American) identities within or, sometimes also outside the US, and according to their ideologies and desires, they re-interpreted and re-imagined the *American* space. Race and slavery, without doubt, played an important role in shaping these different spatial interpretations and ideologies, which, in turn, were reflected in textual productions. The literature of the era between the Revolution and the Civil War was definitely marked by an identification (or lack thereof) with various imaginations of an *American nation*. Yet, during the same period the emergence and persistence of divergent modes of imperialist rhetoric were also experienced.

142 Giles, *Global Remapping*, p. 7.

143 H. Paul, *The Myths That Made America: An Introduction to American Studies*, Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014, p. 367.

144 For a detailed reading of the painting by John Gast, see Greenberg's *Manifest Manhood*. J. Gast, *American Progress* (1872), Los Angeles, Autry Museum of the American West; Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, pp. 1–6.

145 Brückner, *Geographic Revolution*, pp. 5–6.

As the accelerated continental expansion nurtured "a sense of national identity at home, it also paved the way for imperialism abroad".[146] Appearing in most academic literature almost as a sharp disjuncture from nation formation to imperialism, this multifaceted engagement in space was actually a concurrent phenomenon within which imperial discourse reinforced the national, and vice versa. This becomes clearer when, as proposed before, nation state and empire are treated as spatial formats, allowing for the coexistence of spatial formats in long-lasting transitional spatio-temporalities.

Perceived as a period during which prevailing spatial formats are both in conflict with each other and under confrontation, in other words, as a period of formation and not of stability, the antebellum era emerges as a transitional period and the antebellum US as a transitional space, indicating an experience of – what Engel and Middell call in their respective works – a proliferation in spatial semantics. This period can be studied, then, as an accumulation of various competing or complementary spatialization processes by different spatial actors: a period of negotiation (re)definition, preformation, conceptualization, and idealizations of existing and imagined spatial formats. Consequently, the literary production of this period emerges as a platform where these negotiations (re)definition, preformation, conceptualization, and idealizations are (often in rather implicit ways) expressed, where the pervasive spatiality of the antebellum experience, especially the dynamic between the spatial formats of nation state and empire, but also the drive and tension created with regional formations, emerging and disappearing borderlands, and frontiers can be found and studied in detail. The pervasiveness of the spatial aspects of the antebellum US experience deems this observation valid also for those literary works which do not necessarily, directly, or primarily address essentially *spatial* matters. This is not to imply that authors in the nineteenth century were already thinking or writing about spatialization processes. Nor did they identify what is taken here as spatial formats or orders, as such. It is only through the theoretical conceptualization of these processes and configurations via the new language of space, what the nineteenth-century authors, in attending primarily historical societal, political, economic, and cultural concerns, refer and address to in their texts in rather abstract, dispersed, and sporadic terms can be identified as pointing to certain spatial configurations or distinct re-spatialization processes.

In the following, I revisit some spatialization processes, as well as spatial orders and formats that characterized the spatial aspects of the antebellum US experiences and emerge as significant points of reference in the US literature of

146 Ibid., p. 8.

the era. Although the discussion seems at least at the first glance to follow an order from large-scale spaces to smaller ones (which is not necessarily true, as, for example regions can occupy larger territories than nation states), this sequence does not indicate the respective significance of the notions under study. Accordingly, these discussions begin with a study of the concepts of globalization and global condition, addresses the dialectic between empire and nation state, attend to the formations of region and regionalism in literature, and conclude with some thoughts on peripheries, borderlands, and frontiers.

Globalizations and Global Condition

Departing from the perspective that takes globalization as a single, robust, and solely political and economic phenomenon of the modern era which has emerged with the seemingly irreversible transnational economic and political entanglements appearing in the form of multinational corporations, inter- and supranational economic and political alliances, I consider globalization from a process-oriented perspective as a cumulation of several practices. That is, following Middell, I argue for the necessity to distinguish the global condition from multiple globalizations and globalization processes, and similarly "globalization as a key concept of an ideology" from "the many quite different globalizations as an object of empirical research".[147] To begin with the first, global condition refers to the long-lasting and multiple structural changes which have led to an experience of the world whereupon disintegration from global flows of objects, people, and ideas has become impossible "without losing a decisive potential for [social, economic, political, cultural etc.] development".[148] However, this condition is not experienced, perceived, interpreted, or received by different actors in the same way, nor does it emerge from a sole, linear, and natural development: The global condition is the result of several efforts to establish, use, and have control over the increasing international flows, a product of "a vast array of political globalization projects" that "advance hierarchies of power and interpretation" and are "promoted by multiple actors".[149]

147 M. Middell, "Portals of Globalization as Lieux de Mémoire", *Comparativ* 27 (2017) 3, pp. 60–61.
148 M. Middell, "What Is Global Studies All About?", in: M. Herren et al. (eds.), *Potentials and Challenges of Global Studies for the 21st Century*, Global Europe, Basel: Europainstitut der Universität Basel, 2014, p. 40.
149 Middell, "Portals", p. 64.

Although several scholars, such as Arjun Appadurai, have discussed globalization(s) in terms of dissolving and diminishing significance of borders, as a de-spatialization process whereupon especially the territorial sovereignty of the nation state is (in a rather favourable fashion) threatened for the benefit of the transnational and transregional, in fact, globalization is "a dialectical process of de- and re-territorialization".[150] To put it in a historical point of view, "since the late eighteenth century, nationalization, transformation of empires, and the emergence of an international space and sphere of transnational interaction historically went hand in hand with converging trends [. . .] and effects that have increased heterogeneity, inequality, and power asymmetries in the world."[151] This means that the numerous developments that has paved the way to the global condition have not been external to the phenomenon experienced as the emergence of the nation state as a pivotal site upon which globalization processes are negotiated, functioning as stabilizing sovereignty against or in the face of increasing flows and proliferating networks under the global condition.

However, nation state is not the only spatial format and nations (given their inner heterogeneity, for instance) are not the sole spatial actors to have emerged from this vaguely-sketched cumulation of processes leading to the global condition. It is true that, beginning in the late nineteenth century and lasting until the World War I, a period of what can be called as a golden age of nation state was indeed experienced during which this spatial format "was recognized as a very efficient tool to regain control over border-crossing flows, which characterized the global condition of the time." Yet, even during this period, nationalization tendencies and processes were accompanied by the emergence and fortification of international organizations that sought to regulate the flows under the global condition that emerged following the technological advancements such as the "steam ships and telegraph" and social, economic, and political developments including the "emergence of the first world markets, an increasing urbanization, and steps into the first and second waves of industrialization." With diverging "agendas, resources, and instruments" in hand, several emergent or established spatial actors pursued "multiple globalization processes" on different spatial scales, based on different spatial formats, and within different spatial orders (or respectively, with different versions of

150 A. Appadurai, *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996; M. Middell and K. Naumann, "Global History and the Spatial Turn: From the Impact of Area Studies to the Study of Critical Junctures of Globalization", *Journal of Global History* 5 (2010) 1, p. 4.

151 Middell, "Portals", p. 63.

these configurations in mind).[152] Moreover, as demonstrated shortly in the context of the nineteenth-century US, neither the seeming triumph of the nation state was a result of a complete, linear, and smooth disjuncture from imperial formations that had come to dominate world politics until that point, nor the nascent format of nation state was devoid of the imperial.

On this outlined theoretical and historical basis, the global condition shall be understood as "both the driving force and the framework for a multitude of societal changes".[153] It is in this sense, the spatial actors under analysis in this book, namely the authors and literary texts that (re)imagine the US South, escape being merely local actors. They contribute to or challenge globalization projects and processes in a discursive way in reacting to the spatial and societal changes taking place in their seemingly local milieus, which occur in response to and/or as part of several, coexisting, competing or complementary globalizations processes. This remains true, even when actors have straightaway local and limited spatialization processes or imaginations and plans thereof in mind, although, as the textual analyses in the following chapters demonstrate, oftentimes they appeal to spatial phenomenon or seek to establish spatial structures with larger impacts and implications than only on the local, either as an intended outcome of their transnational and transregional awareness or as a consequence of the dynamic between the local and the global. Therefore, what Akira Iriye suggests with regard to the study of international relations "as involving [not only "examination of state-to-state relations" but also of] society-to-society, culture-to-culture, even people-to-people interactions"[154] applies, in my analyses in this book, to also globalization processes which are seen as results of entanglements between not only states and institutions but also between people(s), cultures, and ideas.

The perception of these entanglements and flows under the global condition, too, is subjected to this proposed plurality. As Barry K. Giles writes,

> The move from the singular to the plural is deliberate and implies deep scepticism of the idea that there can ever be a single theory or interpretation of globalization. By beginning from the premise that there are many globalizations we open the door to exploration of multiple processes and multiple interpretations and perspectives that may constitute many possible alternative globalizations, many possible paradigms.[155]

152 Marung and Middell, "Respatialization", pp. 1–2.

153 Ibid., p. 1.

154 A. Iriye, "Internationalizing International History", in: T. Bender (ed.), *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, p. 49.

155 B. K. Giles, "The Turning of the Tide", *Globalizations* 1 (2004) 1, pp. 1–2.

The question of "how the intensification and acceleration of global connectedness has caused reactions by various actors at different times and in varying geographies to deal with these challenges" as a focus of the study of globalization[156] becomes therefore relevant in the context of different antebellum spatial imaginations of the US South, especially if the diverging answers that these imaginations give with the regard to the future of the slave economy in the US as well as in the American Hemisphere are taken as a point of emphasis. The circumstances that led to the widespread questioning of the slavery especially in the mid-nineteenth century were more often than not based on economic developments with largescale consequences (that also led to the global condition of the period) such as the establishment of first world markets and accelerated industrialization rather than intellectual reconsiderations on the morals of the slavery. If we take these developments that made slavery a less profitable economic system as having prepared the ground for a certain nineteenth-century globalization (although abolitionist side of this history is very diverse in itself and laden with alternative spatial imaginations), on the opposing side of these developments are what we can call some sort of 'anti-globalization' discourses of the era. Undoubtedly, just as their contemporary equivalents which are "mislabelled" as "'anti-globalization' movements" and, in fact, are simply "advocates of an alternative globalization" "inspired by the belief that 'another world is possible,'"[157] the nineteenth-century contestations to abolitionist spatialization processes and projects were, too, practically other interpretations and perceptions of globalization (I use the term intentionally, even though most actors had smaller parts of the world than the entire globe in mind, while imagining 'another world', and the framework of "globalization" is relatively a contemporary one) that imagined different spatial orders and spatial formats to promote their ideologies.

Lastly, the relation between the early to late nineteenth-century global condition and literature should be briefly addressed here. The increasing flows of ideas and images in the nineteenth century owed their existence largely to the advancements in the print culture, which, to a certain level, played a role analogous to that of radio between the two world wars, the television from the mid- to late twentieth century, and the internet today both in enabling and accelerating the spread of printed material in larger areas and in creating the feeling that the world is getting smaller. The reduced production costs and advanced printing technology increased the number of printed material with even small towns

156 Marung and Middell, "Respatialization", p. 1.
157 Giles, "The Turning", p. 2.

publishing their own local newspapers and magazines, giving voice to more and more enthusiastic authors. As people and commodities travelled at faster rates, print media circulated alongside them with an accelerated speed, not only increasing the impact of the peripheries and centres on each other but also allowing an exchange of ideas and images at a speed and extent formerly not attainable. The nineteenth-century spatial actor, therefore, emerges as one that was informed by and concerned with the spatialization processes that were taking place both in larger and distance locations compared to the previous eras.

Nation State and Empire: Beyond American Exceptionalism

> The absence of the United States in the postcolonial study of culture and imperialism curiously reproduces American exceptionalism from without. The United States is either absorbed into a general notion of 'the West,' represented by Europe, or it stands for a monolithic West. Unites States continental expansion is often treated as an entirely separate phenomenon from European colonialism of the nineteenth century rather than as an interrelated form of imperial expansion.[158]

> [T]alking about American imperialism is rather like talking about triangular triangles.[159]

Tracing the roots of the exceptionalist school in Americanists' works, Donald Pease in his 1993 "American Studies after Exceptionalism?" points to the expulsion of the Lovestonite faction of the CPUSA[160] by Stalin for its exceptionalist understanding. This understanding was later appropriated by some historians during the Cold War period to represent the US as unsusceptible to socialist influence based on an imagery of the country as a fundamentally 'classless society'. This exceptionalist school of the historians of the United States paid special attention to discourses from different eras that endorsed a certain uniqueness in the US American experience, such as the "Nation of Nations", "Manifest Destiny", "Conqueror of the World Markets", which altogether created an essentially anti-imperialist portrayal of the US. Pease blurs this image by introducing yet another influential historical discourse: Jefferson's "Empire

158 A. Kaplan, "'Left Alone with America'. The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture", in: A. Kaplan and D. E. Pease (eds.), *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1993, p. 17.

159 N. Chomsky, *Modern-Day American Imperialism: Middle East and Beyond*, Boston: Boston University, 2008, p. 1, https://chomsky.info/20080424/ (accessed 26 October 2020).

160 Lovestonites were an opposition group within the Communist Party of the United States of America during 1930s led by Jay Lovestone, who was the General Secretary of the party back then.

of Liberty". Via "Empire of Liberty", Pease traces imperialist practices that the US has undertaken ever since its foundation, arguing that the popularization of the rhetoric found its embodiment in the 1840s in a phrase coined by John L. O'Sullivan, which provided sense of "national purpose [that] could only be revealed through the overcoming of the obstructions to expansion by the European empires that had remained shadowy presences within the western territories": "Manifest Destiny". Manifest Destiny was internalized as "a national mission [of] participating in the state's annexationist practices" that is, to "the expropriation and annexation of Indian and Mexican lands".[161]

Pease's work thus illustrates that the spatial format of empire has not necessarily been antithetical to the format of nation state for the US Americas since the foundations of the country, that in the antebellum period, imperial expansion was seen as an imperative drive in the national consolidation, and nation state and empire held an intertwined position in the minds of many US Americans. Other scholars such as William Appleman Williams, Amy Kaplan, and Thomas Bender have also joined Pease in introducing the notion of empire to the US historiography in the last three decades.[162] What remains unattended in their analyses of the coinciding histories of US imperialism and nation consolidation is a contextualization of this simultaneity of the two spatial formats in a global context of the nineteenth century, which can lead us to a thorough understanding of the blending of these two formats and allow us to determine what *uniquely* was an American experience and what were symptoms of a shared trend in the world. In order to achieve this, it is imperative first to define both nation state and empire in spatial terms, through their spatial characteristics and territorialization patterns, or as Said puts it, through their relationship to the "land and the land's people".[163]

A most defining characteristic of empire emerges as its expansionist tendencies which generate vague borders. In this sense, empire engages itself primarily with "temporality rather than territory", that is "with the survival of the dynasty over the time", making "the uniformity [. . .] of territory" of secondary

161 D. E. Pease, "American Studies after American Exceptionalism?", in: B. T. Edwards and D. P. Gaonkar (eds.), *Globalizing American Studies*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010, p. 65.

162 T. Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History*, New York: Hill and Wang, 2006; Kaplan, "Left Alone"; A. Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002; Kaplan and Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism*; W. A. Williams, "Empire as a Way of Life", *The Nation*, 2 August 1980, pp. 104–119.

163 E. W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York: Vintage, 1993, p. 7.

importance.[164] Unlike the nation state, its ultimate ideal is not to achieve homogeneity within its borders. Instead, the idea of empire regards territorial expansionism as a destiny or a mission, generating spatial vocabularies based on racial hierarchies, promised lands, and civilizing missions and thus "stabiliz[ing] inequality".[165] The nation state, on the other hand, owes its existence to the idea of a unified and homogenous community, or as Benedict Anderson puts it, "an imagined political community [. . .] as both inherently limited and sovereign" defined as a nation.[166] Mirroring the nation, the ideal of nation state finds its spatial embodiment in a limited and unified territory within which the members of the nation are regarded as sovereign and have universal citizenship.

In this more abstract sense, empire seems to fundamentally contradict the concept of nation state. However, the historical developments that led to the shift in the dominant spatial discourse from the idea of empire to that of nation state illustrates a more complex relationship between these two spatial formats. In explaining this complex and intermingled relationship, a brief distance from the US context can help both in terms of situating this relationship in a larger context and in turn understanding what is the American experience of the consequences of this complexity without exceptionalizing this experience. The French Revolution provides a rich case study that demonstrates a "fundamental process in the development of new spatial formats for societal organization as well as in the modification of existing spatial formats" once it is restudied "through the lens of processes of respatialization." Analysing the ways in which following the French Revolution, the efforts of the National Assembly to reinforce and extend the impact of its power both in the French Empire and its colonies translated themselves in several processes of spatialization, on the one hand, and situating these processes among the changing and emerging spatial orders and formats in the context of the Atlantic Revolution, Megan Maruschke and Matthias Middell observe the emergence of a new spatial format "that involved a mix of nationalization and territorialization in the metropole with modernized imperial structures at the colonized

164 Bender, *A Nation Among Nations*, p. 105.

165 C. S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors: American Ascendency and Its Predecessors* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 23.

166 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 6.

fringes of such states": "nation-state with imperial extensions" or shortly, "nation-state-cum-empire":

> Domestic dynamics were undoubtedly important in the development of this format, but global interdependencies were equally important, which indicates the beginning of a global condition still in statu nascendi. The reorganization of the (now) national space with an imperial space of extension represented an adaptation to a crucial structural change of the world economy while at the same time offered the empire a more suitable framework than the old imperial format did.[167]

Although a conclusion suggesting that the US in general or the antebellum US in particular constitutes a nation-state-cum-empire akin to the French Empire requires a more extensive research beyond the purposes of this book, Maruschke and Middell's conceptualization of this nascent spatial format in the context of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has at least two significant implications for the study of the antebellum US with a focus on spatialization processes.

Firstly, the observation that a spatial format that borrowed certain most crucial characteristics of the spatial formats of empire and nation state was bourgeoning across the Atlantic (but arguably also elsewhere in the world, as nationalist trends during the long nineteenth century were often also accompanied by imperialist ones) simply points to the fact that the reflections of post-exceptionalist scholars of American history and culture on the amalgamation of characteristic of the nation state and empire in the US does not signal to a trend unique to the US.

Secondly, this consideration allows to depart from a rhetoric that regards nation state as the ultimate goal of historical progress. Against the idea that the Age of Revolutions resulted in a spatial transformation from kingdoms and empires to nation states, for instance, with the emergence of postcolonial states in the New World such as the US, Haiti, and Brazil, it puts a non-linear understanding of respatialization processes under the global condition. It is true the long nineteenth century was indeed marked by shift towards anti-imperialist rhetoric in favour of the nation state on a discursive level and the emphasis on and preference toward the nation state against empire have survived on many spheres until today. Yet, the argument that a spatial format, which bares more traits and aspects of the empire than the accustomed conceptualizations of the format of nation state implies, governed the respatialization practices in Europe (and potentially elsewhere including the US) in the nineteenth century (and possibly also today) rather implicates that a painful and long processes of

167 M. Maruschke and M. Middell, *The French Revolution as a Moment of Respatialization* (Dialectics of the Global, 5), Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019, pp. 9–10.

transition from *pure* empires to *pure* nation states might have in fact never taken place. What has taken place in the context of the United States – what can be regarded as a rather *unique* American experience – was, then, an experience of transition from a colonial status, which allowed for a blending of an anticolonial founding myth for the country – the US national myth, if you will – with its own domestic and cross-border, that is territorial and societal, imperialism.

The consequences of such a reconsideration of the rhetoric of from empire (or in the case of the US, from colony) to nation-state for the US historiography is neatly summarized in Frank Schumacher's 2019 article, which similarly discerns a detachment of the study of the US imperial practices from their spatial dimensions. Schumacher argues against the "streamlined perspectives" suggesting that the US emerged as "a transcontinental nation-state" from its anticolonial independence war, and although before the turn of the twentieth century it gained the form of "modest colonial empire", it "quickly advanced decolonization during the interwar years before it substituted territoriality with preponderant political, military, economic, and cultural power and prestige in its quest for global leadership." Instead, focusing on the territorial aspects of the imperial practices by the US, he proposes "an alternative chronology by which empire, nation, and global engagement have always intersected from the eighteenth century onwards until today and created a polity whose metropolitan core consisted of both empire and nation while its engagement with global frontiers displayed a remarkably consistent reliance on formats of imperial territoriality." In doing so, he demonstrates how even the independence of the 13 colonies from the British Empire was not devoid of imperial ambitions which regarded the Britain as well as other European imperial powers as obstacles against acquiring more territorial power in the continent and how the softened image of early US expansionism via narratives such as transfers of lands from other imperial through purchases, as in the case of Louisiana Territory and Alaska, served to hide the imperial quality of US territorial expansion. Same was also valid for inner territorial dynamics, as one can observe in the case of the practically occupied position of the US South under the strong presence of the US army for more than a decade during the Reconstruction Era.[168] Schumacher, thus, provides a detailed reassessment of US history including its more contemporary practices.

168 F. Schumacher, "Reclaiming Territory: The Spatial Contours of Empire in US History", in: M. Middell and S. Marung (eds.), *Spatial Formats under the Global Condition*, Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019, pp. 109–112.

All of these practices not only involves repressive territorial control but also results in stabilizing of inequality at home. Often hidden in the discussion of equality based on identity politics (and thus-influenced scholarship) is the role of (spatial) practices of empire in both generating and solidifying inequality of races, ethnicities, and genders in the US in efforts of national consolidation, that is, in achieving a seemingly-homogenous American population. The clearest examples of these are to be found in the Indian Removals and Reservations, the systemic disenfranchisement of the Black people in the South following the failure of the Reconstruction, just to name a few.[169] One of the most significant implications of this reassessment lies in how it challenges the 'nation-at-home, empire-abroad' narrative and shows that the territorial and social dimensions of imperialism often went hand in hand in creating an image, a collective imagination of a US American nation state.

The success of Manifest Destiny, beside other national narratives including American exceptionalism, both in terms of creating national myth in the nineteenth century and later in the study of US history has been its influence in blending the imperial practices in a national and anti-imperial narrative. Even though O'Sullivan coined the term Manifest Destiny to describe an inevitable US American future "to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development" in arguing for the annexation of Texas in 1845, the expansionist sentiment was neither new nor limited to westward continental movement.[170] Varied spatio-political imaginations by actors whose economic and political interests led them to seek similar activities in the southern, northern, Caribbean, Transatlantic, and Transpacific neighbours of the US. The (possible) presence of a European colonial power was often used as pretence to justify such visions and undertakings via appealing to the anti-imperialist sentiments and by drawing parallels between the invasion of these territories and the American Independence against European colonizers. Accordingly, in annexing foreign or 'virgin' territories into the US, the Americans were not only granting these territories the freedom within the US republican space but also realising their national anti-imperial mission.

Beside its widespread popularity in the nineteenth century, however the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny, and the overall territorial imperial tendencies were not uncontested. Having, with a racist myopia, disregarded the presence of the indigenous populations of what it considered 'virgin lands', these practices

169 Ibid., p. 124.

170 J. L. O'Sullivan, "Annexation", *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 17 (August 1845) 1, p. 5.

single-handedly generated their own most fervent opponent. Similarly, having been excluded from the nation and its national spatial imaginary through both bondage and the racist US hierarchy which denied even free people of colour US citizenship, many African Americans in the US, too, produced other spatial imaginations that did not necessarily comply with the territorial expansionist logic of the nation. Moreover, especially on the peripheries and borderlands of the country, people of varied ethnic, racial, and economic backgrounds did not feel a strong identification with the national agenda. The expanding boundaries and new territories of the country created new demographic groups that preferred forming other alliances than the nascent US nation, and, accordingly, considered themselves members of different communities.

The South of the United States in the antebellum period was, in this sense, both a challenge and an opportunity for the creation and solidification of the national myth. On the one hand, with its slaveholding classes closely-linked to the larger "Plantation America", its incessantly changing demographics and cartography following the moving peripheries both in its south and its west, and its enslaved and free classes of people of colour, the region emerged as a space where the dynamic simultaneity of national and imperial territorial structuralizations were perceived in ways that did not always reinforce the elsewhere more enthusiastically received narratives of nationhood achieved via anti-imperialist imperialism. Moreover, the characteristics of the region, first and foremost its distinctive economic institution of slavery, that (are used to) set the region aside and apart from the rest of the Union often also emerged as challenges to national consolidation by posing threats to an imagined national cohesion and harmony. On the other hand, however, the distinction and discord via which the region was solidified in the collective imaginary were often instrumentalized both in reinforcing the rhetorics of anti-imperialist nationhood by the US by attributing such ambitions and practices of preservation and stabilization of societal inequality and forceful acquisition of new territories to the US by emphasizing such Southern practices at the expanse of the (oblivion of) others.

Regionalisms: The South as a Region

> The most insightful observers of southern history have always insisted that the region is inseparable from the nation, that the South is not the antithesis of a progressive America but, rather, has operated as a mirror that reveals its fundamental values and practices.[171]

171 Lassiter and Crespino, *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*, p. 7.

In the recent decades, an augmented attention to the concept of region has been experienced in academia, and scholars have shown a greater tendency towards regionalism, which had long been dismissed as an essentialist, romanticizing, and provincial framework due to traditional regionalist studies. For those who have international spheres in mind, this amplification of interest in the regional has largely meant an interest in formal (and often international) regional organizations, the number of which has grown significantly ever since the end of the Cold War.

In cultural and literary studies, on the other hand, the renewed attention to regionalism has been inspired by an architectural criticism of postmodernist aesthetics which led to the reconceptualization of regionalism by Liane Lefaivre, Alexander Tzonis, Bruno Stagno, and Kenneth Frampton, and have had regions that are defined in more subnational terms in mind (even though the arbitrary borders of nation states may often transgress the vague borders of regions defined in this sense). This Critical Regionalism in architecture has translated itself into Cultural studies through the works of Spivak, Butler, and Reichert Powell, among others.[172] The approach of these new regionalist in Cultural studies has rejected the traditional understanding of region as "stable, boundaried, autonomous place", which singles out and isolates regions[173] and, following a similar logic with Anderson's understanding of nation, has taken regions as products of "collective imaginations".[174] Marked by an attention to the "discursive production" rather than an essentialist and "positivistic description" of regions, critical regionalism is "informed by a constructivist, neo-Marxist concept of place".[175] Refusing the insularity of traditional regionalism, Critical Regionalism attempts to locate regions in globalization processes creating dialectics between the local and global in its investigation of spatialization patterns arising from interregional and international human actions.

Following this paradigm shift, scholars of US American and Southern cultural and literary studies like Paul Gilroy, Jennifer Rae Greeson, and Matthew

172 K. Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance", in: H. Foster (ed.), *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, New York: The New Press, 2002, pp. 16–30; A. Tzonis, L. Lefaivre, and B. Stagno, *Tropical Architecture Critical Regionalism in the Age of Globalization*, Hoboken: Academy Press, 2001; D. R. Powell, *Critical Regionalism Connecting Politics and Culture in the American Landscape*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007; G. C. Spivak and J. Butler, *Who Sings the Nation-State?: Language, Politics, Belonging*, London: Seagull Books, 2007.

173 D. R. Powell, "Introduction", in: *Critical Regionalism*, pp. 4–5.

174 Lassiter and Crespino, *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*, p. 11.

175 Paul, *Myths*, p. 399.

D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino[176] have argued for both the constructedness and a plurality of the South against the essentialist otherings of the region:

> [The] South that we hold collectively in our minds is not [. . .] a fixed or real place. It both exceeds and flattens place; it is a term of the imagination, a site of national fantasy. Our South is created in and imbibed from our culture, and like any cultural construct, it means different things at different times to different people.[177]

Through examinations of variety of Souths *imagined* by different actors, the critical approach to the Southern literary and cultural studies focuses on the interaction between diverse definitions of the regions which inevitably entails versions of the South that do not "stop at [the established] national borders".[178] Thus, contributing to hemispheric, Circumcaribbean, as well as Circumatlantic considerations of the US South, this approach also serves to develop an insight on the "global consciousness" of the US Southerner.[179]

Even though Critical Regionalism allows for study of spatial imaginations by various actors as significant tools in generating (varying interpretations of) regions, the emphasis on their cognitive construction may run the danger of obscuring spatio-historical context within which regions emerge as a result of territorialization processes that have remained unfinished or been impeded by national territorialization projects. The case of the South of the US illustrates such processes, although in its own unique way, very clearly. The growing economic, political, and social power of the plantation elites in the colonial South – mainly Virginia, Maryland, and Carolinas – that set the region apart from the rest of the colonies, the ever more widespread sectionalist and states'-rights discourses between the early republican to late-antebellum eras followed by the secessionist crisis, and the failed but explicitly manifested attempt for political autonomy of the Confederate era all point a (cumulation of a) territorialization attempt(s) distinct from that of the US as a whole, as well as to different modes of interpretations of the aforementioned national territorialization processes, in the South. What marks the South as a region that "lies simultaneously inside and outside the national imaginary"[180] – beside its ongoing discursive (re)construction of the region by various actors – is this project of territorialization that remained unfinished and unsuccessful in the face of the

176 Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*; Greeson, *Our South*; Lassiter and Crespino, *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*.

177 Greeson, *Our South*, p. 1.

178 C. L. Crow, "Introduction", in: Crow (ed.), *A Companion to the Regional Literatures of America*, p. 2.

179 Guterl, *American Mediterranean*, p. 10.

180 Greeson, *Our South*, p. 3.

spatialization processes of US national consolidation and its imperial extensions. This project, although largely territorial, has also functioned in societal ways, forming a prevalent sense of what is commonly referred to as a "Southern way of life", or (although heterogeneous in its own ways) a distinct regional culture, hence, allowing for the undertones of this unfinished project to be heard in the speeches of fervent supporters of this distinct way of life even today.

The discursive construction of the South as a region, especially as distinct from the rest of the US, was also reinforced, besides the canonical otherings of the region based on early-modernist understandings of geographical dangers of tropicality, racial exploitation and slavery, and Civil War antagonism, by the concentration of industry outside the South. This situation did not only assigned the region with the supply of inexpensive agricultural raw materials via "cheap labor" and the consumption of "industrial consumer goods" in the "distinctive regional division of labor [that] was consolidated through the formation of integrated national markets" as well as the globalizing market with the rise of imperialism.[181] In the nineteenth-century visions that associated progress with (economic, political and cultural integration to) the nation-state and industrial development, the South emerged as an economically and culturally backward region, as antithetical to the rest, especially the North of the country.

However, we should be cautious while explaining the historical construction of the South as a region, a distinct spatial format, in terms of spatialization processes under the nineteenth-century global condition and not single out the region against the rest of the country. We shall not neglect the academy's own power of space-making by validating certain versions of the historical representation of the region over others against which D. R. Powell warns the critical regionalists and fall to the same pitfall with its essentialist otherings. In acknowledging the material conditions leading to the regional formations, we should nonetheless notice the diversity of representations of and perceptions about the South, and "instead of asking whether a particular version of region is valid or invalid, authentic or not", focus on "whose interests are served by a given version of region".[182]

Once reread with the Critical Regionalist approach and through the lenses of the new language space, then, regions clearly designate a spatial format in that they refer to an ideal spatial type and an abstraction of a spatial structure

181 E. W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, New York: Verso, 1989, pp. 164–165.
182 Powell, "Introduction", p. 9.

that nonetheless shape and organize the day-to-day lives and activities of various actors. In this sense, they refer, more than geographic and topographical spaces, to spaces of repeated and common or similar social, cultural, political spatial practices that create a sense of harmony and stability, which emerge out of the afore-summarized territorialization processes. In this sense regions need constant semantic reproduction, restabilization, and negotiation over a long period of time to continue their persistence in the lives of several actors and groups of actors all at once. However, as not all actors participate and support the spatialization processes out of which regions emerge equally, the ways the region are perceived, experienced, and represented vary from actor to actor, from period to period, and from locale to locale. Thus, in this book, I take the US South as it is imagined and experienced by different authors/actors under the category of a spatial format of region, considering the relationship between spatial formats and imaginations as similar and correlated in their semantic and cognitive nature, yet individual and distinct in the stage of spatialization process that they refer to.

Southern Regional Literature and Literary Regionalism in the South

Regional literature has shared a similar fate with methodological regionalist frameworks and been "dismissed for much of the twentieth century as a 'minor' element within the canon of American letters" and a "narrow, static, elegiac, eminently predictable genre" produced by "varied and non-normative groups".[183] Yet, during the last three decades of the century, both with the emergence of the school of Critical Regionalism in American literary studies and an increased academic attention to the societal, cultural, and political roles of marginalized actors – who are usually associated with the regionalist genre as its producers and subjects –, regional literatures of the US have regained their respectable position that they had in the mid- to late nineteenth century. Today, regional literature is understood as a site of cultural reproduction of regional identities, as a tool for self-representation for regional actors.

Still, it remains to define, beside its role as a tool for the representation and construction of the region, what is meant by regional literature in the Southern context. When one speaks of Southern literary regionalism, it is the local colour literature that comes to the mind perhaps the most immediately. Represented

183 S. Foote, "The Cultural Work of American Regionalism", in: Crow (ed.), *A Companion to the Regional Literatures of America*, pp. 25–27.

most famously by George Washington Cable, Kate Chopin, and Thomas Nelson Page, local colour literature in the Southern context, however, more often than not implicates a sense of nostalgia for the "good old South" and an association with the "Lost Cause" sentiment in literary writing of the postbellum South. Regional literature of the South however can be traced back several decades before the Civil War, with the elements and genres that can be regarded as uniquely Southern, emerging and gaining recognition in the region and nation, such as Southern sentimentalist novels and Old Southwestern frontier sketches and humour.

On the other hand, regionalism in literature should be understood in other terms, not as a genre or category of literature, but as an intellectual debate that occupied itself with arguing for the necessity of a distinct regional literature in the South apart from both of the old colonial literary influences and those from the North, drawing the outlines of this literature, and determining the structural prerequisites for such a literature to develop. These debates emerge in early-nineteenth century and gains a momentum in the last two decades before the War, greatly occupying the minds of antebellum Southern authors. Discussions on regional and national literature, although they did not form a coherent and conflict-free discourse, provided preeminent Southern authors with a ground on which they could form their narratives and ideological positions regarding the political and cultural function of the region within (or without) the nation and on the globe. The pages of many antebellum as well as postbellum Southern periodicals are crowded with lengthy articles that carry similar titles: "Southern Literature", "Literary Prospects of the South", "The Voice of the South" . . .[184]

The popularity and productivity of antebellum and postbellum regional literatures of the South and emphatic discussions of literary regionalism in the region have regularly been employed as evidence to an assumed insularity and isolation from the rest of the nation and the world for the region, and this was especially the understanding during the times before Critical Regionalism gained a larger impact in the study of the American, especially the Southern literature. One can indeed discern various forms of regional self-representation, intellectual actions of (re)defining and (re)producing the region from within, in the regional literature and the discourse of literary regionalism of the antebellum South. This discourse often also involves practices of (self-)othering, that

184 Heath, "Southern Literature"; W. G. Simms, "Southern Literature", in: Bassett (ed.), *Defining Southern Literature*, pp. 60–66; Simms, "Literary Prospects of the South"; E. S. Gregory, "The Voice of the South", in: Bassett (ed.), *Defining Southern Literature*, pp. 123–126; H. Timrod, "Literature in the South".

is, a (self-)identification that is located simultaneously within and outside of the nation, as scholars such as Stephanie Foote, Donna Campbell, and Timothy R. Mahoney and Wendy Jean Katz also demonstrate.[185] Regional literature (and frequently also literary regionalism) in the antebellum South "paradoxically resist[s] integration into mainstream American life even as it represent[s] itself as uniquely and purely American, a bastion of unadulterated American lineage and perfectly preserved rituals".[186] In this sense, regional literature appears as a site of "public relations" within which the authors negotiate their identity based on both an understanding of common regional-self and an assumption of the outsider's vision regarding the region.[187] Thus, especially the self-ascribed-Southern literature of the antebellum era provides a valuable source in critically approaching the region's conceptual construction, as this literature engages with the expository evaluation of what constitutes the region and which cultural elements belong to it and which do not.

However, these literary definitions of the region from within also produce mental maps of the region that, against the claims of a closed-off South, connects the region to larger national and extra-national spaces while ascribing places and peoples as internal or external and friendly or rival, and hence locating the South within a series of networks and entanglements. That is, regional literature profoundly engages itself in spatial meaning-making in transregional and -national contexts. In this sense, antebellum examples of Southern regionalist literature, such as William Gilmore Simms's *Southward Ho!* with its emphasis on a distinct Southern culture, and examples of regional literature, as represented in this book by the sentimental domestic novel by Lucy Holcombe, emerge not only as rich sources for the inquiry into the social and mental construction of the region but also as evidences to the ways in which the region was imagined not only in regional, but also national, as well as transregional and -national terms and under the unique global condition within which the region was located in the antebellum period.

Undoubtedly, assuming that only regionalist and regional literature contributes to such mental constructions and mappings of the region would be a mistake. The internal and external *other*s, too, perhaps even more than the insiders, contribute to the discursive construction and solidification of regions.

185 D. Campbell, "The Cultural Work of American Regionalism", in: Crow (ed.), *A Companion to the Regional Literatures of America*, pp. 92–110; Foote, "The Cultural Work"; T. R. Mahoney and W. J. Katz, "Introduction. Regionalism and the Humanities: Decline or Revival?", in: *Regionalism and the Humanities*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008, pp. ix–xxviii.
186 Campbell, "Cultural Work", p. 95.
187 Mahoney and Katz, "Introduction", p. 77.

Many fervent contestations to both the regional and national spatial metanarratives are found in such texts that did not find a place in the regionalist conventions of the antebellum literature, in texts by authors who were marginalized in the antebellum regional and regionalist literatures of the South. William Wells Brown and Martin Delany represent such authors. Both authors had to write and publish their abolitionist works outside their native South and imagined the region similarly as entangled in a larger area than the narratives of insularity and isolation suggest. Moreover, regions are not defined only from within by the insiders. An example of literature by a different kind of 'regional other' in which the South's position as a region within the US is (re)defined and negotiated belong to a Northern author, that is, to Elizabeth D. Livermore.

The coming together of these various internal, marginalized, and external perspectives on the region and its position demonstrate the diversity that characterized the antebellum spatial imaginations about the South, which through their popularizations or obliterations from the collective memories led to the stereotypical depictions of the region that one is accustomed to encounter today and to the peripheralisation of the region within the nation.

Peripheries, Borders, and Frontiers

Even the formulation of centre-periphery implies that the concept of periphery is a relational one that necessitates the assumption of the existence of a centre. The formulation is famously attributed to theories of uneven development (such as Wallerstein's World Systems theory, or Andre Gunder Frank's Dependency theory) that approach the issue from the angle of a global hierarchy of economic development and political power.[188] From these theories' mostly nation-state-(within global entanglements)-oriented perspectives, the world has been divided into, to follow Wallerstein's interpretation, cores, semipheries, and peripheries according to "the relative degree of world surplus appropriated by each of the regions" – a division that shifts with the changing political-economic structures.[189]

188 D. Gregory et al., *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, p. 115.

189 A. G. Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967; I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730s–1840s*, San Diego: Academic Press, 1989, p. 9.

As indicated in Alain Reynaud's assertion on the applicability of the model to diverse configurations and scales of spatiality,[190] scholars of diverse fields have used the centre-periphery typology to explain inner-state, regional, or urban dynamics of power relationships. One of the most intriguing examples of these have been Yuri Lotman's studies in the field of semiotics. Developing the concept of semiosphere to describe the contact zones of sign systems, Lotman inspires the Cultural studies approach to the concept of periphery. Lotman describes the semiosphere as the limited space within which semiosis, that is, the use of signs, can exist, or "outside of which semiosis itself cannot exist". Simply this "inside-outside" language implicates a presence of boundaries and "contact with non-semiotic and extra-semiotic spaces". Non- or extra-semiotic spaces signal the territory of other semiosis, that is, the semiosphere of other sign systems. The contact zones of these different sign systems form the semiospheric peripheries which are porous like a "membrane" and characterized by "accelerated semiotic processes which always flow more actively on the periphery of cultural environments, seeking to affix them to the core structures, with a view to displacing them". Lotman, hence, constructs a relational approach to the notion of semiospheric boundaries within which the patterns of cultural/semiotic exchanges are interpreted differently depending on the vantage point of the interpreter.[191] Pisarz-Ramirez and Wöll highlight how the inclusion of "*kulturelle Unordnung*" (cultural disorder) as "*Voraussetzung für kulturelle Entwicklung*" (prerequisite for cultural development) in Lotman's notion of semiosphere have stimulated various theories in cultural studies that take "*Grenzen häufig nicht als Grenzlinien, sondern Grenzzonen*" (borders often not as borderlines but as border zones).[192]

Turning to the field of American cultural studies, one sees the dominance that the notions of border and peripheries have held in historiography of the US, especially ever since 1893 when Frederick Jackson Turner argued that the frontier conditions were the leading force in forming the American democracy and progress. For Turner, the frontier signified a "meeting point between savagery and civilization" which in the US American case was fundamentally different than

190 As mentioned in B. Bret, "Un Entretien Avec Alain Reynaud, Avec Des Extraits de Société, Espace et Justice" (An Interview with Alain Reynaud, with Extracts of Society, Space and Justice, S. Winkler Moren [trans.]), *Justice Spatiale* (December 2011), pp. 1–16; G. Pisarz-Ramirez and S. A. Wöll, *Periphere Räume in der Amerikanistik*, Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019.

191 J. Lotman, "On the Semiosphere", W. Clark (trans.), *Sign Systems Studies* 33 (2005) 1, pp. 208–213.

192 Pisarz-Ramirez and Wöll, *Periphere Räume*, p. 7.

the European in that it was located "at the hither edge of *free land*" (emphasis added). Notwithstanding its social-Darwinist racism and emphasis on the myth of *empty* spaces, Turner's Frontier thesis describes a dialectic relationship between the colonist and the frontier where the progress is considered reciprocal. Accordingly, the result of this dialectic is a unique, *exceptional*, product: "the American".[193]

Turner's Frontier thesis has been an undeniably great impact on the study of the history and culture of the US. Writing on the popularity of Turner's formulation in 1958, Gene M. Gressley for example, pointed to an overall acknowledgement of the Frontier theory "as the primary explanation of American growth" and noted the numerousness of publications on the frontier in the 30 years following the formulation of the thesis by Turner.[194] Notwithstanding the continuing and rather heavy influence of the Frontier thesis in the study of American culture and history, however, Turner's approach to the concept alone is too problematic to be accepted without criticism. Its disregard of native cultures of the Americas and their rights over indigenous spaces constitutes the first and foremost of these problems. Added to these is the consideration of the notion of civilization as belonging exclusively to Western cultures. The exceptionalist conclusion Turner's understanding of the frontier as producing a culture like no other before also poses a problem, especially amidst the post-exceptionalist discussions in the study of the US in the last decades.[195]

Against the background of the manifold criticisms of Turner's Frontier thesis, however, the concept of frontier still holds a significant position in the ways the early American experience is understood and studied today. Rejecting the nationalist and racist implantations of the way the concept of frontier was employed in academia, a school of US American history which is referred to as the New Western History (including scholars such as Patricia Nelson Limerick

193 F. J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" [1893], in: F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, North Chelmsford: Courier Corporation, 2010, pp. 1–4.

194 Among the many reasons for the wide acceptance of the Frontier thesis in the early twentieth century, Gressley names the break that the thesis offered from the widespread tendency toward the Teutonic hypothesis and "the obsession with the slavery controversy" and its appeal to the evolution as a factor (a popular theme of the era). G. M. Gressley, "The Turner Thesis: A Problem in Historiography", *Agricultural History* 32 (1958) 4, p. 227.

195 Heike Paul aptly summarizes the receptions of Turner's thesis as "highly controversial" and extensive enough to "fill whole libraries" and demonstrates how they have changed in different eras – such as its criticism as a "speculative", "hyperbolic", and "unempirical" work during the Great Depression, or regained phrasal during the Cold War Era as an exceptionalist rhetoric. Paul, *Myths*, pp. 324–325.

and Richard White)[196] has "emphasized the violence of colonization and expansionism, the masculinist matrix of discourses about the West and empire-building, and the Eurocentric and ethnocentric biases involved in the frontier logic".[197] Writing in 1992, literary critic Annette Kolodny, for example, proposed a new approach to the concept suggesting a break from the "grand obsessions with narrowly geographic or strictly chronological frameworks". Rather, she argued for a recognition of the frontier

> as a locus of first cultural contact, circumscribed by a particular physical terrain in the process of change because of the forms that contact takes, all of it inscribed by the collisions and inter- penetrations of language. My paradigm would thus have us interrogating language – especially as hybridized style, trope, story, or structure – for the complex intersections of human encounters and human encounters with the physical environment. It would enjoin us to see the ways in which the collision of languages encodes the physical terrain as just as much a player in the drama of contact as the human participants, with the landscape variously enabling, thwarting, or even evoking human actions and desires.[198]

Taking a step back to compare the revaluation of the notion of frontier by Kolodny with the formulations on semiosphere by Lotman can help us underline the implication of both theories for the concept of periphery. If periphery is to be understood in the light of Lotman's theories as a fluid and relational socio-cultural contact zone upon which cultural exchange is accelerated, Kolodny's take on frontier poses a considerable parallel to the notion of periphery pointing to such (and rather long-lasting but instable) initial encounters between two distinct human cultures and with, as Kolodny also notes, different spaces. Peripheries point to established social, cultural, political, and economic spatial structures that result from repeated and institutionalized human actions and emerge as a spatial format. Frontier, on the other hand, refers to a condition, as opposed to structure. The prerequisite of "a physical terrain that, for at least one group of participants, is newly encountered and is undergoing change because of that encounter" and "a currently indigenous population and at least one group of newcomers or 'intruders'" for frontier conditions implies the preexistence of socio-spatial structures belonging to the native populations. These structures do not belong to the frontier; instead, they are challenged by this initial encounter. The space-time of the frontier infers (independent of the prolonged duration)

196 Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*; White, *It's Your Misfortune*.
197 Paul, *Myths*, p. 325.
198 Kolodny, "Letting Go", p. 3.

a moment of instability followed by a balancing out that often conveys itself as a new spatial order.[199]

That is not to imply that peripheries do not challenge the established structures. Peripheral spaces emerge as places where the power and control of the centre cannot be applied to its full extent and as "*Orte der Abgrenzung und Exklusion gegenüber anderen Systemen*" (spaces of demarcation and exclusion from other systems).[200] Their structural, routinized, and institutionalized character derives exactly from their inveterate opposition to the centre, from which they also acquire their productive meaning. That is, in its attempt to establish power and control over the periphery, the centre demarcates the periphery as such, which, in turn, meets with creative response from the peripheries. It should moreover also be noted that, although most border regions can be considered peripheral spaces depending on the vantage point of analysis, not all peripheral spaces are located on borders. Such an understanding of peripheries helps to rectify the possible misconception (which may arise from the similarities between peripheral spaces and frontiers) that peripheries necessarily are border regions. Despite the oxymoronic resonances of the term, inner peripheries refer to areas of exclusion and marginalization within seemingly homogeneous spatial configurations, such as suburban areas or impoverished or racially/ethically segregated districts in a city, etc. Moreover, certain border regions can also emerge as "*Berührungspunkte zwischen peripheren Gebieten*" (points of contact between peripheral areas) thus forming "*Gravitationsfeld eigener Zentren*" (the gravitational field of their own centres).[201]

The concepts of peripheries, borders, and frontiers provide a very rich investigatory ground to fill several volumes on theoretical considerations. For the purposes of this book, however, some last remarks on the analytical approach to these concepts adopted here shall suffice. The emphasis on the heterogeneity of cultures that emerges in the afore-summarized approaches to these notion is crucial in the readings of spatial imaginations in this book, which does not only study the spatial configurations on the peripheries, borders, and frontiers as spaces of cultural exchange but also, drawing on this heterogeneity, highlights the relativity of these notions. That is, the frontier is always defined by the intruder as such, and the periphery by the centre. They are defined and understood in different ways by native populations and their inhabitants as

199 Kolodny, "Rethinking", p. 15.
200 Pisarz-Ramirez and Wöll, *Periphere Räume*, p. 1 (own translation).
201 Ibid., p. 5.

centres or peripheries to different socio-spatial configurations. In this sense, these notions reflect power relations and hierarchies by virtue of their definitions. The textual analyses in this book take this versatility of meanings and power relations in their treatment of these spaces into consideration.

Turning once again to the US South as a region that is marked simultaneously as internal and national, on the one hand, and other and marginal, on the other: The South can now be reformulated with the help of these concepts as it is represented in the spatial imaginations of diverse actors. The ambivalence of the South within the nation and the function of this ambivalence in national consolidation processes – as well as the function of borders for the existence of the nation-state – often produce an image of the region as a peripheral space in its entirety (that is, not only its border states). Therefore, it is imperative to look at the antebellum South as a peripheral space in the national whole very briefly: The borderlands of the antebellum South almost effortlessly fit the category of peripheries in that the national borders of the US cut artificially through linguistic, cultural, and economic communities as it can be observed in the US-Mexican border following the Texas annexation.[202] Similarly, seemingly natural oceanic borders divided communities. These maritime borders, besides often establishing interstate borders, also separated people otherwise-united through common economic and political interests, as in the case of networks of slave trade. Yet, this borderland positioning does not suffice to explain the inner-peripheral status of the South within the antebellum nation consolidation. To understand this configuration, one can simply look at the even less visible (and in today's terms, more symbolic) border called the Mason-Dixon Line that separates the south from the North. This division, the genesis of which is rooted in a land dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland during the colonial era, lost its initial meaning and became more of a symbol of the separation of slave vs. free states, even though the original geographic location of the line drawn in late eighteenth century did not correspond to the *actual* border dividing the 'slave' southern states from the 'free' Northern states. Finally, it should be noted that although the term is most often used with regard to the westward expansion and the southern frontiers appeared to have mostly been closed with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the Florida Purchase of 1819, and finally in 1845 the Texas Annexation, the frontier conditions still prevailed in parts of the South through a good portion of the antebellum period. This was mainly because neither was the consolidation of newly annexed lands to the nation as a

202 For a more detailed account on this topic, see Pisarz-Ramirez and Wöll, *Periphere Räume*.

whole or to the region (as distinct/peripheral to the nation) pain-free, nor did these lands immediately acquire the status of a state. This left some Southern border states surrounded by unorganized territories for a long time.

Understanding the Diversity

Some last comments on the significance of these reexaminations of various spatial configurations shall be made here before the textual analyses. The new language of space alongside with the reconceptualizations of otherwise rather established spatial configurations following the premises of this new language has so far allowed for a reconsideration of the antebellum Southern history and the South's emergence as a distinct regional unit and as an internal periphery of the US within the context of both the nineteenth-century globalization processes and the national consolidation accompanied with imperial extensions. However, this attempt at a new narrative of spatialization processes and patterns in the South of the antebellum US is one that is informed by the twenty-first-century perspectives on the global as well as American histories. The experience, perception, and representation of these processes by various antebellum spatial actors that in one way or another engaged themselves with the presents and the futures of the South did not necessarily follow either the narrative proposed here or the nationwide-accepted and more canonical narratives of the spatialization processes of the US or its South. Nor did each of these distinct spatialization processes and spatial configurations played equally significant roles in the way space-making practices were interpreted by different actors. The diversity of actors and their at least equally varied ideological convictions and material, social, and cultural interests led to a plethora of spatial imaginations, representative examples of which can be captured and located in the literary productions by such actors.

This abundance of antebellum spatial imaginations shall firstly be taken as attesting to the transitionality of the space-time of the antebellum South under many ongoing, sometimes also conflicting, and concurrent spatialization processes. Secondly, and perhaps more significantly, it should be understood as an indicator of the great negotiation, justification, performance, and (re)conceptualization, that is, material and cognitive reproduction, necessary for the stabilization and institutionalization of a spatial configuration against equally-diverse and often very strong materiel counterforces and intellectual contestations to their formation. The spatial imaginations about the South discerned in the examples of antebellum literature emerge as platforms where such perceptions, representations, negotiations, contestations, and oblivions of certain regional, national,

imperial, or peripheral spatialization practices in local as well as larger contexts can be found. The gathering of their analyses side by side allows for distinguishing repeating patterns and topics to discern the spatialization processes perceived as more compelling by a larger diversity of actors, although often interpreted in conflicted ways.

Chapter 3
The Slaveholding South in a Hemispheric Context

> Ah! not with these,
> The perishing things that suffer from decay,
> Seek we the sweet memorials of our youth –
> The youth that seem'd immortal – youth that bloom'd
> With hues and hopes of heaven, – firing its heart
> With aspirations for eternal life,
> Perpetual triumphs, and the ambitious thirst
> Still for new fields and empires of domain![203]

> [I]t is only necessary to cast one's eye on the map to see how remote are relations of Europe, and how intimate those of the United States, with this island.[204]

Just as one may enjoy imagining the capitalist as a greedy plump white man with a black top hat on his head and a cigar hanging on his lips,[205] there is a certain pleasure in picturing Southern slaveholders as "flaming hotheads" or "desiccated reactionaries", to borrow from M. Karp.[206] The slaveholding class of the US South appears in our collective twenty-first-century mental visualization as a provincial man in all senses of the term: a narrow-minded planter in his rural setting. Just like the image of our stereotypical capitalist, the image of the Southern planter almost exclusively depicts a man. He conforms to the gender norms of being a native of "the Militant South".[207]

In this chapter, I illustrate the contribution of the US Southern slaveholding class to the emergence and shaping of diverse Souths through analyses of spatial imaginations emerging in literary texts written by actors within this class. I show that even though members of this class shared a positive opinion of the South as

203 W. G. Simms, "Forest Reverie by Starlight", in: *Poems Descriptive, Dramatic, Legendary and Contemplative*, vol. 2, New York: Redfield, 1853, p. 5, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015089206414&view=1up&seq=9 (accessed 6 October 2020).

204 A. H. Everett, "Letter to the Comte de Sartiges Washington, December 1, 1852", Latin American Pamphlet Digital Collection, Harvard Digital Collections, https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/latin-american-pamphlet-digital-collection/catalog/43-990093219680203941 (accessed 2 September 2020).

205 This imagery may, of course, have already been replaced by another image, that of a white old man with silky platinum-blond hair and a bright unicolor tie.

206 M. Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016, p. 3.

207 Franklin, *The Militant South*.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110692471-004

a slaveholding region, they envisioned different (trans)regional and (trans)national spatial configurations within which they located their home region, challenging established understandings of certain spatial formats and orders, and redefining them, in seeking to protect the slave economy. Acknowledging the roots and impulses laying behind these stereotypical associations that Southern slaveholders have in our minds, the following close-readings complicate the commonplace image of the Southern planter as a provincial *man* by showing various transregional entanglements within which proslavery Southerner actors identified themselves and positioned their region.

Accordingly, I investigate the ways in which members of the Southern slaveholding class located their region in transnational and hemispheric contexts on the globe. The financial engagement in cotton and sugar productions that owed their profitability to their significance in the global market rendered members of this class not only actors in a transnational marketplace but also increasingly more aware of international politics, especially in the mid-nineteenth century. Through the ties of the slave economy in the New World, Southern slaveholders of the US gained "hemispheric identities" within which their affiliation with the slaveholding classes of other regions in the "American Mediterranean" sometimes carried more significance than their identities as US Americans.[208] The same ties allowed them to envision the "Plantation America" as a united space comprised of a slaveholding empire. The sectional tension in the United States as well as the abolitionist pressures from both within and outside the nation increased with the approach of the mid-century whetting the Southern "appetite for new lands" to rescue the slave economy.[209] That is, Southern slaveholders were not necessarily provincial as we would like to imagine them today. Indeed, "[f]ew mid-nineteenth-century Americans were more deeply engaged with international politics than southern slaveholders".[210] They understood the spatio-political implications of international affairs of their time as well as their own power and position within it. They knew very-well the historical roots and ongoing interwovenness of the North in the slave economy. Moreover, they formed economic and socio-political counter-alliances with the slaveholding classes of other parts of the Americas against international abolitionist politics. That is, they constituted powerful spatial actors with considerable spatial literacy.

208 Guterl, *American Mediterranean*, p. 57.
209 Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n.p.
210 Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire*, p. 3.

By the same token, one cannot simply talk about a single vision and philosophy belonging to this rather large class. On the subject matter of hemispheric imaginations of the Southern slaveholder, for instance, it would be difficult to argue that a universally accepted version of Southern expansionism existed at any point of US history without seriously neglecting an immense body of antebellum literature that shows multifarious voices on the issue. Plantation societies outside the US emerge in various proslavery accounts with diverging associations: as spaces for expansion, as possible destinations to rebuild plantations in case of an abolitionist law in the US, as potential trading ports, or simply as political partners against European and Northern abolitionists. Similarly, the feeling of insecurity within the US (arisen by the threat of universal abolition of slavery and the commonly shared feeling of being politically and culturally subordinated and controlled by the North) produced different responses by white Southern elites. Even though, secessionism was a commonly shared sentiment in the region, not all Southerners were equally willing to antagonize their Northern sister. In fact, many Southerners were apprehensive of the potential consequences of a separation. Given that many white US Americans led their lives and conducted their businesses in ways that resulted in the amalgamation of the North and the South at least on a grassroots level, a possible secession from the Union was not an attractive idea for many Southerners who simultaneously felt loyal both to their home states and to the Union. Southern elites calculated their interests carefully and sought ways to ensure the continuance of slavery in their region when faced with a secessionist crisis rather than acting as "desiccated reactionaries".[211]

Although rather self-evident, it is still necessary to note: Not all white Southern slaveholders were male. Many women in the South managed and owned plantations, even more held ownership of enslaved people than plantations.[212] Others were both financially and emotionally invested in the slave economy, having been born on large plantations or married into slaveholding families. Notwithstanding the strict gender norms that substantially restricted female participation in the public sphere and political discussions, white Southern women found ways to defend their interests both from within the domestic sphere through their authorship or in some rarer instances by more directly contributing to expansionist and secessionist movements by holding speeches or joining filibustering groups as settlers carrying out a *civilizing*

211 Ibid., p. 3.

212 S. E. Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019.

duty.[213] Their concern with and investment in slavery, sectional politics, and military expeditions that aimed at territorial control and expansion produced unique visions about the Southern future which did not necessarily correspond with the foresights of their male countrymen, contributing to the diversity of voices picturing alternative and sometimes conflicting prospects for the region.

The texts by William Gilmore Simms and Lucy Holcombe offer such conflicting alternative visions. Although their shared secessionist sentiments and fervent support for the Confederate States eventually aligned the visions and allegiances of these two authors to a great degree during the bellum period, writing less than a decade before the outbreak of the Civil War, they produced and circulated texts that generated divergent opinions, sentiments, agendas, and spatial imaginations in their respective regionalist rhetorics and defences of the slaveholding South. Published only a few months apart from each other in 1854 and 1855, Simms's *Southward Ho!* and Holcombe's *The Free Flag of Cuba* are positioned on the opposing poles of the discussion on secessionism.

Simms's *Southward Ho!* constructs a separate national identity for white US Southerners and a corresponding patriotism for the region within which unionism appears to be a conditional sentiment depending on the fulfilment of the Union's promise of security and welfare for the region. However, as the author's expansionist ideas remain implicit in the novel, my analysis of the novel contextualizes *Southward Ho!* among Simms's other works written mostly in the 1840s and 1850s, where the author addresses expansionism more plainly. This contextualization helps to understand Simms's spatial vision as a whole. The racial conceptualization and moral philosophy of the author in these texts create a persistent spatial imagination that seeks to overcome the frontier conditions in the South and to expand the Anglo-Saxon political control and cultural domination to other regions of the American Hemisphere. Varied and seemingly disparate aspects of Simms's ideology, once read by accentuating the points of juncture among them, points to a coherent spatial imagination persistent in Simms's antebellum literature.

Holcombe's *The Free Flag of Cuba*, on the other hand, avoids both secessionist and expansionist rhetorics. In contrast to its established scholarly readings, in the following reading of the novel, I suggest that Holcombe's novel generates a domestic narrative that seeks to reinforce unionist sentiments both in the North and South, while vindicating the 'lost cause' of Narciso López's filibustering expedition to Cuba as a liberating mission. Positioned within the

213 May, "Reconsidering Antebellum", p. 1165.

antebellum anti-Uncle Tom literature, Holcombe's novel negotiates the continuance of slavery in the extended Caribbean without necessarily challenging the equilibrium of the existing spatial order in the US.

Simms's and Holcombe's texts pose two perfect examples of the heterogeneity of what is otherwise summed up as the antebellum Southern mind as well as of the array of possible spatial configurations about the South which this heterogeneity could and did entertain. However, they reflect only a small portion of spatial imaginations that Southern slaveholders and slavocrats in the US produced in aspiring to protect their "peculiar institution". In this sense, Holcombe and Simms's texts only account for the diversity of voices that existed within a seemingly monolithic class. They disclose that the antebellum junctures of sectional as well as international tensions such as abolitionism vs. slavery, expansionism vs. territorial and national consolidation, and secessionism vs. unionism did not point simply to two absolute opposites. Instead, the cumulation of these dialectic forces resulted in a process of transition whereupon existing socio- and politico-spatial structures were questioned, reconstrued, or reimagined, leading to an immense proliferation in spatial imaginations of diverse spatial actors and groups of actors. Already lacking an equilibrium of established spatial orders – which was characterized by a territorially and demographically undefined national consolidation process[214] and hence constituted a period of transition defined by an accelerated momentum in the space-making practices – the immediate period before the Civil War in the US with this increasing sectional tension functioned like a catalyst in a chemical reaction of this proliferation.

The fact that both Holcombe and Simms later became emblematic cultural and political figures in the Confederacy does not only prove that their political and societal agendas eventually aligned despite their different antebellum opinions articulate in their pre-war writings. Establishing that even actors with comparable political and social agendas can produce divergent spatial imaginations, the different opinions of these authors also attest to the myriad of antebellum spatial imaginations among the Southern slaveholding class which is otherwise imagined as a unified and homogenous group. The prevailing points of agreement in their texts, on the other hand, point to recurring themes and concerns of the period testifying to the influence of the material, political, and cultural conditions surrounding their production such as ongoing globalization processes, nationalization impulses, imperialist and expansionist movements, and resistance to these all over the globe. Their attention to hemispheric – and

214 Giles, *Global Remapping*, 5.

at times also Transatlantic entanglements – position members of the Southern slaveholding class as spatial actors in a global scene.

Southern Nation in a Hemispheric Confederation

William Gilmore Simms is one of the most emblematic figures of the antebellum literature of the US South and an exceptionally prolific author with more than eighty volumes published during a 35-year-long literary career. Born in 1806, Simms belonged to a generation that witnessed the South take "geographic, social, and polemical shape".[215] He lived long enough to see the birth, growth, and death (in as far as such a death can be said to have occurred) of the Southern sectionalist sentiment. While it was the loss of the Civil War by the Confederate State that placed Simms with his proslavery, sectionalist, and eventually secessionist stances on the losing side of history and made him "one of the strangest figures in the annals of American literature",[216] Simms's name had already become closely associated with most firmly established notions and stereotypes about the antebellum South even before the Civil War broke out. What is more, the author personally and proudly contributed to the emergence as well as the solidification of these associations. He was not a passive bystander to a regional formation; alongside many Southerners of his generation, he became a prominent participant in the discursive sphere of this development. He was already recognized as an "advocate of regionalism in the creation of national literature" during his time.[217] In 1860, J. Quitman Moore would describe his literature as "purely and essentially Southern".[218]

The influence of Simms as a literary person among his peers and younger generation of authors, as well as general readership, can help us put his participation in the discursive formation of the antebellum South as a distinct region in a larger perspective. Simms, beside penning numerous volumes, also edited several literary magazines including the *Southern Literary Gazette* (1828–1829), the *Magnolia* (1842–1843), and the *Southern Quarterly Review* (1849–1854). He was also a significant member of many literary societies such as the "Charleston

215 D. Moltke-Hansen, "Between Plantation and Frontier: The South of William Gilmore Simms", in: J. C. Guilds and C. Collins (eds.), *William Gilmore Simms and the American Frontier*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016, p. 10.

216 Giles, *Global Remapping*, p. 189.

217 J. C. Guilds and C. Collins, *William Gilmore Simms and the American Frontier*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016, p. ix.

218 J. Quitman Moore, "William Gilmore Simms", *De Bow's Review* (1860) 29, p. 706.

School". Among this group were Hugh Swinton Legaré (founder and editor of the *Southern Review*), poet and physician Samuel Henry Dickson, as well as younger authors like Paul Hamilton Hayne and Henry Timrod for whom "Simms was a fascination, a model and an inspiration".[219] Significantly, Simms's influence was not restricted to the Southern literary scene. Many of his books and essays were published by Northern printers. He was "a part of the 'inner circle' of New York artists associated with the *Knickerbocker Magazine*" during the 1830s. Later, in the 1840s, he would become associated with the Young Americans, which "included Evert A. Duyckinck, J. B. Auld, Cornelius Mathews and in the late 1840s; Herman Melville". While his shift from the Knickerbockers to the Young Americans – two ideologically opposite groups – turned Simms into "a favorite target" of criticism from the former, his associations with both groups nonetheless indicate that, despite his changing politics, Simms managed to gather Northern appreciation in different stages of his literary career.[220] Readers, too, shown great interest in his works. Although it is not possible to know the exact extent of his popularity, his "border romances" were "reprinted several times" and "still read" during the late nineteenth century when W. P. Trent published the first extensive biography of Simms.[221] The prominence of Simms's impact thus illustrate the extent to which the ideas and visions that he generated in his works were circulated and consumed in the antebellum US, both responding to and stimulating discussion among readership.

In this sense, the formulation of a collective Southern identity and an alternative (re)imagination of the political and cultural geography of the Americas that can be discerned in Simms's literature offers a thought-provoking inquiry. Simms's texts engage themselves concurrently with multiple spatial formats such as frontier, region, union, and confederation. In imagining a distinct Southern nation, his texts employ these spatial formats without necessarily following their more common conceptualizations. Through the reconsideration of these formats, Simms's texts collectively produce a spatial imagination alternative yet not inevitably antagonistic to more reputable national spatial narratives of the antebellum US. The ostensible contradictions of these seemingly unconnected visions in Simms's texts have so far driven many scholars to conclude

219 M. O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810–1860*, Vols. 1 and 2, Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press, 2004, pp. 404–484.

220 Woertendyke, *Hemispheric Regionalism*, p. 147.

221 W. P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms*, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and company, 1892, pp. 88–89, https://archive.org/details/williamgilmoresi00treniala/page/n7 (accessed 2 September 2020).

that Simms's political philosophy and overall loyalties shifted as the sectionalist tension between the North and the South increased. Against the background of these rather established readings, I offer a reconsideration of Simms's viewpoint emphasizes the junctions between these visions. This reassessment allows for a rather coherent spatial imagination to emerge in Simms's literature during the decades prior to the Civil War. Accordingly, a regionalist conceptualization of patriotism appears as a pivotal element which combines these seemingly disparate elements in Simms's spatial imagination.

This coherent spatial imagination to be found in Simms's antebellum literature does not appear with all its constituents equally contemplated upon in each text by the author. Instead, a rather holistic review of his works is to be adopted to comprehend how each element appearing with varying emphasis in various texts belong to a larger spatial imagination that Simms adopted throughout his antebellum literary production. Therefore, although my primary focus of analysis remains largely on his 1854 novel *Southward Ho! A Spell of Sunshine*, I often contextualize the work among other fictional and non-fictional texts by Simms in order to reveal especially the expansionist views of the author, which remain on a connotation level in his 1854 novel.

The main argument of my reading similarly follows manifold postulations: (1) Simms's first and foremost loyalty is a regionalist one and lies with the South, where he discerns a distinct Southern nation that shares a common past, as well as a spatial memory and literacy. This patriotic understanding of Simms lays bare a formulation of the South, not the US, as a nation; the US is instead seen as a confederation. (2) The South, according to Simms, occupies a half-frontier geography, which constitutes a danger of moral regression for the Southern nation. Simms deems the overcoming of frontier conditions through territorial conquest not only a necessity but also a racial providence similar to Manifest Destiny. (3) Besides, overcoming dangers of moral degradations, Simms suggests, territorial expansionism can also provide a solution to the problems that the slave economy faces. (4) However, his expansionism involves the entire American Hemisphere and cannot be fully explained by his desires to overcome frontier conditions and to protect the slave economy in the South. To understand his hemispheric expansionism, one should study his racist formulation of Anglo-Saxon superiority, where one can trace an understanding that does not allow different Anglo-Saxon nations to subjugate each other. (5) Lastly, the same racist formulation combined with his unshaken regional patriotism eventually accommodates a sectionalist rhetoric as Simms begins to consider certain antebellum events as Northern intervention into and antagonism toward the US South.

Highlighting the continuity and confluences among these ideas which may at first glance seem to be addressing divergent notions and issues and are often

read as signs of a change in Simms's overall patriotism from unionism to secessionism, I argue that Simms promotes a spatial imagination of a slaveholding Southern nation located within an imperial hemispheric confederacy that eliminates frontier conditions and establishes a hierarchical and racist societal structure in the various texts that he published throughout his antebellum literary career. Although the author tackles divergent themes in each text depending on the circumscribing conditions and phenomena, the core elements of this spatial imagination remain intact, if not always fully and readily visible, and becomes adjusted to the changing politics of the antebellum US.

Simms's Unchanging Loyalty: Regionalism

Southward Ho! A Spell of Sunshine is a lesser-known and under-studied[222] novel by Simms, especially compared to his frontier romances such as *The Yemassee*, *The Partisan*, and *Woodcraft*. Written in a Decameronesque style,[223] *Southward*

222 The novel had, for a long time, only been briefly mentioned in some articles about Simms's literature and philosophy by J. W. Higham (with regard to Simms's "changing loyalties" from nationalism to sectionalism, in 1943), J. R. Welsh (on Simms's criticisms of the US South, in 1960), and E. Current-Garcia (in a 1962 catalogue of Simms's short stories). More recently, in 1995 in *William Gilmore Simms and the American Frontier* (reprinted in 2016), M. A. Wimsatt provided a thorough analysis of Southern frontier humour in the short stories and sketches in the novel. In 2017, J. Weber contributed to T. Hagstette's *Reading William Gilmore Simms* with a detailed article on the publication history, structure, and themes of the book. While a clear trend of increased attention to the novel in the recent years can be observed, compared to the extensive and repeated analyses on other works by Simms, *Southward Ho!* remains today still to be studied in depth. See E. Current-Garcia, "Simms's Short Stories: Art or Commercialism?", *The Mississippi Quarterly* 15 (1962) 2, pp. 56–67; J. W. Higham, "The Changing Loyalties of William Gilmore Simms", *The Journal of Southern History* 9 (1943) 2, p. 210, https://doi.org/10.2307/2191799; J. Weber, "Southward Ho! A Spell of Sunshine", in: T. Hagstette (ed.), *Reading William Gilmore Simms: Essays of Introduction to the Author's Canon*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2017, pp. 392–404; J. R. Welsh, "William Gilmore Simms, Critic of the South", *The Journal of Southern History* 26 (1960) 2, p. 201, https://doi.org/10.2307/2955183; M. A. Wimsatt, "Frontier Humor and the 'Arkansas Traveler' Motive in the Southard Ho!", in: J. C. Guilds and C. Collins (eds.), *William Gilmore Simms and the American Frontier*, Athens: University of Georgia Press 2016, pp. 147–164.

223 Giovanni Boccaccio's forteenth-century novel *Decameron* consists of 100 stories united within a frame story that centres around ten young people who have escaped the plague epidemic surrounding Florence. Although Boccaccio's novel was partially translated into English by different people before the eighteenth century, the first full translation of the text was in 1886 by British poet and translator John Payne. That is, a complete translation of the text did not exist during the time Simms penned his *Southward Ho!* Yet, his repeated references to

Ho! offers a selection of short stories sketches, and essays on various topics within the frame story of the novel. In this sense, the novel can be regarded as an attempt "to hang disparate tales and sketches on the Chaucerian framework of storytellers on a common journey – in this case a sea voyage from New York to Charleston".[224] The novel centres on a southward maritime voyage during which several travellers from different parts of the US and Europe tell each other short stories to pass time. As the people embark upon this southward journey, the reader follows them moving along the east coast from New York to Charleston. The first-person narrative begins when the South-Carolinian narrator-protagonist decides to leave New York, which he has been visiting for a while. Unlike everyone else, however, the protagonist prefers to head south and spend the summer back in South Carolina. His intentions perplex his New Yorker friend, Edgar Duyckman, who virtually bombards the protagonist with stereotypes about the tropicality of the US South and remarks on the meaninglessness of spending a summer there, only to eventually be convinced to join his Carolinian friend whose answers to his many questions arouse his curiosity about the region. As they travel, the novel describes the scenes along the Atlantic coast through pages-long essay-like monologues and conversations among passengers and builds the bedrock of its overall Southernist argument. It addresses socio-political and cultural issues, stereotypes, and concerns about the passed-by locales through the voices of the narrator and other characters. However, instead of generating multivocalism via its different characters, the narrative prefers to grant almost all the passengers a voice that echoes the author's own ideology and mimics his aesthetic style.

While the frame story of the novel diverges from the common genres and themes of Simms's literature, the short stories and sketches that *Southward Ho!* includes within exemplify Simms's oeuvre in a nutshell: They reflect the diversity of themes and genres in the author's literature and are highly representative of his longer fictional works. One finds in them similar plotlines and narratives to those in Simms's frontier, colonial, and revolutionary romances,

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Boccaccio's novel reveal Simms's familiarity with the text. Indeed, Simms actually referred to his own novel as "a Decameron" in personal letters. Moreover, both Eugene Current-Garcia and Jillian Weber signal Chaucerian influences in Simms's novel in their respective texts on the novel. See A. T. Odell, T. C. D. Eaves, and M. C. Simms Oliphant (eds.), *The Letters of William Gilmore Simms*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952, pp. 314; 335; 750, http://archive.org/details/letterscollecte00simm (accessed 5 October 2020); Current-Garcia, "Simms's Short Stories", p. 66; Weber, "Southward Ho!", p. 392.

224 J. C. Guilds, *Simms: A Literary Life*, Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1995, p. 218.

as well as common figures of these novels, such as brave yet delicate Anglo-Saxon maidens or noble Native American men. Moreover, the fact that some of these short stories were written and published as early as 1830s makes the novel even more interesting for the researcher who, following Holman, seeks to understand Simms as a "whole".[225] Providing an opportunity to observe Simms's literature in a continuum of two decades during which the author has repeatedly been discussed to have changed his political and societal views – not to mention the counter arguments to these claims[226]– in a single work, *Southward Ho!* presents a unique subject of study.

Simms's Southern regionalism is without doubt the most blatantly and unceasingly expressed sentiment in *Southward Ho!* Yet, in order to fully appreciate this sentiment, one still needs to examine his other works alongside overall conceptualizations of patriotism, unionism, and regionalism in the early to mid-nineteenth century US.

At least two different interpretations regarding what the Union meant existed in the antebellum US: one that saw the Union as a (proto)nation state above each individual state and another that considered it practically as an agreement among equal states. That is, while some regarded the Union as pointing to what we can define under the spatial format of 'nation state' with a central government, others treated it almost as a supranational spatial organization encompassing several equal regional/local states. "Most people [. . .] did not see the Union as being primary, with states of regions as subsidiary." This was as much the case in the North as it was in the South. "Everyone believed in states' rights, everyone believed in federal rights, but there was disagreement on which rights adhered where, and over which issues."[227] Therefore, it should come as no surprise that like many antebellum Americans, Simms considered the United States not as national unity but as a confederation among multiple sovereign states. What allowed Simms to be considered a nationalist in an overall unionist sense was his earlier insistence on federalism for the protection of the rights of Southern states by the US Government and Constitution. Yet, events like the Nullification Crisis of 1832–1833 and the Compromise of 1850

225 C. H. Holman, "The Status of Simms", *American Quarterly* 10 (1958) 1/2, p. 183.

226 C. Hutchison, "Surplus Patriotism William Gilmore Simms's War Poetry of the South and the Afterlife of Confederate Literary Nationalism", in: T. Sweet (ed.), *Literary Cultures of the Civil War*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016, pp. 141–163; C. D. Pearce, "The Metaphysical Federalism of William Gilmore Simms", *Studies in Literary Imagination* 42 (2009) 1, pp. 121–139; C. S. Watson, *From Nationalism to Secessionism: The Changing Diction of William Gilmore Simms*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993.

227 O'Brien, *Placing the South*, p. 155.

created the impression among many Southern slavocrats that their rights were disregarded by the North. Thus, when Simms thought that the US government ceased to protect the rights of the Southern states, he felt no reservation in adopting a secessionist tone.

This was consistent with Simms's philosophy that deemed devotion to the local as preceding all other patriotisms. In this regard, my argument here diverges from the debates of Simms's "changing loyalties", which started with Higham's 1942 article and has ever since been repeated by other scholars.[228] I join Busick, Moltke-Hansen, and Pearce in reassessing Simms's nationalism and sectionalism not as conflicting and contravening loyalties that ends up in the latter abandonment of the former[229] and examine the positive and negative associations of author's patriotism with unionism in order to reveal a more complex relationship between nationalism and sectionalism in the antebellum US context.

"The sentiments we call nationalism and sectionalism have never been mutually exclusive."[230] Nationalist sentiment in a Unionist sense for many antebellum Southerners like W. G. Simms was a feeling that was often triggered by sectionalism. Simms's understanding of nationalism as an extension of regionalism becomes evident in his many essays and letters on the necessity of establishing a national literature uncorrupted by European influence and traditions. In 1845, in an oration titled "Americanism in Literature", for example, Simms identifies literature of the US as ripe to develop its own voice and style yet still under European, or more precisely English, influence. The solution to the outside influences, he finds, is located in each author's childhood home:

> The genius of our people is required to declare itself after a fashion of its own [. . .]. [A boy's hearth] must receive its higher moral tone from the exigencies of society, its traditions, and its histories. Tutored at the knee of the grand-dame, the boy must grasp, as subjects of familiar and frequent consideration, the broken chronicles of senility, and shape them, as he grows older, into coherence and effect. He must learn to dwell often upon the narratives of the brave fathers who first broke ground in the wilderness, who fought or treated with the red men, and who, finally, girded themselves up for the great conflict with the imperious

228 S. Vauthier, "Of Time and the South: The Fiction of William Gilmore Simms", *The Southern Literary Journal* 5 (1972) 1, pp. 3–45; Watson, *From Nationalism to Secessionism*.

229 S. R. Busick, *A Sober Desire for History: William Gilmore Simms as Historian*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005; Moltke-Hansen, "Between Plantation and Frontier"; Pearce, "Metaphysical Federalism".

230 Busick, *A Sober Desire*, p. 11.

> mother who had sent them forth. These histories, making vivid impressions upon the pliant fancies of childhood, are the source of [. . .] of thought and imagination, which make a nation proud of its sons in turn, and which save her from becoming a by-word and reproach to other nations.[231]

Calling for an independent US literature to accompany an independent US, Simms points to what the regional has to offer for the creation of a national literature. A decade later, he articulated this appeal more clearly, writing, "to be *national* in literature, one must needs [sic] be *sectional*".[232]

Although in terms of his overall arguments regarding Simms's nationalism and regionalism profoundly diverges from my reading, C. D. Pearce's take on this debate highlight a significant element in Simms's philosophy by pointing to the way that Simms discerned a "historical and organic community [in] South Carolina" as opposed to a "contractual and synthetic arrangement [in] the United States." The antebellum US did not fit into the category of nation state in the European sense, as it consisted of a highly heterogeneous population that lacked a common past, the South as a region being an exception. This common past constituted a most important foundation of Simms's regionalism, and his sense of identity as a "southron", to use the antebellum author's own term.[233] This divergence that Simms observes with its appeal to history seems most immediately concerned with temporality yet eventually makes up a highly spatially relevant argument.

The author was indeed very invested in history and history writing and often referred to a "Golden Age". Vauthier suggests that instead of a specific time in the past, such as "the 'heroic time' of the Revolutionary period", Simms's "Golden Age" "characterize[d] a moment of the present, but a present in which, through association and memory, the past is brought back to life".[234] Although implied in the notions of "association" and "memory", the prevalence of spatiality in Vauthier's definition of Simms's conceptualization of "Golden Age" remains missing. Yet "a sense of place, indeed the necessity of place, is a vital part of Simms's writings".[235] The very roots of his understanding of patriotism lay in the way he associates time and space with each other.

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231 W. G. Simms "Americanism In Literature", in: J. C. Guilds (ed.), *The Simms Reader: Selections from the Writings of William Gilmore Simms*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001, p. 277.

232 W. G. Simms, *The Wigwam and the Cabin*, New York: Redfield, 1856, p. 4, http://simms.library.sc.edu/view_page2.php?resource_id=WC_1856_022 (accessed 7 September 2020).

233 Pearce, "Metaphysical Federalism", pp. 124–125.

234 Vauthier, "Of Time and the South", pp. 34–35.

235 J. R. Radford, "A Place of Tombs: The Charleston of William Gilmore Simms", in: P. Preston and P. Simpson-Housley (eds.), *Writing the City: Eden, Babylon and the New Jerusalem*, London: Routledge, 2002, p. 185.

In *Southward Ho!*, the pervasiveness of place blends almost inseparably with the author's attentiveness to the history and it becomes clear that, for Simms, it is the historical knowledge of place or what he calls "the *genius loci*" that renders the "Golden Age" of the past and the future also part of the present. Once the ship arrives to the coast of Jamestown, upon the sight of the ruins of this first English settlement in the continent, the narrator of *Southward Ho!* suggests: "There is little or nothing to be seen. It is the association only, the *genius loci*, that offers provocation to the contemplative spirit".[236] Indeed, Robert Sears's drawing, which was published three years before Simms's novel, illustrates clearly that there had remained very little to be seen of Jamestown in the 1850s (see Figure 1[237]). While Sears's drawing faces the ocean, Simms describes the scene as perceived from the vessel facing the land from where one can only see the "single tower of the old church". But it is the "historical association" of place rather than what is visible that renders the ruins interesting for the narrative. The narrator imagines the long history that this single remnant might have witnessed, muses about the "glorious traditions [that] ought to

Figure 1: R. Sears, "Ruins of Jamestown" (1876).

236 Simms, *Southward Ho!*, p. 131.

237 R. Sears, "Ruins of Jamestown", in: *A Pictorial Description of the United States*, Boston: Lee & Co., 1876, https://archive.org/details/pictorialdescrip01sear (accessed 26 October 2020).

invest the locality".[238] The woods surrounding the settlement are but a graveyard for the long-deceased English settlers. It is this capacity to associate a place with its history and future – that is, the spatial memory and literacy in their most general sense – that generates a feeling of identity, belonging, and patriotism. For Simms, one can only accommodate patriotic feelings for a boundaried locality and a patriotism in a federalist sense is only possible as long as the given confederation serves the interests and protection of the local.

Hence, the manifestly secessionist view, that Simms adopted during the period between 1840s and the Civil War, during which he also published *Southward Ho!*, did not result from a complete transformation in his social and political philosophy. Instead, Simms was simply following his patriotic principles that one can easily trace in his earlier writings and putting his native state above and before all, in allowing himself "a more brazen Southern nationalism than he had [. . .] in other works of fiction".[239] The atmosphere which allowed Simms's regionalist patriotism to generate a unionist sentiment during his early literary career was no more by the time he penned *Southward Ho!* Simms concluded that the only way to protect the genuine source of his patriotism – that is, his home state as he knew and loved, which also included the preservation of the slave economy – was to secede from the Union.

Hemispheric Expansion as the Anglo-Saxon Manifest Destiny

How does Simms's hemispheric expansionism fit into his hierarchy of loyalties that places his home state the first, the Southern region the second, and any possible confederation that these spatial formations shall be positioned within (that is, previously the US, later the Confederacy, and after the Civil War once again the US)[240] the last? This question cannot be answered without taking into consideration Simms's understanding of the notion of frontier, his ideas on progress, his approach to the hierarchy of races in the Americas, and his pro-slavery stance as well as his sectionalism as a whole.

238 Simms, *Southward Ho!*, p. 131.

239 J. V. Ridgely, *William Gilmore Simms*, Twayne's U.S. Authors Series 28, New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962, p. 106.

240 After the Civil War, Simms readopted his earlier rhetoric of regionalism for the sake of nationalism in literature. C. Hutchison neatly analyses this re-emerging attempt for a unionist rhetoric as it appears in Simms's postbellum anthology of Confederate poetry. Hutchison, "Surplus Patriotism"; W. G. Simms, *War Poetry of the South*, New York: Richardson & Company, 1867, http://archive.org/details/warpoetrysouth00simmgoog (accessed 7 September 2020).

In his border romances, Simms conceptualizes "the southern region as a frontier, following the late 'removal' of Native Americans from the region in 1838".[241] These romances "[bring] to mind Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis" with depictions of "the savagery of the frontier, where civilization was continually starting from scratch".[242] This understanding embedded in Simms's romances is also clearly articulated in his 1852 "The Morals of Slavery". The lengthy essay functions as a proslavery response to British author Harriet Martineau's abolitionist book *Society in America* (1837).[243] Responding to Martineau's claims on the brutality of slavery, Simms draws an image of the South as an ever-progressing frontier:

> The outrages of the borderers [. . .] are ascribed to slavery. Miss M., along with too many others, seems to think that none but well-bred, quiet, peaceable men, should tame the wilderness. [. . .] Your well-bred city gentleman is no pioneer [. . .]. It is the bold, reckless adventurer, the dissolute outcast [. . .] who goes forth to contend with the wild best, the stubborn forest, and savage tribes who prowl among them. These people, naturally enough, become wild, almost, as those whom they conquer, but they have their uses. They are the lower limbs of civilization, and the link which connect the wilderness with the city. They prepare the way for civilization, if uncivilized themselves.[244]

This carefully written passage serves several purposes. Not only does it seek to clear the reputation of Southern slavery as a violent institution in assigning violence as an essential characteristic of the frontier, it also avoids burdening the white frontiersman with the entire weight of the brutality of conditions within which he finds himself. Instead, Simms suggests, it is the "savage" nature and people the frontiersman encounters that bring about this violence.[245] The frontiersman of Simms acts as a facilitator of a new spatial order with which the intruder seeks to replace the instable conditions of the frontier.

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241 Woertendyke, *Hemispheric Regionalism*, pp. 148–149.

242 Busick, *A Sober Desire*, p. 4.

243 H. Martineau, *Society in America*, New York: Saunders and Otley, 1837, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/52621/52621-h/52621-h.htm (accessed 6 October 2020); W. G. Simms, "The Morals of Slavery", in: *The Pro-Slavery Argument as Maintained by the Most Distinguished Writers of the Southern States, Containing the Several Essays on the Subject of Chancellor Harper, Governor Hammond, Dr. Simms, and Professor Dew*, Charleston: Walker, Richards, & Co., 1852, pp. 175–285, https://books.google.nl/books/about/The_Pro_slavery_Argument.html?id=oOQXAAAAYAAJ&redir_esc=y (accessed 6 October 2020).

244 Simms, "The Morals of Slavery", p. 232.

245 The construction of the US South in this essay as only a partial frontier is also noteworthy, as it maintains "the relationship of the plantation to the frontier or backwoods". In re-establishing a connection between the 'civilized' and the 'wilderness' through the figure of the Anglo-Saxon frontiersman, Simms dismisses a possible portrayal of the US South as a complete

Even more significant, however, are the implications of this passage for Simms's understanding of progress not as an "inevitable" process of Western civilization but as simultaneously implicating "the possibility of moral regress".[246] Frontier conditions as described by Simms imply a risk of degeneration, which can only be overcome by territorial expansionism.[247] This understanding is most clearly expressed in the treatment of the Native Americans in his works. Although in his frontier fiction, he depicts various native characters as brave and compassionate characters, he sees the disappearance of the native populations from the continent as inevitable "unless they conform to the established usages of the United States in which they linger".[248] Interpreting the peripatetic lifestyles of the Native American people as noncompliance with *civilized* life, he justifies the Indian Removal Act of 1830 as a benevolent act and precaution against the complete disappearance of native people.

A poem about Pocahontas that is recited in *Southward Ho!* illustrates the ways in which Simms regards this *noncompliant* existence of the native populations as posing a risk of immorality for the *civilized* Anglo-Saxons. Although the poem follows the rather conventional storyline whereupon Pocahontas and John Smith fall in love, the recitation begins with a disclaimer that this plot is just a "fabrication":

> It is a vulgar notion that [John Smith] encouraged and slighted the affections of Pocahontas. All this is a mistake. He neither beguiled her with false shows of love, nor was he indifferent to her beauties or her virtues. Pocahontas was a mere child to Smith, but twelve years old when he first knew her, and he about forty.[249]

While John Smith's seniority against Pocahontas's immaturity is given as evidence against a possible love affair, the novel's tenor implicitly puts forth a racial and moral hierarchy between Smith and Pocahontas as another counterargument to this possibility.[250] Smith is depicted as "the embodiment of the best

frontier that lacks cultivated infrastructure and culture. See Moltke-Hansen, "Between Plantation and Frontier", p. 4.

246 Busick, *A Sober Desire*, pp. 3–4.

247 O'Brien, *Conjectures*, p. 27.

248 Simms, "The Morals of Slavery", p. 239.

249 Simms, *Southward Ho!*, pp. 109–110.

250 Simms adopts the same approach to a potential love affair between John Smith and Pocahontas and rejects such a possibility on the same grounds of age and racial difference between the two in his 1846 biography of John Smith: W. G. Simms, *The Life of Captain John Smith, the Founder of Virginia*, New York: Cooledge, 1846, pp. 147–148, 189–190, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t5n87j77m (accessed 7 September 2020).

characteristics of chivalry", and Pocahontas as a "poor savage [with an] unsophisticated child-heart".[251] The age difference between the two translates itself into a racial understanding within which the 'racially inferior' is depicted as childish and feminine. The denial of a potential love affair between Pocahontas and John Smith serves as a rejection of *miscegenation* between two races which, accordingly, would not only result in the moral degradation of the Anglo-Saxon race with biracial children but also itself constitute moral degeneration as a repugnant act comparable to paedophilia.

While "[i]ncessant westward expansion involved dangers to social stability, [Simms] believed that the difficulties were transient and the long-term cultural gains enormous".[252] One such gain was the eventual elimination of such risks of moral degradation with the closing of the last frontier. Therefore, expansionism in Simms's writing appears as a vehicle to gradually eradicate the frontier conditions and to eliminate the possibility of moral regression. The aspiration to overcome frontier conditions, hence, constitutes the first rationale for Simms's expansionist vision.

The second rationale for expansionism conferred in Simms's writings is his aspiration to both politically and territorially protect the South as a slaveholding region against the background of the ever-strengthening abolitionist movements. That is, in Simms's spatial imagination, expansion appears as a means to safeguard a racial and spatial order established through the slave economy in the Americas as a tool of (re)territorializing this economy against the danger of abolition. In this vision, expansion is seen as a necessity for the cultural and political security of the South.[253] Simms openly expresses this idea in an oration that he delivered as the state legislator in Aiken, SC, a year before the annexation of Texas: "The South demands the annexation of Texas, avowedly, as necessary to the balance of power. Without this balance of power, we have no securities."[254] Only three years earlier, Simms addressed the issue of Texas annexation with the same enthusiasm also in his romantic novel *Confession; or, The Blind Heart* by sending the (probably Carolinian) protagonist of his novel, Edward Clifford, to Texas upon an unfortunate misunderstanding that leads

251 Simms, *Southward Ho!*, p. 109.

252 O'Brien, *Conjectures*, p. 417.

253 Higham, "The Changing Loyalties", p. 216.

254 W. G. Simms, *The Sources of American Independence. An Oration on the Sixty-Ninth Anniversary of American Independence*, Aiken: Town Council of Aiken, 1844, p. 29, http://simms.library.sc.edu/view_page2.php?resource_id=SAI_1844_001 (accessed 6 October 2020).

him to murder his beautiful wife Julia, and hence repeatedly carrying territorial expansionism to a central point in the narrative.[255]

Repeated predictions and demands for the annexation of Texas are only part of Simms's expansionist discourse. The topic often paves the ways for an argument for a more extensive south-, west-, and even northward expansion throughout the American Hemisphere. While Simms regards Mexico only a natural extension of Texas that will eventually be conquered, his spatial imagination does not remain restricted to the southernmost borders of Mexico. He imagines "Cuba, Canada, the West Indian Islands" also as "the natural dependencies of our [American] *hemisphere* [that] in the inevitable progress of events, become portions of our [. . .] our spreading *empire*":[256]

> But, he who knows any thing [sic] of the American people, needs not to hunt up a necessity, of any kind, for their acquisition of territory, or any reason better than the greed and strength of appetite. It is quite enough that the land is in the neighborhood, and accessible, to be lusted after; and the lust does not often scruple at the process by which it gratifies itself.[257]

Hence Simms declare any neighbouring territory a possible subject to his expansionist desires no matter whether these territories may serve the continuance of slavery in the American Hemisphere. In this sense, Canada just like Florida, Texas, or Cuba emerges in Simms's spatial imagination as a natural extension of the US.[258] Thus, one observes in Simms's spatial imagination an unconcealed dream of a hemispheric expansion that does not know any boundaries, in every sense of the word. This all-encompassing desire, however, points to a neglected aspect of his expansionist views: Territorial expansion for Simms was not simply a question of protecting and expanding the economic system of

255 W. G. Simms, *Confession; or, The Blind Heart. A Domestic Story*, Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry & Co., 1890, http://simms.library.sc.edu/view_page2.php?resource_id=CON_1856_001 (accessed 6 October 2020).

256 Simms, *Sources of American*, p. 28 (emphasis added).

257 Simms, "The Morals of Slavery", p. 236.

258 It is important to acknowledge the direct engagement of Simms in politics as well as his numerous essays on the socio-political issues of his day. Therefore, one observes a more careful and reserved approach in such essays by him to questions of expansionism. One such instance is his 1852 article "The Invasion of Cuba". Addressing the recent filibustering attempts to the island, this essay by Simms expresses reservation about supporting the filibusters by pointing to the already worsening diplomatic relationship between the Spanish and US American governments. Thus, the article demonstrates that Simms did not always simply follow the "greed" and "lust" for new territories when it came to territorial expansion, especially when his rhetoric had direct political implications. W. G. Simms, "The Invasion of Cuba", *Southern Quarterly* 5 (1852) 9, pp. 2–47.

slavery in the American Hemisphere. Although it remains true that the rapidly growing debates about the abolition of slavery led to an augmented expansionist attention in the US South to its southward and Caribbean neighbours, Simms very well understood that the northern American Hemisphere, or at least its climate and geography, was not well-suited for slavery. This understanding of the northern parts of the hemisphere as unprofitable for the slave economy is deeply embedded in *Southward Ho!* Portraying the geography, culture, and morals of the South as lucrative, fertile, and healthy, the novel suggests the unique landscape and settlements in the region are not easily decipherable for those who are accustomed to a Northern scenery. This portrayal ultimately produces a geographical contrast between the North and South which deems the former unsuitable for cultivation by slave labour. Elsewhere Simms articulates this more concisely: "[Slavery] was not profitable to use negro labor in the cold and sterile regions of New-England."[259]

Neither the protection and geographical expansion of the slave economy in the American Hemisphere nor the desire to overcome frontier conditions to avoid moral degradation resulting from interracial encounters poses sufficient motives for Simms's almost panoramic imperialism such as one that includes Canada. This leaves us with the question of how to understand the expansionist rhetoric in Simms's writings, which includes not only the southern and western but also northern regions, against the background of his increasingly sectionalist and later even secessionist tenor?

Comprehending Simms's panoramic imperialism requires a deeper inquiry into his racist sentiments. Simms was a fervent believer in a strict racial hierarchy which was clearly reflected in his fictional works where various ethnic and racial actors were ranked and treated differently compared to fictional Anglo-Saxon characters. Particularly enunciated cases of this hierarchy are to be found in the ways Hispanic characters are portrayed in his fiction, such as his 1859 colonial romance *The Cassique of Kiawah*. The two most important female characters of the novel, Olive and Zulieme, are portrayed in utterly contrasting ways: the former as the ideal nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon woman of fair complexion and emotional and physically suffering from melancholia and depression for her lost love but nonetheless as a devoted wife and mother, the latter as an ignorant, childish, beautiful brunette with an unending desire for amusement, as the racialized, gendered, and infantilized symbol for a Hispanic race. A similar contrast is also to be found in the treatment of Spanish and British rules in the narrative. An agreement between the English and the Spanish resulting in the declaration

259 Simms, "The Morals of Slavery", pp. 200–201.

of the cruising acts over Atlantic piracy[260] emerges as a major source of conflict in the novel, changing the protagonist Harry Calvert's status from that of a privateer into a pirate. This event that turns Harry from a servant of the Kingdom to a criminal facing arrest is regarded in the narrative as a Spanish scheme that deceives the British to turn against their own heroes, resulting in a portrayal of Spanish elements as not only unwelcome but also detrimental to the well-being of the Anglo-Saxons in the Americas.

Similarly, in the short story title "La Pola: Maid of Bogota" narrated by Miss Burroughs in *Southward Ho!*, the Hispanic characters are depicted as inferior to Anglo-Saxons and unworthy of independence. The story is set in Bogota during Bolivar's times and centres around the semi-fictional female protagonist of Policarpa Salavarrieta, also known as La Pola.[261] Besides describing Bolivar as "a very selfish, but a very ordinary man" who "contemplated his personal wants alone", the story also surrounds him with men belonging to "a race masculine only in exterior" and unable to cultivate patriotic sentiments. The bravey and death of La Pola for the sake of independence is credited and cherished as an act of patriotism yet remains exceptional compared to the inertia of the Colombian men. The Gran Colombian struggle against the Spanish colonial rule appears in Simms's vision as a battle between two unworthy peoples of the same race. Through such depictions of Hispanic people and rule in the Americas, Simms's fictional works justify possible Anglo-Saxon, territorial expansionism to South America on racial terms.[262]

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260 Although the novel does not specify what agreement it is referring to, it is probably the Jamaica Act of 1683 or the preceding precautions against piracy in the Atlantic taken by the English monarchy. Once effectively employed and encouraged so as to protect the English monarchy's trade ships on the Atlantic, privateering eventually resulted in the worsening of Spanish-English relations by often hindering the Transatlantic mobility of Spanish fleets carrying goods from the Caribbean to Spain. In turn, acts and agreements between the two European forces illegalized privateering turning many privateers commissioned directly by the English monarchy into common pirates. To read more, see K. E. Lane, *Blood and Silver: A History of Piracy in the Caribbean and Central America*, Oxford: Signal Books, 1999.

261 Born in 1795 to a patriotic family from Guaduas, Colombia, Policarpa Salavarrieta was "a seamstress who served the Revolutionary Forces as a spy during the Spanish Reconquista. She was eventually arrested and executed, but today she is considered a national 'heroine of independence'". See J. Weiss, "Women's Rights in Colombia: Acid Attacks on the Rise", *World Affairs* 117 (2014) 2, p. 57.

262 Contrarily, such territorial expansions mean opening up of new contact zones between what Simms considers superior and inferior races, which he sees as laden with the threat of moral regression. His sectionalist sentiments play an amplified role in justfiying such potential problems arrising from expansion: Simms's ideal people are Anglo-Saxon of the US South and they have no intention of leaving their home states as it can be observed in his literature. His

As it can be clearly seen, Simms's territorial expansionism was an imperialist vision that entailed also social practices of stabilizing racial inequality within an Anglo-Saxon-ruled American Hemipshere. At first glance, it may seem that this racially-motivated expansionism does not suffice to justfiy his visions about those territories such as Canada that are already under Anglo-Saxon nations' control, as his racist motives concerns only those territories that are ruled by those races that are seen as *inferior*. Yet, it was indeed the very desire to solidify and institutionalize racial hierarchy in the Americas that served Simms and many his contemporaries to turn an imperialist gaze at Canada where they observed a nation just as noble, pure, and racially superior as theirs being reduced to colonialized bodies. Such a rhetoric allowed Simms and others to portray the invasion of any territory in the Americas that was under the European colonial powers by Anglo-Saxon American actors in a parallel with the American Independence as an anticolonial enterprise.

Simms cultivated a truly hemispheric spatial imagination and what has frequently been referred to as a dream of a Southern slave empire in the academic literature[263] points to although major, only part of Simms's hemispheric spatial imagination. His aspiration to overcome frontier conditions and his racial conceptualizations together produce a spatial imagination within which territorial expansion often encompasses spaces that are not favourable for the slave economy, such as Canada. The same racial understanding deems any piece of land in the Americas that is not under Anglo-Saxon control subject to Simms's expansionist "greed" and "lust". In this sense, Simms emerges as a true imperialist seeking ever-greater inequality in an ever-expanding territory.

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poem "'Well,' Sang a Blue-Eyed Damsel", for example, promotes the rejection of migration out of the South. The obviously Anglo-Saxon "blue-eyed" protagonist sings standing in an apparent half-wilderness of the West and reminiscing of the beauties of the east coast that she calls "this ancient home of ours". These recollections convince the Southern lady that she would much rather have a lodge on the eastern shores rather than "all the wealth of Mexico, and Texas". As Simms's expansionist utopia opens up new contact zones evoking a risk of moral regress, his ideal people remain in their *cultivated* space away from this threat, leaving the *civilizing* mission to the frontiersmen. W. G. Simms, "'Well,' Sang a Blue-Eyed Damsel", in: *Poems Descriptive, Dramatic, Legendary and Contemplative*, vol. 2, New York: Redfield, 1853, pp. 67–68, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015089206414&view=1up&seq=9 (accessed 6 October 2020).

263 Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations*; Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire*; M. A. Wimsatt, "W. G. Simms", in: C. R. Wilson et. al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Southern Culture*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989, p. 895; Woertendyke, *Hemispheric Regionalism*.

(Re)formatting the South

Given its author's reputation as a fervent secessionist, *Southward Ho!* has been acknowledged if for nothing else then at least for its sectionalist tenor and for its manifested secessionism in the limited number of scholarly works that have focused on the novel. The task of providing a detailed analysis of these sentiments and locating Simms's secessionism in a cohering position in this overall ideology and spatial imagination, however, remains to be carried out.

Despite the novel's status as an explicitly secessionist argument, readers informed on the author's disunionism might for the first half of the novel look for traces of this sentiment in small details and more often than not this would remain a futile endeavour. The narrative's secessionist tenor does not emerge gradually as the travel narrative proceeds, instead, it materializes practically out of the blue in the latter half of the novel. The first half, especially the opening chapters, on the other hand, creates the impression that the travel narrative will centre on a sermonizing plotline whereupon the Northern characters' unfavourable opinions about the South are 'corrected', which in turn will serve to educate the book's Northern readers on the virtues of the South.

This expectation increases especially once the New Yorker character is introduced to the plot. Edgar Duyckman, or with his nickname "the Gothamite", knows very little about the South and what he knows is regarded as rather prejudiced or incorrect in the narrative. His prejudice against the South is once and for all revealed when his Carolinian friend shares his intentions to embark on a southward journey for the summer. Duyckman fervently opposes these intentions, exposing what the narrative clearly considers as his unfamiliarity with and ignorance about the South. Yet, his Southern friend's remarks on the enchantments of the South convinces him and Duyckman joins the narrator on the journey, offering the narrative a great opportunity to educate the New Yorker on the virtues and beauties of the lands of the South. This anticipation intensifies as Duyckman meets a Southern acquaintance of his Carolinian friend for whom he perceptibly develops a romantic interest, suggesting an emergent readiness on Duyckman's side to accept and embrace the Southern way of life.

Simms's own biography is also suggestive for such a plotline to emerge in his novel. Having visited New York several times, Simms must have become aware of the fact that "the overall pattern of movement between North and South, South and North, was asymmetrical." The antebellum patterns of US domestic mobility resulted in the cultural supremacy of the North over the South, whereupon Southerners knew more about the North where they travelled to "use cultural facilities" than the Northerners about the South which offered

health resorts and economic interactions.[264] It would come as a surprise if such a fervent advocate of the Southern way of life and the charms of the region as Simms did not desire to overcome this asymmetry by demonstrating the beauties of the South to his contemporaries. Moreover, during the early-1850s when Simms was assembling *Southward Ho!*, his New Yorker friend Evert Duyckinck alongside with his brother Georg Long Duyckinck was working on the *Cyclopaedia of American Literature*. The Duyckinck brothers wanted to include a number of Southern authors in their work for which they sought help from Simms who provided them with an extensive list of Southern authors.[265] It is, therefore, plausible that the Duyckinck brothers' intention to learn more about Southern literature might have inspired Simms to include a New Yorker character in his upcoming novel through whom he could teach and show more about the South to a larger audience.[266]

Yet, either intentionally or as a consequence of its rather unorderly structure, the narrative dismisses this expectation that it raises in its introductory chapters. Instead, "the Gothamite" instantaneously mingles with and becomes virtually indistinguishable from the Southern characters *en route* to Charleston. His concerns and prejudices about the region seem to disappear the moment he sets foot on the steamer. Undoubtedly, not having adorned Duyckman with abolitionist ideas in the first place allows the narrative to make this transition a lot more smoothly. The aspiration to reshape negative Northern opinions on the South nonetheless remains constant for a long time in the narrative. As Duyckman's sudden change of mind makes this a harder goal to achieve, the plot relies on extensive descriptions of the scenery, manners, habits, and histories of the South often communicated by the narrator or via conversations among mostly Southern passengers.

Most of these depictions are dedicated to amending the *incorrect* and negative imageries that non-Southerners supposedly have about the region. What is given in the narrative as the Northern imagination of the South is, of course, what the author conceives to be as such, and thus, is monolithic, adamant, and negligent of differing opinions. Moreover, in rectifying what is given as the outsiders' spatial imagination of the South, the novel replaces it with another one. The imagined Northerners to whom the negative views belong are depicted as incapable of reading the Southern scenery from their own Northern vantage

264 O'Brien, *Conjectures*, p. 27.

265 Ibid., p. 45.

266 This scenario would also explain the resemblance between the surnames of the fictional New Yorker in *Southward Ho!* and Simms's close friend Evert Duyckinck, who was a New Yorker himself.

points. Their life experiences in the North are fundamentally different from those of their Southern neighbours. So are the topography as well as urban and agricultural developments of their region. Therefore, while the narrative responds to the commonplace and prejudiced depictions of the South coming from the North, it also contributes to the rhetoric that represents the South and the North in contrast with each other.

One such wrong image about the South that the novel seeks to replace with a positive one is the relative backwardness and uncultivatedness of the region that is often also associated with the laziness of its people – an argument originating in anti-slavery sentiment and relates slaveholding to languor. To dismiss this image, the narrative repeatedly introduces the sights offered from the railroads of the South to the traveller as a point of reference in the conversations among the characters. Via these references to railroad scenery in the South, the narrative suggest that outsiders misinterpret the Southern landscape as coarse and its people as indolent, not knowing that

> Roads are usually drawn through the most accessible regions. The lands commonly surrendered for this purpose are generally the most inferior, and the man of taste rarely establishes a fine mansion upon the common highway. In the South, this is particularly the case. The finer dwellings of the planter are to be approached through long and sinuous avenues, that open only a green arch upon the roadside, and show you nothing to convey any tolerable idea of the beauty, taste and comfort which are buried in noble woods away from vulgar curiosity.[267]

The railroad travel, which offers a too fast and brief look to actually know a place, provides the narrative with a strong metaphor in describing the superficiality that it observes in the outsiders' gaze and judgement about the South. Accordingly, only those open-minded enough to travel to the inner parts of the region can begin to comprehend and appreciate it fully.

The narrative does not blame only non-Southerners but also the Southerners themselves for the bad reputation of the region. It suggests that the Southerners have neglected educating the public about their region and brings back the notion of "*genius loci*" that one needs to have to become a (regionalist) patriot, for example, by stating that it is "a pity that the handbooks of the South are not provided by some patriotic author". Similarly, the narrative considers it irrational that Southerners leave their home region or summer to travel to the North, which they admire so blindly, only to encounter a recent cholera epidemic and to hurry back to South. Only then, the people of the South discover the "charming scenery, the

267 Simms, *Southward Ho!*, p. 380.

pure retreats, the sweet quiet, and the surprising resources which welcomed them – at home!"[268]

Yet, even when the narrative directs its criticism to Southerners, it manages to belittle the North in comparison to the South. The aspiration to depict the South as an attractive region to a Northern audience results in a representation of the North and the South in a rather stark contrast in a multitude of spheres. Not only is the landscape in these regions different from each other – "To a Southern eye, accustomed to dense umbrage, the close coppice, the gigantic forest [. . .], the sparseness of northern woods suggests a great deficiency" – but their topographical disparity leads to the development of dissimilar dwellings, lifestyles, and morals. While a Northern character compares Virginia with its "old and wretched" towns and houses to a desert and criticizes the agricultural techniques of Virginian as well as North and South Carolinian farmers as backward compared those in the North, the Southerner's response to this criticism portrays the two regions in an equally contrasting way:

> That you see few or no towns, and that these look desolate, are the natural effects of life of a people purely agricultural. The southern people do not live in towns if they can avoid them. The culture and command of extensive tracts of land and forest give them a distaste for city life [. . .] which many of their leading minds hold to be always of the most mischievous moral tendency [. . .]. You, at the North [. . .], look at your flourishing towns, your fine houses [. . .] as proofs of prosperity and civilization; though, of these thousand, thousands live by beggary, by theft, chicanery [. . .]. That we have not towns and villages is the inevitable result of staple cultivation. *Every plantation is a village*.[269]

The novel thus constructs a contrast between two neighbouring regions and favours the Southern way of things which it believes to represent a superior cultural and social order achieved through plantation life and slavery-based agrarianism. Establishing a binary between the two regions, the narrative distinguishes the South from the North and promotes the former. This binary representation downplays the imagery of the United States as a nation state by attacking its concord and homogeneity. Instead, it strengthens the image of the South not only as a region but as a nation state (re)configuring the South from one spatial format to another.

Despite its frequent depictions of an all-inclusive South, the narrative nonetheless distinguishes each Southern state from the others with their unique ways of life, habits, and landscapes. The constant movement that the maritime journey along the Atlantic coast as well as the blend of passengers representing

268 Ibid., pp. 381–396.
269 Ibid., pp. 166–168.

different parts of the Union give the narrative the opportunity to characterize each state, especially the ones that the passengers get to observe from the deck, in lengthy passages. Hence, the narrative remains true to Simms's regionalist patriotism which he understood as a sentiment that one developed toward a spatially-restricted locale. For Simms, patriotism required one to associate the place with its culture and history and, therefore, was strictly regional. All other forms of allegiance were expected political extensions of this regionalist patriotism, deriving from a sense of duty to protect one's home. They were based on social, economic, and political alliances such as unionism. Thus, it was imperative for such a conceptualization of patriotism as Simms's to distinguish one's home state and its people at least culturally from the neighbouring ones.

In the atmosphere of increased conflict between the South and the North of the 1850s, however, it became a necessity to build stronger connections and similarities among the states below the Mason-Dixon Line and to emphasize a starker disparity with those above it. The minor yet underlined differences among the Carolinas, Virginia, and the other Southern states as opposed to their strong opposition to a homogenized and antagonized North in *Southward Ho!* build a discourse of a united Southern nation independent from the US. This discursive construction points to a (re)formatting of the South as a national space consisting of diverse yet equal (-ly charming) states and brings us to the secessionist sentiment which appears rather late and almost suddenly in the narrative, once the Alabamian character is given the duty to hold an Independence Day oration.

The announcement of the approach of the Fourth of July by the captain of the steamer creates a sense of harmony among travellers who come from different parts of the Union embracing the Union as a whole from its very north to its very south. However, on the day of the celebrations Alabamian delivers a speech that spoils this feeling of unison, declares those that celebrate the independence, prosperity, and harmony of the US "self-delusional". His oration virtually function as a list of the offenses that he regards to have been committed by Northerners including, interestingly, the vanishing of the Indian tribes in the Massachusetts Bay, persecution of the Quakers, and abolitionism rising after the illegalization of the slave trade. Calling all these wrongdoings "hellabaloos", the Alabamian orator predicts a 'counter-hellabaloo', especially against the latest one, ringing the bells of a sectional war. His oration is received with diverse feelings by different groups of passengers and alienates the Northerners.[270]

270 Ibid., pp. 247–250.

Yet, the negative reception of the oration by the Northerners does not prevent the vice-captain of the steamer from adopting a similar secessionist tenor in his toast. The vice-captain lists 13 elements to be cherished. These numbered and listed elements are highly reflective of the author's and the narrative's ideology. Indeed, they build the very backbone of Simms's secessionist argument. In this pledge, the Constitution and the Union appear as they are understood and idealized by the narrative: the Constitution as equally applicable to each and every component of the Union, that is, "the 'unity and married calm of States'" echoing the author's understanding of the Union not as a nation but as a federation as it also appears in his other works. The toast to "the Native State", per Simms's philosophy of patriotism, includes "yours or mine, no matter", and all the states are seen as "linked indissolubly". However, the North seems to be almost completely forgotten in this union as other items on the list, such as "the slave states", "the agriculture of the South", "cotton and corn", and "our slaves", stand mostly in direct connection to an imagery of the South as a slaveholding agrarian region. George Washington and the current president "Brave old Zachary Taylor" are also included in the toast: both acknowledged as slaveholding Virginians. This list of things to be cherished alongside with the Independence Day oration goes beyond celebrating the independence of the US as a whole. Instead, the narrative prematurely rejoices for another and not-yet-realized independence, that of the Southern states. The novel hence (re)imagines the South and no longer conceptualizes it as a region, but as an independent nation state.[271]

Although the narrative yields the stage to Northern passengers in an effort to give unionists some voice, soon it proudly announces the winner of this discursive battle between Northern unionists and Southern secessionist to be the latter: "For once, the majority was against [the Northerners]".[272] Hence, on the very symbolic occasion of the Fourth of July celebrations, the narrative brings the entire US with its Southern and Northern representatives together to have a debate, which on a metaphorical level implies and forecasts the Civil War. This forecasting only fails in its prediction of the losing and winning parties of the war.

From the Independence Day celebrations on, the sectionalist, secessionist, and, as Weber notes, even the slavocrat politics of the novel becomes more articulate. "Operat[ing] as Simms's amanuensis" the Alabamian character asks Northerners: "why do they shape the laws, dictate the policy, control the whole

271 Ibid., pp. 253–255.
272 Ibid., p. 256.

action of society?"[273] The narrative grants the Alabamian with a language that distinguishes Southerners as a distinct nation: "Any nation that defers thus wholly to another is soon emasculated, and finally subdued." Through him, the narrative eventually refers to Northerners directly as the "enemies" as if to emphasize the imagery of a distinct Southern nation as antithetical to the North which it evokes.[274] This rhetoric employed by the Alabamian character of the *Southward Ho!* is also be found elsewhere in Simms's literature. In "The Morals of Slavery", for example, Simms suggests that "the Southern people form a nation" and heralds the upcoming of a war: "When that call shall be definitely or imperatively made, they [the Southern nation] will answer with their weapons, and in no other language than of war to the knife."[275]

This warmongering tenor follow Simms's logic of racial order that he develops in vindicating his northward expansionism. As racial equality among the Canadians and the British justifies Canadian independence from the British as well as the country's annexation by the United States, racial equality between Northern and Southern Anglo-Saxon people of the US legitimizes Southern independence lest the North continues impose its politics upon the South. Both in *Southwards Ho!* and "The Morals of Slavery", Simms clearly articulates an imagination of the Southerners as establishing a nation distinct from but equal to Northerners. Their equality is put forward as a justification for the South's independence from a union that is under the yoke of what he perceived as Northern abolitionist ideas. Hence, published only two years after this essay, Simms's 1854 *Southward Ho!* emerges as an undeniable articulation of Simms's social, political, and cultural ideologies in fiction.

Southward Ho!'s secessionist tenor establishes a continuity rather than a break once placed among other works by Simms. It follows the racial logic of Anglo-Saxon supremacy and independence, reaffirms the superiority of white Southern plantation culture among Anglo-Saxon cultures, and echoes not only the literary and romantic regionalism but also the primarily sectionalist patriotism that is observed in Simms's other works. Once these continuities are highlighted, they form a mental map of the Simms's imagined South by bringing together his otherwise seemingly conflicting regionalist, expansionist, and sectionalist visions.

273 Ibid., p. 394; Weber, "Southward Ho!", p. 399.
274 Simms, *Southward Ho!*, p. 397.
275 Simms, "The Morals of Slavery", p. 184.

The Nation, the Empire

A regionalist who dreams of expansion, a Southern secessionist who seeks to inform the North of the beauties and virtues of his region: Simms's spatial vision at first glance seems laden with contradictions, creating the illusion that the author has had many nonconcurrent spatial visions that did not follow a coherent logic. This has led many scholars to conclude that Simms's ideology changed over the course of time with the intensifying sectional conflict. However, my rereading of Simms's antebellum literary production shows that although Simms's stance toward unionism changed with the growing sectional conflict in the US and the authors adopted an increasingly secessionist rhetoric, Simms's ideas on the function of the Union and the essence of patriotism as a spatially-restricted feeling remained the same and explain his transformation from a unionist to a secessionist without altering the foundations of his philosophy. These seemingly disparate visions that often appear in Simms's texts, once brought together, construct a consistent spatial imagination about the South as a regional unit with its own distinct nation.

In this spatial imagination, the South as a distinct region with its own national community and its imperial elements is surrounded with many equal states under Anglo-Saxon control. Confederation appears as a preferred spatial format within which such a harmonious coexistence of states can emerge, with every (national or regional) state having equal rights, maintaining their sovereignty. Such an understanding of confederation seems to be what the author had also expected from the United States, yet only to be disappointed. The notions of equality and harmony should not overshadow the blatantly imperialist ambitions of Simms's confederate dreams. His spatial imagination allows for the continuous annexation of many such states regardless of their employment of or avoidance of slave labour depending on whether or not the topography and the climate allow it. It promotes a territorial expansionism westward, northward, and southward in order to both overcome all possible frontiers which are regarded as potential threats of moral degeneration and protecting and expanding the slave economy in the American Hemisphere. Ultimately, however, neither the desire to overcome frontier conditions nor pro-slavery arguments suffices to capture Simms's motives for his extensive expansionism.

The eventual target of this imagination appears to be a reterritorialization process resulting in the formation of a confederation that reaches far south, encompassing all "the land[s] [in] the neighborhood".[276] Although justified with

276 Ibid., p. 236.

an anti-colonial rhetoric, this territorial expansionism especially in its social aspects appears as an imperialist project that not only disregards existing habitants and native populations of lusted after territories but also seek to establish and stabilize racial inequalities. In this sense, Simms's spatial imagination emerges as one that is informed by the spatialization discourses and processes of its day in the way it blends the logic of national consolidation in the South of the US with imperial motivations and objectives in the American Hemisphere.

Filibusters for a United Nation

As Spanish army retreated to Cuba after being defeated in Caracas by Venezuelan independence fighters, the Venezuela-born General Narciso López, too, found himself in Cuba alongside with the Spanish soldiers with whom he fought side by side.[277] Having married the daughter of a wealthy family, López soon left for Spain to serve the Spanish government. Later, he returned to his adopted home, Cuba. Failing to manage his plantation business on the island, he lost most of his wealth. This led him to pursue anti-Spanish politics. During the anti-Spanish uprisings in Cuba, he escaped to New York in fear of being arrested by the Spanish authorities. Here, he approached prominent political, military, and publishing figures, including Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee, with dreams of liberating Cuba from Spain. Although he acquired support neither from Davis nor from Lee, López still gained significant popular sympathy, raised a large amount of money, and gathered some 600 to 800 men in Round Island with the intention of organizing an expedition to Cuba. This attempt was terminated by a proclamation issued by president Zachary Taylor in 1849 which declared filibustering expeditions against the US Neutrality Law and prohibited them.[278] The proclamation convinced most filibusters to return

277 Parts of this analysis have previously been published in a 2019 edited volume: D. Bozkurt-Pekar, "Imagining the South Through the Caribbean: Spatial Narratives of Liberty in the Novels of Holcombe and Livermore", in: U. Niewiadomska-Flis (ed.), *Ex-Centric Souths (Re) Imagining Southern Centers and Peripheries*, València: Publicacion de la Universitat de València, 2019, pp. 35–52.

278 "The term 'filibuster' carried a far different connotation before the Civil War than it does today. During that period, the word generally referred to American adventurers who raised or participated in private military forces that either invaded or planned to invade foreign countries with which the United States was formally at peace. Although these expeditions violated the U.S. Neutrality Act of 1818 (which prohibited such private warfare) as well as U.S. treaties and international law, thousands of Americans either joined such groups as recruits or provided them with material support as part of a movement that crossed American ethnic, regional, and class lines." May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*, p. xi.

home. Yet López was not discouraged. Moving his efforts to recruit volunteers to Ohio and Mississippi, he gathered enough financial and soldierly support to carry out another attempt. This time, López's army reached Cuba and occupied the Cárdenas railroad station. However, when the army lost a significant number of men in a very short period of time, López fled back to the US.[279]

Lucy Holcombe's novel *The Free Flag of Cuba* (1855) tells the story of López's next and last attempt to liberate Cuba in 1851 "with factual accuracy about the geography, soldiers, and history".[280] This final expedition proved disastrous for the filibustering general and his soldiers, most of whom were executed by the Spanish rule. Outraged by their execution, Holcombe penned a vindication for their cause. The tenor of the existing accounts of the expedition were not satisfying for the young author who expressed her intentions in writing a semi-fictional account of the mission as replacing the "dry historical records" and raising a "spirit of vengeance" in the hearts of Americans for the "brave soldiers" who were "mercilessly slaughtered by the minions of tyranny".[281] Although the author's intentions appear to be clearly articulated, there remains some equivocal aspects. For example, while some argue that the novel's preface addresses the US government to change its policy of neutrality toward the Spanish rule in Cuba, others including Lowe suggests that the novel never specifies the target of this revenge.[282] Notwithstanding their diverging opinions about the target of the novel's anger, however, most previous readings of *The Free Flag of Cuba* still arrive at the same conclusion that the narrative generates a blatantly expansionist and secessionist rhetoric.

In this chapter, I put the established reading of Holcombe's *The Free Flag of Cuba* under scrutiny. Instead, I argue that the narrative carefully builds a non-expansionist and unionist rhetoric. This rhetoric seeks to dismiss both claims of personal gain on behalf of the filibusters and possible sectionalist agitations that a vindication of López's filibustering expedition may arise among antebellum readers. Unlike previous readings that associate the novel with its author's later secessionist support, I suggest that Holcombe's 1855 romance imagines a South that can concurrently maintain its stance both in the United States and in the slave economy. Establishing this spatial imagination through

279 R. Granville Caldwell, *The Lopez Expeditions to Cuba 1848–1851*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915; May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*.

280 O. V. Burton and G. B. Burton, "Lucy Holcombe Pickens, Southern Writer", *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 103 (2002) 4, p. 298.

281 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. v.

282 Burton and Burton, "Southern Writer", p. 300; Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n.p.

a subtle argument that represents slavery as a common good for a white American nation, the narrative vindicates the filibustering expedition to Cuba not as an expansionist endeavour but as an enterprise that seeks to create political balance between the slave and free states of the US by establishing slaveholding satellite states in the Caribbean which are liberated from their (potentially abolitionist) colonial rules with military aid from the US. The spatial imagination emerging in *The Free Flag of Cuba* operates on at least three different spatial formats at the same time – nation state, empire, and region – evidencing for the non-mutually-exclusive character of spatial formats. In particular, the novel's restrained and delicate take on imperial and national spatial formats exhibits how these two spatial formats have been (re)imagined, negotiated, and internalized in the antebellum South by various actors not as distinct but complementing spatial configurations. The narrative's argument for the continuation of slavery in the Circumcaribbean constitutes an attempt to restabilize a long existing spatial order of the hemispheric slave economy within a changing world that threatens the existence of this order.

In the analysis of *The Free Flag of Cuba*, I first situate the novel within antebellum women's writing with a focus on the employment of the domestic sphere to access public sphere through publishing. This positioning allows for an in-depth analysis of the novel's engagement with a domestic setting as a pivotal site of its vindication of a military undertaking contributing both to the novel's emotional legitimization of the filibustering expedition and the unionist tenor in the novel. Later, contextualizing the novel among the diversity of positions regarding Cuban annexation in the antebellum US, I focus on three themes in the narrative that contribute to a spatial imagination diverging from an understanding of the filibustering expeditions by López as reflective strictly annexationist and Southern secessionist sentiments. The first of these themes is the friendship between the novel's two female protagonists, Southern Genevieve and Northern Mabel, which remains unshaken by their disagreement on filibusterism, pointing to a unionist sentiment in the narrative. Secondly, I read the narrative's portrayal of filibusterism as a nationwide and selfless concern that seeks only to grant Cuba liberty from colonialism via the novel's racialized and gendered depiction of Cuba and Cuban Creoles. Lastly, I examine the slave-master relationships in the novel as a tool that represents slavery as a patriotic institution helping to *educate* enslaved people into patriots serving the entire white American nation in the US. I suggest, this representation of slavery contributes to the narrative's unionist rhetoric without sacrificing the author's slavocrat stance.

Politics from the Domestic Sphere

Today well-known as the only woman to have her portrait on a Confederate banknote and the author of "the first filibustering novel about Cuba", Lucy Holcombe Pickens was born in Tennessee in June 1831 to a wealthy plantation family with ancestral ties to French royalty. Later, marrying Francis Wilkinson Pickens of South Carolina,[283] Holcombe enjoyed a very privileged life and considerable fame both in the Southern United States and partially also in Europe.

Holcombe received an education that was beyond the reach of many children, boy or girl, in the antebellum US, since her mother wanted all of her children, regardless of gender, to be knowledgeable people. Lucy and her older sister Anna did not only attend the Moravian Seminaries for Young Females at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. They also visited the State House in Nashville to hear the sittings, thanks to their mother's attentiveness to their further education. This rather liberal education allowed Holcombe to become interested in politics at an early age. Yet, she still expressed a preference to stay within the conventional boundaries of nineteenth-century Southern patriarchal norms. "From an early age Lucy learned that, whereas women could not wield power in the same manner as the men she observed on the floor of the legislature, there were other methods. And that an intelligent woman who also had highly developed social instincts and skills could accomplish much, even in a highly patriarchal society."[284]

283 Francis Wilkinson Pickens was born to a wealthy Southern family with expansive plantations in South Carolina and Alabama. He was a relative of vice president John C. Calhoun. He married the daughter of Eldred Simkins, the US representative and lieutenant governor of Carolina, under whom he studied and practiced law. He acquired several plantations and a large number of slaves as family heritage and through his marriage. Lucy Holcombe was his third wife, who accompanied him in Russia while he "served as United States minister to the Court of Alexander II" of Russia. His last and Lucy Holcombe's only child, Francis Eugenia Olga Neva Pickens ("Douschka") was born in St. Petersburg. Francis Wilkinson Pickens was a strong proponent of the secession. He returned home from Russia shortly before the secession and served as the governor of South Carolina during the Confederacy. Douschka, on the other hand, became prominent in the white supremacist group known as the Red Shirts after the Civil War. See W. Edgar, *The South Carolina Encyclopedia Guide to the Governors of South Carolina*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2012, n. p.; J. H. Franklin, "The Joan of Arc of Carolina", in: E. Wittenmyer Lewis (ed.), *Queen of the Confederacy: The Innocent Deceits of Lucy Holcombe Pickens*, Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2002, p. 186; W. B. Yearns, *The Confederate Governors*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010, p. 159.

284 O. V. Burton and G. B. Burton, "Lucy Holcombe Pickens: Belle, Political Novelist, and Southern Lady", in: M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, and J. M. Johnson (eds.), *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009, p. 275.

Despite the common acknowledgement of her interest in politics, Holcombe's strong attentiveness to Narciso López's 1851 filibustering expedition to Cuba is almost without exception tied to some sort of romantic background. Recounting a visit to Governor John Quitman of Mississippi during which Lucy Holcombe met, among many other filibusters, General López and Lieutenant William Crittenden of Kentucky,[285] the biographical accounts associate the young author's penning a vindication of filibusterism to a romance with Lieutenant Crittenden. Yet, the exact nature of Holcombe's relationship with Crittenden remains unclear. While more speculative readings suggest that Crittenden was just one of Holcombe's many *beaus*,[286] others take a more romantic stance arguing that Crittenden was Holcombe's "first love".[287] It is tempting to romantically consider Holcombe's first novel a product of a young woman's heartache after her lover's death, especially given that Holcombe's name has come to immediately prompt stereotypical images of *Southern belles*. However, it is an unfair to assume that twenty-two-year-old Holcombe wrote her novel, which had strong political implications, merely out of her love for a filibuster. No matter the exact nature of her relationship with Crittenden, combined with her existing familiarity with the politics of her home region, the acquaintance of filibusters must have enflamed a genuine interest in filibusterism and an idealistic desire to justify and celebrate what she called a "noble cause" in young Lucy Holcombe.

In the nineteenth-century United States, not only were women encouraged to learn history and contribute to "historical writing" but also publishing fiction, especially "woman's fiction", was a common female occupation.[288]

285 William Logan Crittenden was the nephew of John J. Crittenden, attorney general and later the member of House of Representatives, and the brother of Thomas Theodore Crittenden, the governor of Mississippi between 1881–1885. Tansey writes of W. L. Crittenden that he "attracted volunteers to the López cause in Southern and Midwestern towns by promising young recruits Cuban sugar plantations and fabulous cash bonuses. Crittenden knew the appeal of his inducements among an audience composed of numerous young clerks already disenchanted with their jobs' low salaries and heavy work schedules." Crittenden was 28 years old when he joined López's last expedition in Cuba and was the leader of one of the two troops on the island which "guard[ed] the expedition's supplies on the coast", while "López decided to lead the main body into the mountainous terrain of the island's interior." Crittenden's troop was captured and executed by Spanish troops shortly after it separated from the main army. See R. Tansey, "Southern Expansionism: Urban Interests in Cuban Filibusters", *Plantation Society in the Americas* (1979) 1, pp. 233–240.

286 E. Wittenmyer Lewis, *Queen of the Confederacy: The Innocent Deceits of Lucy Holcombe Pickens*, Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2002, p. 43.

287 Burton and Burton, "Belle", p. 276.

288 N. Baym, *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820–1870*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, p. 7; N. Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work*

Thus, it is no surprise that Holcombe's interest in the 1851 filibustering expedition to Cuba and her aspiration for vindicating this cause were materialized in the form of historical fiction. Fitting to a certain degree to both categories defined by Baym – i.e. historical writing and woman's fiction – Holcombe's filibustering novel clearly benefits from the antebellum conventions of women's literature. Following Baym's argument "if print formulates and consolidates public opinion, and women are printed, then they are part of the public sphere as Habermas defines it",[289] it is possible to argue that by using printing as a tool to make a political statement, Holcombe managed to stay within the boundaries of the domestic sphere while reaching out to a mostly male and politically-inclined audience.[290]

Holcombe's decision to publish her romance on López's excursion to Cuba under the pseudonym H. M. Hardimann, too, allowed Holcombe to personally remain within the domestic sphere while discursively contributing to a public discussion. It was not uncommon for female authors of the antebellum and even later eras to publish under a penname, and there may have been several reasons for Holcombe to take such a decision. May ties this decision to the initial rejection of the novel by a publisher and a direct advice by John Quitman to young Holcombe; Burton and Burton suggest that Holcombe's choice of penname was "surely meant to express the prototype of the Hardy Man".[291] Notwithstanding the implications of her penname, both this rather masculine pseudonym and her evidently male target audience[292] mirror Holcombe's views about female participation in socio-political affairs, as she strongly believed that a woman's intellectual contribution to society should come from a respectable distance of the domestic sphere:

> like other rediscovered nineteenth century women authors [. . .] she used her writing to engage in national debates of the time. [. . .] Holcombe was determined to give voice to her political concerns and help to sway public policy on an international concern [but] she did not want change in the domestic status quo. [. . .] Holcombe introduced the idea of women's suffrage only to reject it. [. . .] [W]omen writers at this time secretly wanted to

of History, 1790–1860: Styles of Affiliation, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995, p. xxi.

289 Baym, *Woman's Fiction*, p. 6.

290 For Habermas (bourgeois) public sphere is a community distinct from the state "where the private people gather [. . .] as a public and articulate the needs of society with the state"; it is an imagined space (in the sense that it does not have a discernible existence) where citizens can engage in discussions, form public opinion, and produce discourses. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p. 176.

291 Burton and Burton, "Southern Writer", p. 299; May, "Reconsidering Antebellum", p. 1181.

292 Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, p. 222.

> be creators of culture, while [. . .] preferring to tell themselves and others that they were simply private domestic women. Holcombe's intense desire to affect political policy needed an outlet, and writing was the most effective means available to her.[293]

Holcombe's views on gender roles are reflected in the personalities, behaviours, and opinions of the characters of her novel, *The Free Flag of Cuba*. Greenberg illustrates how the narrative links the liberation of Cuba, which is described "as a beautiful woman in the grip of an evil man" to a Southern understanding of male honour, from which women and people of colour are excluded.[294] In my analysis of the novel, I take this gendered language as well as Holcombe's position as an author engaging in politics, i.e. in the public sphere from the domestic sphere as important underpinnings in the construction of the narrative's spatial imagination.

A Not-So-"Ripe Fruit"

As Vera Kutzinski writes, the US South and the Caribbean have been "unacknowledged rimland[s]" of each other "ever since slaves were traded between the two areas, well before the Louisiana Purchase in 1803".[295] The Caribbean world doubtlessly played a significant role in the spatial imaginations of various actors in the antebellum US, regardless of their ideological stance. Drawing on the Caribbean, many abolitionists developed unique understandings of liberty and imagined various spatial configurations of emancipation as Caribbean islands offered possible harbours for African-American emigration or legacies of emancipatory movements. Southern plantation owners, too, turned their faces to the Caribbean for different reasons and with different hopes. The slaveholding class of the South found an even stronger alliance through their "racial identity and class consciousness" in the other slaveholding societies of the New World, even though its members did not necessarily have doubts about their national identity as American. Members of this class "certainly imagined the Southern slaveholder to be a superior type", "but they did so by locating the South in a global historical context, by emphasizing a common past of bondage and mastery, and by worrying over a shared future of emancipation".[296]

Yet, the spatial imaginations of this class about the US South and the Caribbean were by no means unified and solid. While the interests of the Southern

293 Burton and Burton, "Southern Writer", pp. 299–300.
294 Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, pp. 222–223.
295 Kutzinski, "Borders, Bodies" pp. 61–62.
296 Guterl, *American Mediterranean*, pp. 7–9.

slaveholding class laid in one way or another in the Caribbean, annexation of these islands, for example, was not supported by all. Some simply preferred to protect their interests through commerce, diplomacy – e.g. by lobbying against recognition of the Haitian Independence by the US government – and, sometimes, by owning plantations on these islands to help ensure the continuance of the "peculiar institution" in the face of abolitionist waves from colonial forces in Europe. Yet, especially after the Haitian Revolution at the turn of century and the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies in 1834, Cuba became a focal point for those who wanted to safeguard Southern slavery through expansionism. As Guterl notes, the successful joining of Texas to the Union as a slave state set an example for such annexationist visions. The benefits of Texas's annexation for the plantation society in the US boosted the enthusiasm for a Southern Manifest Destiny envisaging a proslavery hemispheric expansion. The resources of the island as well as the large profits and number of slaves made acquiring Cuba a very attractive proposition: "Cuba was, then, the next Texas, but with greater short term promise."[297]

Resulting from this widely-shared expansionist vision among the Southern slaveholding class in the US, the filibustering expeditions of General López to Cuba established the roots of what Senator Max Baucus called the "bizarre obsession with Cuba" of the US in reaction to the "Bush administration's use of military aircraft to help American broadcasters reach Cuba and increase the money supply for Cuban critics of Fidel Castro's government" in 2004. Observing this historical connection, Caroline Levander suggests,

> Cuba aligns U.S. imperialism with Southern separatism, revealing a complex, and often occluded, history of intervening sectional, regional, and national interests underpinning U.S.-Cuban relations throughout the nineteenth century. Indeed, the term manifest destiny was used, as Oliver Morton recalls, to describe not only U.S. westward expansion but also "the daring ambition" of Southern leaders, writers, adventurers, and filibusters to "liberate" Cuba from its "despotic oppressor", Spain. (O. Morton 4; 9)[298]

However, not everyone who considered Cuba a natural extension of the US South approved of López's expeditions. For example, although W. G. Simms believed that Cuba, as well as "St. Domingo, the West India Islands, generally, and all Mexico", would all "be Americanized [. . .] in course of time [sic]", he thought that the filibustering attempt to annex Cuba was dangerous for the

297 Ibid., p. 26.

298 C. F. Levander, "Confederate Cuba", *American Literature* 78 (2006) 4, p. 824, https://doi.org/10.1215/00029831-2006-053.

already tense relationship between the US and Spain.[299] Given Simms's popularity in the antebellum South, it is not hard to imagine that many Southerners might have shared his opinion on the expedition which ended with the execution of some 400 filibusters who followed López to Cuba. Writing a year before the 1851 expedition, a New Orleans merchant named Samuel Jarvis Peters, Jr. notes in his diary on 26 May 1850:

> [A]n attempt is now being made to liberate Cuba from the yoke of Spain. Narciso Lopez [sic] is at the head of this liberating expedition, which is not of course commenced by our government. We all would like to see Cuba free & becoming part of the United States, so would the majority of the Cubans, but let us acquire that island by purchase.[300]

That Cuba would eventually become part of the United States was not a new notion in the 1850s. Having officially acquired Spanish Florida in 1821, the US found its borders even closer to the island where the Spanish rule was mistrusted and questioned by the slaveholding Creole populations in the face of reformist movements and the British pressure for abolition. John Quincy Adams, who was the US secretary at the time, penned a letter to the US minister in Madrid, Hugh Nelson, in 1823 describing the same sentiment that both Simms and Peters would express three decades later. Adams highlighted the strategic position of the island in the Caribbean and the commercial and political relations between the populations of Cuba and the US. Famously comparing the island to a "ripe fruit", he suggested:

> There are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation. And if an apple, severed by the tempest form its native tree, cannot choose but to fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its own unnatural connection with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, by the same law of nature, cannot cast her off from her bosom.[301]

Notwithstanding the strong belief that Cuba as a "ripe fruit" would eventually fall to the hands of the US without military intervention, not all were patient enough to wait for the 'natural course of events' to lead the island closer to the US. In 1848, President James K. Polk made a bolder diplomatic attempt than simply waiting for Cuba to become Americanized. The president and his cabinet

299 Simms, "The Invasion of Cuba", p. 4.

300 S. J. Peters, "Samuel J. Peters, Jr. Diary, 1840 Jan. 1–1862 Mar. 29", in: *Samuel J. Peters and Family Papers, 1789–1914*, Mss. 222., E.49 Box 1 Folder: 7, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, Louisiana State University Libraries, Baton Rouge.

301 J. Q. Adams, "Letter from John Quincy Adams, US Secretary of State, to Hugh Nelson, the American Minister in Madrid, 23 April 1823", in: R. Gott, *Cuba: A New History*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, p. 326.

fruitlessly approached the Spanish government in the hopes of purchasing the island for $100 million. However, this attempt "only served to incite Spanish nationalism".[302]

This failure intensified the Southern support in the US for López's cause to invade the island through military intervention. Besides "the political advantages" that the annexation of Cuba would grant Southern politicians, the search for new lands and markets also attracted Southern planters to López's expeditions. Moreover, politicians and planters were not the only ones to support López. As Tansey's survey demonstrates, among the filibusters and their supporters were "lawyers, journalists, and merchants" whose financial conditions were reduced due to "limited job opportunities and economic decline" caused by the shifting route of railroads from "New Orleans to the East". Accordingly, they joined López, supported him financially, or published sympathetic articles about his campaigns with "the hope of great wealth and rapid social mobility".[303]

It was also not uncommon for Northerners in the US, such as J. Q. Adams, to support Cuba's annexation either through López's activities or any other way. As Greenberg shows, the public meetings that were held in New York and Philadelphia for López's cause were covered in Northern newspapers in a way that "makes it obvious that filibustering supporters did not see filibustering in sectional terms, despite the claims of many historians otherwise." Similarly, Tom Chaffin notes, besides New York and Philadelphia newspapers, publishers in Baltimore, Cincinnati, and Boston wrote favourable accounts of López. Moreover, New York traders and ship-owners had both direct and indirect interests in the island through their investment in the slavery-based sugar and cotton trades in the South, which made annexation of Cuba a profitable business in the North as well.[304]

It should also be mentioned that it was, of course, not just men who were interested in filibustering expeditions. "Although filibustering was bound up in the formation of masculine identity [. . .], female supporters of filibustering were not unknown." In addition to Lucy Holcombe, other female actors such as Anna Ella Carroll, Rose Greenhow, and Cora Montgomery[305] also supported

302 T. M. Leonard, *James K. Polk: A Clear and Unquestionable Destiny*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001, p. 184.

303 Tansey, "Southern", pp. 228–234.

304 T. Chaffin, "'Sons of Washington': Narciso Lopez, Filibustering, and U.S. Nationalism, 1848–1851", *Journal of the Early Republic* 15 (1995) 1, pp. 87–90; Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, p. 191.

305 Anna Ella Carroll was a political author and lobbyist who was active in the Whig party. As Armstrong writes, Carroll was strictly opposed to the secession and declared unconstitutional

such activities either by lobbying or publishing.[306] Women also participated in filibustering through emigration to the annexed territories and served to *domesticate* and *civilize* such locations in other cases of filibustering, such as in Nicaragua.[307] The female participation and support indicate that there might indeed have been a female audience for accounts of undertakings.

Filibustering attempts in Cuba engaged the US public across sectional, class, and gender lines. The failure and death of López and his troop in Cuba further "inspired great nationalist sentiment" in the US. It created a dispute between Spain and the US, the latter of which accused the former of slaughtering its sons and demanded vengeance.[308] Following the news of the filibustering attempt's failure and the filibusters' execution, Americans in both the North and South felt more inclined to blend an anti-annexationist sentiment with a nationalist compassion. Even those who did not initially support López's campaign expressed their sympathies for the fallen filibusters and condemned the Spanish for their brutal response. For example, Simms wrote that even though the filibusters acted lawlessly,

> [t]hey have seen go forth in youth, and strength, and pride, the noble spirit; dreaming only of glorious deeds, governed by what he has deemed a heroic and generous purpose,

in one of her essays which shaped Lincoln's ideas and politics on the issue. May writes in his article "Reconsidering Antebellum US Women's History" that despite her critical stance toward the annexation of Cuba Carroll was sympathetic to the William Walker's rule in Nicaragua. Rose Greenhow is most famously known as a confederate spy who was arrested by Abraham Lincoln and for her account of her imprisonment in during the Civil War, *My imprisonment and the first year of abolition rule at Washington* (1863). Jane Cazneau, or by her penname Cora Montgomery, is an antebellum journalist and author. She was a fervent supporter of the annexation of Texas and, later, of Cuba, as May demonstrates in his article "Lobbyist for Commercial Empire". Cazneau penned, alongside several essays, most famously *Eagle Pass; or Life on the Border* (1852) where she told her experiences living on the Mexican Border. See W. P. Armstrong, "The Story of Anna Ella Carroll: Politician, Lawyer and Secret Agent", *American Bar Association Journal* 35 (1949) 3, p. 199; A. Blackman, *Wild Rose: Rose O'Neale Greenhow, Civil War Spy*, New York: Random House, 2005; R. Greenhow, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* London: R. Bentley, 1863, http://archive.org/details/myimprisonmentfi00gree (accessed 10 September 2020); L. S. Hudson, *Mistress of Manifest Destiny: A Biography of Jane McManus Storm Cazneau, 1807–1878*, Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2001; May, "Reconsidering Antebellum", pp. 1170–1172; R. R. May, "Lobbyists for Commercial Empire: Jane Cazneau, William Cazneau, and U.S. Caribbean Policy, 1846–1878", *Pacific Historical Review* 48 (1979) 3, pp. 386–388.

306 Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, p. 221.

307 May, "Reconsidering Antebellum", p. 1165.

308 Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, p. 186.

> suddenly hurled from the steeps of life, and finishing his progress by a felon's death. The pang of such a spectacle is heightened by the fact that, while they sympathize with, they cannot defend, and dare not attempt to justify, the victim.[309]

Such sentiments were felt even more strongly in the places where the support for López was already robust. In New Orleans, a group of rioters "destroyed Spanish-owned businesses and threatened the lives of Spanish officials" after receiving the news of the execution of the filibusters.[310]

Considering this rising sympathy for López and his followers in the US after their disastrous expedition to Cuba, it is likely that some accounts of the expedition might have refrained from adopting a manifestly expansionist rhetoric in order not to alienate not-so-ardent supporters of annexation of Cuba among López sympathizers. Holcombe's novel poses such an instance of commemorating López and his fellow filibusters and arguing for the liberation of Cuba from the Spanish rule in a carefully non-expansionist manner. The non-expansionist tenor makes the novel function almost as a mediator between the North and the South of the US (re)generating a spatial imagination of the South as part of the US. Within the novel's unionist vision, the existing slaveholding satellite states, such as Cuba, that are "filibustered into [a US American version of] republicanism" serve to ensure the continuation of the slave economy in the Southern and hemispheric contexts.[311] Such mediating roles are rather common in antebellum women's fiction.[312] Indeed, the rhetoric that emphasizes liberty over expansionism in *The Free Flag of Cuba* can be read as a deliberate political choice by the author, who, being aware of the gradually rising tension between the two regions of her country, did not want to lose a possibly critical audience's sympathy over a cause that she wanted to promote so profoundly. However, it is also equally plausible that Holcombe in 1855[313] was not yet the expansionist and

309 Simms, "The Invasion of Cuba", p. 2.

310 Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, p. 195.

311 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 78.

312 Burton and Burton, "Southern Writer", p. 309.

313 While the publishing date on the book cover of the original edition of *The Free Flag of Cuba* by De Witt & Davenport Publishers shows 1855, the preface by the author is signed on September 1, 1854. This (at least) four-month-long gap between the two dates can be explained by the period that the publisher spent on editing and printing processes. Thus, it is highly possible that Holcombe finished writing her book by September 1, 1854. In this case, the novel was already completed before the Ostend Manifesto became public. Ostend Manifesto refers to a document written in Ostend, Belgium by the US ministers to Spain (Pierre Soulé), to Britain (James Buchanan), and to France (John Y. Mason) who argued for the

secessionist that she later became and actually believed that López's filibustering was indeed a cause solely for Cuban liberty.

Notwithstanding the reasons behind the choice of tenor regarding López's expedition and its expansionist aims, Holcombe's semi-fictional novel stands out as a non-annexationist account of the expedition. As Chaffin observes, the mere existence of such a perspective has largely been unacknowledged for a long time both in academia and in the general discourse on the history of Cuban-US American relations. The traditional history of López's expeditions has been told by Southern historians such as John Hope Franklin from a vantage point that considers these expeditions solely as a sectionalist Southern strategy to protect and expand slavery as an economic institution. This tendency has started to change with some recent revisionist scholarly works.[314] Leading this shift in the ways filibustering expeditions are studied today, Robert E. May suggests that most filibusters identified themselves with the Young American movement and "championed their nation's 'manifest destiny,' as well as related precepts of white American racial superiority over Hispanic peoples". May notes that although some filibusters and their supporters were indeed interested in the continuance of slave economy in the hemisphere and wanted to secure and expand the institution, not all filibusters were wealthy enough to actually own slaves or have a stake in the institution. "[M]any filibusters and prospective enlistees believed that the expeditions would endow less fortunate peoples with America's superior political institutions."[315]

In a similar vein, the division between the advocates and opponents of filibustering to Cuba was not necessarily based on conflicting views on the discussions of separatism or unionism:

> The argument that López and his conspirators sought to advance southern nationalism and separatism discounts what even their enemies understood. López's antislavery foes readily grasped that filibustering's danger lay not in secessionism but in its opposite. [. . .] Their danger lay not in what they would take away from the United States but in what they might

necessity of a US military intervention to Cuba if Spain refused to sell the island to the US. Undoubtedly, the manifesto itself was a product of a larger public and political discourse that had long prevailed in the US throughout the nineteenth century, just like Holcombe's novel, itself. Therefore, while chronologically-speaking it is unlikely that Holcombe's novel reacts to the Manifesto, the fact that these texts were publicized within such a short period of time not only indicates that these two texts that were concerned about the future of Cuba and saw its salvation as coming from the US but also points to the existing of a more extensive discussion within the US over the Cuban case.

314 Chaffin, "Sons of Washington", pp. 85–87.

315 May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*, pp. 112–114.

> bring in-an island divided to create two or more new slave states. The addition of new slave states would allow the South to re-gain its numerical parity in the U.S. Senate [. . .] A restoration of the South's parity in the Senate would, in turn, renew long-term Union membership for the region as a tenable, long-term proposition for its slave-holders.[316]

In this sense, Chaffin argues, what divided filibusters and their opponent was not "sectionalism versus unionism", but "two competing versions of antebellum nationalism" that co-existed in the US – a division of opinion with regard to the meaning of the Union. The filibusters believed that they were following the legacy of the Mexican War and the nationalisms of Jefferson and Jackson "that tolerated both slavery and expansions".[317]

That is, among the most fervent supporters of filibusters were also those who simply regarded these expeditions as liberating missions. The rhetoric dominating most of the López's rallies relied heavy on the discourses of liberty from colonialism and spread of democracy. The languages of democracy, liberty, laissez-faire liberalism, and imperial expansionism were already profoundly intertwined and relied on a very similar vocabulary in the antebellum US. This passage that from *De Bow's Review* 1850 illustrates clearly how difficult it was to discern these discourses from each other in the antebellum US: "Call it lust of dominion – the restlessness of democracy – the passion of land and gold, or desire to render our interior impregnable by commanding the keys of the gulf – the possession of Cuba is still an American sentiment."[318] The idea of empire was integral to the idea of nation in the antebellum US, as it was integral to the idea of US democracy. The nation state and empire, which are habitually conceptualized as two distinct spatial configurations, were (and are) often found as co-existing formats in US American spatial imaginations.

Moreover, among anti-annexationist Southern supporters of filibusterism were surely those who considered an independent yet slaveholding Cuba more beneficial in ensuring the continuation of slavery in the region. In such a scenario, Cuba would function as a satellite state, a politically independent extension of the space of US republicanism, where slave labour continued to constitute the basis of the economy and serve Southern slaveholders and Northern merchants in the US as an agricultural trade partner. This scenario might have also sounded more appealing to those who considered the Southern slaveholder the natural racial superior of the Cuban and did not necessarily engage in an amalgamation of two nations.

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316 Chaffin, "Sons of Washington", p. 108.

317 Ibid., pp. 91–107.

318 "The Late Cuba Expedition", in *De Bois Review IX*, quoted in: Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800–1861*, p. 108.

Among this variety of antebellum visions on the issues of filibusterism and Cuba, Holcombe's *The Free Flag of Cuba* emerges as a narrative that accounts for López's last expedition to Cuba from a nationalist and unionist perspective, one that does not necessarily argue for the annexation of Cuba. Rather, the narrative's take on the expedition either as a diplomatic writing strategy that does not want to alienate possible non-expansionist readers or as a personal ideological choice of the author promotes Cuban liberation from European colonialism, through non-state military action supported by US American ideals of liberty. Such a reading necessarily avoids the anachronism seen in some previous readings of the novel which immediately place it within the context of Lucy Holcombe Pickens's later secessionist views and advocacy for the Confederate States. Undoubtedly, Holcombe's novel contributes to a common antebellum spatial imagination that perceived Cuba as a geographical, economic, and political extension of the US South. Its interest in the island's liberation from Spain by private US military intervention has strong imperialist and white-supremacist undertones. It is these rather ambivalent spatial connotations regarding expansionism in Holcombe's novel that locates it in a unique position within the literature on antebellum filibustering.

Slavocracy plays an undeniably strong role within this spatial imagination. Initially as the daughter of a plantation-owning family and later as the wife of a plantation owner, Holcombe "had a vested interest in protecting the prolonged value of such 'property,' which would ignite her determination to both spread and stabilize slavery be it through political manoeuvres, covert military operations, outright revolution, or sensational fiction."[319] Like many other Southern planters who supported the filibustering expeditions to Cuba, Holcombe saw these expeditions as an opportunity to ensure and protect the slave economy in the Caribbean and the US. Her later life as the wife of F. W. Pickens is undoubtedly marked with a secessionist sentiment besides her fervent advocacy for the "peculiar institution". However, I argue that this secessionist tenor is not yet present in her 1855 novel. Holcombe's interest in the continuation and protection of slave economy in *The Free Flag of Cuba* does not involve separatism. To the very contrary, the narrative reinforces a rhetoric of peace between the North and the South. The years of López expeditions and the publishing of Holcombe's novel are marked by the tension between the free and the slave states which was almost tangibly felt. It is a decade characterized by the Mexican-American War,

319 Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n.p.

the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,[320] and the Compromise of 1850, all of which provoked the debates over the expansion of slavery to the newly acquired territories even further. In such a tense atmosphere where peace between the two sections of the US hung on by a thread, *The Free Flag of Cuba* seeks to avoid intensifying any discord. While the narrative's slavocrat tenor remains strong, the union between the North and the South is never put in danger. Instead by introducing other expansionist developments in the country to its plot, the narrative seeks to achieve the desired yet failed outcome of the Compromise of 1850 to establish peace between the North and the South with a narrative of unionism.

In the following analysis of the novel, I focus on the novel's adoption of a careful language regarding the future of Cuba in order to maintain a rhetoric of unionism and peace between the North and the South as well as to refrain from alienating potential supporters of López. Previous readings of the novel have so far emphasized the notion that Cuba's annexation to the United States would politically and economically strengthen the plantation South. Here, I suggest that this idea remains only a 'ghost theme' in *The Free Flag of Cuba*. The novel does not reinforce an argument for invading Cuba. Instead, leaving the addressee of its call for vengeance ambiguous, it builds a tenor that avoids both fervent secessionism and expansionism. Undoubtedly, this does not mean that the narrative shies away from criticizing the US and Spanish governments. Rather, it clearly articulates its animosity for the former for not showing support to and rescuing the filibusters and the latter for its imperialist existence in Cuba and for the way it treated the "liberators" of the island. Nor does this mean that the narrative does not take a strong proslavery stance. *The Free Flag of Cuba* is as much a criticism of Spanish and US governments as it is a proslavery argument. Yet, to maintain a unionist tenor throughout its narrative, the novel spares a blatantly expansionist and annexationist rhetoric that could alienate the readership by intensifying secessionist and sectionalist sentiments.

The anti-annexationist, proslavery rhetoric of Holcombe's account of the 1851 filibustering expedition to Cuba constructs a spatial imagination that

320 Marking the end of the Mexican-American War between 1846–1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed on 2 February 1848, ceding the entire southwest and California to the US. Hence constituting a great achievement on behalf of the Manifest Destiny of the nation to reach from one ocean to another in the continent, it led to "a sudden popular interest in Central America because the quickest and easiest route to the gold fields [in California] was through Panama or Nicaragua". This interest can also be seen in Holcombe's novel, as is studied in the following, when Ralph Dudley, upon losing his fortunes during the filibustering expedition, goes to California to replenish his wealth. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, p. 32.

seeks to stabilize the US South in its existing position in the Union as a slaveholding region. It produces a simultaneously slavocrat and unionist spatial imagination of the South that reinforces the prevailing spatial order of the United States as a union of many states and aims to safeguard the slave economy both in the US and the extended Caribbean by filibustering Cuba out of European control and securing the slavery on the island. In this vision, ensuring the continuation of slavery necessitates not a territorial but ideological expansion of the US to Cuba, whereupon the island is included in a space of US republicanism.

A Domestic Background for Unionism

Holcombe's novel – with its full title *The Free Flag of Cuba; or The Martyrdom of Lopez, A Tale of the Liberating Expedition of 1851* – is a semi-fictional romance that tells not only the story of the expedition but also the tale of its homefront. The novel focuses on the days surrounding the mission in domestic, political, and military spheres. The inclusion of the stories of many different characters into the plot renders it a hard task to identify the real protagonist of this romance. Although the story begins with a short anecdote describing General Narciso López's conversation with an unnamed US American general (based on his reluctance to join to the expedition, the reader may suspect that the general is inspired by Robert E. Lee),[321] the plot immediately switches its attention to a young woman named Genevieve Clifton. The narrative instantaneously marks the racial superiority of this possible protagonist with an "extreme whiteness" which is attributed to the beauty of Louisiana's aristocrats.[322]

The reader encounters Genevieve as she struggles with conflicting emotions. On the one hand, she is heartbroken by her fiancé Ralph Dudley's decision to join the filibusters. On the other, she is ecstatic to welcome and host her school-friend Mabel at her family plantation. Ralph ridicules her overly enthusiastic portrayal of her "Yankee" friend with a cynicism that rejects the possibility of a sincere friendship between women, particularly one that is established

321 Robert E. Lee, later known as the commander of the Confederate Army, was famous for capturing Nat Turner and his followers during 1831 Southampton Rebellion and was celebrated as a Mexican War hero during the last decade of the antebellum period. According to May's account, during late-1840s, López tried to convince Lee, as well as Jefferson Davis, to actively take part in the filibustering expedition without any success. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*, p. 25.

322 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 17.

during school years. The narrative later employs this scene to dismiss Ralph's derisive remarks, which, it implies, stems from a commonly-shared notion in the US society,[323] especially when Mabel finally arrives at Cliftons's Ellawarre Plantation and Genevieve's enthusiasm is justified. Holcombe writes:

> There was much real happiness in the tearful but joyous meeting of the two young girls. It is, I know, a subject of ridicule, but I believe, that oftentimes the strongest friendship of a woman's life is formed at school. It was so in this case; they had a memory apart from the world – the memory of calm and happy years, spent in the quiet and excellent Moravian Institute, on the beautiful laurel-covered banks of the romantic Lehigh.[324]

Locating the roots of the friendship between its two female protagonists at the Moravian Institute in Bethlehem, PA (the school that the author herself also attended), the narrative highlights that the Southern protagonist Genevieve has actually been to the North and lived among the Northerners. Hence, the arrival of the Northern Mabel serves to condemn, besides the cynicism about female friendship, the Southern prejudice against the Northerners. This becomes pronounced in the portrayal of Genevieve's friend Eugene De France. Genevieve is convinced that everyone, including Eugene, will love Mabel, but Eugene is not persuaded. He suggests, "["Yankee girls"] have such large hands and feet. They ought to stay up north where they are put like sunflowers at the back of the garden." Having lived in the North, Genevieve easily dismisses and laughs at her friend's childish remarks. When Mabel eventually arrives, Eugene's prejudice against the Northerners vanishes to such a degree that he cannot help but fall in love with this beautiful "Yankee". Mabel, on the other hand, charms all the people at Ellawarre not only with her beauty but also with her intellect. Her interest "in everything relating to Southern life" as well as her support for López's cause gains the sympathy of people at the plantation, most of whom share her enthusiasm and some of whom eventually join the expedition.[325]

However, the expedition appears in the narrative as the only matter upon which the two female protagonists cannot agree. Unlike Mabel, who echoes the author's own voice in her approval of López's cause, Genevieve cannot comprehend the reasons why US American men should fight for a foreign country's independence. Even though the narrative depicts Genevieve's disapproval for the cause as a feminine weakness and a woman's desire to keep her suitor safe from the dangers of warfare, it still does justice to her intellect. Genevieve's anti-filibusterism is depicted to be quite well-reasoned and at least to the contemporary

323 Burton and Burton, "Southern Writer", p. 315.
324 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 52.
325 Ibid., pp. 51–66.

reader, her reasoning appears to exceed simple selfishness. In an instance where Genevieve argues with Ralph, who vehemently suggests that it is patriotic and "noble" to aid a county that has an "intense desire for liberty" under a "tyrant", for example, Genevieve reminds him of the duty of a patriot to "respect the laws" of their own country, which in this case denounces filibusters as pirates.[326] Her rather rational arguments against filibusterism render Genevieve a character who approaches the Cuban issue from a different spatial framing that the novel seeks to invalidate. This spatial framing considers filibusterism as encroaching upon someone else's territory unlawfully, that is, as piracy as often argued in the anti-filibuster discourses. The novel, however, aims to replace this understanding with one that views López's cause as a duty, as Mabel does, to expand the spatial boundaries of US republicanism.

The narrative limits Genevieve's political capacity to these arguments. The conversation ends with Ralph's lengthy arguments on the benefits of liberating Cuba and the "male honor"[327] of keeping one's promise, and Genevieve's politically insignificant, romantic attempts to convince him to stay. In another instance, during a conversation between the two girls, Genevieve's reminder of the lawlessness of the upcoming expedition is once again dismissed when Mabel argues that "the laws of nations" do not prohibit "the friends of Cuban independence" from seeking liberty for the island.[328] Mabel's argument seems to enchant Genevieve, who admits that her friend's comprehension of the topic surpasses her own, once again degrading Genevieve to the level of a simple yet well-meaning girl in front of the *noble* men and women that surround her:

> [Genevieve] had heard [Ralph] speak with fervid brilliancy of his campaigns in Mexico, she knew his daring nature loved the perils of war; but to leave her – to join this dangerous, mysterious enterprise, in the very face of *that terrible proclamation!* It was worse than rebellion; it was downright traitorism [sic] to his country – *to her*. She was a woman, and this expedition was bringing danger to her lover; therefore, we can excuse thoughts in her [. . .].[329]

Among all the important characters of the novel, Genevieve seems to be the only person who understands the physical and legal dangers of pursuing such an enterprise in Cuba. Yet, her awareness is dismissed as a feminine fear that lacks an understanding of what Greenberg calls the "male honor".[330] Mabel, on

326 Ibid., pp. 22–23.
327 Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, p. 223.
328 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 70.
329 Ibid., pp. 37–38.
330 Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, p. 223.

the other hand, even though a Northerner, shows great interest in General López's cause and encourages others to support it. Whereas Genevieve shows sympathy for Eugene, whose familial obligations prevent him from joining the expedition, Mabel encourages him to join. Expressing her opinions on the ideal militant masculinity that longs "for honor and for fame" but "not for the praise of men; [. . .] neither for [her] smile", Mabel convinces Eugene to go and fight in Cuba.[331] Mabel's republican and filibusterist ideas do not only echo the narrative's ideological voice, they also follow the rhetoric of liberation employed by the semi-fictional López of the narrative. On several instances, Mabel defies the rhetoric around anti-filibusterism and denies personal or national economic and political interest in the expeditions. When Genevieve's uncle Mr. Clifton expresses criticism toward López's cause, Mabel dismisses such insinuations:

> "Mabel", cried Mr. Clifton, [. . .] "listen to me now. Suppose me to be your *lover* [. . .] *would* you send *me* off filibustering over the Mexican sea?"
> "I would send you to assist in liberating an oppressed and unhappy people."
> "Oh! perhaps that is a better way to express it. But what if I had conscientious scruples?"
> "I would try and overcome them, and any other obstacles which prevented you from doing good."
> "After Cuba was freed, I might repose at leisure on a coffee plantation; eh, Mabel!"
> "No [. . .]. You should go wherever right was to be asserted or good effected. [. . .]"
> "Well! when the whole world had been filibustered into republicanism."[332]

Mabel firmly believes that the filibusters, whom she refuses to call anything but "Patriots" and "Liberators", are on a liberating mission and do no seek any personal gain. The emphasis on republicanism creates a unique spatial imagination against the commonplace annexationism claiming sovereignty over larger territories. Highlighting American republicanism as the aim of filibusterism, the narrative imagines an expansion of the republican space. Such expansionism is not considered imperialistic. To the contrary, the narrative repeatedly stresses that it is an anti-imperialist liberating mission:

> It is a glorious, a holy mission! [. . .] Not in the records of past history can you find a band of men so unselfishly courageous [. . .]. They go to Cuba, not to conquer the Spaniard, in order to rob the natives; not for her slaves, not for her lands, nor her wealth – but for her liberty.[333]

With these words by Mabel, the novel takes its argument that discharges the criticism of personal gain one step further. It implies that filibusters do not

331 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 73.
332 Ibid., p. 52.
333 Ibid., p. 87.

even consider the profit from ensuring the continuance of slavery on the island in undertaking such a dangerous initiative. Securing the liberty of Cuba from Spain appears to be the only and ultimate goal of the filibusters. The passionate advocacy that disregards even the protection of the slave economy as a motive coming from a Northern character is highly significant for the unionist rhetoric of the narrative. Letting a young woman from the North instead of Southern men speak so highly of the filibusters and defend the purity and selflessness of their intensions allows for a discourse that considers filibusterism neither a solely Southern cause nor a subject of debate between the North and South. Instead, "Cuba's liberty and humanity's right" emerge as causes for which any American should fight.[334]

Mabel's advocacy for filibusterism also serves to support Chaffin's argument. The narrative assigns the duty of advertising and vindicating the expedition mostly to this young Northern woman. Her femininity and conformance to the domestically limited sphere of female contribution to society[335] make her Northern advocacy for filibusterism an even stronger case. She anticipates no personal gain from the expedition excepting that she hopes that her future lover will have gained the honour, fame, and pride of having joined it. Rejecting both personal and national gain from liberating Cuba, except for the spiritual rewards, Mabel constitutes a perfect example for the narrative to exhibit López's cause as a national one. Mabel's background lets the narrative avoid representing filibusterism as a solely Southern issue. Instead it appears as a nationwide matter of interest. Read in this sense, Genevieve's opposition to a case that is commonly

334 Ibid., p. 9.

335 Mabel's conformity to the domestic sphere reflect a thoroughly republican idea of femininity that was often expressed in the US during the early republican era. For instance, during a conversation between Genevieve and Mabel, the former asks her friend if she is afraid of being considered "strong-minded" and thus "disliked" by men. Mabel answers: "A woman with liberal information, one who comprehends, fully and correctly, the principles and propriety, not only of the intellectual but *social* world, may exert on society a great and good influence. Woman has great power, if she would realize and accept it. It is conceded that early education has much to do with a man's future course. Then the mother, though she cannot herself struggle in active life, yet in the mind of her son she can lay the foundation of that strength which may, in after years, hold the storm of strife obedient to his will. The mother may implant in her boy that love for right and truth which will fill the man with lofty aspirations for good." Yet in another instance, when Captain Raymond suggest that her ambitions may entail a desire for direct engagement in politics, she answers: "I think woman's position is right, just as it is. It is a happy and honorable one. But I cannot help it, that my spirit is restless, and sometimes longs for activity. I regret and condemn the growing strongmindedness of my sex. Yet, I think, if man was truer to his duties, woman would not seek to assist him in his legitimate sphere." Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, pp. 52–74.

considered a Southern matter serves to the same end. Creating a strong contrast to the filibusterism of her "Yankee" friend, Genevieve's disapproval of the expedition presents a case that suggests that neither the entire South was for filibusterism, nor was the entire North against it. Rather, by assigning unorthodox opinions to its two female protagonists, the narrative demonstrates that opposition as well as sympathy toward López and his followers existed in both regions concurrently.

But why would an author whose intention in writing a filibustering novel is to vindicate the expedition and provide an accurate history of its events focus on the friendship between two young women from the two sections of the country to such a degree that it makes up a considerable portion of the narrative? Could the narrative not build a similar argument that implies a national concern for filibusterism by focusing solely on the events of the expedition itself and revolving the plot mainly around nonfictional male characters? Undoubtedly, Holcombe could have created a narrative where the Northerners show support for filibusterism at least as much as their Southern fellows, especially given the historical evidence for financial contributions from the North to López's expedition. A reasonable question to be raised, then, should be what the narrative would lose if it did not use Genevieve and Mabel's friendship as such a focal point, and, instead, produced a mainly masculine and military account of the expedition. While Lowe rightfully argues that Holcombe knew "that the best way to argue the case for filibustering [was] to dramatize it",[336] I suggest, this dramatization points to a unionist sentiment in here novel.

Even though Mabel and Genevieve never agree in their stances toward the filibustering expedition, they never cease to maintain a strong companionship. Genevieve's disapproval for the cause does not vanish over the course of the narrative, but her sympathies nonetheless lay with the men fighting in Cuba. After Mabel and Eugene become sweethearts and both Eugene and Ralph join López in Cuba, the friendship between these young women is further strengthened with a new tie that is depicted to exist among those waiting home for the return of their beloved ones. The access to the homefront of the expedition via Mabel and Genevieve's story adds to the dramatic tenor. Although the narrative does not go into the details of their shared experience at home, it tells how the brave attitude of Mabel provides solace for Genevieve while waiting for news from their sweethearts. The implied solidarity between Mabel and Genevieve hints at an imagined unanimity in the Union. The anxious anticipation of the two women for their loved ones' hopefully victorious return from Cuba resonates in the way that the narrative imagines the filibustering to be a national

336 Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n.p.

concern. This shared unease symbolizes the anxiety that the nation, as a whole, should feel for its "sons" fighting for the freedom of Cuba.

This national concern for the filibusters as the sons of the nation – or "of Washington" as the narrative calls them also functions in a way to vindicate the expedition as a legitimate war led by the United States.[337] This legitimization occurs not on a legal but an emotional level, as the narrative creates an image of a united nation at the smallest scale possible, that is, in the domestic environment of the female friendship that the story provides. As a whole, this nation worries for the future of its sons fighting abroad. Once Mabel joins Genevieve and her domestic sphere, they remain together throughout the rest of the narrative. Hence, the novel unites the fictional representatives for the South and the North. The sympathy and apprehension these two women feel for the men fighting in Cuba become one with the sympathy and apprehension of the nation in general. Their unity becomes the unity of the nation:

> [While the narrative] use[s] the Mississippi River as a metaphor to connect the North and the South, "that generous river, knowing neither north nor south, but alike kissing the frozen banks of the snow-hill states, and the sunny shore of the flower dowered south" (40) [it] use[s]the friendship between Genevieve and Mabel to show that the two sections should stay on friendly terms.[338]

Similar to the water of Mississippi, the North and the South are depicted to share both pain and joy equally via the friendship of Genevieve and Mabel. After the news of the expedition's failure and Eugene's death reaches the plantation, it is not only Mabel who is mourning the loss of a lover but also Genevieve mourning the loss of a friend. Similarly, when Genevieve falls sick not knowing the whereabouts of Ralph, Mabel rises up from her own grief to attend to her friend. Later, once Dudley and other survivors of the expedition come back from Cuba and Genevieve recovers from her devastation, it is not only Genevieve who is facing a brighter and happy future. Mabel, too, finds happiness with the return of the filibusters. The same day that Ralph and Genevieve get married, Mabel marries Stuart Raymond, a surviving filibuster and friend of Ralph. This sequence of melodramatic events in the narrative's domestic setting, whereupon the destiny of one young woman from the North closely follows that of another from the South, suggests that the destinies of the Northern and Southern regions of the United States are likewise tied to each other. The domesticity of these events, which is achieved with a focus on female protagonists in the narrative, plays on the double and gendered

337 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 14.
338 Burton and Burton, "Southern Writer", p. 309.

connotations of both femininity and domesticity in the nineteenth century, which regards the nation state as a domestic and maternal space and the feminine and domestic sphere of family as the nucleus of the nation.

The semi-fictional nature of the narrative opens the door of the domestic sphere through which the narrative can explore the political via the sentimental. The sentimental becomes the narrative's tool to simultaneously argue for both unionism and López's cause. The introduction of Mabel to the plot as the "Yankee" supporter of López's expeditions as well as Genevieve's unexpected Southern criticism of the cause allows the novel to refute the discourse that regards filibustering for Cuba as a Southern enterprise and to argue for nationwide support for the filibusters. Distancing filibustering from the masculine Southern image via Northern female support also eliminates accusations of personal economic reward through slave economy as well as military gain, since it is not conventionally expected for a nineteenth-century Northern woman to benefit from either. The unshakeable friendship between Mabel and Genevieve makes a strong case for the novel's unionism. Ralph Dudley's initial cynicism toward female school friendship, which undermines the possibility of a genuine companionship between young women, is not the only cynicism that the novel dismisses. The sectionalist wave, of which Holcombe later on became a part, that regarded national unity between the North and the South as impossible is also negated via this friendship that tolerates political disagreements without conflict and forms a unity in sentiments.

Once disconnected from the customary vocabulary about nineteenth-century filibusterism, its immediate connotations, and the possible predispositions that Holcombe's later secessionism may create, *The Free Flag of Cuba* can be read within its rightful unionist tenor. The same applies for its liberation rhetoric in its conceptualization of filibustering expeditions.

Filibusters for Liberty

There is almost a consensus among scholars that Holcombe's *The Free Flag of Cuba* reinforces a blatantly expansionist rhetoric. Lowe argues that the novel represents the "sentimental domestic wing of the scheme to conquer Cuba", although he suggests that "the narrative is based on the belief that Lopez was fighting to extend freedom to Cuba." Greenberg, too, draws attention to the ways in which the narrative emphasizes the love of freedom and desire to liberate Cuba among the filibusters, but uses the novel as an example for the female support for "aggressive expansionism". Levander makes a stronger case in her argument that Holcombe's novel "reveal[s] the South to be an ambitious

imperial enterprise that imagined, and often undertook, a series of expansionist projects". Yet, the argument that the novel openly manifests a Southern expansionist desire fails to be supported by enough evidence to be convincing. Including Holcombe within a group of other Southerners who pursued clearer expansionist agendas, Levander's article suggests,

> [t]he "vast populous empire" that Pickens predicted the South would establish in "South America and Mexico" became the joint project of a number of Southern writers, adventurers, and filibusters before, during, and after the Civil War who, like Pickens, argued for expansionist undertakings such as creating the 1854 Republic of Sonora, founding a "Universal Republic" with the Confederacy as capitol, and invading Cuba.[339]

However, the quoted phrases in this passage belong neither to *The Free Flag of Cuba* nor to any other texts by Holcombe. They are, instead, written by Augusta J. Evans in her Civil War novel *Macaria, or Altars of Sacrifice*.[340] Thus, mistakenly attributing the expansionist rhetoric of Evans's novel to Holcombe's romance, the article follows a similarly faulty logic to those works that almost instantaneously associate *The Free Flag of Cuba* with secessionism owing to Holcombe's later views.

Vindicating López's filibustering expedition without at least implicitly evoking expansionist and imperialist undertones is indeed an impossible task and Holcombe's novel is not free of such undercurrents. However, the proposition that *The Free Flag of Cuba* endorses "aggressive expansionism" nevertheless poses many challenges. Instead, I suggest, the narrative is rather careful about its approach to the spatio-political implications of the filibustering expedition either as a strategical choice to avoid alienating its possible non-annexationist readership or as a genuine belief in the selfless dedication of the filibusters to the liberty of Cuba. The neatly selected vocabulary of the narrative's descriptions of the filibusters, their motives, and actions illustrate a hesitance and withdrawal from a manifest expansionism. May, too, makes a similar argument in highlighting the reference in the narrative to the "eighteenth-century paladins" as an

339 Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, p. 223; Levander, "Confederate Cuba", pp. 825–826; Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n.p.

340 Indeed, the entire paragraph where Levander makes her argument about Holcombe's expansionism in her article "Confederate Cuba" appears with some alterations in her book *Cradle of Liberty*, leaving her claims about Holcombe's vision regarding Cuba under question. This factual mistake, which perhaps arose from a rather careless editing process, however, cannot discredit her works. A. J. Evans, *Macaria; or, Altars of Sacrifice*. 2nd edn, Richmond: West & Johnston, 1864; https://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/macaria/macaria.html (accessed 20 October 2020); C. F. Levander, *Cradle of Liberty: Race, the Child, and National Belonging from Thomas*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

analogy to the filibusters in their "liberating" mission, underlining the inconsistency between the narrative's concurrent desire for Cuban liberty and its slavocracy.[341] In the subsequent analysis, I demonstrate these to be not inconsistencies but a carefully woven rhetoric that justifies filibusterism without necessarily generating sectionalist undertones with a reading of the racialized and gendered depictions of Cuba and Cuban people.

The narrative repeatedly portrays Cuba in a quite gendered fashion, drawing attention to its populace's perceived childishness and passivity.[342] Both Lowe and Greenberg highlight the feminized image of the island in the narrative and illustrate how the Spanish rule in Cuba is seen as an assault on the female body that the island is equated with. Holcombe writes:

> Hundreds of years have passed since Cuba, the Island Queen, smiled in the gorgeous splendor of *her beauty* on the dazzled and enraptured Spaniards. Filled with wonder and delight, they stood amazed at the wondrous beauty of the ocean-born *goddess*. With false promises on *their lips*, they encircled in *their dark*, treacherous arms the *fairest child* of the southern waters. Once possessed, the deadly grasp of avarice and *oppression crushed and marred her glorious loveliness*, sending from *her torn bosom* a piteous and continued cry for mercy and relief.[343]

Throughout the novel, this representation of the island as a woman seduced and defiled by the Spanish colonial power creates an image similar to the many captivity narratives where the female captive is rescued by an Anglo-Saxon male hero – a plotline that most nineteenth-century readers in the US were familiar with. Lowe asserts that there was also a proliferation of such images in the US after the revolution in Haiti.[344] This rather banal image might have rendered the novel accessible to a larger readership by appealing to the established tastes in the popular culture of the era. Playing on yet another popular image which accentuates the analogy between the island and a female body, Holcombe's novel depicts a Cuba that is incapable of defending itself from the tyranny of the Spanish rulers. The island, according to the narrative, "earnestly

341 May, "Reconsidering Antebellum", p. 1182.

342 L. A. Pérez Jr. highlights the proliferation of the metaphor of Cuba as a mistreated woman during the Spanish-American War of 1898. Documenting both visual and literary presentations of Cuba as a woman, Pérez Jr. demonstrates how this gendered metaphor served to render it the masculine responsibly of the US to rescue the island in the late nineteenth century. The gendered representation of the island in Holcombe's novel shows that this metaphor was already an established literary tradition in the US printing culture about the Cuban issue by the end of the century. See L. A. Pérez Jr., *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008, pp. 71–81.

343 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 101 (emphasis added).

344 Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n.p.

desire[s] a change of government" and "dream[s] of freedom and wake to liberty", but instead of fighting – for which it is too weak and feminine – it cries for a rescuer.[345]

These common references serve to establish a feminized and racialized portrayal of the island. Reminding the reader of the alarming space that the images of assaults occupied in the minds of Southerner plantation owners in the US, Lowe suggests that the narrative describes Cuba as a white woman and the Spanish rule a Black assaulter. This image attends to the racially-driven motives of filibusterism that the novel promotes by appealing to the fear of Africanization on the island that both the Cuban Creoles and the Southern plantation-owners in the US (given the geographical proximity of the island to Florida) shared regarding the possible emancipation of the enslaved people on the island.[346] The racialized portrayal of the island and the Spanish oppressors becomes even more complex once the US filibusters are introduced as the saviour of the island surrounded by the threats of remaining under Spanish domination or becoming Africanized. The Cuban Creoles, although considered white compared to the Spanish, are still depicted as racially inferior to the Americans of the US. This multifaceted racial hierarchy that the narrative establishes becomes clearly articulated in a dialogue between Genevieve and Eugene. Arguing against Eugene's desire to join the filibusters, Genevieve declares, "[t]he Cubans are not worthy of freedom." This comment associates the inhabitants of the island with the Black populations whose deserved status is as slaves in the South in the eyes of the plantation owner's daughter. Eugene does not fully dismiss this association. Instead, he suggests that once the filibusters free the Cubans from oppression, "they *will* be true to the noble principle that now inspires them", implying a pedagogical exchange between racially inferior Cubans and noble Americans via filibusterism, as Mabel puts it, "into republicanism".[347]

The subtly expresses fear of Africanization in the novel leads to a racial order whereupon the Cuban Creoles (which includes only those of European, and not African, ancestry for the narrative) are preferred, seen as racially superior, and hence found worthier of freedom than the people of African heritage. This hierarchical racial order designates white Cubans as the protector of slavery in the Caribbean and white men from the US as the saviour of those Cuban who are not able to fight the despotic rule of the European colonizer alone. Adorned with the significant duty of being the protector of the slave economy,

345 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, pp. 26–28.
346 Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n. p.
347 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, pp. 21–22; p. 78.

white Cubans emerge as worthy not of the position of the oppressed under a colonial rule but of the master of the enslaved Black people. Yet, incapable of performing their duty alone, they need help from American filibusters to secure their destined role. According to the narrative, white Cuba has a claim over the help of its American rescuers: "The strongest of all claims, that which a suffering people has on its prosperous neighbors".[348] In this sense, the novel challenges the established notion about López's filibusterism to Cuba which regards the expedition as an expression of a US claim over the island. Instead, it proposes a new one whereupon the hardship that white Cubans experience under the Spanish rule grants them a right to demand military help from the US Americans, since the narrative imagines that "Cuba's only hope was in them."[349]

Cuba's claim over help from the US is not restricted to the military context. The novel ascertains that, after liberating the island, it is the duty of the US to establish a "republican government" on the island "which will look to America as its model". Reviving the spirits of Washington and Lafayette to encourage and guide the filibusters, the narrative establishes a parallel between the American Revolution and López's aim of liberating Cuba. Calling these US revolutionary heroes "the guardian spirits of universal liberty" with whom it compares the filibusters, the novel brings forth a rhetoric, various versions of which are still persistent in the US diplomacy today, within which the establishment of democracy in overseas countries becomes a patriotic American duty.[350] With this rhetoric, *The Free Flag of Cuba* seeks to dismiss the claims of expansionism and self-interest associated with filibusterism. While too *dignified* to imply racial equality between white Cuban Creoles and white US Americans, Holcombe still avoids any explicit remark that may suggest a racial hierarchy between the two which can justify US domination over Cuba, as such remarks would raise questions about white Cuban capability of mastering Black populations and ensuring the continuance of slavery in the region. Instead, depicting Cuba as a helpless woman in need of the US Americans' masculine assistance, Holcombe's novel creates a hierarchy between the two, which resembles the author's conception of gender roles.

Burton and Burton observe a similarly gendered rhetoric applying to the ways in which the narrative positions its female characters with regard to the filibusterism in an analogy with the women of the American Revolution and the filibustering male characters with the founding fathers. They suggest these

348 Ibid., p. 47.
349 Ibid., p. 59.
350 Ibid., p. 27.

historical figures "almost become main characters" within the "revolutionary fervor" of Holcombe's novel and argue that López becomes to the Cuban revolution what "Lafayette was to the American Revolution": "A heroic outside agitator who helped effect victory for the righteous underdog". Lowe, on the other hand, implies that it is Ralph, rather than López, who regards himself as "Cuba's Lafayette, enforcing the mythical dimension of the novel as a reprise of both the American Revolution and chivalric days, à la Scott."[351] Regardless of whose association with Marquis de Lafayette or Charles Scott is stronger, the parallel that the narrative builds between the Revolutionary War heroes and its filibuster characters reinforces the rhetoric connecting the American Independence War and López's filibustering, emphasizing the latter's purpose as a liberating mission from the European colonial oppressor through the former's legacy. The narrative uses every opportunity to make its case of liberation.

The narrative's insistence in relating López's expeditions to the US Independence War creates an anticolonialist legacy between the US and Cuba, reinforcing the rhetoric that regards it a patriotic American duty to help Cuba gain its independence. It is, however, noteworthy that the novel does not include Haiti within this anticolonialist legacy, even though the island gained its independence from the European colonialist forces not too long after the US did. While the abolitionist literature of the same era in the US heavily benefited from a similar analogy that blended the French, American, and Haitian Revolution together, Holcombe's slavocrat stance does not allow for an acknowledgement of such a heritage of anticolonialism that includes the first Black republic in the world, as it provides a strong counter-argument for the racial hierarchy that the narrative employs to justify the filibustering expeditions. The absence of Haiti in the narrative once again marks the slavocrat intentions of the novel that regard the independence of Cuba from the Spanish rule as a precaution against emancipatory policies imposed by the European powers. The promise of *liberation* that the narrative so enthusiastically promotes unsurprisingly remains restricted only to the white populations of Cuba and the US.

Before moving on to the details of narrative's slavocrat argument, one last remark on the non-expansionist emphasis of the novel is imperative. Even though the narrative repeatedly reassures its readers that the filibusters were free of personal interest and did not intend to annex Cuba but to liberate it, it would be naïve to suggests that *The Free Flag of Cuba* does not contribute to an expansionist rhetoric. Because the filibusters themselves, including Narciso

351 Burton and Burton, "Southern Writer", pp. 307–308; Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n. p.

López, pursued a blatantly annexationist agenda, simply by vindicating them and their cause, Holcombe's novel at least implicitly reinforces their vision. Moreover, the recurrent references to the Mexican-American War in the novel pose a remarkable challenge for any reading that may ignore annexation as a ghost theme, an undertone, in the narrative. How could one explain the changing fortunes of Ralph Dudley in California, which had recently been annexed from Mexico, if not as a case that illustrates a recent history of expansionist success? Thus, the abovementioned scholarly works and others on the novel should be acclaimed for capturing this significant aspect of Holcombe's work. However, as I have shown, the novel abstains from employing a manifestly expansionist discourse. A thorough reading of the novel should highlight its rhetoric of liberation not as being strictly opposed to possible expansionist desires, but either as the genuine ideological stance of the author during the time the novel was published or as a publishing strategy which seeks to avoid estranging potential readers who had sympathy towards López's cause, but did not necessarily support the annexation of Cuba to the Union – which was not an uncommon opinion in the aftermath of the filibusters' execution.

Once combined with the unionist sentiment in the novel, this circumvention from expansionism draws a unique spatial imagination for the South as a part of the Union and surrounded by independent yet satellite republican states like 'the free Cuba'. The racial hierarchy that the novel establishes among the white Americans in the US, the Spanish, the white Cubans, and the Black populations secure the role of each in this vision and replaces the white Creoles of the lands, whose independence would be guaranteed via US aid, like Cuba, under the influence rather than the yoke of the US. Undoubtedly, this imagination, which positions the greater South within the Union and the Caribbean, is part of a vision that seeks to ensure the continuance and expansion of the slave economy that Holcombe advocated for throughout her life.

Patriotic Slaves for a Unionist Sentiment

The Free Flag of Cuba can be considered an unusually early example of the postbellum genre of "the lost cause" with its characters, its depictions of the life in the South, and its portrayal of López's expedition all pointing to a "heroic", "noble", and "aristocratic" Southern life and baring a resemblance to examples of postbellum lost cause literature. Similarly, the novel also borrows certain themes from the literature of its own era. Its employment of racial stereotypes to justify Southern slavery is seen by scholars as a potential reaction to the abolitionist literature of the mid-nineteenth century, especially to Harriet

Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852).[352] This reactionary tone immediately associates *The Free Flag of Cuba* with another popular genre, the so-called anti-Tom literature, which is represented most famously by Mary Henderson, Caroline Lee Hentz, and William L.G. Smith.[353] Undoubtedly, Holcombe's novel finds itself at the juncture of many different genres all at once. Anti-Tom literature is not the genre that defines it most accurately. However, the parts of the narrative praising and defending slavery as an institution play a highly significant role in positing a spatial imagination in the narrative that replaces the South within the Union. Ralph Dudley's relationship with Scipio and Marmion illustrates the function of slavocracy in the novel's unionism, as the novel's defence of slavery is best observed in this relationship.

Ralph Dudley, the fiancé of the novel's *Southern belle* Genevieve, is a Southern "orphan of gentle blood, [who] inherited an immense fortune". This fortune includes not only the plantation but also the enslaved people (at least, Scipio and Marmion) of his parents upon their death. Just like William Logan Crittenden, who appears as a semi-fictional character in the narrative, Ralph is depicted as a colonel who has fought in the Mexican-American War. According to Uncle Marmion's account, Dudley's lineage is replete with war heroes:

> Marse Ralph got two gret uncles dead in de 'mortal 'Merican resolution; an' his granfather, when he 'manded under Ginel Washington, got shots 'nuff to kill a commun man. Den his own father, my blessed ole marster, sarve his time under Ginel Jackson.[354]

352 Burton and Burton, "Southern Writer", pp. 323–324; H. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin: Or, Life Among the Lowly*, New York: Penguin Classics, 1981.

353 Lucinda MacKethan writes that anti-Tom novels were "crafted in response to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" and "modeled their plots and characters on Stowe's creations, reproducing a format that remained effective even after the Civil War decided the questions she had raised." Among the novels of this genre, she includes William Gilmore Simms's *Woodcraft* (also known as *The Sword and the Distaff*) (1854), Mary Eastman's *Aunt Phillis's Cabin* (1852) and Maria McIntosh's *The Lofty and the Lowly* (1853). Another famous example of the genre is Philip J. Cozans's *Little Eva: The Flower of the South*. See P. J. Cozans, *Little Eva, the Flower of the South*, New York, 1850, http://archive.org/details/littleevaflowero00stow (accesses 5 October 2020); M. H. Eastman, *Aunt Phillis's Cabin*, Middletown, Delaware: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015; L. MacKethan, "Genres of Southern Literature" (2004), https://doi.org/10.18737/M71590 (accessed 5 October 2020); M. J. McIntosh, *The Lofty and the Lowly; or, Good in All and None All-Good*, New York: Appleton, 1853, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009409241 (accessed 5 October 2020); W. G. Simms, *Woodcraft, Or, Hawks about the Dovecote: A Story of the South at the Close of the Revolution*, New York: Redfield, 1859, https://books.google.de/books?id=7Neez4dnQpUC (accessed 5 October 2020).

354 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, pp. 34–62.

Scipio, on the other hand, is introduced to the narrative as a "negro boy, who was [Dudley's] constant attendant".[355] "It takes the reader a while to realize that this boy is actually a man about the same age as Ralph Dudley".[356] Very much like many white male characters in the novel, Scipio also joins the filibustering expedition to Cuba following Dudley, just as he followed him to the Mexican-American War. Scipio's commitment to the battles that his *masters*' fight echoes that of Marmion, who has cleaned the arms of Dudley's father and uncles during the battles and joined the Mexican War with them. But Marmion's commitment to this white family reaches far beyond a military one. Before leaving for Cuba, Dudley has a conversation with Marmion and tells him to take charge of the affairs when he is away, but he does not state the reason for his departure. During this conversation, the narrative dwells on the details of the nature of the relationship between the two, revealing that it was Marmion who took care of the little orphan boy that Ralph Dudley once was and raised him to be the great soldier that he is today. Dudley remembers having been taught not only to ride a horse but also the military history of the US by Marmion, who encouraged him to become a hero like Andrew Jackson and the late Mr. Dudley. Overwhelmed with emotions of these memories, Dudley suggestively says "if you would only have your freedom". As a recurring scene in Anti-Tom literature, Marmion takes this offer almost as an insult. The way that the narrative phrases Ralphs's suggestion implies that Marmion has repeatedly refused similar offers before. Marmion says that all he wishes from his master is for him to show a similar heroism in the upcoming battle to those of his ancestors.[357] The fact that Marmion gathers that Dudley is bound to join the filibusters from the small details that he has heard exposes a certain kind of emotional intellect that is stereotypically granted to African Americans in plantation literature.

Besides portraying Marmion as a loyal servant to the Dudleys, this brief scene also serves to build a strong proslavery argument for the novel. The way that Marmion teaches history of the US to little Dudley and the way he later encourages him to become a good soldier point to a more significant loyalty, that is, a loyalty to the Union. Marmion's patriotism is not any weaker than that of the narrative and its white characters. Just as the novel adorns the Ellawarre Plantation with the busts of George Washington, Andrew Jackson, and Henry Clay, it also fills this old slave's rhetoric with memories of heroic wars and warriors as well as a pride for the nation's victories. Thus, the novel assigns a

355 Ibid., p. 53.
356 Burton and Burton, "Southern Writer", p. 314.
357 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 64.

didactic value to the "peculiar institution". The people of African descent are depicted to be educated into patriots through slavery. In this sense, Marmion's patriotism becomes a by-product of the 'cultivating' impact of Southern slavery, a success of the "mission to civilize". The fact the narrative does not differentiate Marmion's devotion to the nation from his loyalty to the Dudleys also illustrates Holcombe's conceptualization of nation as a white domestic space.

However, neither Marmion's and Scipio's patriotism nor their role in the battles are regarded as such in the narrative. Their patriotic sentiments appear almost as an extension of those of Ralph Dudley and his ancestors, or even more likely, an extension of the loyalty that they feel toward the Dudleys and their friends. When, for instance, Eugene De France dies in Cuba, the grief that Scipio feels is not explained by the ties of being fellow soldiers but by "a strange tie – half love, half duty; and yet Eugene was not his master – a tie that cannot be appreciated by one unaccustomed to slavery."[358] The fact that the narrative chooses to depict Scipio performing a heroic act only when he saves Dudley from the "traitor" Hidalgo's attack also serves to this end. Scipio's presence in Cuba is never portrayed as part of the liberating mission. He is there to serve his master, through which he also serves a white US nation, as his devotion to his master's family encompasses all that his master's loyalty reaches.

Scipio's bravery when saving Dudley is represented in problematic way, as he kills Hidalgo from behind, an assault that "would not have been allowed" by "Dudley's white male code of honor". As if to put even more shadow on this heroism, right after he kills Hidalgo, the narrative depicts Scipio taking money from the dead man's pocket to "make their escape from Cuba" adding yet another behaviour to Scipio's depiction which excludes him from the cult of white male honour.[359] Yet, this exclusion of enslaved men from the obligations and responsibilities of white male codes of honour enables the narrative to arrange a happy ending for its white characters. Scipio's 'corrupt' heroism does not only save Dudley's life but also ensures his return home to the US.

Following his arrival home, Dudley restores his vanishing fortunes also thanks to Marmion's advice. Having invested all his money in López's Cuban expedition, which fails both as a liberating mission and as an investment in Dudley's case (a case that is never explicitly mentioned as such in the narrative, which claims no personal gains for filibusters from the expedition), Dudley returns to "[t]he home of [his] forefathers" without any wealth to maintain the

358 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 123.
359 Burton and Burton, "Southern Writer", p. 320.

mansion and the slaves.[360] Rather than having to witness the purchase of the estate by strangers, he decides to leave his home and slaves as well as Genevieve, for whom he can no longer provide a future. Following the code of honour that is granted strictly to white men in the narrative, Dudley establishes that the best option for him is to go to California to look for ways to increase his fortunes, benefiting from the newly-discovered gold in this new state of the Union. While Ralph feels desperate and cannot find another solution to his financial problems, the narrative depicts Marmion as being in disbelief that his master actually has to give up on the family estate. Eventually, Marmion convinces Dudley to mortgage the estate. Following Marmion's advice, Dudley regains his wealth and secures both his assets including his slaves and his future with Genevieve within only three years. The narrative does not spare the credit Marmion deserves for Dudley's changing fortunes: "Marmion's reasons, and Marmion's appeal, changed the current of his thoughts".[361] However, while "Marmion is wise enough to plead his case [. . .] from the white point of view most likely to affect Dudley", the narrative does not give him any agency that equips him with "a point of view apart from whites" and does not understand "the despair inherent in even the possibility of being sold".[362] The fact that Marmion and Scipio are depicted to serve only the interests and loyalties of white people once again places them in an extended white domestic space that simultaneously includes home and the nation, contributing to Holcombe's proslavery argument.

The narrative therefore represents slavery as an institution that serves not only Southern plantation economy but also the common good of a white US American nation. The extended loyalty that enslaved people are depicted to feel toward everything to which their masters are dedicated turn them into patriots. However, African Americans are never unequivocally credited for being either patriots or Americans in the narrative. The Black patriotic sentiment is not seen as a product of Black agency but a by-product of Southern slaveholders' patriotism. As slaveholders such as Dudley are depicted as unionist patriots, African Americans in the US, too, become patriots under the *civilizing* and *educating* impact of Southern slavery. Moreover, depicting Marmion and Scipio as the architects of Ralph and Genevieve's happiness which is described in strong ties with the happiness that Northern Mabel finds in the South through her marriage to Stuart Raymond, the narrative locates slavery in a highly significant position for ensuring the well-being of the US as a whole. Maintaining its

360 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 123.
361 Ibid., p. 194.
362 Burton and Burton, "Southern Writer", p. 322.

racist discourse, or more accurately, with the help of its racist discourse, which excludes African-American men in the US from masculine forms of honour and deprives them of their agency to consider their own perspectives and interests, the narrative turns enslaved African Americans into loyal patriots that work for the well-being of the white nation that it imagines in the United States.

In this sense, *The Free Flag of Cuba* does not compromise its support for the "peculiar institution" for the sake of its unionism. Instead, it depicts slavery as an institution that can ensure a unionist future. It seeks to prove the benefits of slavery for the entire white nation through its depictions of slavery's pedagogical value in teaching patriotism to African Americans in the US. The fact that the novel's only Northern character Mabel does not seem to be disconcerted in a Southern plantation among enslaved people allows the narrative to imply that slavery is not the violent and degrading institution that abolitionists portray it to be. It implies that Northerners can indeed live with and benefit from slavery as they once did. Similarly, Marmion's objection to be set free by Ralph functions to represent slavery not as oppression but a deserved and desired status of an *inferior* race that needs white guidance. The narrator's voice reinforces this rhetoric and seeks to convince potential Northern readers of the virtues of slavery:

> Ah! How I wish some honest, but misjudging north-born friends we have, could or would take the trouble to see the many neat and comfortable settlements on the beautiful plantations of the south.[363]

The novel, thus, imagines a future for the South within the US, while the slave labour continues to define the principal mode of production in the region. The spatial imagination of the narrative seeks to ensure the continuation of slavery through establishment of satellite states in the Caribbean, such as Cuba, which join the space of American republicanism in becoming free from colonial European rule without necessarily uniting with its territories. European rule on these islands is envisaged as a danger that may lead to emancipation of enslaved people. The survival of slavery both in the South and the Caribbean serves in this imagination to maintain peace in the Union, where white actors do not feel as threatened by the annexation of new territories. The twist whereupon Dudley reestablishes his fortune benefiting from the annexation of California to the US as a free state as a result of the Compromise of 1850, then, can be read as a gesture in the narrative that illustrates how the South might have also profited from this compromise. Having their concerns regarding the future of slavery in the Union thus soothed by the securing of

363 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 123.

the institution in the neighbouring republican states, the South can maintain a sincere union with its northern sister, just like Genevieve and Mabel.

A Union of Spatial Formats

As the first novel to address López's filibustering expedition to Cuba, Lucy Holcombe's *The Free Flag of Cuba* has already attracted considerable attention in academia. Yet, having been pigeonholed by the connotations of its author's later secessionist view and her subsequent marriage to a Confederate General, the novel has often been reduced to a vindication and commemoration of the cause of General López in Cuba that does not produce any unique voice but acts as a spokesperson for the deceased and defeated filibusters. That is, the novel has hitherto been read as a militantly expansionist narrative that carries undertones of Southern secessionism, reproducing the exact ideology of the filibusters, as well as its author's later views, without any deviations or any consideration paid to the fluidity of ideas across time and ideologies.

Once decontextualized from these associations and recontextualized as part of antebellum women's fiction, which more often than not sought to create an intersectional harmony between the North and the South, however, the narrative's spatial imagination about the future of the South points to a more complex, aberrant, and unique spatial imagination. Among the antebellum multivocalism about the future of Cuba among supporters of López's filibustering expedition, Holcombe's novel holds a unique position that has remained rather unacknowledged in academia. Against the established readings of the novel, I have argued that *The Free Flag of Cuba* envisions the South not in secessionist but unionist terms, reinforcing the position of the region within the Union. In this imagination, slavery remains legal and its continuance is ensured by the presence of the surrounding slaveholding satellite states, the establishment of which are commenced by patriotic US filibusters. The narrative's justification of López's expedition emerges as an argument not for territorial but for ideological expansion. That is, in vindicating López's cause, the narrative does not explicitly argue for the annexation of Cuba but for its inclusion in what it envisions as a space of US republicanism. While territorial expansionist undertones are found in the plot, the narrative (re)constructs Manifest Destiny as a duty to spread US republicanism in the Caribbean against European colonialism, as a liberating mission that moves along the lines of racial hierarchy and does not include African descendants.

The narrative's employment of a feminine, domestic setting alongside the more blatantly political, military, and masculine background that is more readily associated with nineteenth-century filibusterism contributes to the construction of this spatial imagination. The two contrasting and concurrent settings allow the author, herself, to remain within the boundaries of the domestic sphere as well as the nineteenth-century gender norms, allowing her to access to the public sphere through publishing. Via this access to the public sphere, Holcombe creates an imagined space that exceeds domesticity not only of the female domain but also of the nation, both from her own domestic surroundings and through the fictional domestic sphere in her novel. The familial background of the filibustering expedition allows the narrative, on the one hand, to build its unionist argument via the unshaken friendship of its female protagonists representing, respectively, the North and the South, in the face of ideological dispute. On the other hand, through this setting the narrative shows that the destinies and welfare of these regions depend on each other by closely knitting the happiness of these girls together. This sentimental setting permits access to the political sphere through the personal and domestic, creating a unionist vision of the South and igniting a nation-wide sympathy for the filibusters.

This setting is also employed in the narrative to demonstrate an emotional attachment between the enslaved and the slaveholder, illustrating slavery as favourable and beneficial for a white nation in the US as a whole. Demonstrating a family-like relationship among Ralph, Marmion, and Scipio, the narrative constructs consent by the enslaved as an important pillar in the functioning of the "peculiar institution". The imagined emotional relationship between white and Black people established by slavery enhances a Black loyalty reaching far beyond the slaveholding family to the *national family*. Marmion and Scipio's commitment to the military undertakings by the Dudleys as well as to the military history of the US serves to assign a pedagogical function to slavery in *educating* enslaved people as patriots working for the common good of a white US nation to a possible abolitionist readership. Hence, the domestic setting becomes a metaphor for the national in the narrative's spatial imagination. Interwoven with its unionist sentiment, the narrative's slavocracy promotes the continuation of the Union.

The racial and gendered hierarchy constructed in the narrative's descriptions of Cuba and white Cuban Creoles renders it a patriotic US duty to aid Cuba in its independence from the Spanish colonial rule. Considered white enough to be worthy of liberty but not enough to achieve this freedom alone, the white Cuban Creoles, once freed of the tyranny of Spain, are imagined to become guardians of Circumcaribbean slave economy under US republicanism. The narrative's anticolonial rhetoric remains restricted to an opposition to European rules in the New

World, while US military and political intervention to the Caribbean is regarded as the opposite of imperialism. Thus, the novel's attention to Cuba emerges not as a concern for Cuba but a concern for the South, which seeks to safeguard the slave economy in the Caribbean by saving it from the abolitionist waves coming from Europe. In this sense, although Holcombe's novel turns its face to Cuba and engages itself primarily with López's filibustering expedition, it still imagines the South from within as a region where slavery does not only survive abolitionist upsurges but as a region accepted as a slave economy within the US and surrounded by slaveholding satellite states, such as Cuba.

The new language of space proposed in Chapter "Speaking of Space" makes this reading of *The Free Flag of Cuba* possible by liberating the novel from an understanding that pigeonholes different spatial configurations into binaries that stand in mutually exclusive opposition to each other. Instead, emphasizing spatial formats as intellectual abstractions of existing spatial patterns that coexist and form spatial orders through various relations with each other in these coexistences, these considerations allow for a new perspective in the analysis of Holcombe's novel. Within an understanding of flexible relationship that spatial formats establish in both material world and, even more so, in the imaginations of spatial actors, the narrative ceases to appear as a promoter of a strictly expansionist project. What emerges in *The Free Flag of Cuba* is a narrative that seeks to maintain existing spatial order of the hemispheric slave economy against changing spatial orders caused by the revolutionary and abolitionist movements in Europe, the US, and the Caribbean. The narrative seeks to achieve this safeguarding through an imagined spatial configuration in the US that combines several spatial formats: Regions with different economic systems boost each other and form a nation state benefiting from a political equilibration through slaveholding satellite states in the Caribbean archipelago that are "filibuster[ed] into [US] republicanism".[364]

364 Hardimann, *The Free Flag of Cuba*, p. 123.

Chapter 4
The South within Abolitionist Networks

> These were the marks of slavery, made many years before, but now used for the cause of human freedom.[365]
>
> Woe be unto those devils of whites, I say.[366]
>
> There is a painting by Klee called Angelus Novus. An angel is depicted there who looks as though he were about to distance himself from something which he is staring at. His eyes are opened wide, his mouth stands open and his wings are outstretched. The Angel of History must look just so. His face is turned towards the past. Where we see the appearance of a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe, which unceasingly piles rubble on top of rubble and hurls it before his feet.[367]

The temptation to draw two stereotypically contrasting figures on opposite sides of a binary continues in our imaginations about abolitionists of the antebellum US. Just as we are, per Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels's invocation,[368] inclined to put a determined and united proletarian class up against the black-hat-wearing capitalist, fancying abolitionism in the US as a unified and homogenous movement following a single project appeals our instinct to reduce history to a linear line. Regardless of this tendency, we are undoubtedly aware that abolitionism is an umbrella term that incorporates many different ideas and groups, not all of which were necessarily aimed at absolute and universal emancipation. We know, for example, that many members and supporters of the ACS considered themselves as abolitionist just like the Garrisonians, even though the latter strongly opposed the plans of the former. Whereas my book follows a logic of binaries in locating abolitionist narratives in opposition to the white proslavery accounts, I seek to break free from this mindset by presenting the diversity covered under the umbrella of abolitionism focusing on different emancipatory visions.

Similarly, abolitionists did not constitute all those who, in one way or another, found themselves located in opposition to various proslavery Southern visions. These visions alienated the Creoles of many surrounding locales in the Caribbean, as well as Central and South America with annexationist or interventionist opinions,

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365 Brown, *St. Domingo*, pp. 29–30.

366 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 313.

367 W. Benjamin, "On the Concept of History", D. Redmond (trans.), 1974, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/benjamin/1940/history.htm (accessed 14 September 2020).

368 "Working Men Of All Countrties, Unite!" K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, S. Moore (trans.), New York: Penguin Classics, 2015, p. 52.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110692471-005

antagonized many native American tribes through expansionist movements, and even upset some Northern and Western Americans in the US with secessionist schemes, all at once. However, the dialectic between slavery and abolition has been one of the most compelling forces shaping the ways in which the antebellum South has come to be understood today both in political and social imaginations and in academic discourses, contributing to the stereotypically contrasting and homogenous manner in which we think about both sides of this interaction. Even though an easy and perhaps obvious solution to this problematic way of studying, thinking, and writing about the antebellum South lies in shifting the focus from this dialectic toward rather less explored ones, another solution that is at least equally productive is to change our approaches to this dialectic. With its intention to show the diversity of abolitionism in opposition to many slavocracies and to illustrate the conformities and parallelisms as much as the divergences that the abolitionist texts pose both among each other and with the previously-studied proslavery narratives, the following analyses constitute a deliberate attempt toward the second option looking for new approaches to the dialectic of slavocracy vs. abolitionism.

Accordingly, in this chapter, I study three abolitionist texts published between 1855 and 1862. This timespan covers not only the preceding half a decade before the Civil War, but also the first year thereof. Yet this period is not only significant for its immediate antecedence of the bellum years. Following the emancipation in the British and French West Indies in respectively 1834 and 1848, the gazes were directed toward a few countries in the Americas, including Cuba and Brazil, where slavery maintained its legal status, yet probably most intensely toward the US. Moreover, the Compromise and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 had just passed, increasing sectional conflicts in the United States and making it even more difficult for the enslaved populations in the US to escape to freedom in the North or Canada. These developments altered not only official but also informal spatial structures in the country, bringing about renewed or novel abolitionist spatial imaginations responding to the changing orders.

In this chapter, I bring three examples of abolitionist spatial imaginations in literary texts emerging among the proliferation of visions under the transitional conditions of the antebellum era, which represent divergent perspectives in abolitionist movements of this turbulent period. The texts diverge from each other not only in terms of the different ideological stances and backgrounds of their authors. They also exemplify different genres with particular target audiences. Today, they are still read and studied in dissimilar manners. Delany's *Blake; or the Huts of Americas* has for some decades now been established as a canonical work in the departments and courses of US and African-American literatures. Brown's lecture *St. Domingo: Its Revolutions and Its Patriots* has recently

caught up with Delany's *Blake in* terms of reputation as more and more publications have begun to refer to and study the speech. Livermore's *Zoë; or the Quadroon's Triumph*, on the other hand, has to this day remained largely free of interrogation among academics interested in abolitionist history.

I explore how these texts construct unique spatial imaginations about the US South in responding to the changing world around them as well as how they react to the dominant or emerging spatial formats and orders within this unsettled period, and within which (trans)regional and (trans)national networks these imaginations place the South. I begin my inquiry with an analysis of Brown's speech *St. Domingo*, which has often been read as an example of Black historiography with its account of the Haitian Revolution and emancipation.[369] Concentrating on the spatial implications of this speech's tendency to bring together spatially and temporally distinct events in a single narrative, I trace an abstract map of an imagined space of resistance against slavery and colonialism in the Atlantic world that Brown's speech draws in terms of the central positioning of the South in this imaged space. Livermore's Transcendentalist novel *Zoë* follows Brown's speech. The surprisingly complex and geographically expansive setting in which this novel is situated challenges the space-making practices and the spatial formats of nation state and empire simultaneously as the novel imagines an emancipatory and feminist future emerging in the form of a Christian Republic. Sustaining the chapter's focus on the Caribbean, I lastly examine Delany's *Blake*. *Blake* has attracted enormous attention by scholars influenced by the transnational turn in American studies.[370] Benefiting from the existing academic literature on the novel and Delany's other works, I develop an original reading of *Blake* by focusing on its construction of an imagined space of revolution in an Atlantic setting through Black appropriation of what the novel envisions as the white-dominated spatial order of the Transatlantic slave economy.

As can be observed in their attention paid to the hemispheric and Transatlantic configurations in these abolitionist spatial imaginations, the abolitionists, too, regardless of their racial, educational, and class backgrounds, emerge as spatial actors who were well aware of the persistent or changing political,

369 See, for instance, E. M. Coleman, "William Wells Brown as an Historian", *The Journal of Negro History* 31 (1946) 1, p. 47; M. Hughes-Warrington, "Coloring Universal History: Robert Benjamin Lewis's Light and Truth (1843) and William Wells Brown's The Black Man (1863)", *Journal of World History* 20 (2009) 1, pp. 99–130.

370 D. Luis-Brown, "Book Review: Stephen Chambers, No God But Gain: The Untold Story of Cuban Slavery, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Making of the United States", *AHL Online Reviews* (2016) 7, p. 3.

social, and cultural spatial structures materialized as (sometimes uncalculated) consequences of imperial, national, or commercial configuration processes. Their desire to alter these structures produced new rhetorical and political strategies that point to a spatial literacy that can not only decipher the spatial connotations and conditions circumscribing racial oppression and subjugation but also creatively use, confiscate, and modify them. Read against the background of the previously studied diversity of spatial imaginations by the slaveholding classes, these abolitionist narratives pose a challenge to the homogenous and monolithic representations of the antebellum South.

The Helots of Haiti

> In the gloomy history of human servitude, there are few chapters more horrible than that which relates to the Helots of Sparta. Its dark features, and the blackness of its character, made even the ancient world stand aghast at its intense cruelty, and which the Romans condemned as at once absurd and wicked, and which the Ionian Greek, the highest development of the great Hellenic race, detested. The Helot expresses nearly everything that can be conceived of the oppressed and degraded man, and the word has been literally burnt into the history of Sparta, so that humanity may not be deceived into the belief of the perfection of the heroes of Thermopylae.[371]

The Helots were the unfree serfs of ancient Sparta on whose labour the Spartan economy depended. Many battles were won on behalf of the free Spartans through the military skills of the Helots. This enslaved people rose up several times against Spartans until their freedom was granted centuries after their lands were first conquered. Although their history is not as well-known as more recent histories of slavery due to its much more chronologically distant nature, it resonates with the infamous stories of slavery in the New World. If the spatial references were to be altered in the quotation above by W. W. Brown, this account on Helots in Sparta could easily be read as if it was depicting slavery in Haiti or the United States.

With such an understanding of affinity among the enslaved, Brown approached the exploitation of humans under slavery as a whole regardless of the space and time that witnessed this mistreatment of people. Brown envisioned abolition in the US from a strongly global perspective. Not only did he see slavery as the "greatest barrier to peaceful international relations" during his time

371 Brown, *St. Domingo*, p. 32.

but he also sought a solution for it within an international community.[372] Delivering his speech on the history of the Haitian Revolution first in London in front of a European audience, then in Philadelphia to a Northern audience, he was well aware of his and his fellows' positions as actors in transnational political networks. His attentiveness to the roles of these lands in the history of colonization and slavery is clearly observed in his 1854 speech.

Even though Brown likely never visited Haiti, the island still had the most significant impact on the ways in which he anticipated a possible abolitionist revolution in the US. While many scholars acknowledge the role that the Haitian Revolution played in the formation of his abolitionist ideas, even works that adopt hemispheric and Circumatlantic perspectives have so far neglected the spatial undercurrents of *St. Domingo* in its pursuance of an historical account of the revolution. Although inspired by the spatial turn, most of these works maintain a more historically-oriented focus at the expense of spatiality. The aim here is to break through this historicism that has, until now, dominated the readings of *St. Domingo* by employing the new spatial language. Rather than taking Brown's speech merely as an account of the Haitian Revolution and abolition of slavery on the island, which benefits from a chain of examples of human exploitation from history, I demonstrate how the speech employs a collective spatial memory of slavery in its accounts of histories of remote settings. This memory brings distant spaces nearer via a unified history of slavery, seeing a "single catastrophe" once it turns its face "towards the past", just like Benjamin's famous Angel of History.[373]

I suggest, *St. Domingo*'s employment of a global history of slavery and abolition breaks the linear understanding of time and the speech imagines a space of resistance in the Circumcaribbean and beyond. The speech draws an abstract map of an imagined transnational space of resistance that unites the abolitionist and anti-colonialist movements in Haiti and US with similar movements and events of distant lands and eras. It imagines a space of resistance that challenges hegemonic spatial structures of nation state and empire, as well as linear perceptions of temporality, through an understanding of a common identity among all enslaved people built via legacies of insurrection and a vision that connects separate anticolonial movements. I study this space of resistance in

372 N. E. Olson, "Revolutionary Nostalgia: The Search for Democracy in Antebellum American Romantic Histories", Dissertation, Michigan State University, 2014, p. 194, https://d.lib.msu.edu/islandora/object/etd:2688/datastream/OBJ/download/Revolutionary_nostalgia___the_search_for_democracy_in_antebellum_american_romantic_histories.pdf (accessed 5 October 2020).
373 Benjamin, "On the Concept", n.p.

relation to the speech's imagination of the South as in the centre of a Circumatlantic space of political conversation through the immediacy that abolition possesses in the region.

To this end, in the following I offer a close reading of William Wells Brown's 1854 speech in order to illustrate the implications of its narrative strategies, as well as of the physical spaces and historical events that it refers to. The reading is divided into two thematic sections. The first focuses on the employment of the rhetorics of Pan-Africanism, tropicality, and harmony between nature and enslaved people that allow the narrative to construct a heritage for the enslaved African Americans in the US not based on race but on resistance and to claim the Caribbean and the US as home to their African-descendant inhabitants. These rhetorics contribute to the Transatlantic space of resistance that the text imagines through its emphasis on a large timespan and setting. The second thematic section shifts the focus to Brown's European travels, during which he produced and delivered his speech, as a factor that shaped his understanding of colonial history, uniting his abolitionist stance with an anticolonist one. The speech constructs and imagines a Transatlantic space of resistance through accounts of different forms of mobilities including those of expansionist colonialists and abolitionists forming Transatlantic networks.

A Global Vision Beyond Travel Narratives

William Wells Brown's contributions to Black historiography were acknowledged as early as the mid-1940s, when E. M. Coleman delivered his speech "William Wells Brown as an Historian" at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in Columbus, Ohio. For this speech, Coleman was asked to demonstrate the degree to which "Brown made use of the techniques of modern methodology in his writings about the Negro", an unduly ahistorical and unfair expectation for a nineteenth-century figure to meet. Coleman dismissed this prejudiced approach to Brown's history-writing by attributing its failure to meet "the standards of modern historical methodology" to Brown's lack of formal education as a person born into slavery. Instead, Coleman highlighted "[the] unusual achievements and [. . .] the strength of character, coupled with rare courage and insight, which brought [Brown] the distinction of being an outstanding pioneer [. . .] in the study of the life and problems of the Negro and in the writing of our [Black] history."[374]

374 Coleman, "William Wells Brown", pp. 47–59.

While Coleman's assessment does justice to Brown's interest in Black history, it nonetheless neglects the facts that neither was Brown a historian nor were his texts written for historiographical purposes. Brown wrote first and foremost from a strong ideological stance that should have freed him from being subject to such an assessment to begin with. The gap that Coleman's speech left open was filled three years later by W. E. Farrison. In his 1949 article, Farrison argued that Brown was more of a social reformer than a professional author, pointing out the author's engagement not only in the abolitionist cause but also temperance and women's suffrage movements, as well as his interests in "pacifism, prison reform, and anti-tobacconism". Farrison's article emphasized Brown's role as an activist, positioning Brown's texts' interest in history as an element of their ideological stance: "For Brown [. . .] the value of history consisted not in what it was but in what it did – in the extent to which it influenced the course of human affairs. [. . .] Brown used history and the art of literature in the same way. He had great causes to promote, and he used these forms to promote them."[375]

Notwithstanding their individual shortcomings, these two works by Coleman and Farrison created an appreciation in academia for the attention to Black history held within Brown's texts. Thanks to them, the references to historical events in the author's texts have come to be understood as a tool to promote social and political movements in which the author actively took part. Ever since the mid-twentieth century, an increased number of scholarly publications have paid special attention to Brown's activist interest in history.[376]

Among these numerous publications, one is particularly intriguing for taking notice of the author's contribution to Black history from a "universal" perspective. Comparing Brown to Robert Benjamin Lewis,[377] M. Hughes-Warrington, in a 2007 article, suggests that Brown, too, contributed to "universal history" writing,

375 W. E. Farrison, "William Wells Brown, Social Reformer", *The Journal of Negro Education* 18 (1949) 1, pp. 29–38.

376 See for instance: J. Ernest, *Liberation Historiography: African American Writers and the Challenge of History, 1794–1861*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004; E. Greenspan, *William Wells Brown: A Reader*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008; M. Hughes-Warrington, "Coloring Universal History"; S. G. Hall, *A Faithful Account of the Race: African American Historical Writing in Nineteenth-Century America*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

377 Robert Benjamin Lewis was an African and Native American businessmen, inventor, and ethnologist who lived between 1802–1858. He is the author of the 1844 book *Light and Truth*: R. B. Lewis, *Light and Truth; Collected from the Bible and Ancient and Modern History; Containing the Universal History of the Colored and Indian Races from the Creation of the World to the Present Time*, Boston: B. F. Roberts, 1844, http://archive.org/details/lighttruth00lewi (accessed 14 September 2020).

although he never used the label for his own works, unlike Lewis. She argues that Brown wrote works that can be considered "an amateurish simulation of the popular contemporary genre of collective biography" which "provided an entry point to historiography for other marginalized groups, such as African Americans." While Hughes-Warrington focuses mainly on Brown's *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements*, she also mentions *St. Domingo* to demonstrate how the speech locates the Haitian Revolution in world history.[378] Although her article does not explicitly refer to spatiality, it still marks a shift in the discussion about Brown's contribution to the writing of a Black history by positioning Brown's texts in a global context.

This concealed shift becomes more pronounced in M. Schoolman's 2012 article "Violent Places". In her reading of Brown's *Three Years in Europe: Or, Places I Have Seen and People I Have Met*, Schoolman reconfigures Brown's established role as a nineteenth-century liberal cosmopolitan. She takes this travel narrative as a work by a multicultural intellectual whose cosmopolitanism "does not rest in an idealized Europe but rather develops a procedure of mining and inverting Europe's political and cultural fictions toward a geographically displaced imaginative alignment with modernity's epochal reply to Enlightenment universalism: the Haitian Revolution."[379]

Just like Schoolman's article, other scholarly works that consider Brown's texts as transnationalist, universalist, or globalized productions mostly pay attention to his travel narratives while addressing questions of spatiality.[380] In 2012, T. Youngs, for instance, noted an emerging interest in Brown's travel writing, pointing to the publication of a single-volume edition of Brown's *Narrative* in 1991. Around the same time with Youngs, the Brown's travel narrative was also studied by C. Buzinde and I. Osagie, focusing on Brown as a critical tourist and his mobility and interrogating the roles that this mobility played in Brown's self-conception. Similarly, C. Baraw, in 2011, highlighted the unique experience of mobility to which Brown finds access during his "fugitive tourism" in

378 Hughes-Warrington, "Coloring Universal History", p. 121.

379 This article by Schoolman has later been included in her book *Abolitionist Geographies* (2014). M. Schoolman, "Violent Places: *Three Years in Europe* and the Question of William Wells Brown's Cosmopolitanism", *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 58 (2012) 1, p. 7; Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies*, pp. 99–123.

380 One of the exceptions to this trend is Carole Lynn Stewart's 2011 article which studies Brown's universalism and search for democratic spaces in his temperance activism and texts. See C. L. Stewart, "A Transnational Temperance Discourse? William Wells Brown, Creole Civilization, and Temperate Manners", *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 3 (2011) 1 (n. p.), https://escholarship.org/content/qt8qd1j3m9/qt8qd1j3m9.pdf?t=li4heb (accessed 5 October 2020).

The Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave. S. Lucasi, too, in 2007 studied the book in terms of slave mobility and social status.[381]

The academic literature on Brown's texts show an overall tendency toward his travel narratives while addressing issues of space and spatiality. This tendency undermines the embeddedness of space, especially spatial imagination, in texts regardless of their genre and primary concerns. It creates a misconception that only texts that directly engage themselves with questions of mobility, exile, escape and migration generate spatial imaginations or address spatial concerns. My analysis, although undeniably benefits from the conversation established by these works, diverges from this tendency by concentrating on the unique and multilayered spatial imagination that Brown's rather political text *St. Domingo: Its Revolutions and Its Patriots* offers.

These previous studies highlight the unusual degree of mobility that marked the life of the African-American author who was born into slavery. Indeed, in his autobiography mobility becomes almost synonymous with liberty for Brown. The author was born in Lexington to an enslaved mother and a white father, the latter being a relative of his master. Following his master, Brown first moved to St. Charles at a very young age, and later as an adolescent, to St. Louis. Working at hotels, printing houses, and on boats, he was granted not only considerable mobility but also access to places not commonly available to most plantation slaves. But this relative freedom of mobility, "instead of making [Brown] contented and happy, [. . .] only rendered [him] [. . .] more miserable, for it enabled [him] better to appreciate liberty."[382] During a trip with the family of his master to Cincinnati via New Orleans, Brown found a chance to escape from slavery to a free state. Although he had initially planned to move to Canada,[383] he settled in Cleveland,

381 C. Baraw, "William Wells Brown, Three Years in Europe, and Fugitive Tourism", *African American Review* 44 (2011) 3, pp. 453–470; C. Buzinde and I. Osagie, "William Wells Brown: Fugitive Subjectivity, Travel Writing, and the Gaze", *Cultural Studies* 25 (2011) 3, pp. 405–425; S. Lucasi, "William Wells Brown's 'Narrative' & Traveling Subjectivity", *African American Review* 41 (2007) 3, pp. 521–539; T. Youngs, "Strategies of Travel: Charles Dickens and William Wells Brown", in: T. Youngs (ed.), *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century*, London: Anthem Press, 2012, pp. 163–178.

382 W. W. Brown, "Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave Written by Himself", in: E. Greenspan (ed.), *William Wells Brown: A Reader*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008, p. 48.

383 Having abolished slavery in 1834 under the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act which illegalized slavery throughout the British Empire, Canada served as a haven for fugitive enslaved African-American people for about three decades until the Civil War, especially after the Fugitive Slave Act. Chatham, Ontario was a particularly popular destination which, as Heike Paul notes, served as "one of the terminal points of the Underground Railroad". Chatham allowed for "the

where he married Elizabeth Schooner and helped fugitive s to Canada through the Underground Railroad.[384] The couple later moved to Buffalo in 1836. Brown continued to lead a highly mobile life afterwards, visiting Caribbean islands, Canada, and Europe, lecturing in various cities and countries. He helped other fugitives to travel across regional and national boundaries, augmenting the role of mobility in his life. Brown's literary production, too, travelled both within the national borders of the US and in Europe, with some of his books printed also in Great Britain. At least one of these books, his famous novel *Clotel*, "appeared in Holland in translation".[385]

Alongside the geographical mobility, Brown also experienced another form of mobility along the lines of social hierarchy. Escaping from slavery to his freedom and becoming a highly-regarded person of letters who held speeches and lectures in various regions in different continents, Brown moved upward in the socio-economic hierarchy of antebellum US society. Born as enslaved person whose name was unknown and voice unheard, Brown's escape to freedom in the physical sense provided him with a metaphorical space of liberty within which he could enjoy a certain degree of freedom of expression. Despite the relative autonomy these new physical and metaphorical spaces provided the author, the liberty he enjoyed was restrained by the racial biases and racist socio-political structures both in the US and the other places he visited. He was well aware of these restraints and contemplated upon them in his writings.

Perhaps the best way to articulate what the author experienced in claiming access to these physical and metaphorical spaces is to employ W. E. B. Du Bois's notion of "double consciousness".[386] Brown experienced double consciousness in at least two ways. On the one hand, having found himself in a position where he had to appeal to a white audience both in Europe and the US with

formation of an educated black middle class of lawyers, doctors, and other businessmen and women" besides homing the fugitives. See H. Paul, "Out of Chatham: Abolitionism on the Canadian Frontier", *Atlantic Studies* 8 (2011), p. 36.

384 The Underground Railroad refers to the network of secret routes and connections through which abolitionists and other people of colour aided runaway enslaved people to reach the free states in the US and Canada in the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century until the Emancipation Proclamation.

385 Of course, both publishing and readership opportunities were restricted for the Black populations in the US: "Even among the free blacks of the North [. . .] literacy levels were low and the benefits of print were unevenly spread. Down South, [. . .] the Mason-Dixon Line served as a policed border to the free passage of printed matter as well as of black bodies." Greenspan, *William Wells Brown*, pp. x–xv.

386 W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (First Avenue Classics), Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2016.

his antislavery arguments in his speeches, lectures, and publishing, Brown felt obliged to conform to certain norms and expectations of his audience while simultaneously seeking his own voice and identity as a fugitive slave of African ancestry. Embracing an African identity commonly regarded as *savage* and *uncivilized* even among many white abolitionists of the era while presenting himself as an *intellectual*, the author was forced to shift, negotiate, and find a balance between these two seemingly clashing identities.

On the other hand, Brown's physical mobility in the free states of the US and in Europe created another form of double consciousness for the author. Brown became increasingly aware and critical of the colonialist pasts, proslavery histories, current authoritarian acts, and socio-political and racial hierarchies of the places that granted him the relative agency and freedom of expression that he lacked in the South.[387] This second type of double consciousness provided him with a basis for his own kind of cosmopolitanism drawing on his experiences, especially those from his European travels. His sojourn in Europe and this double consciousness, hence, marked a shifting attention to and understanding of the Caribbean in his antislavery thought:

> Brown's European travel writing is [. . .] marked by a significant engagement with the imperial relations between Europe and the Caribbean and a growing effort to see Europe from a Caribbean point of view. Brown's project in *Three Years* consists of a gradual move away from cosmopolitan conviviality as he comes to discover Europe as not only a peaceful oasis of high culture but also a site of both managerial repression and prematurely forgotten violence.[388]

It is doubtful that Brown ever visited Haiti, the history of which shaped his political understanding and his visions on slave emancipation and a Black future the most.[389] Instead, his interest in Haiti and Haitian history was a product of his European travels between 1849 and 1854, during which he developed a

387 Buzinde and Osagie, "William Wells Brown"; Lucasi, "William Wells Brown's Narrative"; Schoolman, "Violent Places".

388 Schoolman, "Violent Places", p. 7.

389 W. E. Farrison in his 1954 article mentions that Brown visited Cuba, Haiti, and other islands in the West Indies in 1840. That Brown himself "said nothing about it in any of the editions of his *Narrative* or in any of his autobiographical sketches, nor did his daughter Josephine mention it in her biography of him" is attributed by Farrison to the author's disappointment in not finding a new home to raise his daughters in the West Indies. Schoolman, however, finds this very "uncharacteristic" of the author who wrote extensively on his trips, especially because "he served in the late antebellum period as a recruiting agent in the U.S. and Canada for James Redpath's short-lived but widely supported plan to encourage African American emigration there." W. E. Farrison, "William Wells Brown in Buffalo", *The Journal of Negro History* 39 (1954) 4, p. 305; Schoolman, "Violent Places", p. 28.

critical acknowledgement of the connection between European colonial oppression in the Americas and African slavery in the New World.[390] Therefore, his speech *St. Domingo* which was held before a London audience at the Metropolitan Atheneum in May 1854 and before a Philadelphia audience in December of the same year at St. Thomas' Church, should be understood as a product of a Circumatlantic political and historical understanding that the author had been developing in the spatio-political context that Europe provided.

One can only assume who the audience of Brown's speech in London and Philadelphia were or where they came from. An educated guess would be that they were mainly white abolitionists of England and the US as well as a number of abolitionists from other countries who happened to be in these places during the time of the speech. Perhaps, especially in the North, there were some free people of African descent as well as some fugitives like Brown himself. Since Brown was already a public figure among abolitionists in the US, England, and France by the time he gave this speech, it is not hard to imagine that some people might have even spared the time and energy (and maybe some money for traveling) to listen to him. To speculate even further, the circulation of the printed version of the speech should also be taken into consideration. Although it is impossible to trace who might have read the pamphlet, it is safe to assume that the speech was read in the North of the US, and maybe even in the Caribbean and Europe by English-speaking readers with the help of the Transatlantic and Circumcaribbean travels of abolitionists who might have carried the pamphlet with them. Even if the speech either in oral or written form might not have reached a very diverse audience in the antebellum period with its apt attention to spatiality, it extended to an even larger geography than one may imagine that its listeners came from. *St. Domingo* carried a highly-debated topic both in Europe and in the US, where the independence of Haiti was still not recognized, once again to the attention of the abolitionists. Yet, it had new things to say about the revolution and its otherwise toned-down aspects to embrace.

Embracing a Violent Revolution

The two decades before the Civil War were marked by increasing sectional tension in the United States. Geographical expansion coupled with the discussions of the spread of slavery to the newly joined states characterized the era by augmenting

390 Schoolman, "Violent Places", p. 19.

the tension between the South and North. The annexation of Texas to the Union in 1845 as a slave state further heated up these debates. The widespread references to the term Manifest Destiny by statesmen began during this era and it "seemed [to] forever include slavery".[391] The Compromise of 1850 – whereupon California joined the Union as a free state in turn for the ruling of the Fugitive Slave Act[392] – did not help to settle the increasing tension, amplifying abolitionist sentiments and turning it into a more immediate issue for many.

This was, very briefly, the general atmosphere in the US when Brown delivered his speech in 1854, first in London then in Philadelphia, less than a decade before the Secession Crisis. Brown was closely following the developments in the US, especially those regarding the Fugitive Slave Act, even though he had been in Europe for the last four years. Once actively involved in helping fugitives reach Canada through the Underground Railroad, Brown found himself facing the threat of losing his long-awaited freedom if he were to return to the US because of the Act that passed as he was in London. He stayed in Europe giving lectures and producing some of his major works, including, *Clotel* and *Three Years in Europe*. It was with the aid of his European friends, who finally convinced him in 1854 to let them buy his freedom, that Brown could safely go back to the US, where the abolitionist movement had experienced a shift in its approach to the Haitian Revolution.

Following Edward Said's *Orientalism*, J. M. Dash is tempted to somewhat playfully suggest that "Haiti was almost an invention of the United States" as the island constituted an essentialist "Other" for self-perception of the US in various ways.[393] The island, indeed, retained an ambivalent position in spatial imaginations in the antebellum US. Once a symbol of prosperity and wealth for the colonialists, the island came to occupy different and significant roles in the imaginations of various actors following the blood-soaked revolution between 1791 and 1804, which resulted in the establishment of the first independent Black republic. The events that marked Haiti's revolutionary and emancipatory

391 Hall, *A Faithful Account*, p. 110.

392 The Fugitive Slave Act (also known as the Fugitive Slave Law) is a series of laws that were passed as part of the Compromise of 1850, "authorizing federal marshals, aided if necessary by deputized passersby, to seize escaped slaves and ship them South without a jury trial. To many US Northerners, this law underscored the truly implacable nature of 'the Slave Power.'" P. S. Boyer, *American History: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 48–49.

393 J. M. Dash, *Haiti and the United States*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997, pp. 2–3; E. W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage, 1979.

history were interpreted as justifying the means and ends of opposing political agendas in the US, where the discussions on slavery and race were gaining momentum. The advocates of slavery including not only plantation owners in the South but also those elsewhere who had economic and political interests in the continuance of "the peculiar institution" in the Americas did not welcome the news of the establishment of a Black republic so close to home. Nonetheless they found in the Haitian Revolution a basis upon which they could strengthen their proslavery arguments.

Before the independence, the *grand blancs* of the island held most of the governmental positions and owned most of the plantations and slaves of St. Domingo. Their class status as slaveholders made them natural allies of the Southern plantation owners in the US. Moreover, the decades preceding the revolution were characterized by strong trade relationships between the island and the US. "St. Domingue stood second only to Great Britain in the foreign commerce of the United States" making the island and its *grand blancs* significant partners also for the Northerners of the US who were engaged in commerce. However, this relationship was heavily dependent on slave work force; so dependent, in fact, that the emancipation of the enslaved people on the island meant the end of trade between the two countries.[394] Having such tight economic relationships and class alliance with the wealthier whites of the US, the *grand blancs* of the St. Domingo found refuge in the US after the revolution. It was their oral and written accounts that shaped proslavery imaginations on the Haitian Revolution the most.[395] These accounts of violence that the island's white population suffered under Jean-Jacques Dessalines[396] served to strengthen

394 D. R. Hickey, "America's Response to the Slave Revolt in Haiti, 1791–1806", *Journal of the Early Republic* 2 (1982) 4, p. 363, https://doi.org/10.2307/3123088.

395 One of the most famous of these memoirs is L. Sansay, *Secret History: Or, The Horrors of St. Domingo and Laura*, Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2007. However, this semi-fictional novel written in 1808 by Leonora Sansay – even though its title, as Drexler writes, "played on the public appetite for graphic depictions of racial violence" – was not written from a proslavery perspective. To read more on the novel and Sansay's life, see M. Drexler, "Brigands and Nuns: The Vernacular Sociology of Collectivity after the Haitian Revolution", in: M. Schueller and E. Watts (eds.), *Messy Beginnings: Postcoloniality and Early American Studies*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003, p. 186; G. Woertendyke, *Hemispheric Regionalism*.

396 Jean-Jacques Dessalines was a leader of the Haitian Revolution. He was probably born a slave in Haiti. During the revolution, he became the chief lieutenant of Toussaint, and later brigadier general, and the second in command to L'Ouverture. Declaring the independence of the island and the abolition of slavery in the new independent country in 1804, he became the first emperor of Haiti. The same year, he ordered the massacre of the island's whites, known as the 1804 Haiti Massacre. This event marked the reputation of Dessalines as a leader that spread fear to the hearts of white slaveholders in the US. To read more on Dessalines's life and

proslavery arguments, creating a "[shift] from apologetic defenses of slavery to an aggressive one which described slavery as a positive good." These accounts provided a rhetoric to counter abolitionist movement, suggesting that "antislavery revolution was not a result of the action of slaves or a response to the oppressive conditions of slavery, but rather the result of white abolitionist agitation."[397] The fear of a slave insurrection in the South inspired by the events in Haiti also shaped political and economic behaviour in the US for many decades. Trade between the two countries was banned several times by the US government which did not recognize Haiti's independence until after the Civil War.

The fear of a similarly violent emancipation movement in the US also urged some covert advocates of slavery and abolitionists to consider alternative futures for the free Black populations of the US outside the country. Founded with the aim of preventing the people of colour demanding citizenship, enfranchisement, and equal rights at home, the ACS established a colony in Africa in 1816 – an example that perfectly demonstrates the tension between the spatial formats of empire and nation state in the antebellum US. Among the founders and supporters of this society were significant names such as senator Henry Clay, president James Madison, and president Abraham Lincoln.[398] The colony of Liberia would accordingly serve as a place to relocate the free people of African descent living in the US to ensure the continuance of slavery in the South. However, the colony was unsuccessful; Liberia declared its independence in 1847.

It is possible to read in the fear and the alarm that the Haitian Revolution created among white US Americans in the texts published by the Society:

> The dreadful massacre of a greater portion of the white population of St. Domingo, together with the total expulsion of the surviving part of them [. . .] affords an awful warning to enthusiasts in the cause of liberty, whether domestic, civil, or political, abundantly sufficient, as we should suppose, to deter all such zealots within these States, from indulging themselves in their intemperate and visionary schemes of enfranchisement,

career as a military and political leader, see P. R. Girard, "Jean-Jacques Dessalines and the Atlantic System: A Reappraisal", *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69 (2012) 3, pp. 549–582 as well as Julia Gaffield's 2015 blogpost which provides an extensive list of documents in English on the Haitian leader's life and Haitian history. J. Gaffield, "Dessalines Reader", *Haiti and the Atlantic World* (blog), 26 October 2015, https://haitidoi.com/dessalines-reader/ (accessed 15 September 2020).

397 E. M. Dillon and M. Drexler, "Introduction. Haiti and the Early United States; Entwined", in: E. M. Dillon and M. Drexler (eds.), *The Haitian Revolution and the Early United States, Histories, Textualities, Geographies*, Boston: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016, pp. 9–10.

398 C. H. Wesley, "Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes", *The Journal of African American History* 4 (1919) 1, pp. 7–9.

> without the slightest regard to consequences. And here, as the author of this essay may unguardedly drop some harsh expressions, relative to the conduct of the advocates for the emancipation of slaves, and may thereby draw on himself some recriminating accusations, as being an advocate for slavery, he takes this occasion, once for all, to deny the charge. Freely would he manumit, at any moment, those few slaves which he holds [. . .]. was their emancipation to be accompanied with a gradual deportation of them, as contemplated by their colonization.[399]

Such essays and pamphlets as well as the very existence of the Society itself pose a vivid portrait of the influence that the emancipation and self-government of Black people in Haiti had in the spatial imaginations of white Americans in the US. The responses to the Haitian Revolution by white spatial actors in the US were manifold and very often surpassed borders of both Haiti and the United States, as well as their immediate geographical surroundings, and gained a Transatlantic reach.

Such geographically expansive spatial imaginations were not restricted to the responses by the proslavery or emigrationist actors. The Haitian Revolution was employed as a recurring theme in the abolitionist literature, as well. Different examples of this genre often produced visions that challenged the existing spatial formations and orders in ways that entailed different reconfigurations of space across regional and national borders. Yet, vindicating Haitian independence and emancipation was not an easy task in the face of slavocrat reactions that emphasized the violence of the revolution. Even though "the impulse to celebrate the Haitian struggle for independence as a heroic and exemplary act is evident in the nineteenth century literary imagination" of white abolitionists, especially of those in Europe, the counter-rhetoric that the revolution provided for advocates of slavery resulted in the avoidance of the violent aspects of the revolution in abolitionists' texts that celebrated Haiti. As the narratives of ferocity toward whites during the revolution spread in the US, "the initial sympathy that existed among some would be swept away."[400]

This avoidance, without doubt, had to do with the tenor of abolitionist movements in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Until the 1830s, abolitionism in the US was marked by a gradualist and moralist approach, although there were exceptions to this rule. Many abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic believed that slavery would be eventually abandoned in a *natural* and peaceful fashion without necessarily requiring a slave insurrection. M. Clavin

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399 *An Essay on the Late Institution of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States*, Washington: Davis and Force, 1820, https://archive.org/details/essayonlateinsti00misc/page/n6 (accessed 15 September 2020).

400 Dash, *Haiti and the United States*, pp. 5–6.

documents in detail the early- to mid-century US depictions of the Haitian revolutionary leader Toussaint L'Ouverture by authors like "Wilson Armistead, John Relly Beard, and Harriet Martineau".[401] "By stressing his compassion and integrity at the expense of his militancy", these depictions sought to soften the image of this leader and the revolution in Haiti to justify them as acceptable and sympathy-inducing for the white US abolitionists of the era.[402] This tendency to avoid ferocious aspects of the Haitian Revolution faded with an increasingly dominant abolitionist rhetoric that challenged the gradualist attitude: immediate abolitionism. Immediate abolitionism had many different branches, including Garrisonianism[403] of which W. W. Brown himself was part. Indeed, moving to Boston in 1847, Brown worked "as an agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, the powerful reform group led by William Lloyd Garrison" and "remain[ed] a mainstay of the movement until 1865, when the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery in the United States."[404] By the time Brown held his speech *St. Domingo* in 1854, a more subversive group known as the radical abolitionists had emerged out of the Garrisonians: "the New Romantics", as E. J. Kytle calls them. The New Romantics felt no reservations against using heroic depictions of violent insurrection movements as a means of immediate abolition.[405] Hence, Brown's embracement of the Haitian Revolution

401 Wilson Armistead was a British author of African descent known for his 1848 book *A Tribute for the negro*. John Relly Beard was a Unitarian minister from England who is best remembered for his 1853 book *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture*. See W. Armistead, *A Tribute for the Negro: Being a Vindication of the Moral, Intellectual, and Religious Capabilities of the Colored Portion of Mankind; with Particular Reference to the African Race*, London: William Irwin, 1848, https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/armistead/armistead.html (accessed 15 September 2020); J. R. Beard, *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Negro Patriot of Hayti: Comprising an Account of the Struggle for Liberty in the Island, and a Sketch of Its History to the Present Period*, London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co., 1853, https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/beardj/beard.html (accessed 15 September 2020).

402 M. Clavin, "A Second Haitian Revolution: John Brown, Toussaint Louverture, and the Making of the American Civil War", *Civil War History* 54 (2008) 2, pp. 19–45, https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.0.0001.

403 William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879) was an American journalist, abolitionist, and suffragist. Initially a supporter of the ACS, Garrison later developed immediatist opinions. He edited one of the most well-known abolitionist newspapers of the era, *The Liberator*. Garrisonians believed in perfectionism "encouraging African Americans and women to actively participate in their campaign" and "envision[ing] the creation of a racially blind America, in which both slavery and racial prejudice would be dusty relics". See E. J. Kytle, *Romantic Reformers and the Antislavery Struggle in the Civil War Era*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 11.

404 Greenspan, *William Wells Brown*, p. 102.

405 Kytle, *Romantic Reformers*, p. 8.

with its violent aspects shall be understood in this rather radicalized context of abolitionism in the US.

Probably one of the best-known texts that employed this argument is J. T. Holly's *Vindication of the Capacity of the Negro Race* (1857).[406] In his examination of the events of the revolution, Holly demonstrates the plausibility of an independent and self-ruling Black republic capable of political, social, and economic progress and reforms with the aim of "banish[ing] the words 'superiority' and 'inferiority' from the vocabulary of the world, when applied to the natural capacity of races of men."[407] In *Haytian Papers* (1816), Prince Saunders[408] also employs Haiti as an example to build a similar argument:

> Having understood that it has often been insinuated by those few individuals, whose habitual labour is the perversion, [. . .] the absolute destruction of every object which has a tendency to show that the blacks possess, to any considerable extent, that portion of natural intelligence [. . .] I say, being convinced, [. . .] such persons have endeavoured to impress the public with the idea, that those official documents which have occasionally appeared in this country, are not written by black Haytians themselves; but that they are either written by Europeans in this country, or by some who, they say, are employed for that purpose in the public offices at Hayti; and, for the entire refutation of this gross misrepresentation, I upon my honour declare, that there is not a single white European at present employed in writing at any of the public offices; and that all the public documents are written by those of the King's Secretaries whose names they bear, and that they are all black men, or men of colour.[409]

406 Rev. James Theodore Holly was African American author, missionary, and bishop, who was born, according to his autobiography, in "the western part of-Washington City, near Georgetown, October 3d, 1829", to formerly enslaved parents. Having received formal education from an early age on, Holly became the first African-American Bishop in the Episcopal Church at Grace Church, New York and later the missionary bishop in Haiti. He was a strong proponent of African-American Emigration to Haiti. See J. T. Holly, *Facts about the Church's Mission in Haiti*, New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1897, http://anglicanhistory.org/usa/jtholly/facts1897.html (accessed 15 September 2020).

407 J. T. Holly, *A Vindication of the Capacity of the Negro Race*, New Haven: The Afric-American Printing CO., 1857, p. 44, https://www.loc.gov/item/12003290/ (accessed 5 October 2020).

408 Prince Saunders (Sanders) was an African-American author, educator, and diplomat. He was born in 1775 in Connecticut. He received a profound education and through his connections to the famous Unitarian Transcendentalist William Ellery Channing, became a teacher in Boston. This eventually led him to become one of the most influential Black educators and activists for the education of the African descendants in the nineteenth century. He was, like Holly and Brown, a proponent of African-American emigration to Haiti. See A. O. White, "Prince Saunders: An Instance of Social Mobility Among Antebellum New England Blacks", *The Journal of Negro History* 60 (1975) 4, pp. 526–535, https://doi.org/10.2307/2717021.

409 P. Saunders, *Haytian Papers: A Collection of the Very Interesting Proclamations and Other Official Documents: Together with Some Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the*

In Holly's texts, on the other hand, one can trace another common aspiration that African-American authors in the US found in the independent Black Haiti: a future home for the fugitives. In "Thoughts on Hayti", Holly explores the benefits of African-American emigration to Haiti. Well aware of the economic shortcomings on the island, Holly finds a solution to these financial problems in the possible relocation of Black people from the US to the island. He regards African Americans in the US "not only in contact with a maturer [sic] and better developed civilization than can be found in Hayti; but [. . .] also [as] the only portion of that race, that has its field of useful activity and progressive development completely circumscribed by impassable barriers." Holly's emigrationist vision entails not only a financial improvement for the island but also a better future for the US African Americans in Haiti, where the numerical majority of their race would give them a better chance to "blend in" to the public life.[410]

W. W. Brown, too, was a proponent of emigration to Haiti, as well as elsewhere in the West Indies or Canada.[411] Even though he reconsidered his position regarding emigration after the Civil War, Brown never completely abandoned or rejected the idea. However, whereas the author explicitly addresses the issue of emigration in his other writings – especially those written in the 1850s – a similar sentiment cannot be found in *St. Domingo*. In this sense, his speech should be taken as a divergence from and exception to his emigrationism. The speech does not imagine Haiti as a possible new home to the African Americans, instead, it creates a different spatial imagination which reexamines the connection between Haiti and the US South within a space of resistance.

Not all abolitionists regarded emigrationism as an option. Emigrationism was harshly criticized by many who equated it to colonization and considered emigration of free people of colour outside the US, including through colonization, as a means to ensure the continuance of slavery in the South. Notwithstanding their stance on the discussions of emigration to Haiti, however, the Haitian Revolution provided many abolitionists in the US with a great example of a successful insurrection against slavery and colonialism, especially after the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, it offered a strong legacy for the Black populations of the country. "Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, ["African Americans and their radical white allies"] joined the Transatlantic commemoration

Kingdom of Hayti, London: W. Reed, 1816, p. iii, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009008759 (accessed 5 October 2020).

410 J. T. Holly, "Thoughts on Hayti", *The Anglo-African Magazine* 1 (1859) 8, pp. 242–243, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.32106005410862&view=1up&seq=16 (accessed 6 October 2020).

411 Greenspan, *William Wells Brown*, p. 96.

of Louverture and in lectures, books, articles, pamphlets, and illustrations offered him to an American audience as a symbol of the virtue and potential of the black race."[412] S. G. Hall, focuses on five prominent African-American authors of the era, namely George Boyer Vashon,[413] William Wells Brown, James Theodore Holly, Martin R. Delany, and William Nell.[414] He suggests that these authors sought to "raise the specter of revolt in the minds of white US Americans" by employing images of the Haitian Revolution in their writings. He argues that in the accounts of the revolution by Brown and Holly, the Haitian example "became a template for the American antislavery war, and they used it to warn the United States of its possible future if slavery were not abolished."[415] I read Brown's *St. Domingo* similarly as a text that, in vindicating the Haitian Revolution, seeks to call for an immediate abolition of slavery in the US and warn Southern slaveholders of the future awaiting them unless they give up on the institution.

To position Brown among this radical rhetoric on the Haitian Revolution and to illustrate the ways in which he employs the imagery of violence, let us briefly concentrate on *St. Domingo*. The descriptions of the aftermath of French general Charles Leclerc's expedition to the island in the narrative bear a clear example of the use of rather graphic imagery of the revolution. In the following passage from the speech, for instance, Brown portrays the agonizing condition of islands white populations after the expedition:

> At the mere nod of Dessalines, men who had been slaves, and who dreaded the new servitude with which they were threatened, massacred seven hundred of the whites that Dessalines had amongst his prisoners. The child died in the arms of its sick and terrified

412 Clavin, "A Second Haitian Revolution", p. 118.

413 George Boyer Vashon was an African-American abolitionist and poet, born in 1824. Robert S. Levine writes in a footnote: "[Vashon was a] distinguished lawyer and the first African American to receive the B.A. from Oberlin College [and] worked closely with Delany in Pittsburgh during the 1840s, helping him to publish the *Mystery*. As Delany notes in his letters, because of his race, Vashon was denied the right to take the bar exam in Pennsylvania. He eventually passed the exam in New York and became the first licensed black attorney in that state. During 1848–50, he taught at the Collège Faustin in Haiti. Upon his return, he devoted himself to antislavery activities, eventually rejecting Delany's emigrationism of the 1850s." R. S. Levine, *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003, p. 84.

414 William Cooper Nell, African-American abolitionist author who published in William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* and later on "became publisher of Douglass's North Star". He participated and led campaigns against segregation of public life and schools in Boston in the mid-nineteenth century. See R. P. Smith, "William Cooper Nell: Crusading Black Abolitionist", *The Journal of Negro History* 55 (1970) 3, p. 186.

415 Hall, *A Faithful Account*, pp. 105–110.

> mother; the father was unable to save the daughter; the daughter unable to save the father. Mulattoes took the lives of their white fathers, to whom they had been slaves, or who [. . .]. So frightful was this slaughter, that the banks of the Artibonite were strewed with dead bodies, and the waters dyed with the blood of the slain. Not a grave was dug, [. . .], in order that the eyes of the French might see his vengeance even in the repulsive remains of carnage.[416]

Echoing the aforementioned accounts of the revolution by *grand blancs* as a brutal event, Brown's speech creates a similar emotion in its recipients but to an opposite end. Whereas the rhetoric of Black violence during the revolution in St. Domingo was repeatedly used by advocates of slavery to justify the continuance of bondage in the antebellum US, Brown's speech hints at a likely impermanence of the docility, which many slavocrats and even some abolitionists expected from the enslaved populations in the US, by pointing at the dismay that white colonists and slave owners faced in Haiti. This becomes even more clearly uttered, when the speech suggests that "the slave-holders in [the] Southern States [shall] tremble when they shall call to mind these events".[417]

Hence, in an environment of rising tension around the subject of slavery, the Haitian Revolution emerges once again after almost four decades of the island's independence and is embraced by abolitionist authors with a renewed interest in and fresh perspective on the legacy that it provides for the people of colour in the US. This new perspective on the Haiti in abolitionist writing in the 1840s and 50s, however, was not limited to the (re)remembering of the violence of the slave uprising in Haiti as a demonstration of a potential future awaiting the Southern states if slavery were not to be abolished soon. Besides, reviving the once acutely-felt fear that the Haitian Revolution created in the hearts of defenders of slavery, the treatment of the violence that the Black people of St. Domingo were involved in during the rising helps to tie together the Black populations of Haiti and the US, making the former's legacy a torch for the latter to bear. This tendency can be observed, for example, in Holly's *Vindication*, which suggests an African-American duty to "contribute to the continued advancement of this negro nationality of the New World" to arise following the revolution in Haiti.[418]

Brown's *St. Domingo*, on the other hand, uses more powerful and aggressive images in uniting the US and Haiti, arguing that there are many African Americans in the US whose "souls are thirsting for liberty" like the leaders of the Haitian Revolution. It reminds the readers of African-American contributions to the US

416 Brown, *St. Domingo*, p. 25.
417 Ibid., p. 25.
418 Holly, *A Vindication*, p. 45.

revolutionary war against colonialists as proof for the Black capacity to fight for independence:

> Who knows but that a Toussaint, a Christophe, a Rigaud, a Clervaux, and a Dessalines, may someday appear in the Southern States of this Union? That they are there, no one will doubt. That their souls are thirsting for liberty, all will admit. The spirit that caused the blacks to take up arms, and to shed their blood in the American revolutionary war, is still amongst the slaves of the south; and, if we are not mistaken, the day is not far distant when the revolution of St. Domingo will be reenacted in South Carolina and Louisiana.[419]

St. Domingo connects the two countries together with the bequest of fighting for liberty. The Haitian Revolution in Brown's speech appears as a sequence to the American Independence War, at least to the degree that the latter led in breaking free from the European colonial rule and hence set a precedence. Still, the speech extends this argument to suggest that it was the Haitian, not the American Revolution, that realized its promise of liberty in its full extent through a comparison between George Washington and Toussaint L'Ouverture. Both were, according to the speech, religious men who fought for the "oppressed and outraged people" of their countries against "powerful enem[ies]", yet only one "liberated his countrymen" while the other "enslaved a portion of his".[420] Hence, Brown's speech envisions a space of resistance that includes Haiti and the US within. In this space of resistance, the revolutionary US sets an example for Haiti to follow its lead in liberation from colonization and, conversely, the United States should pursue the Haitian example in the abolition of slavery.

Accordingly, B. Fagan demonstrates that the speech considers the Haitian Revolution not as an event in isolation but as part of "a continuum, including but certainly not limited to the American Revolution, the Haitian Revolution, and an internationally-inflected American Civil War."[421] He demonstrates the parallels that Brown draws between the American and Haitian Revolutions, both interpreted as liberationist wars against the colonialist European forces. Fagan illustrates a certain restlessness, a desire for the continuance of a Black liberation movement in the US during the time the speech was held. He points to events like Nat Turner's rebellion[422] in tracing the impact of the Haitian

419 Brown, *St. Domingo*, p. 32.

420 Ibid., p. 36.

421 B. Fagan, "Reclaiming Revolution: William Wells Brown's Irreducible Haitian Heroes", *Comparative American Studies An International Journal* 5 (December 2007) 4, p. 377.

422 Nat Turner was an enslaved African American in Southampton County, Virginia, who led one of the bloodiest slave revolts in the US history in 1831 – also known as the Southampton Insurrection. The revolt resulted in the capture and execution of Turner and about 16 to 18 of his fellows, who murdered several white people. Nat Turner and his revolt triggered a white

Revolution in the US. Similarly, Hall explores the roots of the American Revolution in Brown's reading of Haitian history. He suggests that the adaptation of the word "patriot" by Brown in his speech for the revolutionists in Haiti hints at a "commentary on the inclusionary and exclusionary legacy of the American Revolution" and at the fact that "several participants in the Siege at Savanah[423] later played important roles in the Haitian Revolution. [. . .] By linking the two patriotic traditions", Hall explains, "Brown hoped to clarify and exonerate the contributions of both to the revolutionary history of the Western hemisphere."[424] Besides the American Revolution, focusing on the comparison between Napoleon Bonaparte and Toussaint in Brown's speech, Hall also highlights the significance of the French Revolution for Brown's take on Haitian history.[425]

Scholars including Fagan and Hall illustrate the ways in which Brown understands the Haitian Revolution in relation to both the American and French Revolutions and how he locates a possible abolitionist war in the US in a Transatlantic context through the examples of these three revolutions. Although Hall argues that the African-American narratives on Haiti "were less concerned with linear presentations of facts than with presenting a narrative that used the past to intervene in the realities of the present",[426] the works of these scholars restrict themselves within the immediate space-time of Brown's speech in their approach to the text. In the following pages, I seek to overcome this limitation. Instead, I argue that Brown's speech extends over a much larger geography by bending the linear experience of time and presenting an uninterrupted chain of slave rebellions throughout the history as if they have happened just here and

fear of the Black rebellion in the South, and the event was used in subsequent radical abolitionist literature as a common image. To read more on Nat Turner's Southampton rebellion, see D. F. Allmendinger, *Nat Turner and the Rising in Southampton County*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014.

423 The Siege of Savannah was a battle fought during the American Independence War which resulted in the defeat of the American and French armies against the British. Even though it is reported that many African Americans formed troops to fight alongside the British loyalists, here Brown refers to the Haitian Black Legion which fought on the side of the Americans for their independence. To read more, see G. P. Clark, "The Role of the Haitian Volunteers at Savannah in 1779: An Attempt at an Objective View", *Phylon* 41 (1980) 4, pp. 356–366, https://doi.org/10.2307/274860.

424 S. G. Hall, "Envisioning an Antislavery War", in: D. Y. Curry, E. D. Duke, and M. A. Smith (eds.), *Extending the Diaspora New Histories of Black People*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009, p. 88.

425 Hall, *A Faithful Account*, p. 93.

426 Ibid., p. 95.

now. This uninterruptedness in Brown's speech imagines a large, transnational spatio-temporal setting and a united space of resistance.

Uniting the Circumatlantic Resistance

> Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not
> who would be free, themselves must strike the blow?

Even though Brown's speech quotes only these two short lines from Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, those who are familiar with the famous poem would immediately remember the following lines:

> By their right arms the conquest must be wrought?
> Will Gaul or Muscovite redress ye? No!
> True, they may lay your proud despoilers low,
> But not for you will Freedom's altars flame.
> Shades of the Helots! triumph o'er your foe:
> Greece! change thy lords, thy state is still the same;
> Thy glorious day is o'er, but not thy years of shame.[427]

This autobiographical poem by Lord Byron depicts the independence war of Greece against Ottoman rule; a cause for which the British poet gave his life. Encouraging the Greek people to fight with this stanza, the poet suggests that no other European force – "Gaul or Muscovite redress" – will bring liberty to the Greek. He recalls the heroic struggle of the enslaved Helots of ancient Sparta whereupon the Helots claimed their liberty in order to hearten the Greek people to find strength in this heritage. A fight against tyrannical class structures and slavery, on the one hand, and a war against an imperialist rule, on the other, blend together in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.

Brown finds a pattern in these intermingled legacies of the slave rebellion in the ancient Greece and the Greek Independence War in 1820s in Lord Byron's poem. This pattern repeats itself in different eras and places in the struggles of various peoples against oppressions be it bondage or imperialism. Assuming a similar narrative strategy, *St. Domingo* undertakes a heavier task in generating an even more intertwined heritage for the enslaved Black people of the Americas. Searching for a collective identity and heritage of liberty to encourage the African

427 Lord Byron (George Gordon Byron) is a British romantic poet who lived between 1788–1824. He penned and published *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* between 1812–1818. Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, London, 1812, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/5131/5131-h/5131-h.htm (accessed 15 September 2020).

Americans in the US to gather and fight for their freedom, Brown's speech goes beyond a solely historiographical undertaking and offers a highly condensed spatio-temporality within which an almost 2500-year-long history and the entire Circumatlantic setting becomes united.

The speech first attends to the image of Africa as a common native land as was customary in the antebellum African-American literature. Inspired by the biblical references to Ethiopia as home to all Black people and people of Ethiopia as God's chosen people, *St. Domingo* employs the imagery of a shared home in Africa to construct a common identity among people of African descent in Haiti and the US. The speech refers, in multiple instances, to being "ruthlessly torn from [the] native land" and documents the origins of several historical figures in Africa reminding the audience of the spatial roots of the heroes of this narrative. While Toussaint L'Ouverture is described as "the grandson of the king of Arradas,[428] one of the most wealthy, powerful, and influential monarchs on the west coast of Africa", the first ruler of independent Haiti Jean-Jacques Dessalines is portrayed as pointing "out the coast of Africa as his birthplace". The proud references to the African origins of the heroes of the Haitian Revolution are not restricted to the well-educated Black people or revolutionary leaders of Haiti like Dessalines and L'Ouverture. The speech includes the African heritages of those whom it describes as the "savage" bandits fighting from the mountains of the island. Two such figures are Vida and Lamour – two fugitives who became warriors during the revolution, according to Brown's account: "[Vida] was a native of Africa, and, like Lamour, had been ruthlessly torn from her native land."[429] The speech reaches from Haiti to the United States to include the US American people of African descent in this heritage:

> The exasperated genius of Africa would rise from the depths of the ocean, and show its threatening form; and war against the tyrants would be the rallying cry. The indignation of the slaves of the south would kindle a fire so hot that it would melt their chains, drop by drop, until not a single link would remain; and the revolution that was commenced in 1776 would then be finished, and the glorious sentiments of the Declaration of Independence [. . .].[430]

428 Arradas, also known as Great Ardra or Allada, was a kingdom on the western coast of Africa. Various accounts claim ancestral connections between the Haitian revolutionary leader, Toussaint, and the royal family of Arradas, although the nature of this relation varies from source to source. For example, John Relly Beard suggest that Toussaints' "great grandfather" was the king of his tribe. The kingdom, which was located in what now constitutes southern Benin, served as a major slave market for the European slave traders for centuries, Beard, *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture*, p. 35.

429 Brown, *St. Domingo*, pp. 10–29.

430 Ibid., p. 38.

Brown's text, hence, unites the Black populations in Haiti and the US with the common heritage of sharing its "soul" and "genius" regardless of whether or not they have ever been in any African land.[431]

Yet, the emphasis on Africanism renders the speech vulnerable to a possible backlash from the supporters of schemes involving relocating the free Black populations of the US to the colonies in Africa. Even though the colony in Liberia gained its independence in 1847, the ACS continued to send free people of colour from the US to Liberia even after the Civil War – especially because the US did not recognize the country's independence until 1862.[432] The Society relied on the idea that free Black people of America would eventually be better off in a country where they would not be a secondary and oppressed class. The most influential figures of the Society such as Henry Clay suggested that "restoring them to the land of their fathers" would contribute to the development of Africa and was the "moral[ly] fit" thing to do:

> Why should they not go? Here they are in the lowest state of social gradation – aliens – political – moral – social aliens, strangers, though natives. There, they would be in the midst of their friends and their kindred, *at home, though born in a foreign land*, and elevated above the natives of the country, as much as they are degraded here below the other classes of the community.[433]

To avoid giving rise to such an argument for African-American emigration to Africa, Brown's speech employs a powerful rhetoric that inseparably unites Black people to the lands they inhabit in the Americas. It creates a spatial imagination whereupon the Black body becomes almost an extension of the physical space that surrounds it. Portraying the landscape of Haiti and the South in such a harmony with Black bodies, the speech renders it almost impossible to envision the two independently. Through this harmony, the narrative makes a claim over the space for Black people and renders the Americas a (second) home for them. This claim is achieved in the narrative through two interconnected strategies.

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431 Ibid., pp. 22–38.

432 In fact, African-American emigration to Africa, especially to Liberia remained a rather popular idea in the Reconstruction period. For example, Henry Adams, an emancipated slave who later became the president of the Committee and the Colonization Council of Northern Louisiana, advocated emigration to Liberia yet failed to convince the states of Louisiana and the USA. See A. Appiah and H. L. Gates, *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 28–29.

433 H. Clay qtd. in J. Orcutt, "African Colonization: A Speech Delivered Before the American Colonization Society in Washington D.C. January 10, 1875 by Rev. John Orcutt, D. D.", Reprint edn, Forgotten Books, 2019 (emphasis added).

The first is the depiction of landscape and climate in Haiti as hostile and unfavourable for white enemies. The physical geography emerges in the portrayals of the battles practically as an animated body that cooperates with the Black people in their struggle against the colonialists. These descriptions are often aligned with Toussaint's foretelling of the destiny of colonialists in a proclamation, as quoted in the speech:

> You are going to fight against enemies who have neither faith, law nor religion; they promise you liberty – they intend your servitude. [. . .] Those whom our swords spare will be struck dead by an avenging climate; their bones will be scattered among these mountains and rocks, and tossed about by the waves of our sea.[434]

Quoting Toussaint's combative words, the speech does not only bring forth the brutal imagery of the Haitian Revolution as a warning to the Southern slaveholders. Building upon the picture of nature as antagonistic to the white enemies in Haiti drawn by Toussaint's words, the narrative declares the space inhabited by people of colour unsafe for white colonialists and slaveholders. Advancing on this representation, the speech points not to the mountains and the sea as the Haitian hero metaphorically does, but to the historical facts that indeed insinuated if not hatred, then at least an unwelcoming atmosphere in the nature of Haiti toward the French colonialists:

> Rochambeau was besieged by the blacks on land, and the English on sea, and never was a general in a more deplorable condition. All of his brave officers had either died of the yellow fever, or been slain in battle with the blacks, and he and his few followers reduced to starvation. Horses had been used for food; and even the very dogs that had been brought from Cuba to hunt down the blacks were used as food by the proud and oppressive French.[435]

The agonizing condition of French soldiers starving and dying in misery, however, is not employed in the text in a celebrative tenor. Instead, the audience cannot help but feel a certain sympathy toward the famishing soldiers. This scene from the surrender of Cap-Français functions only – considering Brown's interest in historiography – to capture a historical truth and to highlight the second strategy that the narrative employs in claiming Haiti home for the Black people by drawing a contrast between the relationship of nature with the white

434 Brown, *St. Domingo*, p. 24.

435 Ibid., pp. 30–31. Exactly the same translation of the proclamation is quoted by the British Unitarian Minister Rev. John Relly Beard in a biography of L'Ouverture published in London the year before Brown delivered his speech in the same city. Since the original record of the proclamation is not available to us, it is a safe assumption that Brown might have referred to Beard in quoting L'Ouverture, Beard, *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture*, p. 183.

colonialists and slaveholders, on the one hand, and the oppressed people, on the other. That is, contrary to the fate that the French and Spanish colonist had to face because of the wrath of Haitian landscape and climate, the Haitian people of colour seem to be at home on the island. As a second narrative strategy, hence, the speech employs an image of harmony between the Black bodies and the physical space surrounding them.

The narrative by no means depict the people of colour in St. Domingo as lost or confused in the nature of the island despite the chaos of the 12-year-long war. Vida and Lamour, for example, are told to be "complete masters of the wilds of St. Domingo". The collective body of the Black soldiers, too, proceeds and fights almost effortless, and aided by the nature in its advancement on wherever the battleground is:

> Exulting in their triumph, the blacks commenced hostilities on the sea. In light boats, with the aid of the wind and tide and of oars, they went up and down the rivers, passed from the mountains into the ocean, and from the ocean into the mountains, spreading terror wherever they appeared.[436]

This quotation is especially intriguing since, in its reminder to the advocates of slavery in the US South of the possible dangers surrounding them in a space where the bondage of the African descendent continues, it employs and appropriates a common imperialist discourse. The discourse of tropicality was often used as a justification for colonialism and slavery from the early-colonial times on. The people of colour subjected to the New World's racial slavery spread mostly in areas associated with tropical climate and nature such as the Caribbean, South America, and the South of the US found themselves inflicted by 'tropicality' within this discourse at least twice. Africa's association with tropicality did not only open up the continent for European colonization but also rationalized the enslavement of African people. This rationalization depended on a pseudo-scientific explanation that the African descendants were by nature and as a result of the tropical conditions *savage*, *lazy*, and in need of the guidance and *civilization* by white Europeans. This discourse that regarded people of colour as *uncultivated* as their motherland and reduced them to a pure, *uncivilized* extension of nature, however, becomes appropriated in Brown's *St. Domingo*. The speech explicitly plays on the white supremacist image of the *savage* African, especially through the image of the roaring ocean, to spread fear among the slaveholders in the South reminding them that the people in their servitude are savages after all.

More importantly, embracing the unity between nature and Black people and echoing the discourse of tropicality, the speech claims the tropical lands of

436 Brown, *St. Domingo*, pp. 29–30.

the Caribbean as a Black space. The narrative highlights, through the contrast between the difficulty that the Europeans experience and the ease that Black people feel in the tropical nature of the island, that even when they are ripped away from one home to which their loyalty is still intact, people of African descent have found new shared roots and another home in Haiti. The effortlessness of Black soldiers in their surrounding as portrayed in the speech also implicitly suggests the contribution of the enslaved to the cultivation of the lands, that is, the social action of the enslaved people as a space-making process on the island. The rejection by nature that white colonialists and soldiers face in St. Domingo emphasizes this once again, indicating that the prosperity of St. Domingo is a result of Black labour and does not belong to slave exploiters.

However, the speech does not restrict the depiction of harmony between nature and enslaved people to the tropicality of the Caribbean. Expanding both in time and space, Brown's speech applies this representation also to its employment of the history of ancient Sparta referring to the earthquake of the Eurotas Valley in 464 BC which gave the oppressed serfs the opportunity to rise up against the repressive Spartans and fight for their freedom.[437] Thus, the text once again renders nature almost an archangel for the oppressed wherever they maybe:

> The news of the earthquake became the watchword of revolt. [. . .] [I]t was as if the *great mother* herself had summoned her children to vindicate the long abused, the all-inalienable heritage derived from her; and the stir of the angry elements was but the announcement of an armed and *solemn union between nature and the oppressed*.[438]

The image of a historical earthquake as the benevolent hand of "Mother Earth" also helps the speech to draw a parallel between the Helots of ancient Sparta and the slaves of St. Domingo. Comparing the earthquake to the French Revolution – "What the Helots were to Sparta at the time of the earthquake, the blacks were to St. Domingo at the time of the French Revolution" – as a catalyser in the success of the enslaved populations, the speech later extends this parallel to the South. Here, the speech imagines a harbinger for a slave revolt rising "from the depths of ocean".[439] Hence, reiterating the threatening image of the ocean in Haiti once again in the South, Brown's

437 M. Jones, "Ancient Sparta: The History of the Spartans", *History Cooperative* (blog), 18 May 2019, https://historycooperative.org/ancient-sparta-the-history-of-the-spartans/ (accessed 15 September 2020).

438 Brown, *St. Domingo*, pp. 32–33 (emphasis added).

439 Ibid., pp. 32–38.

speech reinforces the intertwinedness of Black bodies and their surrounding environmental space. This inseparability blends the South surrounded by an oceanic space with an image of a seemingly-docile enemy waiting silently for its time to rise up, just like the enslaved people in the plantations all over the region, while evoking tropical connotations about hurricanes. The direct and implied references to earthquakes and hurricanes in the speech signal a rather common tendency in antebellum literature which often characterized the Haitian Revolution "as an impending volcanic eruption, conflagration, or hurricane, [that] might spread to other slaveholding territories".[440]

Employing common images such as the tropical savage or the Haitian Revolution as a hurricane, *St. Domingo* embeds its narrative in a spatial language whereupon the resisting slaves become an extension of the physical space wherever they may be. More significantly, the text extends these images beyond hemispheric borders, as well as the immediate temporal setting of the long nineteenth century. The Africanist heritage that it initially evokes in order to connect US African Americans to the heroism of Haitian people of colour yields to a more universal understanding of abolitionism once the text blends the Spartan Helots within its rhetoric of nature-slave harmony. Such a reading of Brown's speech allows for an understanding of the author's abolitionist engagement as involving a larger spatial and temporal scale than the immediate surroundings of the antebellum US. Brown's activism involves an understanding of "universal freedom", which has been largely overlooked in attempts "to pigeonhole him as a representative only of African-Americans or narrow his reform efforts to the abolition of American slavery".[441] While the speech reflects a certain pan-Africanist pride, the unknown ethnic origins of the Helots[442] make a case for not only African but universal liberation from slavery, regardless of space, time, or race. Noting that "the Haytian revolution was not unlike that which liberated the slaves of Sparta", the speech ties Sparta and the Caribbean to each other through "the gloomy history of human servitude".[443]

In this sense, the enslaved Southern people of colour in Brown's speech emerge not as an isolated people. They are depicted to be both an extension of the space that they inhabit and part of a largely shared identity not only among

440 E. J. Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature*, Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1998, p. 172.

441 N. E. Olson, *Revolutionary Nostalgia*, pp. 196–197.

442 Given that Helots were the inhabitants of Laconia, located barely a dozen miles away from Spartan capital, it is hard to claim that there was any clear racial difference between the oppressor and the oppressed in Spartan society.

443 Brown, *St. Domingo*, p. 32.

the African descendants but also among several other peoples who have suffered similar fates before them. Through the depiction of enslaved Southerners as a resilient people both under the protection of nature and part of a revolutionary and abolitionist heritage, the US South surrounded by both its Caribbean neighbours and Transatlantically by Europe and Africa becomes located in an abolitionist space in the speech. Hence, while Brown imbues the enslaved people in the South with the inherited assemblage of all slave riots in a global history, he also revitalizes the spaces inflicted by what he calls a "gloomy history" in the imagination of the South that he draws. Thus, the region becomes located in the barycentre of this imagined Transatlantic space through the immediacy of abolition in the region that the speech insists upon. While the narrative itself does not often refer to the South, the direct appeal of the speech as one that calls for the immediate abolition of slavery in the US further emphasizes this centrality.

This imagined space as well as the centrality of the South gain an even stronger emphasis once the role of mobility that surrounds both the textual and contextual levels of the speech is taken into account.

Building Abolitionist Networks

His highly mobile life as well as his personal involvement in ensuring safe passage through the Underground Railroad for many fugitives made Brown grow intellectually keen and interested in the mobility of abolitionist actors. He had already been in Europe for almost five years when he delivered his speech in 1854 in London. He had first travelled to Paris in 1849 as a representative of the US at the International Peace Conference. After the implementation of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, he had decided to stay in Europe. By the time he arrived in Paris, he already had a respectable reputation among European abolitionists who knew him through his 1847 autobiography and other printed works. In Europe, he continued to lead a mobile life: "he traveled extensively, speaking at public meetings, giving lectures at universities, writing, and supporting many religious societies in their effort to understand the peculiar institution of slavery and the resolute disadvantage of color in America."[444]

The lengthy sojourn in Europe rendered both the author and his speech immediate actors in Circumatlantic abolitionist networks. Brown's immediate experience within these networks and his keen spatial and universal understanding of abolitionist history are reflected in his speech's approach to Haitian history.

444 Buzinde and Osagie, "William Wells Brown", p. 408.

This Circumatlantic awareness in the speech can be observed in the way the multiracial actors of the Haitian Revolution are depicted. The speech takes the emergence of "a class known as mulattoes and quadroons" as an element that enhanced the Circumatlantic position of the island. Situating this free class which is "deprived of political and religious privileges"[445] as an actor in Transatlantic networks, the text illustrates a critical familiarity with such circles. The engagement of these actors in Transatlantic networks are portrayed to profoundly differ from the ones established by white actors in terms of what they meant for abolitionism in the American Hemisphere. The text highlights the simultaneously oppressed and free conditions of multiracial actors in the Americas in their interest in importing ideas on racial equality from Europe:

> Many of these mulattoes received their education in Paris, where prejudice against color was unknown, experienced great dissatisfaction at their proscription on their return to St. Domingo. White enough to make them hopeful and aspiring, many of them possessed wealth enough to make them influential. Aware by their education of the principles of freedom that were being advocated in Europe and the United States, they were also ever on the watch to seize opportunities to better their social and political condition.[446]

While the speech does not necessarily make a direct reference to the fact that the mobility multiracial actors could enjoy was beyond reach for most enslaved people in Haiti, its evaluation of this class as an unreliable ally for the slaved people illustrates the ways in which their entanglement in Transatlantic abolitionist networks differed from that of fugitives such as the author himself. To this effect, the speech highlights that some multiracial actors in Haiti were themselves slaveholders and, as long as they were granted equal rights with the white populations of the island (as once was declared by the National Assembly in France), they had no interest in the emancipation of enslaved people, whose labour was so profitable for their business. When the proclamation of the National Assembly, which would grant them with these equal rights, was not put into effect by the colonial rule in St. Domingo, their alliances shifted toward abolitionism, which, they assumed, would bring them the rights and equality that they were denied. However, once the Colonial Assembly offered them a pact against abolitionists in turn for equal rights in order to re-establish stability in the colony, the free people of colour once again abandoned the abolitionist cause to return back to their former alliance with the white colonial power.

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445 Brown, *St. Domingo*, p. 5.
446 Ibid., pp. 5–6.

The wavering quality observed in this class's commitment to abolitionism points to the divergent ideological entanglements within the Transatlantic abolitionist cause and networks. Notwithstanding their shifting alliances with respect to both enslaved and white actors on the island, however, these biracial actors are portrayed to have played a crucial role in the formation of an abolitionist Atlantic world. The speech recalls, for instance, the mobility of Vincent Ogé,[447] a biracial businessman who was in Paris when the French Revolution began and had the privilege to attend the Constituent Assembly. The speech notes that Ogé met some notable members of the Society of the Friends of the Blacks and supporters of abolition in the colonies including Henri Grégoire, Jacques Pierre Brissot, Guillaume Thomas François Raynal, and Antoine Barnave.[448]

Brown's lecture observes the formation of these Transatlantic networks not only in the travels of biracial actors who directly engage in conversation with abolitionists in Europe. It also attributes a significant role to the circulation of print material in establishing such networks. The speech describes how European abolitionist texts made their way from London to Paris and from there to St. Domingo, making "the blacks aware of their rights, as well as of their strength." In depicting the very leader of the Haitian Revolution, Toussaint L'Ouverture, to have autodidactically learned "to read and write, and [. . .] carefully studied the works of Raynal, and a few others who had written in behalf of human freedom", the speech emphasizes the mobility of texts as a crucial factor in both shaping abolitionist philosophy and movement in the Caribbean and connecting them with similar movements in the larger Atlantic world. In these Transatlantic networks established through the circulation of texts and ideas, the speech sees the pillars of success of the Haitian Revolution: "This class of literature, no doubt, had great influence over the mind of Toussaint, and did much to give him the power that he afterwards exercised in the island."[449] Moreover, by introducing abolitionist and revolutionary texts in such a way, the speech underlines the engagement of less

447 Vincent Ogé was one of the *gens de couleur libres* from St. Domingo who, inspired by the French Revolution, led a revolt on the island among the people of colour in 1790 and became one of the most famous names of the early Haitian Revolution. Beard writes in 1853 on Ogé's rebellion and its results: "Ogé was attacked by a force of six hundred men. The attack he repelled. The colonies sent another body of fifteen hundred men against him. Ogé was defeated and fled. He took refuge in the Spanish territories. His surrender was demanded from the Spanish authorities. Being delivered up, he was put on his trial. That trial, famous in the annals of Hayti, lasted two months. At last, Ogé and his lieutenant, Chevanne, were condemned to be broken alive on the wheel, and their goods to be confiscated to the king." Beard, *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture*, p. 47.

448 Brown, *St. Domingo*, pp. 5–7.

449 Ibid., pp. 6–13.

mobile actors such as enslaved Blacks in the Circumatlantic abolitionist dialogue of the era.

The portrayal of people of colour within Circumatlantic structures of abolitionism also functions in a self-reflective fashion for the speech, the author, and the direct audience of the speech alike. Brown's identity as a fugitive at the time he delivered his abolitionist speech in London engaging in Circumatlantic dialogues on the issue of emancipation demonstrates a similarity between the author's mobility and that of the historical figures that the speech refers to, such as Vincent Ogé. While the speech reminds its audience of the significance of actors of African descent who travelled to Europe to establish alliances and dialogues in search for a solution to their deprivation from equal rights with whites, it implicitly positions its audience in parallel with the European actors whose involvement in such abolitionist networks ideologically contributed to the Haitian Revolution by inspiring actors like Toussaint and Rigaud on the notions of liberty and equality. The historical alliances that supported and made the revolution possible, according to the speech, is extended within time and space to include the mid-nineteenth-century US through its appeal to the audience as a possible actor in making a successful slave insurrection in the US possible. That is, in the amalgamation of the contextual and textual levels of the speech, the space and time, too, become coalesced. Europe, Haiti, and the US in its entirety become a single space of resistance within a temporality that blends the past, present, and future of slave insurrections together. Appealing to its audience by pointing to their potential as actors of an emancipatory revolution in the US, the speech carries the US South, which remains rather obscure on the textual level, to the focus of attention and to the centre of the space of resistance that it imagines.

For Brown, the European setting of his sojourn through France and England meant more than a mere engagement in dialogues with European abolitionists. The extensive studies on Brown's travel narratives give detailed accounts on the changing nature of the relationship that the author had with the spatial setting surrounding him. Buzinde and Osagie, for example, underline how Brown's travels and travel writing was embedded with an activist mission:

> For him traveling as a tourist was both historical and political. He sought for a common ground within society by identifying his own trials and tribulation against the history of oppression he was aware of in European society. In this sense, travel enabled him to further embody his political endeavor in a manner that affirmed his identity.[450]

450 Buzinde and Osagie, "William Wells Brown", p. 416.

Schoolman argues that the European setting, especially London, leads to "a shift in Brown's historical imagination away from a cosmopolitanism that would seem inextricable from European imperialism and toward a critical-cosmopolitan orientation that would have [. . .] the Haitian Revolution as its imaginative locus." A growing historical awareness, indeed, plays a role in the way that the author connects the problem of slavery in the Caribbean and US to Europe through colonialism, European involvement in the slave economy, and structures of class exploitation that European countries themselves had yet to overcome. Brown's increasingly global awareness of history helps him to unite US and Haitian histories, in addition to their common past of slavery, through their independence wars against European colonialism.[451] Just as Brown sees a continuance between the US and Haitian wars of independence, he also envisions that these two wars are to continue with an abolitionist war in the US inflamed by the Haitian emancipation. This continuity between Haiti and the US leads not only to a new historical vision but also to a novel spatial imagination. The speech regards the world to be united through imperialism and exploitation and envisions a space united in the struggle against these, while addressing an audience from the vantage point of a European capital whereupon its author can observe European colonial past.

The first paragraphs of the speech locate Hispaniola in a colonial setting taking the arrival of first Europeans to the island in 1492 with Columbus's discovery as the beginning of civilized history in this place. The speech describes the natives of the island as being treated well under Columbus, yet still set to become enslaved under his successor Dovadillo's tyranny. Accordingly, the speech notes, the native population drops drastically only in a decade and a half. European colonialists acquire the island, which is now almost void of any native population to claim it back. Yet, this advantage quickly becomes a problem that shows itself as lack of profitable workforce. This problem is solved by the implementation of African slave trade. The speech, through this small historical account, does not solely provide a context of the Haitian Revolution for its audience, it also establishes the Circumatlantic position within which it locates Haiti. It sees the African heritage and its exploited labour in the wealth generated in the Caribbean which "poured untold treasures into France and Spain".[452]

The historical figure of Napoleon Bonaparte is introduced to the text in a similar manner to reinforce the positioning of the island in this Circumatlantic

451 Schoolman, "Violent Places", p. 26.
452 Brown, *St. Domingo*, p. 5.

colonial space. Napoleon's expeditions serve to extend this space even further. Introduced as "[t]he conqueror of Egypt" to the speech, Napoleon's name enlarges the Circumatlantic space of colonialism to include the Mediterranean coast of Africa. Upon the resolution of more urgent and internal conflicts in France, the speech suggests, Napoleon sent his soldiers to St. Domingo, which "was too important an island to be lost [. . .] or destroyed by civil war":

> Fifty-six ships of war, with twenty-five thousand men, left France for Hayti. It was, indeed, the most valiant fleet that had ever sailed from the French dominions. The Alps, the Nile, the Rhine, and all Italy, had resounded with the exploits of the men who were now leaving their country for the purpose of placing the chains' again on the limbs of the heroic people of St. Domingo. There were men in that army that had followed Bonaparte from the siege of Toulon to the battle under the shades of the pyramids of Egypt, – men who had grown gray in the camp.[453]

Through this vivid portrayal of Napoleon's soldiers, the speech goes on drawing a discursive map of a space where it sees a unity established simultaneously by European imperialist expansionism and a shared struggle against it. Calling attention to the mobility of soldiers during the French campaigns to Egypt and imagining exactly the same soldiers to have poured to St. Domingo to reconquer it, the speech visualizes a vibrant space expanding from the Mediterranean to the Caribbean. The image of soldiers seeking to conquer Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean one after the other builds a spatial continuity among these rather distant places, echoing one that has been associated more recently in the globalization discourses with the image of a "shrinking" world.[454] In this ever-smaller world emerging in the speech's spatial imagination, the struggles in countries that colonialist seek to (re)invade, too, seems more united. The solidarity that the speech creates among the lands where Napoleon "supplant[ed] liberty and destroy[ed] nationalities, in order to substitute his own illegitimate despotism" once again draws these lands closer.[455]

The shift which, Schoolman argues, the European setting has caused in Brown's historical understanding hence becomes reflected in this 1854 speech as a spatial imagination whereupon the history of colonialism configures a large transnational space through struggles against imperial forces as well as against slavery into a large space of resistance. The US and Haitian revolutions unite these countries both with each other and to Europe and Africa, by virtue of imperialist expansions and by connections of the slave trade. The Circumatlantic

453 Ibid., p. 18.
454 Günzel, *Raum*, p. 60.
455 Brown, *St. Domingo*, p. 37.

abolitionist network, which Brown, his audience, and the actors in his speech engage in through their travels and circulation of their texts generates a much larger spatial structure. The abolitionist cause becomes inseparable from the anticolonial in this imagined space, just like it was in the Haitian Revolution. Thus, Brown's speech argues, as do many other abolitionist texts of its time, that the American Revolution is an unfinished undertaking in its promise of freedom and will remain so until liberty is granted to all its people.

Carrying the South to the Centre

Even though Brown's *St. Domingo* at first glance seems to take the Haitian Revolution to the centre of its narrative construction, in fact, the South of the US constitutes a focal point of both the narrative and the spatial imagination that it generates. The Haitian Revolution as a historical narrative as well as other historical references in the speech such as to the French and American Revolutions and to the revolts of Helots in ancient Sparta serve to carry the South to the centre of attention of its audience through the urgency of the problem that slavery constitutes in the region. The historical perspective of the speech that regards distinct events and spaces related to the issues of imperialism and slavery, which it problematizes in a consolidated fashion, maps an imagined space united through different events of resistance against these problems in the condensed chronology that the speech offers. In this narrative, enslaved Helots in ancient Sparta and African Americans of the US under bondage become one single people signalling a united and continued culture of struggle against tyranny with the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the US Americans who fought similar battles against colonialism. This unison between fights against colonialism and slavery finds its perfect embodiment for the speech in the Haitian Revolution whereupon the island emerges as the first independent Black republic in the world. Both the physical proximity of the island to the US South and the parallels that the speech draws between these two locales by their respective revolutions function to bring forth the South once again into both the thematic centre of the narrative and the spatial centre of this united space of resistance. Thus, in Brown's *St. Domingo*, the South loses its established position as peripheral to a national space and gains a new image as the heart of a transnational space of resistance through the immediacy of the problem of slavery poses in the region.

Two prevalent themes in *St. Domingo* illustrate clearly how the speech maps an imagined Transatlantic space of resistance. The speech, initially, constructs a slave heritage of strength and resistance through the employment of

rhetorics like Africanism, tropicality, and harmony between nature and enslaved people that the speech pursues in the histories and spaces of slavery such as Sparta, Haiti, and the US. These rhetorics are blended via an embracement of violent aspect of the Haitian Revolution as well as other past and future slave uprisings in which nature is depicted to act as a protective ally of the enslaved in their battles against oppressors. These depictions create an image of space-slave relationship whereupon enslaved people can claim the space surrounding and cultivated by them home. These distinct spaces in the Circumatlantic become united as the rhetoric extends in time and space.

Secondly, the reflections of the shift in Brown's understanding of colonialism and slavery on his lecture both on textual and contextual levels prove helpful in understanding how the speech considers colonialism and slavery in relation to each other. Brown's European travels, during which he produced and delivered his speech shapes his understanding of colonial history in a way that unites his abolitionist stance with an anticolonialist one. This shift reflects in the speech on the way that it reinforces the imagined Transatlantic space of resistance that the imagined slave heritage produces by establishing new abolitionist networks in the Transatlantic, pursuing older ones, and tracing the imperialist campaigns as wells resistance to them throughout Europe, Africa, America, and the Caribbean. Within the "continuum" which Fagan observes the speech to establish between the American and Haitian revolutions, the United States and especially its South emerges as places that have not yet completed its revolution since they have not yet fulfilled its promise of liberty and equality for everyone. Hence, while the American Independence War locates the South in this space of resistance, the unfinished revolution and the continuing slavery in the region put it in the barycentre of this space through the urgency of abolition in the region.

At this point, let us step back for a moment to situate the speech through this fresh reading of its spatial imagination in the overall spatialization patterns of the nineteenth century. As previously established, the South has commonly been represented and imagined as peripheral and even antithetical to the nation. This image has come to be frequently associated with the sectionalist discussions. On the other hand, the question of national consolidation with an accompanying imperialist expansionism in the continent, posing a tension between seemingly conflicting spatial formats, has been a major focus of scholarly attention in the studies on the same period in the US. The analysis of Brown's speech above poses a challenge to these conventions in the study of US American history and culture in that it takes *St. Domingo* as a text that does not adhere to any of these common readings of the antebellum South or the US as a whole. Instead, Brown's *St. Domingo* diverges from the questions of

expansionism, nationalism, or secessionism to which many US American texts of the era tend to respond. Although this divergence does not necessarily serve to diminish the dominance of these discourses in the antebellum US, it nonetheless points to that these spatial formations did not necessarily play a role for all the actors and their imaginations to the same degree. On the domestic level, the attention was on (mainly) westward expansionism and national consolidation within an imperial space as well as questions of unionism surrounding the issue of slavery. Brown's speech, however, looks outside the boundaries of the nation without this imperialist impulse and locates the South in a hemispheric context in seeking an answer to the issue of slavery. Brown's imagination about the South reconfigures the domestic space not from within but from outside, disturbing the seeming equilibrium between the national centre and periphery and reversing the internal peripherality of the South with its centrality in the transnational space of resistance.

The South in Christian Republic

> Give me some clime, the favourite of the sky,
> Where cruel slavery never sought to rein –
> But shun the theme, sad muse, and tell me why
> These abject trees lie scatter'd o'er the plain?
>
> These isles, lest nature should have prov'd too kind,
> Or man have sought his happiest heaven below,
> Are torn with mighty winds, fierce hurricanes,
> Nature convuls'd in every shape of woe.
>
> Nor scorn yon' lonely vale of trees so reft;
> There plantane groves late grew of lively green,
> The orange flourish'd, and the lemon bore,
> The genius of the isle dwelt there unseen.[456]

In 1733, the Danish West India Company bought the Caribbean island of St. Croix from France.[457] By that time, the island had already experienced Spanish, English, and Dutch invasions. The natives of the island had fought against the Spanish who sought to enslave them and been either murdered or forced to abandon their native lands. Hence, St. Croix was left uninhabited as early as late-sixteenth century. In the early-seventeenth century, the English and Dutch

456 P. Freneau, "On the Beauties of Santa Cruz", in: F. L. Pattee (ed.), *The Poems of Philip Freneau: Poet of the American Revolution*, vol. 1, Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1902, p. 264.

457 See also Bozkurt-Pekar, "Imagining the South".

settled on different ends of the island, bringing an unfriendly coexistence accompanied by half-a-decade-long fight and dispute to the isle. This turbulent period came to an end in 1651 when the French acquired St. Croix only to lose it to the Knights of Malta in 1661 and to buy it back again in 1665. While the French brought peace and wealth to St. Croix, this did not last long, either. The negligence of governors and the tropical climate that did not agree with the health of European settlers caused the French to abandon the island and sell it to the Danish West India Company by the end of the century. Under the Danish rule, the island once again prospered. Sugar plantations spread all over once a law permitting foreigners to settle on the island was passed. In a short while, St. Croix became a very cosmopolitan place.[458] Yet, by the mid-eighteenth century once sugar began to be produced domestically in Europe, the island experienced a harsh recession. Added to the staggering economic conditions, the abolition of slavery in 1848 in the Danish West Indies led many plantation owners to begin leaving the island and return to Europe.

Around the same time, abolitionism had become a compelling theme in literature in the United States. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had been serialized in 1851 and abolitionist novel as a genre began gaining popularity accompanied by a simultaneous notoriety among different populations. To build their anti-slavery claims, abolitionist authors turned their gazes to the Caribbean where slavery had been abolished in Haiti and the West Indies. Indeed, New England abolitionists had already been celebrating the West Indian emancipation for decades on every first of August.[459] W. W. Brown had just delivered his speech on the Haitian Revolution in 1854. The topic of emancipation occupied transregional and transnational discussions and the Caribbean stood as an inspiration for many abolitionists in the US as well as in Europe. In literature, the "tragic mulatto" narratives were living their golden days: Lydia Maria Child's "The Quadroons" and "Slavery's Pleasant Homes" (1842) and William Wells Brown's *Clotel* (1853) contributed to the emergence of a myth that would be carried on by authors such as Kate Chopin and later Nella Larsen[460] for several decades.

458 "Seven Flags: The History of St. Croix", US Virgin Islands, https://www.usvi.net/st-croix/seven-flags-the-history-of-st-croix/ (accessed 5 October 2020).

459 Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies*, p. 71.

460 Lydia Maria Child is a nineteenth century US American author, feminist, and abolitionist. To read more on Child's life and literature, see Karcher. Kate Chopin (1850–1904) is a late-nineteenth century US author most famous for her novel *The Awakening* (1899) as well as for her short stories. Her "Désirée's Baby" (1893) centres around the theme of "tragic mulatta", although the story concludes with a twist. Nella Larsen is a Harlem Renaissance novelist. Her novel *Passing* (1929) has been considered by some scholars a "tragic mulatta" narrative. See W. W. Brown, *Clotel; or, the President's Daughter*, London: Partridge & Oakey, 1853,

It is no wonder that in 1855, Elizabeth D. Livermore published a novel that faces the Caribbean and centres on a quadroon girl's heart-breaking "victory": a tragic mulatto story[461] that "allow[ed] for considerations of such important questions as whether mixed-race slaves can achieve freedom and independence, whether they can become integrated into the larger culture, and whether their children can prosper in the increasingly precarious Union."[462] Yet, Livermore's *Zoë; or the Quadroon's Triumph* does not solely rely on literary trends of its day. The novel stays away from including "many of the incidents commonly found in the antislavery novels of the period" and instead makes "effective use of the moral and religious argument by showing the harmful effect of race prejudice upon a highly sensitive but well-meaning character."[463] It draws on some of the well-established notions of the Transcendentalist school of thought of the mid-nineteenth century to build a unique vision of moral and societal order whereupon existing racial and gender hierarchies are replaced by a new social structure based on principles and virtue. This new structure forms the foundation of the narrative's utopian space, a Christian Republic emerging in the North of the US and spreading to the rest of the world. This imagined space poses an alternative to dominant narratives about spatial and political ideologies in the mid-nineteenth-century United States.

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http://archive.org/details/clotelorthepresi02046gut (accessed 21 September 2020); L. M. Child, "The Quadroons", in: *The Liberty Bell*, Boston: Anti-Slavery Fair, 1842, pp. 116–142, http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/abolitn/abfilmcat.html (accessed 21 September 2020); L. M. Child, "Slavery's Pleasant Homes", in: ibid., pp. 148–161, http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/abolitn/abfilmcat.html (accessed 21 September 2020); K. Chopin, *The Awakening: An Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*, New York: Norton, 1994; K. Chopin, "Désirée's Baby", in: P. Seyersted (ed.), *The Complete Works of Kate Chopin*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006, pp. 1003–1032; C. L. Karcher, *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child*, Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1998; N. Larsen, *Passing*, New York: Penguin Classics, 2003; C. Tate, "Nella Larsen's Passing: A Problem of Interpretation", *Black American Literature Forum* 14 (1980) 4, pp. 142–146; C. A. Wall, "Passing for What? Aspects of Identity in Nella Larsen's Novels", *Black American Literature Forum* 20 (1986) 1, p. 97.

461 S. Bradley Shaw argues that since "Zoë is the acknowledged child of two former slaves, [and] she has no 'white' father to lose", and also because her "sexual vulnerability or victimization at the heart of the plot", [n]either Zanger nor Bond identify *Zoë* as a work in this subgenre. "S. B. Shaw, "The Pliable Rhetoric of Domesticity", in: M. I. Lowance (ed.), *The Stowe Debate: Rhetorical Strategies in Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994, p. 98.

462 E. A. Raimon, *The "Tragic Mulatta" Revisited: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Antislavery Fiction*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004, pp. 4–5.

463 L. D. Turner, *Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature Prior to 1865*, Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1929, p. 82.

The novel centres around its young protagonist Zoë's brief life which encompasses several countries around the Atlantic. Daughter of formerly-enslaved parents in the Danish colony of St. Croix,[464] Zoë's life is marked with Transatlantic, multinational, and multiracial dialogues at an age as early as seven when she goes to Copenhagen to receive education. Although Zoë's parents are both biracial, the narrative describes the act of sending children to Denmark for education as a common "custom of the white Creoles" of St. Croix hinting at the social mobility among the racial hierarchy which Zoë's ambitious father dreams of upon Zoë's return to the island.[465] In Copenhagen, although welcomed warmly by most of the people that she meets, Zoë suffers from the racial prejudices of her teacher Ms. Ingemann, who is depicted as a Danish woman of "noble birth". Ingemann's lack of imagination does not allow her to understand her new pupil's "sensitive spirit". Homesick and deprived of proper guidance from her teacher, Zoë finds company in other people who nourish her religious sensibilities and idealistic fantasies, including an aspiring author of Icelandic origin called Mrs. Liebenhoff. In Copenhagen, Zoë also meets her future life-long friend Hilda, whose father is a slaveholder on her native island of St. Croix. After 11 years of education at Ms. Ingemann's school, following a quarrel with her teacher, Zoë decides to leave for home with a sense of religious mission to build "a real Christian Republic, such as Jesus would establish."[466] Hilda decides to accompany her friend on her way to their mutual home island.

A significant part of the second volume of the novel focuses on Zoë and Hilda's westward voyage in the Atlantic. Visiting England, the Bermuda Islands, the West Indies, and the United States *en route* to St. Croix, the two young women meet several people from different places with diverging opinions about slavery, religion sentiments, and political stances. Their journey across the Atlantic transforms the ideas as well as the personalities of the passengers. Zoë and Hilda, too, find themselves influenced by this change. Zoë becomes fully aware of her racial heritage, realizing the troublesome future awaiting her on her native island. Once they arrive at St. Croix, Zoë gradually starts to feel "the weight of disappointment at the non-fulfilment of her religious dreams and aspirations" as well as a "growing anxiety for the future" on the island where racial prejudices still dominate the daily life. This disappointment slowly leads to her ascension "to the glorified spheres".[467] Livermore, in her literary magazine, describes this moment as "the victory of victories" since Zoë thus gets the chance to "present [. . .] to her great

464 Referred to as Santa Cruz in the novel.
465 E. D. Livermore, *Zoë*, Vol. 1, p. 12.
466 Ibid., pp. 99; 38; 283.
467 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 304.

Lord and Master a true, pure, noble, and cultivated soul, in spite of the perverse and warping influences by which she was surrounded."[468]

The multinational settings employed in the novel from Denmark to St. Croix, as well as the Transatlantic journey, allow the novel to become "not really about any particular nation, or even the idea of nation" but "a novel about a nation that had been morally polluted by slavery."[469] This makes *Zoë* perhaps an odd choice of literature, at least at the first glance, for studying spatial imaginations about the US South. Moreover, the plot barely touches upon the Southern shores of the US. The novel mentions the region but just a few times. However, as I demonstrate in the following, very much like Brown's *St. Domingo*, Livermore's *Zoë* carries the region to a central point in its rhetoric with an emphasis on a universal abolition of slavery, without necessarily being set in the South.

Still the position of the region in the novel's spatial imagination remains ambivalent. The spatial vantage point employed in the narrative, which looks at the United States from outside and through multinational settings, I argue, is part of a narrative strategy that makes it possible for the novel to point to the seemingly US-specific problems of its day through comparable issues experienced in countries that have recently abolished slavery. Using this strategy, the novel attempts avoiding to antagonize its American readership, while making an urgent call for abolition in the US by demonstrating the long-lasting impacts of slavery on societies and people even after emancipation. This vantage point also allows the narrative to address the South as a problem region while constructing a spatial imagination that entails a Transcendentalist, universalist, abolitionist, and feminist utopia emerging from the North of the US. Through this spatial imagination, the novel challenge certain established imaginaries about the South while reaffirming others. As the narrative constructs its utopian imagination, it questions and negotiates the position of the South within this imagined spatial configuration by postulating an argument the abolition of slavery as a prerequisite for the region's partaking in the Transcendentalist space that it anticipates to emerge in the US.

468 E. D. Livermore, "Book Notices", *The Independent Highway* (2 February 1856) 1, p. 8, https://digital.cincinnatilibrary.org/digital/collection/p16998coll17/id/19141 (accessed 23 September 2020).
469 C. C. O'Brien, *Race, Romance, and Rebellion*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013, p. 86.

(Re)imagining the South from without

Rather little is known about Elizabeth Dorcas Livermore's life, except that she was born in 1810 as the fifth child of Catherine and Jacob Abbot, latter of whom was a Unitarian minister. At the age of 27, Elizabeth married her cousin Abiel Abbot Livermore, a Unitarian minister like her father. According to the *Unitarian Review*, the author lived in Keene when it was yet a village, later in Cincinnati, and sometime around 1857 in New York. She spent the last 16 years of her life in Meadville, where her husband worked as the head of the Theological School.[470] Beside her two-volume novel *Zoë; or the Quadroon's Triumph*, Livermore published "poetry in Midwestern periodicals" and her own weekly literary magazine, *The Independent Highway*, which "she discontinued [. . .] when they moved to New York". She also published a play titled *The Fugitives* in this magazine. W. Coyle notes that during her lifetime, Livermore "enjoyed considerable popularity" with the works that she published but was "forgotten by all except the literary historians" by the 1960s.[471]

Today, Livermore seems to have begun to be remembered more with larger interest show in her work in academia, even though this interest has mostly remained restricted to brief mentions in articles and books that focus on other related works of the era. One, indeed, observes a pronounced tendency in Livermore's works, especially in her *Zoë*, to reflect upon the issues and concerns of this tumultuous era of US history. R. E. May, for example, notes the contribution of the novel to the production of filibuster narratives by female authors in the antebellum era. S. B. Shaw places the Livermore not only among abolitionist authors who appeal to "domestic ideology" in "address[ing] the issue of American slavery" such as Sarah J. Hale[472] and Harriet Beecher Stowe but highlights her appeal to domesticity as the most "radical" among these authors.[473]

Few studies place Livermore's novel to the centre of their argument. Among these C. C. O'Brien's chapter highlights Livermore's affinity and interest in the

470 "Editors' Note-Book", *Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine* (1879) 12, p. 556, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6mtb&view=1up&seq=9 (accessed 23 September 2020).
471 W. Coyle, *Ohio Authors and Their Books: Biographical Data and Selective Bibliographies for Ohio Authors, Native and Resident, 1796–1950*, Cleveland: The World Pub. Co., 1962, p. 387.
472 Sarah Josepha Hale is a nineteenth-century American author. She was the editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*, as well as an abolitionist and a supporter of African colonization. See A. R. Norwood, "Sarah Josepha Hale", *National Women's History Museum*, 2017, https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/sarah-hale (accessed 23 September 2020).
473 May, "Reconsidering Antebellum"; Shaw, "The Pliable Rhetoric of Domesticity", pp. 86–96.

societal issues of her time by connecting the utopian vision found in her novel to the preeminent Transcendentalist of the era, such as Margaret Fuller, William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, or Daniel Webster. O'Brien does not only demonstrate Livermore's "connection to her better-known transcendentalist and abolitionist contemporaries". Aligning with the premises of Transnational, Hemispheric, and Archipelagic American studies and paying particular attention to the Transatlantic mobility and conversations in *Zoë*, her reading of the novel highlights the disappearance of national and racial hierarchies in the feminist version of a utopian Christian Republic in the narrative. Her analysis significantly contributes to my reading of the novel by pointing to the role of the oceanic spaces in the Atlantic and the Caribbean as "interstitial spaces for the idea of freedom to expand in, beyond the suffocating borders of Anglo-American law" where the idea of the "Christian Republic seems closest" to the novel's protagonist Zoë.[474]

Another study that comprehensively focuses on *Zoë* is by S. Bost, who contextualizes the novel among other "Zoës" or "tragic Mulatta" narratives of the era. Bost builds her argument on Livermore's novel within a rather spatial methodological framework, similarly emphasizing the absence of national and racial differences in spaces outside the US in the narrative. She suggests that Europe in the novel "symbolize[s] the absence of racial divisiveness and the Caribbean to reflect the heart of rebellion, mixture, and daily interracial clashes". Hence the narrative draws a Circumatlantic imagery where one finds opposing poles of debates on race, thus, putting its "white U.S. readers" "in the middle of two continental extremes". Bost indicates that it is only with the inclusion of the US into the narrative that Zoë really becomes part of a racial hierarchy, that is, a "quadroon", thus highlighting the role of the US in the novel as a producer of racist categorizations.[475]

Drawing on Boost's and O'Brien's emphasis on the novel's settings outside the US as nationless and racism-free spaces, I argue that such spaces in Europe and the Atlantic provide an intellectual freedom for the young characters in the narrative which allows them to shape and cultivate their moral stance in a Transcendentalist fashion and to adopt an equalitarian feminist and abolitionist philosophy. This is especially the case in the second volume of the novel, which focuses on the conversations among different characters in the almost nationless space during the Transatlantic journey. During this journey, "all

474 O'Brien, *Race*, pp. 84–98.

475 S. Bost, *Mulattas and Mestizas: Representing Mixed Identities in the Americas, 1850–2000*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003, pp. 64–65.

conventionalism is dropped", as Zoë's best friend suggests with great enthusiasm, which unrealistically allows characters of different races, genders, and class positions to engage in free intellectual discussions.[476] These uninhibited conversations both in the Atlantic and Europe eventually also shape Zoë's understanding of a true Christian Republic, building the narrative's republican ideal not only through its abolitionist and feminist ideas but also by articulating them in rather spatial terms.

Against the portrayal of the Atlantic and Europe as spaces of freedom, the western side of the Atlantic, especially the Caribbean islands, appears as spaces of oppression with their racist hierarchies. In this sense, St. Croix, in particular, and the Caribbean archipelago with its recent history of the abolition of slavery (in most parts), in general, bear multiple imaginative functions in the novel both by posing an example of slave emancipation for the US and by demonstrating the enduring bad impacts of slavery on the society and individuals even after its abolition. Calling attention to the long-lasting repercussions of slavery, the novel raises an urgent call for abolition in the South of the US and makes emancipation of the enslaved people the foremost condition to the inclusion of the region in its imagined utopian space which "amalgamate[s] nations, islands, or people in a metaphorical loving embrace".[477] Thus, in the following reading, I take *Zoë* as a text about the US South, which imagines a millennial future that reimagines and negotiates the region's position within the nation, in the American Hemisphere, and on the globe with its focus on the Caribbean, the Atlantic, and Europe.

Principles of a True Christian Republic

As W. W. Brown's speech on the Haitian Revolution constructs a harmonious relationship between nature and enslaved populations, a comparable harmony among human soul, nature, and god emerges in Livermore's *Zoë*, revealing a similar philosophy to the pantheist belief in the unity of existence as it is found in some sects of Christianity. The unity of these three forms of existence develops a societal and moral principles of the novel's Transcendentalist utopia, which the narrative refers to as a *true* Christian Republic. Making the creation of such a utopian possible becomes the ultimate divine mission of the novel's protagonist at a rather early age. Through several conversations that Zoë has with

476 Livermore, *Zoë*, Vol. 2., p. 75.
477 O'Brien, *Race*, p. 84.

people with firm Unitarian and Transcendentalist opinions, the narrative slowly develops the principles of this unity.

The ultimate purpose of such a rhetorical construction of the moral principles of the utopian space in the narrative is to show to the reader, with the example that Zoë poses, that all humans regardless of their race, ethnicity, and gender are granted with a divine inspiration that connects them to god and the nature. This rhetoric, although implicitly, reminds the reader of a common theme of the abolitionist literature of the era that sought to represent the people of colour as adept for self-governing.[478] However, diverging from the established approach of this rhetoric in pointing to the Haitian Revolution as an example, Livermore uses a philosophy that constitutes an important pillar of the Transcendentalist school of thought. This philosophy "places[s] God within the world and within each person rather than outside humankind's experience and knowledge" and believes "that Nature [. . .] points to the dicing lessons from which we can benefit once we learn to sympathies with the natural world."[479] Probably the best and most famous articulations of this idea are to be found in Emerson's *Nature* (1836): "Standing on the bare ground, my head bathed by the blithe air, and uplifted into infinite space, all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eye-ball. I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or particle of God."[480]

In *Zoë*, this unity emerges with a unique formulation which replaces existing social and economic hierarchies with a new moral hierarchy where one's social status is defined in terms of their harmonious existence in this unity. The novel discursively structures this new order in an essay that is read out loud by an older fellow passenger named Mr. Lindsey for the younger passengers including Zoë and Hilda during the maritime voyage to the Caribbean. The essay titled "Too Much Man" is written by Mrs. Pumpkin who is introduced to the novel only by proxy with her essay.[481] Mrs. Pumpkin defines "four great divisions

478 See, for example, Holly, *A Vindication.*

479 J. Myerson, S. H. Petrulionis, and L. Dassow Walls, *The Oxford Handbook of Transcendentalism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. xxiv.

480 R. W. Emerson, *Nature*, Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1836, p. 13, https://archive.org/details/naturemunroe00emerrich/page/n6 (accessed 24 September 2020).

481 Interestingly, there is a strong parallel between the novel's author and the fictional author Mrs. Pumpkin. The latter describes herself as "a Unitarian Christian in religion" and "Know Nothing in politics" who belongs to "the good old stock of the Puritans". Much like Livermore herself, Mrs. Pumpkin's "remote ancestors, [her] father, [her] husband and most of [her] relations are ministers." The similarity in biographical facts – both of them being married and childless – strengthens the connection between these authors, allowing Mrs. Pumpkin's essay to be read almost from Livermore's own voice. On the other hand, Shaw compares the

of the human family": "the Big-eyes", "the Commons", "the ani-MALS", and "the *Femininess*", the last of which emerges as "the very choicest portion of both sexes of all races, conditions, classes and color." The future belongs to *Femininess* who stand for "Justice and Truth".[482] On the opposite pole are the ani-MALS, who are power-driven and prone to exploit others. Ani-MALS "very often appear to the rest of the world as slaveholding white men."[483] Fittingly, *femininess* stand above ani-MALS not only morally but also spatially: "the feminines have beautiful wings which set off their beauty to great advantage. They live in the third heaven, [. . .] while the ani-MALs crawl and tumble down on the ground."[484]

Subverting existing hierarchies and rearranging society based on moral superiority, Mrs. Pumpkin's essay lays the philosophical foundations of the narrative's imagined millennial Christian Republic. The victory of *femininess* is presented as the replacement of a society that has been stained by "rank, fortune, elegance, genius, intellect, beauty" with one where "the soul is to bear sway". This imagined order also allows social mobility. Giving advice to *feminine* women in case ani-MAL men want to marry them, Mrs. Pumpkin suggests that they shall reply to ani-MALs asking to "come down and marry [them]" by inviting the ani-MALs to grow wings and "fly up" to their level. Hence, the essay reinforces the narrative's emphasis on intellect and morality as items of social capital that can be improved with willpower and guidance.

Once this new societal order is introduced, the reader can easily identify the most prominent *femininess* of the novel. Zoë's mother Sophie Carlan, just like Zoë, herself, is a *feminine*. Zoë's life-long friend Hilda, though not a *feminine* as an overly-controlling child, grows up to be one. Mrs. Liebenhoff, Mr. Lindsey, and his wife Mrs. Lindsey – whom the reader knows only by her letters to her husband – are also perfect examples of *femininess*. The descriptions of the personalities and ideas of these *feminine* characters, especially of Zoë, Sophie, Mrs. Liebenhoff, and Mrs. Lindsey, constitute the basis upon which the narrative establishes its rhetoric of unity among god, nature and human. Zoë's very existence, for instance, is marked by this unity from her birth on, as she is introduced to the narrative as a god-given baby "to be the light of [her parents']

"brash and satiric" tone of Mrs. Pumpkin's essay to the style of the nineteenth-century feminist novelist and columnist, Fanny Fern. See Livermore, *Zoë*, Vol. 2, p. 178; Shaw, "Pliable Rhetoric", p. 93.

482 Livermore, *Zoë*, Vol. 2, p. 177.

483 O'Brien, *Race*, p. 94.

484 Livermore, *Zoë*, Vol. 2, p. 177.

home and the object of all [their] aspiring hopes and desires."[485] The narrative lets its reader know that Zoë is predestined, at least, to fulfil her parents' dreams. As she grows older, her sense of duty changes direction from achieving the social rank of her father's ambitions to spreading god's will and establishing a Christian Republic on earth. When she pens a tale to accomplish this duty, her unity with god becomes more articulated: "To Zoë, who had written [the tale], as she thought, by special inspiration, the bare idea of its being declined or disapproved of seemed impossible. It was not her work so much as God's, who had simply used her as an instrument, through the force of her natural powers and attainments, aided by his Spirit ever given to the trustful and asking soul."[486]

Zoë's place within the unity of human soul, god, and nature is further enhanced as her relationship with nature is portrayed as almost indeclinable from her relationship with god. One summer day in Copenhagen as she enjoys the nice weather from her window, for instance, a white dove flies in directly to her bare bosom. She interprets this event as an assignment with a divine errand, which eventually develops into her "life-mission" to build a true Christian Republic.[487]

The narrative depicts its *feminine* characters as so connected to the natural elements that this relationship develops a geographical deterministic tendency, although this discourse is appropriated in the narrative in a way that identifies people of different places with various desirable qualities. The home countries of the *feminine* characters appear as a principle drive of their personalities, inclinations, and ideas. Mrs. Liebenhoff, who functions practically as a custodian of Zoë while in Denmark, for example, is pictured as a studious and contemplative person because of the "severe climate where the greater part of the year the inhabitants are confined within doors" in her native Iceland.

As the narrative appropriates the common notions of geographic determinism, the *Orient* emerges as a place of heightened divine inspiration for many *feminine* characters. Describing a scene where Mrs. Liebenhoff watching her young friend Zoë lolling on the couch looking at a figure of Sybil on the wall which offers "a picture of luxurious, dreamy, passionate orientalism, redeemed from its sensuous character by the pure Madonna-like expression", the narrative compares Zoë both to Virgin Mary and to a Sybil[488] emphasizing Zoë's

485 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 10.

486 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 215.

487 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 209.

488 The Greek legendary figure Sibyls, who are defined as "individual prophesying women of early times" in Walter Burkert's *Greek Religion*, were believed to be oracles that spoke of

prophetic nature.[489] This *oriental* character, rather than hypersexualizing female (and *feminine*) characters of the novel as it is common in Orientalist descriptions of eastern women, reinforces their unity with god. As Mrs. Liebenhoff inexplicably also attributes some *Oriental* quality in her own "temperament and mental tendency", she suggests that her and Zoë's god-given artistic tendencies driving from their *Oriental* natures bring them closer "emphatically with the great company of [their] sex all over the world."[490] Thus, challenging familiar conceptions of mainstream nineteenth-century geographical determinism, the narrative adorns the *Orient* and *Oriental* people with a *feminine* imaginativeness and sympathy. These qualities do not emerge in opposition with the so-called western rationalism. Instead, the feminized image of the *Orient* is combined with the understanding of unity of existence and employed to support the narrative's argument of equality of races and genders. As the future "belong[s] to the feminine power", *Oriental* qualities that one tends to find in the biracial protagonist of the novel become necessary for the utopian future of the narrative:

> each of God's children comes from His hand with the germ of immortal powers, differing [. . .] in combination and character, so as to make up a beautiful variety. All types of human nature are necessary to the perfect development [. . .]. Let us not be so infidel as to suppose that so large a part of humanity as the African race is left out of his category of high and beautiful uses [. . .].[491]

The Transcendentalist rhetoric of unity of existence blended with the narrative's appropriation of geographic determinism point to a desire in the novel "to amalgamate nations, islands, or people", to put it in C. C. O'Brien's words.[492] With this desire the narrative finds s a Jesus-like divinity in all people globally: "the inspiration of Jesus differ[s] in degree only, not in kind, from that of other beings."[493] With these words, the narrative elevates all humans regardless of their race and gender to a similar potential of divinity and spirituality with that of Jesus – an idea that resonates in the Transcendentalist understanding of Jesus as non-deity. This formulation provides the narrative's abolitionist and feminist stances with the philosophical basis that all people are created equal and possess a certain degree of divine inspiration. Hence, the novel equates enslaving any

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inspiration of a particular deity in ancient Greece. See W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985, p. 117.

489 Livermore, *Zoë*, Vol. 1, p. 159.

490 Ibid., pp. 151–152.

491 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 210–211.

492 O'Brien, *Race*, p. 84.

493 Livermore, *Zoë*, Vol. 1, p. 200.

person with enslaving Jesus himself: "If Jesus were on earth, do you think it would be right to hold him a slave?"[494]

This belief also signals a prevalent universalist sentiment in the narrative. Establishing a unity among god, nature, and people and imagining the entire world and humanity as equal and inspired by god, the novel creates an image of global harmony within which the contribution of all people from all corners of the world emerges as both desirable and necessary for the future in the Christian Republic that it imagines. Although there is a strong element of geographical determinism in the way the narrative establishes this rhetoric, the narrative appropriates this determinism to carry virtues, instead of demerits, of people and lands under spotlight. This emphasis on the merits with which each person can contribute to the Transcendentalist utopia eventually allows the narrative to highlight the damage that slavery causes for moral development of the entire humanity as a whole by surpassing the potential contributions of people of colour for the realization of such a future.

Unlike the unity between nature and human that Brown's speech constructs, the trinity among human soul, nature, and god in Livermore's novel does not focus only on enslaved bodies and their harmonious relationship with the nature surrounding them. Instead, all humanity is included in this relationship. Neither does nature act as a protective mother for the oppressed. It emerges as an extension of the spiritual relationship of human with god, or even as a messenger enabling this relationship. While the nature safeguards, as young Zoë is concerned, that all people "have a pleasant country for a home",[495] it is the human soul with its will and endeavour that can nourish a Christian Republic where everyone can live equally and freely. The narrative implies that this utopia can be realized only if all those virtues that adorns distinct geographies and their people are cherished and put into use. Thus, although neither race nor nations perish in this imagined transcendental future, the diversity they bring about harmoniously contribute to the elevation of a new society.

The Caribbean as a Space of Transformation

This philosophy translates into a spatial imagination of the Christian Republic in the narrative through the Transatlantic and Circumcaribbean mobility of people as well as their ideas, especially in the form of printed material. The

494 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 69.
495 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 48.

Transatlantic mobility of the characters characterizes the novel from its second chapter on, when Zoë embarks on a journey from St. Croix for Copenhagen. The prevalence of mobility as a theme lasts until the very last passages of the novel allowing the narrative to depict its changing settings in comparison or in contrast with each other.

With her eastward journey, a period begins for young Zoë during which she can develop her intellectual tendency as well as strong religious sentimentality in a setting that the narrative portrays as a space of liberty away from the American Hemisphere. During this journey, Zoë meets people from all over Europe who are depicted as "comparatively free from [the American] aversion to the African".[496] Although Zoë's familiarity with these passengers come to an end after her arrival to Denmark, this brief chapter carries the first signals of the function of the European setting in the narrative. Even though the rest of the first volume takes place only in Copenhagen, this spatial stability does not prevent the narrative from developing a multinational setting by introducing new characters from various countries. These characters present the protagonist with the philosophies and principles of their countries, while the stability of setting helps to protect young Zoë from racial prejudices as much as possible in a relatively safe place the narrative establishes in Denmark. In Denmark, Zoë is effortlessly welcomed without prejudice, the only exception being her teacher Miss Ingemann. But, the narrative dwarfs even Miss Ingemann's discrimination by comparing her to "Americans, slaveholders, or abettors, excusers or tolerators [sic] of slavery". Thus, the narrative presents Europe as a place of freedom.

While this freedom from racism in Europe allows the protagonist to develop her rather infantile ideas on religion and feel unrestricted in communicating them, it also prepares the plot for the eventual climax at the end of the first volume. One day, Miss Ingemann assigns her students to write a passage on "[t]he beauties and advantages of docility and obedience in the young". Zoë does not feel any reservation to write her "true feelings and thoughts" as "the natural and just effects of a holy indignation" lead her "liberty-loving spirit". This assignment marks the end of Zoë's education in Denmark, igniting a quarrel between the teacher and the pupil about the latter's disobedient response to the assignment. Zoë decides to leave Copenhagen immediately.[497] Yet, in escaping what she regards as an inexcusable interference to her freedom, she finds herself leaving her space of freedom.

496 Ibid., p. 20.
497 Ibid., pp. 292–301.

The second volume of the novel follows Zoë during her second Transatlantic journey, this time back home to St. Croix, accompanied by Hilda. Although initially Hilda observes the vessel to be a place where people can communicate easily without much conformity, both girls soon realize this observation to be incorrect. The reversed rotation of Transatlantic mobility from eastward to westward signals another shift. Neither Hilda nor Zoë are any longer in the relative safety of Denmark. Instead, gender and racial conventions mark their communication with fellow passengers who closely observe and criticize both girls. The feeling of being under scrutiny by other passengers increases as the vessel gradually approaches to the Americas, especially after it receives some travellers from the US.

Among these passengers is a young man called Young America, who, Hilda and Zoë soon figure out, is their childhood friend George Stephenson. This realization leads to an unconstrained companionship among the three childhood friends. Soon, the unceremonious manners among the three raise eyebrows of other passengers, particularly of the Pierson siblings from Boston. Zoë's African heritage estranges the two sisters and their brother even further. Eventually Hilda and Zoë's renewed friendship with Young America also retrogresses. Ignoring his racists comments for long, Hilda finally decides to end their friendship after Stephenson declares his support for slavery. The optimistic tenor of the narrative does not allow these disputes to last too long. The obstacles before the possible friendship among the young passengers are soon solved. Just a single evening after these incidents, the vessel hits a reef. After everyone secures themselves on a lifeboat, they hear the voice of a Black waiter left behind on the sinking ship. The waves prevent the lifeboat from approaching the ship to save the waiter. This gives Young America an opportunity to show his courage as well as his humanist side. Jumping into the water without hesitation, he saves the waiter. While this accident does not serve to erase the racism of Stephenson, who, displaying a great "inconsistency", rejects to sit next to the waiter on the rescue boat, his heroism proves him worthy of the young women's friendship.

The accident also functions as a milestone for the almost non-existing relationship between Zoë, Hilda, and Mr. Stephenson on one hand and the Pierson siblings on the other. Following the accident, the passengers accommodate themselves in a hotel in Jamaica. Here, a conversation between Meta and Emma Pierson and the Bostonian Unitarian Mr. Lindsey, whereupon the latter reads the young sisters a letter he has received from his wife, dissuades the Piersons of their belief in the benefits of racial segregation. Mrs. Lindsey's letter summarizes the narrative's belief in the harm that slavery brings to the entire humanity by keeping the intellect of oppressed and enslaved people, especially of women of African descent, hidden. Mrs. Lindsey's words touch the Piersons sisters, who

later join Zoë and Hilda for dinner. To their surprise, the Piersons discover two intellectual young women whose interest in arts and principles in life are similar to their own. Interestingly, the narrative chooses an exoticist metaphor to describe this flourishing friendship: "when the fruit was brought in, the mutual enjoyment of the incomparable Jamaica *oranges* seemed to complete the sundering of the barrier which divided them".[498]

The tropical setting in the Caribbean becomes a space of change, a space of hope for the Transcendentalist vision of the narrative. The brief stay in Jamaica marks the beginning of wave of change in the opinions of the young passengers. As Meta and Emma Pierson turns from advocates of racial segregation into abolitionists on this island, it is also here that Stephenson's fiery support of slavery, his opposition to women's liberty, and fervent expansionism on behalf of the US begin to vanish. As his nickname makes explicit, Stephenson symbolizes the values and ideals of the homonymic movement of the mid-nineteenth-century US. He is stereotypically depicted to follow the anti-immigrant sentiments of the Young Americans and to support their agenda of 21-year naturalization for the immigrants. In accordance with Young American Southward expansionism, as one finds in W. G. Simms's hemispheric vision of territorial expansion, Stephenson in on his way to "the South" in order to see and possibly move to "a new settlement there".[499] Especially his racist and proslavery stances make Stephenson a feasible antagonist against the narrative's Transcendentalist vision. Yet, the narrative never fully antagonizes Stephenson. Instead, the novel repeatedly links his "brute" opinions to a lack of *true* religious guidance in his life and excuses his behaviours. Hence, the narrative signals that he can "grow wings and fly up" to the level of his clearly *feminine* fellow passengers, allowing Stephenson to transform from an ani-MAL into a *feminine*.[500] Unlike the Pierson sister's change of mind, Stephenson's transformation into a *feminine* is inspired not so much by the essays by Mrs. Lindsey or Mrs. Pumpkin and the discussions around these essays but by the romantic interests that he feels for Hilda, just like Mrs. Pumpkin's essay implies may happen. As if the to highlight the connection of his transformation to the social mobility in the new social

498 Emphasis added. – The image of orange similarly appears in Philip Freneau's famous poem "The Beauties of Santa Cruz" to describe the unseen beauties and intellect of St. Croix, to symbolize the natural charms of the island against the ugliness of slavery that the poet of American Revolution despised. Freneau's nature writings are known to be an inspiration for early Transcendentalists' ideas on god-nature-soul relationship. Freneau, "On the Beauties", p. 264; Livermore, *Zoë*, Vol. 2, p. 199.

499 Livermore, *Zoë*, Vol. 2, pp. 79–80; 272–273; p. 142.

500 Ibid., p. 205; 178.

order as implicated in Mrs. Pumpkin's essay, the essay is located just a chapter before the symbolic transformation of Stephenson following a quarrel with the Pierson brother and the former's apology.

The maritime journey following their departure from Jamaica provides the passengers and the narrative with a panoramic view of the Caribbean archipelago. This allows for contemplations about some of the islands, especially their histories and societal conditions. Passing by Haiti, for instance, the narrative portrays two unknown passengers' comment on the island's current turbulent condition. Haiti as portrayed in this passage is no longer in its heroic revolutionary epoch that W. W. Brown describes. More than four decades has passed ever since: Now, the Spanish part of the island has gained independence establishing the Dominican Republic. The economy has been stagnating and racial disturbances are common. Against the remarks of the passengers about the difficult condition in Haiti, the narrative compares the situation in the island to that in France "as an instance of a Caucasian people finding same difficulty in their attempt at a perfect republican state" and asks, "why should [Haiti], so lately emerged from slavery, be judged more severely than the more forceful and practical nations of Europe!"[501]

The recent history of emancipation in the Caribbean archipelago setting offers the narrative a chance to draw a parallel between the transformations in the Caribbean and of its characters. As the narrative depicts the archipelago with the recent successful abolitionist movements, its young and white characters such as the Pierson siblings, Mr. Stephenson, and Hilda become committed to the principle of equality of people regardless of race and gender. The narrative especially highlights Stephenson's transformation from ani-MAL to *feminine*, which reaches its peak as they reach St. Thomas, where slavery was recently abolished following the Danish Revolution of 1848. Here, Young America finally declares: "Hurra for the white Feminines, and *black* ones to boot! [. . .] Every mother's son of them shall be freed, or *I'll divide the Union*, and *shoot the south* through my little brother's pop-gun, straight into a vacuum. *America is to be a free country* in the future!"[502] Thus, reforming Stephenson and his Young American principles in the Caribbean setting, which is also under a similar reformation, the narrative reinforces the analogy that it establishes between what it perceives as improvement in morals and principles experienced in the Caribbean and in its own characters.

501 Ibid., p. 216.
502 Ibid., p. 227 (emphasis added).

That the novel puts especially Stephenson's transformation under spotlight among all its other young and white characters is highly symbolical, given this character's earlier fervent advocacy for the values of the Young America movement of the mid-nineteenth-century US. Resonated also in his abolitionist "declaration" and implicated in the narrative's repeated exculpation of his crudely racist comments, it is not so much Stephenson as an individual character whose change the narrative is interested in as it is the principles his Young Americanism come to represent through his nickname. As the narrative progresses, Stephenson's ties with the Young American agenda becomes gradually weaker and eventually instead of South America, he travels back to the US to carry the Transcendentalist message of his childhood friend Zoë to the country. Thus, the narrative challenges and overcomes the imperialist Southern expansionism as well as proslavery advocacy and racism of the mid-century Young American movement by transforming Stephenson under the influence of the changing and progressing Caribbean islands.

Stephenson's statement significantly also reflects upon the imagined position of the Southern US in the narrative. This brief remark is one of the very few mentions of the region in the narrative, the future of which is otherwise deliberated upon only by proxy via the examples of emancipatory pasts in the Caribbean. This is the only instance where the narrative openly acknowledges the region as a potential threat to its utopian imagination of a Christian Republic. As the narrative imagines it to be predestined that "America is to be a free country", joining the others in envisioning a Transcendentalist future in the US, Stephenson sees no reservation in "divid[ing] the Union" if the South is to stand in the way the realization of such a future. Yet Stephenson's determination to fight against the South is softened by a discourse that places only his "little brother's pop-gun" to his hand. The novel thus implicates that such a battle will not be necessary. Just as the novel's young characters change and improve under the guidance of its Transcendentalist characters and in parallel with the Caribbean archipelago, under the influence of these neighbouring islands and with a similarly Transcendentalist guidance, the South of the US is to change and join the North and the rest of the world in the narrative's utopian future.

A Place of Death and Birth

While the young and white passengers of the westward journey enjoy a wave of moral improvement, Zoë emerges as the only traveller whose condition gradually deteriorates with both her physical and mental health growing weaker as the vessel sails from Europe to the Americas. Immediately after leaving London, Zoë gets

seasick and becomes confined to her chamber. The narrative reinforces her isolation further by depicting the setting of the Bermuda Islands as "more isolated than any other point of land except St. Helena, on the globe".[503]

The event that marks the end of her physical isolation and emotional breakdown during her travel also prepares the ground for her tragic "victory". As the daughter two formerly-enslaved people who is sent away from her home island to Copenhagen, Zoë does not fully become aware of her race and her parents' background until she encounters two enslaved women – "a Quadroon, [and] a full Negress" – who knock on her door to ask for laundry in Bermuda Islands. At the age of 19, for the first time in 11 years, Zoë sees another "quadroon". The scene functions as an awakening for Zoë. Seeing, after such a long time, someone who looks like her but unlike her is held in bondage, she realizes that she is "of the slaves' origin".[504] Instead of immediately pushing Zoë into desperation, however, this realization strengthens her commitment to "the great mission to which God had devoted her".[505] Yet this treasuring tenor only remains on a rhetorical level. The Bermuda Islands mark the beginning of Zoë's evergrowing loneliness. Surrounded by people of her race, the longing for whom she cannot satisfy for they are enslaved and she is free, and accompanied by her dearest friend Hilda from whom she now recognizes her racial difference, Zoë feels even more lonely.

Her feeling of solitude is reduced for a short while in Mobile, the only instance that the setting of the narrative touches upon the shores of the US. The joining of new passengers from the US, her recovery from seasickness, and the sense of commitment to her life's mission grant Zoë an "unwonted cheerfulness".[506] The setting is again symbolical as the protagonist feels livelier, the closer she is to the imagined birthplace of her utopian vision of the Christian Republic, as also implicated by O'Brien.[507] With this joy and a sense of divine mission, Zoë pens a tale, which she sees as a work of god, a work that will initiate "a [new] era in the religion and literature of the nations". As they depart from Jamaica, Zoë allows other passengers to read the tale which does not receive the admiration that she hopes for.

Thus, the departure from Jamaica, which marks the topmost point of the transformations of the young white characters, marks the oncoming end of Zoë's brief life. The Transatlantic route from the Old to the New World drives

503 Ibid., p. 53.
504 Ibid., p. 57.
505 Ibid., p. 61.
506 Ibid., p. 102.
507 O'Brien, *Race*, pp. 84–98.

Zoë gradually to despair. First, confronting her with a bitter truth about her race that she accepts rather cheerfully and turns into a positive sense of duty, then taking away this sense of duty by turning its product into a failure, the journey becomes a source of depression and physical ailment for Zoë. She destroys her manuscript throwing it into the water by tying it into an orange. This *tropical* fruit, which unites and elevates the young and white passengers, functions in the exact opposite way for the quadroon protagonist. Zoë's condition worsens in St. Croix. Neither her reunion with her parents which proves itself to be a disappointment nor being back to her home island, which is stained by the racial segregation of the social life that hinders her friendship with Hilda to a certain degree, provides the remedy that Zoë needs. Added to these, she is denigrated by a licentious proposal by a Lieutenant Tileston, who happens to be Hilda's cousin. This proposal makes Zoë realize the impossibility of fulfilling her aspirations in lands stained by slavery. Trying to escape from Tileston, she is caught by a hurricane, which she interprets as a sign of her damnation. Just like her divine inspiration, her near death, too, is accordingly described to be inspired by nature.

The narrative grants the protagonist one last chance at fulfilling her divine mission. Being saved from the hurricane by her father and recovering the following sickness, Zoë takes up a new occupation as pastry chef, grows cheerful, develops friendly relations with others, and satisfies her desire for a more intellectual vocation by writing a manuscript. Although she manages to finish her manuscript, torn away from what the narrative constructs as an almost racism-free environment in Europe, Zoë's passing away is unavoidable. Upon visiting her in St. Croix, Mr. Lindsey and the Pierson sisters notice her slow deterioration, observing, "before we reach our home she will have risen to hers".[508] Hence, the narrative places Zoë's home to the imagined freedom in heaven away from the setting in the New World, which still carries the stains of slavery even in the aftermath of its abolition in St. Croix. Whereas, the white characters of the novel can call the Caribbean and the US their home and wander and settle freely wherever they wish, the biracial protagonist of the narrative, having longed for her Caribbean home for her entire childhood, finds nothing but depreciation upon her return to the island. If not the bondage, then, the continuing subordination of her race does not allow her to see her ideals embodied in a Christian Republic become reality.

Paradoxically, both the narrative and its protagonist see the Transcendentalist future that they long for flourishing in the Americas, the very setting resulting in

508 Livermore, *Zoë*, Vol. 2, p. 271.

Zoë's tragic end: "America is the future of this world for the next age".[509] The closing chapters of the novel reinforces this notion. After receiving a letter from Young America, Hilda asks Zoë to accompany her and Stephenson and settle with them in the US. Zoë rejects Hilda's proposal, sensing her approaching death and feeling an obligation to stay with her parents. But wishing her ideals to reach and spread in the US, she asks Hilda to take her manuscript with her "to publish it for the benefit of [her] down-trodden people".[510] The narrative hence once again idealizes the United States as the home of its Transcendentalist utopia. However, through Zoë's death, the narrative tells another story about the American Hemisphere, in general. Portraying the US simultaneously as the birthplace of its Transcendentalist utopia and as part of an unwelcoming environment for its biracial protagonist with strict racial hierarchies and prejudices where Zoë eventually has to die, the narrative directs its readers' attention to the persistence of the effects of slavery even during its afterlife. Through Zoë's death, the narrative highlights the loss experienced because of slavery, which deprives the world of the intellectual contribution and the divine inspiration of people of colour that can help the building of a Christian Republic.

Whereas the optimistic tenor of the novel rejects to regard Zoë's death as a tragedy and calls it a "triumph", this triumph praises only Zoë and those who has positive impact upon her. Locating Zoë's death not directly in the South but in St. Croix which is clearly seen the region's immediate geographical extension in the Caribbean, the novel also tells a story of failure by setting a parallel between St. Croix and the future that awaits the US. Even though the narrative considers it preordained, the abolition of slavery in the US is seen as already taking place too late as it has been in the Danish West Indies, since the divine inspirations of many like Zoë in St. Croix as well as the South are continuously hindered from contributing to the novel's utopian future. Therefore, upon reading a narrative that barely ever touches US soil, the reader nonetheless pictures the South as a place where thousands of Zoës are forsaken by a societal order that fails to recognize the divine light that lay within them. This image creates a sense of urgency for abolition in the US, highlighting the idea that abolition does not only require a change in legal and economic but also in societal order to abolish racial prejudices.

The contrasting depictions of the American Hemisphere and Europe in terms of the racism performed and experienced in these settings in the novel plays a significant role in highlighting the loss experienced in the US and the

509 Ibid., p. 174.
510 Ibid., p. 277.

Caribbean alike. It is no other than Zoë herself who can and is predestined to write a manuscript that can inspire the US to follow the Transcendentalist disciplines that will lead to a true Christian Republic, because she has, unlike other people of colour in the narrative, had the opportunity to cultivate herself and to shape the divine inspiration within her in what is depicted as the racism free setting of Europe. The Transatlantic space, too, to a certain degree contributes to the development of Zoë's utopian vision by presenting the protagonist with a slavery-free space. Having no access to such a mobility or education as the one that Zoë has, other people of colour with similarly strong divine inspirations such as her mother Sophie, are portrayed as having failed to develop their virtues and skills in a similar way. While this failure makes them more adapted to the life under racist hierarchies, Zoë with her heightened sensitivity to injustice and inequality slowly fades away in the American Hemisphere.

Yet, Livermore's novel is too optimistic to conclude on such a negative note. Assigning Hilda as a messenger to spread Zoë's philosophy in the US, the narrative both keeps hopes for its Christian Republic unbroken and flourishes a feeling of solidarity among races, laying the salvation of the Black populations of the US onto the hands of this young white woman. Significantly, "Livermore's quadroon heroine [at least her manuscript and her ideas] travels in the opposite direction instructing America with lessons brought from the Caribbean"[511] instead of the more common and mainstream direction that one encounters in the abolitionist and emigrationist literature of the era whereupon Black actors travel eastward across the Atlantic to Africa or southward to the Caribbean in order to spread 'civilization'. To the very contrary, it is this Western idea of civilization that Livermore's novel condemns.

This uncommon direction of knowledge transfer in Livermore's novel, besides contributing to the "pedagogy of citizenship directed toward Anglo-American men"[512] also brings about a reversed understanding of centre and periphery regarding the South of the United States in the Circumcaribbean. While putting the US on a focal point as the home for its transcendentalist future, the narrative sets a study of the knowhow of the Caribbean on the abolition of slavery as a precondition for the Christian Republic to flourish in the US. In this sense, the novel blurs the expansionist American spatial imaginations which consider the Caribbean archipelago as an extension of the US. Rejecting this imperialist view of the Caribbean, the narrative places the archipelago within an intellectual exchange with the US creating a unique perception of the US-Caribbean relations that

511 O'Brien, *Race*, p. 102.
512 Ibid., p. 64.

allows for a conversation between equals within which each actor can learn from the others' experiences. Thus, although the narrative points to the US as the future birthplace of its utopia, this utopia can only flourish in the US as long as the country, especially its South, is willing to learn from the experiences of the Caribbean islands which still suffer from the prolonging impacts of slavery. Zoë's death functions as a warning to the South, pointing out the harms that the US, both in the North and in the South, brings to itself by depreciating its populations of colour through slavery and racism. Zoë's gradually deteriorating health as they approach the Caribbean and her death on an island surrounded by racial prejudices and sights of the depreciated condition of her race illustrate how slavery hinders and consumes the divine inspiration, as well as the bodies, of the people of African descent, depriving the world of their contribution. Hence, both Zoë and St. Croix cease to be single instances. Zoë symbolizes every individual who directly or indirectly suffers from bondage. St. Croix stands for any piece of land where the crime of slavery has been committed.

Although the addressee of this pedagogic exchange, taking place with Hilda and Stephenson carrying the Caribbean knowhow to the United States in the form of Zoë's manuscript, seems to be the South of the country, however, Hilda and Stephenson's destination is Iowa, that is the North, where the young couple is likely to settle. By sending the couple to the North, the narrative excludes the South from a direct dialogue with the Caribbean, hence positioning the region in a place where its education can only be realized through the North's guidance. This detour in the narrative echoes the commonplace vision regarding the South which perceives the region as inferior and secondary to the North or "as an internal Other" within the country.[513] While this pedagogical hierarchy between the North and the South bears a paradox within the narrative that denies its protagonist a direct abolitionist solidarity with enslaved Southerners.

Negotiating the South

Livermore's novel concludes without its protagonist ever setting foot on the US territory. Yet, its tenacious rhetoric influenced by the prominent voices of nineteenth-century-American Transcendentalism and urgent socio-political problems of the country carries the United States to the epicentre of the narrative. Setting its narrative physically afar from the US, Livermore's *Zoë; or the*

513 Greeson, *Our South*, p. 3.

Quadroon's Triumph allows a creative and critical distance for its nineteenth-century readers in the US from which they can reassess their country in terms of both its past wrongdoings and its promises for the future.

Even though the Transcendentalist and celestial qualities that Livermore attributes to the utopian imagination may make it appear as though the Christian Republic that she promotes for in her novel points to a more abstract and even otherworldly vision than the other spatial imaginations that I study in this book, Livermore's Christian Republic has tangible spatial implications. This becomes clearer, as the novel repeatedly points to the US, more specifically to the North, as a material birthplace whereupon this republican future will begin to emerge. Cultivating an intellectual and equalitarian sensitivity in a racism-free Europe, developing and shaping this sensitivity in a vision of a *true* Christian Republic in the space of freedom provided along the Atlantic, learning both from the mistakes made and corrected in the Caribbean, and eventually carrying all these knowhow to the US North as home to its Transcendentalist utopia, the narrative follows the mainstream westward direction of progressivism which it sees as the replacement of the old racist and misogynist hierarchies with a moral societal order.

Positioning the South of the US with its ongoing and legal slave economy as a potential threat against its republican and Christian utopia within which all people are considered equal, the novel offers a rather commonplace antebellum Northern and abolitionist vision of the South. Especially embodied in the character Mr. Stephenson and his Young Americanist advocacy of slavery, xenophobia, and expansionism, the South emerges as a distinct region within the US as antithetical to the rest of the country. This vision habitually helps to attribute these negative qualities, such as racism and imperialism, associated with Mr. Stephenson's Young American ideology to almost solely to the South. Yet the region is not completely forsaken. Listening to and following the lead of its many Caribbean neighbours in abolishing slavery, the narrative implied that the South can join the rest of the US in its Transcendentalist future. Likewise, the South escapes at least to a certain extent emerging as the sole producer and advocate of racist structures within the country, since the rest of the US is also depicted to require the knowhow of the Caribbean and the guidance of a young biracial girl from St. Croix to achieve this utopian vision.

Nonetheless, the region emerges as inferior to and needing the guidance of the North, as it is only through the Northern filter that the knowledge and wisdom from its very own neighbours in the Caribbean archipelago can travel and reach the region. Excluding the South from a direct abolitionist communication between the Caribbean and the US North, the narrative reinforces the spatial narratives that establish a hierarchy between the North and the South of the

country. This exclusion also serves to disassociates the South from the rest of the Caribbean, which is both in abolitionist and proslavery texts of the era often emerges as a natural geographical expansion of the region.

Some last remarks on the narrative's spatial imagination. Neither the novel's vision of the South nor its utopian imagination of the Christian Republic presents clear structures of existing spatial formats and orders. In its utopian space, the narrative seeks to amalgamate several nations and peoples as equals to achieve a diversity to be cherished and utilized for moral and intellectual development of the whole. In this sense, it both departs from the ideas of empire and nation state and borrows from them, as its Christian Republican space shall expand over large territories from its birthplace in the North to the South and the Caribbean like an empire yet to maintain egalitarianism as its guiding principle. As for its vision of the South, one could perhaps argue that in some ways the narrative reinforces certain existing perceptions and hegemonic relationships between the North as central and the South as peripheral to the US. Yet this vision repeatedly becomes blurred as the narrative keeps negotiating the potential location of the region within its utopian space.

(Re)Claiming Space for Black Nation

> Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.[514]

The complex historical, political, social, and spatial context within which Delany places his novel *Blake or; The Huts of America* has attracted the attention of many scholars, especially since the novel's first publication in book form in 1970 by Beacon Press thanks to Floyd J. Miller's editorship.[515] The increased scholarly attention in Delany's novel can be tied to the intense political and academic interest in Black nationalism during the Civil Rights Movement. The interest in Delany and his *Blake* has accelerated even further ever since the 1990s when P. Gilroy and E. Sundquist published their seminal books, both of which include detailed analyses of the novel.[516] *Blake* has so far been studied for its various different aspects ranging from "transnational politics of property" to the construction of utopia

514 Psalm 68:31, *The King James 2000 Bible*, https://biblehub.com/kj2000/psalms/68.htm (accessed 29 September 2020).
515 M. R. Delany, *Blake; Or the Huts of America*, F. E. Miller (ed.), Boston: Beacon Press, 1970.
516 Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*; Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*.

through a "discourse of racial science".[517] Yet, probably the strongest and most recurrent attention to the novel has been paid by scholars concentrating on the spatial and transnational turns and Hemispheric studies thanks to Gilroy's and Sundquist's works which "featured [*Blake*] as a novel exemplifying the transnational turn in the humanities".[518] Ever since 2010, Delany's novel has been included in many prominent studies that put spatiality in the centre of the focus, for example, by Greeson, Schoolman, Madera, and Lowe.[519] Moreover, in less than half a century, the novel was published in book form a second time in 2017.[520]

The numerous publications on *Blake* leave the impression that it is hardly possible to write something original about the book today. Therefore, the following analysis benefits from and at times even echoes this existing comprehensive literature which has already acknowledged *Blake*'s transnational and hemispheric narrative within which the novel imagines the emergence of a Black nation. Nonetheless, I still offer a new reading of the novel by focusing on the narrative's depiction of two different yet concurrent Souths, which it imagines to be constructed, on the one hand, by white actors with economic interest in the continuance of slavery and, on the other, by actors of colour who collectively seek to put an end to the "peculiar institution" in its two concomitant plotlines.

The novel was originally serialized in *The Anglo-African Magazine* in 1859 (which was interrupted after the first 26 chapters in July the same year by Delany's Niger Valley Expedition[521]) and later in *The Weekly Anglo-African*

517 J. A. Clymer, "Martin Delany's Blake and the Transnational Politics of Property", *American Literary History* 15 (December 2003) 4, pp. 709–731, https://doi.org/10.1093/ALH/AJG040; M. A. Reid, "Utopia Is in the Blood: The Bodily Utopias of Martin R. Delany and Pauline Hopkins", *Utopian Studies* 22 (2011) 1, pp. 91–103.

518 Luis-Brown, "Book Review", p. 3.

519 Greeson, *Our South*; Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*; Madera, *Black Atlas*; Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies*.

520 M. R. Delany, *Blake* (2017).

521 In 1859, accompanied by Robert Campbell, Delany went on an expedition tour in Africa to examine the feasibility of African-American emigration to the Niger Valley. R. S. Levine summarizes this travel and Delany's rationale behind it: "Delany in 1857 or early 1858 abandoned his plans for emigration to the southern Americas and began to formulate a project to send educated African Americans to Africa to work with native Africans to produce cotton on the continent. His large, and rather elitist, hope was that talented African Americans would help to develop a regenerative black nationality in Africa. After failing in his quest to receive funds from the American Missionary Association [. . .], he presented a proposal for a Niger Valley exploring party to the 1858 National Emigration Convention in Chatham, Canada West, which offered him only tentative support. Delany subsequently attempted to form a

"between November, 1861 and May, 1862".[522] While *The Weekly Anglo-African* proudly announced that a similar interruption was not possible since the newspaper held all the chapters of the novel in its possession,[523] due to the missing issues of the magazine in the archives, the last six chapters of the novel are not available to its twenty-first-century readers.

In this 2017 edition of *Blake*,[524] editor J. McGann meticulously utilizes the extensive scholarship on Delany and provides an insightful reading of the novel both in the introduction of the book and his notes on the text. Despite the thorough and detailed editorship of McGann, however, there remains a disparity in the readers' experiences of the novel between the nineteenth century, on the one hand, and twentieth and twenty-first centuries, on the other. K. Chiles highlights the immediate intertextuality and contextualization that the serialization of the novel must have provided for its readers before the publication of the novel in book form as opposed to the deliberate efforts of contemporary readers in "situating" the text in a historical context.[525] Especially considering the politically turbulent atmosphere within which *Blake* was written and serialized, the magazines must indeed have thematically contextualized the novel which might have made the reader's job of "situating" the novel easier.

group of black scientists, doctors, and explorers who would accompany him to Africa, but lacking in funds, he was able to recruit only Philadelphia schoolteacher Robert Campbell. In April 1859, Campbell went to England on a fund-raising tour, while Delany, funded by the ACS, one month later went directly to Africa on a ship, the Mendi, owned by three Liberian blacks from New York City. Delany spent thirty-nine days in Liberia and eventually made his way to the Yoruba region (now southwest Nigeria), where in December he met up with Campbell. There followed a series of negotiations with the Alake (king or chief) of Abeokuta, which culminated in a treaty of December 1859 granting Delany the land he sought for his initial settlement. The treaty also promised a spirit of cooperation between the African American immigrants and the native Egba peoples of Abeokuta." See Levine, *Martin R. Delany*, pp. 316–317.

522 R. Whitlow, "The Revolutionary Black Novels of Martin R. Delany and Sutton Griggs", *MELUS* 5 (1978) 3, p. 36.

523 K. Chiles, "Within and without Raced Nations: Intratextuality, Martin Delany, and Blake; or the Huts of America", *American Literature* 80 (January 2008) 2, p. 323, https://doi.org/10.1215/00029831-2008-005.

524 All the quotations from Delany's *Blake* in this book are taken from its 2017 Harvard University Press Edition.

525 Chiles, "Within and without Raced Nations", p. 327.

However, this rather intratextual reading experience of the novel in serialized form, one can argue, must have been a limited one considering not only the journalism and political activism of Delany but also the unique temporality that the novel constructs. Noted most famously by Sundquist, the "telescopic" use of temporality in the novel,[526] which challenges the "imperial idea of linear time"[527] and gathers events and people of several decades all at once in a single setting, requires attention to both the immediate and a larger circumferencing context of the novel. Moreover, as acknowledged by Luis-Brown, Lowe, and Nwankwo, the novel stands out as a fictional expression of the ideas that Delany penned elsewhere.[528] This makes a study of Delany's other works almost an obligation to understand *Blake* better.

Delany's Abolitionism

Delany wrote *Blake*, or at least most of it, while in Chatham, Canada, "an area with thriving communities of blacks who escaped slavery by the means of the Underground Railroad". Emigration and emigrationism occupied the abolitionist agendas in the US especially after the Fugitive slave law was passed, which had an impact on Delany's personal life as well as his ideas on abolitionism:

> The Fugitive Slave Law clarified the emigration issue for many blacks. Fugitive slaves could either flee the country or live in perpetual fear of the slave catcher. Faced with these alternatives, thousands crossed over the Canadian border [. . .]. This included many fugitives who had been prominent in the abolitionist crusade. [. . .] Although the numbers cannot be precisely determined, reports from underground railroad stations along the Canadian border indicate that this was the largest expatriate movement in American history.[529]

526 Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, p 185.

527 T. Powell, "Postcolonial Theory in an American Context: A Reading of Martin Delany's Blake", in: F. Afzal-Khan and K. Seshadri (eds.), *The Pre-Occupation of Postcolonial Studies*, Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2000, p. 361.

528 Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n. p.; Luis-Brown, "Book Review"; I. Nwankwo, "The Promises and Perils of US African-American Hemispherism: Latin America in Martin Delany's "Blake" and Gayl Jones's "Mosquito", *American Literary History* (2006), pp. 579–599.

529 C. P. Ripley, "Introduction to the American Series Black Abolitionists in the United States, 1830–1865", in: *The Black Abolitionist Papers: The United States, 1830–1846*, vol. 3, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985, pp. 54–55.

After leaving his duty as the co-editor at Frederick Douglass's *The North Star*[530] and abandoning Garrisonian abolitionism[531] in the late 1840s, Delany committed himself to emigrationism.[532] First publishing *The Condition* in 1852 and then delivering his speech "Political Destiny of the Colored Race on the American Continent" in 1854, Delany deliberated on possible destinations for Black emigration including Latin America and the Caribbean archipelago.[533] By the end of the decade, he was considering the possibility of African-American settlement and "an independent black nation" in West Africa.[534] Both of these works, as well as his trip to the Niger Valley with Robert Campbell[535] can be regarded as a product of the Fugitive Slave Act, which had a remarkable impact on Delany's political views. Delany regarded the Act as a violation of the most prominent provisions of the US Constitution and of the "personal security" of

530 Frederick Douglass, probably the most well-known African-American author of the nineteenth-century US, was born a slave in Maryland in 1818. He escaped to the North, when he was 20 years old and became one of the most important names the abolitionist scene of the country. He founded and edited anti-slavery and suffragist *the North Star*, a weekly New York newspaper, between 1847 and 1851. He is best known for his *A Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845), which is one of his many autobiographies. F. Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave. Written by Himself*, Boston: The Anti-Slavery Office, 1845, https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/douglass/douglass.html (accessed 29 September 2020).

531 In the first issue *The Liberator*, Garrison manifested his departure from gradualist and colonialist movement among abolitionism with these famous words: "I am in earnest I will not equivocate I will not excuse I will not retreat a single inch AND I WILL BE HEARD." Eventually, his and his friends' ideals of abolitionism began to be called under his name, leading to the term Garrisonianism to be used to describe the nineteenth-century political philosophy of immediate abolitionism, moral suasion, perfectionism, and non-resistance. W. L. Garrison, "To The Public", in *The Liberator* (1 January 1831) 1, http://fair-use.org/the-liberator/1831/01/01/the-liberator-01-01.pdf (accessed 29 September 2020).

532 R. S. Levine, "Monuments and Careers: Teaching William Wells Brown, Martin Delany, and Their Contemporaries", in: M. J. Drexler and E. White (eds.), *Beyond Douglass: New Perspectives on Early African-American Literature*, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008, pp. 161–162.

533 Levine, *Martin R. Delany*, pp. 245–279.

534 Ripley, "Introduction", p. 54.

535 Robert Campbell was a journalist and printer born in Jamaica, who moved to Philadelphia in 1855, where he met Delany. He joined the author in his expedition to present-day Nigeria. In 1861, he published his account of this journey in *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland*. See R. Blackett, "Return to the Motherland: Robert Campbell, a Jamaican in Early Colonial Lagos", *Phylon* 40 (1979) 4, pp. 75–86; R. Campbell, *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland: An Account of a Journey Among the Egbas and Yorubas of Central Africa*, Philadelphia: T. Hamilton, 1861, http://archive.org/details/apilgrimagetomy00campgoog (accessed 29 September 2020).

free people of colour in the US.[536] He saw only two options: "emigration and resistance". Taking a more radical stance, in his speech "The Political Destiny", he equated the second option to miscegenation.[537] He rejected the latter option and argued for emigration, like many other abolitionists including W. W. Brown.[538]

There were undoubtedly also abolitionists who fervently opposed emigrationism, including Daniel Payne[539] and Frederick Douglass.[540] They saw common ground between the efforts of the emigrationists and the ACS, which had established a colony in Liberia to accommodate free African Americans. The anti-emigrationist saw these attempts of the Society "as the vehicle for the final expatriation of the free Black population and the continued enslavement of their brothers in the South".[541] In turn, emigrationists, including Delany, "insisted that there were significant distinctions between the colonization agenda of the ACS and black emigration, insofar as colonization was imposed upon blacks while emigration resulted from black agency".[542] Instead, Delany argued in *The Condition* and later in *Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party* (1861) that, unlike colonization, Black emigration aimed at the abolition of slavery. African-American emigration to Africa with Black agency – an idea that

536 M. R. Delany, "The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States", in: R. S. Levine (ed.), *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, University of North Carolina Press, 2003, p. 189.

537 Delany grounded his argument on a historical analysis that oppressed classes in different civilizations in the world always carried distinctive features that marked them out in the society, such as clothing, which allowed social mobility through the obliteration of these markers. In the case of the US where "skin color has become the principal mark of oppression", it was racial markers, i.e. "skin color" that was to be was to be "eradicated" to achieve social mobility. Delany asserted that staying and resisting racism in the US would result in the erasure of Black populations through miscegenation. Thus, he rejected this option and supported emigrationism. See R. M. Kahn, "The Political Ideology of Martin Delany", *Journal of Black Studies* 14 (1984) 4, pp. 433–434.

538 Ibid., pp. 427–28.

539 Daniel Alexander Payne was a free African American born in Charleston, SC. He studied in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, PA. Later in Philadelphia he joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church where "he was appointed the first historiographer of the church and wrote its first official history." In 1852, he became the bishop of the church. During the bellum and postbellum years, he worked for the establishment of AME congregations in the US South and for the education of African Americans. See B. E. Powers, Jr., "Payne, Daniel Alexander", in: *South Carolina Encyclopedia* (blog), 20 August 2016, http://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/payne-daniel-alexander/ (accessed 29 September 2020).

540 Hall, *A Faithful Account*, p. 128; Levine, *Martin R. Delany*, p. 5.

541 R. Blackett, "Martin R. Delany and Robert Campbell: Black Americans in Search of an African Colony", *The Journal of Negro History* 62 (January 1977) 1, p. 1, https://doi.org/10.2307/2717188.

542 Levine, *Martin R. Delany*, p. 182.

Delany adopted in late-1850s and abandoned shortly after with the outbreak of the Civil War[543] – would, according to the author, not only "fight American slavery by attacking the source, the African slave trade" but also "enact the sort of black elevation that he desired in the United States. Consequently, the 'civilizing' effects of black Americans on Africans would uplift the natives as well".[544] What is also noteworthy is the absence of imperialism in the discussions between emigrationist and anti-emigrationist abolitionists. Necessarily embedded in their Black-culture-oriented approach, both sides seem to have neglected the imperialist work that any possible emigrationist scheme would involve in appropriating the native-owned lands in Africa, the Caribbean, or in the Americas. In this sense, it can well be argued that emigrationists, including Delany, were not only informed by the imperialist discourse of the nineteenth century but also highly influenced by it as it can be observed in the rhetoric of *mission civilisatrice* being echoed in Delany's elitist didacticism in his emigrationism.

Even though Delany did not completely abandon his suggestions for emigration to the Caribbean and Latin American colonies even when he more fervently argued for emigration to Africa, he observed the growing interest in Cuba among the whites in the US as a danger for such an organization. Delany's keen awareness of the interest that both Southern slaveholders and their Northern commercial partners had in Cuban slavery reflects itself in his *Blake* in the schemes of the illegal Transatlantic slave trade which also involves Cuba. The very first sentence of the novel points to the upcoming US presidential election in 1852,[545] which resulted in election of Franklin Pierce, who was a Young American expansionist like W. G. Simms and E. D. Livermore's fictional Mr. Stephenson and a proponent of annexation of Cuba. Contextualized within a decade when annexation of Cuba heavily occupied the public discourse as a result of Narciso López's filibuster expeditions and the Ostend Manifesto in 1854, Delany's novel carries the subject in a rather focal point in its narrative and sheds light onto the networks of the slave economy between the North and the South.

Beside African-American emigration and Cuban annexation, Haitian history, too, holds an important role in Delany's political imagination both for the revolutionary legacy it provided for Black people and the anxiety this legacy created among Southern plantation owners. While the ghost of "the horrors of

543 M. R. Delany, *Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party*, London: Thomas Hamilton, 1861, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22118/22118-h/22118-h.htm (accessed 16 December 2020); Kahn, "The Political Ideology" p. 418; Levine, *Martin R. Delany*, p. 2.

544 R. S. Biggio, "The Specter of Conspiracy in Martin Delany's Blake", *African American Review* 42 (2008) 3, p. 444.

545 J. McGann, "Historical and Critical Notes", p. 316.

St. Domingo" still haunted the South half a century after the Haitian Revolution, more recent 'horror stories' were still being written in the region. A decade after the South's own Nat Turner rebellion was met with amplified violence by white Southerners, the harsh repression of *La Escalera* Conspiracy[546] in Cuba in 1844 and of the slave insurrection panic of 1856 that expanded from Delaware to Texas[547] demonstrate the long-lasting fear of slave insurrection in the extended Caribbean. Unlike "earlier writers" abolitionist authors in 1850s including "G. B. Vashon, W.W. Brown, J. T. Holly, William Nell, and Martin R. Delany" employed used the image of the Haitian Revolution "more aggressively to intervene in the national impasse regarding whether to expand or end the peculiar institution in the United States."[548] Delany recognized the fear of an organized Black community as an equally forceful political tool for abolitionism as an uprising itself.[549] Thus, employing the Haitian Revolution as well as other slave uprisings

546 The Conspiracy of *La Escalera* (1844), also known as The Year of the Lash, concerns allegation of general uprising among free people of African descent in allegiance with foreign white abolitionists with the aim to abolish slavery in Cuba. According to some, the famous Cuban poet Placido (Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés) – who appears as a semi-fictional character in *Blake* – also took part in this conspiracy. While the allegations emerged from some rebellions on plantations in Matanzas in 1844, there is still dispute about whether or not such a conspiracy indeed existed. Nonetheless, Spanish rule responded to the plot in a harsh manner: Besides imprisoning and executing thousands of African-descendants, the authorities used a method of torture whereupon the slave was tied to a ladder and whipped. This method gave the events its Spanish name *la Escalera* (the ladder). The conspiracy and the response of Spanish rule resulted in turmoil among the very diverse population of the island and had reflections on Cuban-US relations: "In the aftermath of La Escalera, many Creole planters came to believe that independence from Spain and annexation to the United States would offer them the best protection from the threat of slave revolt. Indeed, they became convinced – and not without reason – that the island's Spanish governors were using the threat of a revolt among the slaves to restrain their owners' aspirations for independence. The government had let it be known among the planters that in the event of any military effort to gain independence, the Spanish might emancipate the slaves and arm them against their masters." Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, p. 313.

For more information on The Conspiracy of *La Escalera* see A. K. Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba: La Escalera and the Insurgencies of 1841–1844*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015; R. L. Paquette, *Sugar Is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1990; M. Reid-Vazquez, *The Year of the Lash: Free People of Color in Cuba and the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011.

547 For a detailed account of the slave insurrection panic of 1856, see H. Wish, "The Slave Insurrection Panic of 1856", *The Journal of Southern History* 5 (1939) 2, pp. 206–222, https://doi.org/10.2307/2191583.

548 Hall, *A Faithful Account*, pp. 105–106.

549 Biggio, "The Specter of Conspiracy", p. 440.

(and the fear thereof) in the South and the Caribbean in his novel, he, too, played on the constant and widespread fear which the white Southerners in the US had to live with and led them to pursue agendas to acquire Cuba.

The adoption of the common imagery of slave insurrection in order to trigger fear of violence among slaveholders can give today's readers of *Blake* a sense of orientation in terms of the novel's influence and readership in the prewar atmosphere. E. J. Kytle investigates a later orientation in the US abolitionist scenery that has been outshone by "the rise of the Republican Party". The New Romanticism departed from the Garrisonism in the 1850s and developed a "more militant response" in the face of the strengthening influence of the institution of slavery: "They blended immediatism and perfectionism of early reformers with new romantic points of emphasis, including martial heroism, romantic radicalism, sentimentalism, and self-culture." Besides Delany, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Theodore Parker,[550] Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Frederick Douglass, too, contributed to this more radical school of abolitionist romanticism which was "a broadly shared mind-set, especially in the 1850s" and adopted by "countless antebellum Americans".[551] Undoubtedly, the New Romantics, including Delany, were radical abolitionists. Although the term is still loosely applied to anyone who rejected gradualism and supported immediatism from Garrison to John Brown, radical abolitionism helps us situate Delany, as well as other New Romantics, in a larger philosophical context and gives an idea about the possible readership of *Blake*.

It should also be noted that the complicated serialized publishing history of *Blake* extended also through a period including the first year of the Civil War. The first chapter of the book was published in *The Anglo-African Magazine* in 1859 "only weeks after Harpers Ferry and its revised version shortly before Lincoln announced his plans for the Emancipation Proclamation."[552] While Bus

550 Thomas Wentworth Higginson was an American author and abolitionist who lived between 1823–1911. Theodore Parker was a nineteenth-century American Transcendentalist and abolitionist.

551 Kytle, *Romantic Reformers*, pp. 6–21.

552 John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry refers to the attempt by white radical abolitionist John Brown accompanied by some 20 men to seize control of the federal arsenal to initiate a large-scale slave insurrection in the South. Brown and his followers took several white citizens as hostage. In less than two days, they were captured by the troops under the command of Robert E. Lee – later the commander of the Confederate army. Brown was sentenced to be executed by hanging. While the attempt failed, it created a fear of slave insurrection among the slaveholders in the US South. To read more on John Brown and the raid on Harpers Ferry, see R. E. McGlone, *John Brown's War against Slavery*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

nonetheless argues that the book does not take this context into consideration,[553] it would be unfair to claim a complete disregard of the Civil War context in the novel. Indeed, there is a direct reference in the book to the Confederate States of America in the last chapter of the novel that is available to the current readers.[554] McGann considered this reference as the clearest indicator that Delany kept revising his novel during its second serialization when the term confederacy first begun to be used in this context.[555] Schoolman even argues that "there is every reason to read *Blake* [. . .] as a distinctly 'bellum' production" based on the idea that the novel might not have been concluded by the time of its first serialization. She suggests that some of the chapters of the novel appearing for the first time in its second serialization indeed follow a similar geographical logic to the mapping practices of the Civil War era that had experienced a shift from the expansionist logic of Manifest Destiny to a method that favoured a statistical approach that "allowed the Union to strategize according to the likelihood of resistance and the ease of transport."[556]

The novel, which Sundquist calls "a most appropriate final account of New World slavery – and of the antebellum world of slaves and masters alike – at the moment of its revolutionary cataclysm",[557] presents *a most appropriate finale* for my book, marking the end of the antebellum era with its countless diverse spatial and political imaginations and leading the way to an era of accelerated – yet neither uncontested nor smooth – national consolidation processes in the US.

The "Spectre" Haunting the Americas

Delany's *Blake: or; The Huts of America: A Tale of the Mississippi Valley, the Southern United States, and Cuba*, a novel with a subtitle that very explicitly "refers to the hemispheric system of slavery",[558] consists of two parts. In Part I, the reader follows a Cuban man in Mississippi named Henry Blake escaping bondage and igniting a spirit of insurrection among enslaved people, traveling from plantation to plantation from Mississippi through other Southern states

553 H. Bus, "Trading Slavery and Liberation in the Americas: The Spanish-American Connection in the Works of Olaudah Equiano, Herman Melville, Martin R. Delany, and Sutton E. Griggs", in: F. Gysin and C. Mulvey (eds.), *Black Liberation in the Americas*, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2001, p. 65.
554 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 282.
555 McGann, "Historical and Critical Notes", p 331.
556 Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies*, pp. 9–12.
557 Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, p. 221.
558 Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n. p.

and back to Mississippi to help his son, his family, and friends to escape to Canada. Through his travels, the narrative captures an overall picture of the South, while Blake "survey[s] slave conditions and receptivity to ideas of rebellion".[559] In Part II, Blake travels back to the US to find his wife, Maggie, who, without his knowledge, has been sold to a Cuban plantation in the beginning of Part I. He travels to Cuba where he finds his wife and acquires her freedom. Here, Blake also reunites with his cousin, who, remarkably, is the Cuban poet Placido, "an actual historical figure who had been executed by Cuban authorities in 1844 for alleged insurrectionary activities".[560] Blake finds out that Placido, too, considers initiating a revolt and holds similar opinions regarding the nature of a possible insurrection.

Blake leaves Cuba for Africa as a sailor on a ship, which is, ironically, the very ship that his Mississippi master Colonel Franks and his Northern business associates turn into an illegal slave ship – a scheme that is revealed in the first chapters of the novel. Blake's plan involves capturing the ship on its route back to Cuba by stirring revolt among the captivated. However, this plan fails and the ship returns to Cuba with a seeming success for the slave merchants. The rest of the novel is set in Cuba depicting the tense social atmosphere on the island where the secret meetings among both free and enslaved people of colour for a geographically-united emancipation create anxiety among the white population of the island. Due to its missing last six chapters, the novel ends rather abruptly with a Cuban Black revolutionary named Gondolier declaring "[w]oe be unto those devils of whites, I say" at an abolitionist meeting.[561]

Thus, after 74 chapters, *Blake* reaches its incomplete finale with its protagonist's plans for insurrection remaining only a "specter". R. S. Biggio very convincingly argues that this is exactly the point that the novel wants to make, regardless of the possibility of a turn of events in the six missing chapters. Answering John Zeugner who claims that violence is the central theme of *Blake* – a claim that does not seem to have gained much credit among scholars of the novel – Biggio argues that violence for abolitionist purposes does not play much of a role in the novel. Indeed, except for a single occasion where the narrative implies that Henry has killed an enslaved Black driver named Jesse – who, according to the report of some enslave girl Henry interviews while visiting a Louisiana plantation, whips other slaves – there are no other implications of violence taking place at the hands of Black actors in the narrative. Rather,

559 Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, p. 192.
560 Levine, *Martin R. Delany*, p. 298.
561 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 313.

Biggio suggests, it is the "fear and paranoia among the slaveholders" of the violence that a possible slave insurrection may ignite that the novel "capitalizes on". This fear of a possible slave revolt translates into fear of a Black community that can produce its own culture, means of communication, and networks, that is, all the means of collective action which Blake also makes use of while spreading the word for insurrection. By "establish[ing] that the foundation of the white-supremacist myth is under attack", *Blake* seeks to ensure that "the dominant slaveholding community will, through their own paranoia, destroy themselves from within." In turn, the idea of a collective conspiracy and insurrection becomes the basis that unites the people of colour transregionally in *Blake*.[562]

Blake's far-reaching travels first in the South and later to the Caribbean and Africa, which build a sense of community and the foundation for his ideal of a Black nation, also serve to demonstrate the geographical extent of the white-supremacist slave economy in the narrative. From the very opening scene of the novel, a scheme begins to evolve. Some Americans from the North and the South of the US as well as two Cuban captains are involved in a plan that entails transforming an old vessel named *Merchantman* into a slaver. This group also includes Colonel Franks, the owner of the Mississippi plantation from which Henry escapes. Although the first chapter of the novel looks at this project only very briefly, the following chapters continue to illustrate the expansive geographical ties of the slave economy while creating the tension that makes Henry Blake leave Colonel Franks' plantation in the first place.

The commercial networks in the novel's concurrent plotlines connect the South and the North not only with each other but also with the Caribbean and Africa. These networks are by no means unfamiliar to the scholars of Transatlantic slavery. Nor it is a surprise that oppressed Black populations and slaveholders occupied and utilized a common geography. However, the narrative's appropriation of the expansive spatial order – which, the narrative observes, the white slaveholders impose upon the Blacks – as a strategic tool to make an abolitionist argument offers not only a unique but also astute spatial imaginations about the pre-Civil War South. The more practical question regarding the destination of Black emigration, which occupies most other texts by Delany, gives way to a rather idealist one that seeks to establish a sense of community among all Black people in the transregional order of slavery in *Blake*.

562 Biggio, "The Specter of Conspiracy", pp. 440–453; J. Zeugner, "A Note on Martin Delany's Blake, and Black Militancy", *Phylon* 32 (1971) 1, pp. 98–99, https://doi.org/10.2307/273606.

I argue that *Blake* seeks to transform the existing Transatlantic and Circumcaribbean spatial order of the slave economy into a spatial order within which a united Black nation is made possible. Two previous studies on the novel are of major significance in proving this argument. First of these is Biggio's abovementioned analysis which regards the "specter of conspiracy" as a tool both to connect the Black populations of different geographies (in other words, different regions of the extensive geography of slavery) together and to end slavery from within by creating fear among the slaveholders. The idea of the nation as an "imagined community" (a rather conventional reading in academia today) becomes concretely epitomized in the way that Delany through his *Blake* envisions a Black nation. What Biggio calls "the specter of conspiracy" plays the role of a glue that unites geographically-distant people for a common cause. I show that united in this way, people of colour of different classes, castes, and regions find themselves part of a shared political culture in the novel. An equivalent of this glue for the slaveholding community appears to be "commercial interest", as Mrs. Arabella puts it in the beginning of the novel,[563] in terms of uniting the distant and seemingly conflicted regions of the North and the South of the country together. Yet, common economic interest does not establish consensus among the white characters of the narrative. Highlighting the conflicts and distrust among the slave exploiters in the North and the South, the novel weakens the role of national consolidation processes in the US that the country's white populations go through in the temporal framework of the narrative. The deconstructive work that the novel undertakes in its interpretation of the white slaveholding community, on the one hand, and the (re)construction of a Black culture, on the other, challenge the spatial format of nation state and the spatial order of the slave economy in the Circumatlantic world and, through collective Black agency and action (re)configure the spaces of slavery.

Secondly, Schoolman's introductory chapter to her seminal book *Abolitionist Geographies* in which the use of spatiality in Delany's novel is demonstrated to pose an alternative to "familiar stories of sectionalism and Manifest Destiny" provides another basis for my reading of the novel. Schoolman asserts that the geographic expansiveness in *Blake* appears not to argue against it. She writes "*Blake*'s approach is [. . .] to swallow the U.S. South whole, and then surround it". That is, while the narrative places the South within a complex and transnational geographical order through the slave economy, its answer to this vast order is equally large scale. The narrative capitalizes on the expansive geography

563 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 6.

of slave exploitation to fight against it with correspondingly "transnationally coordinated gestures".[564] Following Schoolman, I argue that the Black political culture which the narrative seeks to establish is not to be found locally but almost globally. This culture transgresses the arbitrary national borders defined by white people and imposed on people of colour. It transforms and appropriates transregional and transnational connections and mobilities that exploiters of slavery establish to maintain their enterprise while also employing existing Black-built networks and routes, like the Underground Railroad.

In this sense, the Caribbean, as well as other geographies historically associated with slavery and slave revolts, ceases to solely pose parallels with and set precedents for the US in *Blake*. Rather, the large locale that is marked by the exploitation of people of African descent in its entirety appears as a spacious hemispheric region marked also by the existence of a persistent and unique Black culture. The American Hemisphere becomes a transregional 'region' for Delany's Black nation. Coming back to the other plotline of the novel, that is, to Colonel Franks' and his associates' project; the narrative demonstrates the inner conflicts of the US that are defined on a regional basis, in an atmosphere defined by the Compromise of 1850 as well as by the US interest in Cuba and the illegal continuation of the Transatlantic slave trade led mostly by the US Americans in the North and the South. The images of the North and the South that are conventionally illustrated in opposition in abolitionist literature becomes reticulated in *Blake*.

In the following, I study the two concurrent plotlines initially as independent units of analysis in order to demonstrate the two racially-divided Souths within the complex cultural, societal, and economic networks that are portrayed in *Blake*. This artificial division of the plotlines, hence, set a parallel with the structure of my book that artificially separates the antebellum spatial imaginations about the South into proslavery and abolitionist discourses. Accordingly, first, I trace the narrative's mapping of the slave-exploiters' South, which connects the region in a Transatlantic setting alongside with its commercial partners in the North and the Caribbean. I suggest that this mapping functions to depict an economic and political machine that, although making the slave economy in the Transatlantic possible, is laden with inner conflicts and paradoxes in its space-making practices, which constantly weaken the slave exploiters' control over the spatial order of this economy. Secondly, I examine the narrative's employment of this weakening control in the spatial order of the slave economy in order to enable enslaved and oppressed people of colour

564 Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies*, pp. 2–7.

across border to unite with each other and develop largescale networks of Black political culture in seeking to put an end to bondage, hence performing unique spatial practices.

Subverting the Spatial Order of the Slave Economy

The "project" that concerns the opening scene of the novel is revealed in detail in the developing chapters. The merchants are to transform a ship formerly called the *Merchantman* into a slaver under a new name, the *Vulture*. The vessel is to depart from Fell's Point in the US and reach Matanzas in Cuba. From there, it is to leave for the Gulf of Guinea to get some 1800 enslaved Africans to be sold in Key West. The master of Henry Blake's family is also invested in this plan, alongside some US Northerners and Cubans. Occupying such an initial position in the first part of the novel, the project appears practically forgotten until Blake secures his family's freedom in Canada and leaves for "the Suspension Bridge at Niagara *en route* the Atlantic".[565] As soon as he reaches New York, Blake encounters a group of white people on Broadway who attract his attention. He follows the group only to find out that they are about to leave for Havana in a few days. Henry soon joins this group of four, comprising of Captain Richard Paul – a character from the opening scene of the novel – Lieutenant Augustus Seeley, Lawrence Spencer, and Miss Cornelia Woodward. Part I thus ends, when Henry alongside this group reaches Morro Castle in Havana, with no other clue than a single mention of Captain Richard Paul's name regarding the malicious nature of the travel that the group is embarking upon.

Part II opens in Havana, with a scene describing the company having a conversation about a Captain Garcia as an "expert fellow so long engaged in the trade, and so hard to catch".[566] He is married to a Louisianan planter's sister. With such a little and seemingly unimportant detail, the narrative hints at the closely-knit community among the white planters of Cuba and the US. An illegal Cuban slave merchant with matrimonial ties to Louisiana speaks more of commercial interest than love. Although Lowe notes that Delany "strives to eliminate romantic clichés" in his novel,[567] marriages still play important practical and symbolical roles in the narrative. The opening chapter of Part II reveals that Miss Cornelia joined the group in New York without knowing their

565 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 158.
566 Ibid., p. 165.
567 Lowe, *Calypso Magnolia*, n.p.

true intentions in Havana, simply because of her love for Lieutenant Seeley. After the truth is discovered by others, the couple immediately gets married. Seeley's marriage eventually prevents him from sailing with the rest of the party to Africa and he "abandon[s] the enterprise entirely".[568] Later on, the Seeleys help the group of fugitives, whom Henry had previously helped move to Canada, to come to Cuba. Thus, his marriage to Cornelia Woodward transforms Seeley from a possible slave merchant to an aid for the fugitives.

However, the Seeleys remain one of the very few examples where white characters are depicted in a rather positive manner, especially with regard to white Cuban-US American links. The period when Henry Blake is still searching for his wife – whom he cannot recognize upon their first encounter at the Garcias's because of the tortures she has experienced while they were apart – serves in the narrative to reveal the intimate network between the US and Cuban plantations. Blake visits a family at "Lucyana Hacienda" belonging to a US planter. The name of the plantation also clearly indicates its Louisianan connections. Visiting this plantation disguised as an enslaved person asking for some sugarcane samples for his master, Blake witnesses a conversation between the planter and a visitor from Kentucky about how the latter "broke" a servant boy to obey with the help of a white Pennsylvanian man – indicating the North's role in this network.[569] The next plantation Blake visits belongs unsurprisingly to yet another Louisianan planter. Thus, sending Blake from one plantation to another in Cuba all of which are surrounded with strong connections to the US, the narrative creates an image of white Cuba as an extension of the plantation US in less than 20 pages.

Such connections are also present in the first part of the novel. In fact, the reason why Blake initially becomes a fugitive, then the leader of a transregional Black uprising, is this socio-economic spatial extension of the US to Cuba, which Delany's novel illustrates via the networks between Cuban and American planters. These networks make possible Maggie's sale to a Cuban plantation owned by a Northerner named Mrs. Arabella Ballard. This relative of the Franks, who with great insistence acquires Maggie from the unwilling Mrs. Franks, is also the wife of a Northern judge depicted to have played an active role in the ruling of the Fugitive Slave Act. With these subtle but tenacious depictions of the connections between slaveholding societies in the US and Cuba within which the Ballards are placed, the narrative implies that the North of the US, very much like its South, has economic interests in slavery and racial

568 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 158.
569 Ibid., pp. 173–176.

oppression, and power to determine the conditions of the people of colour in the US and Cuba. Probably no other character than Mrs. Arabella articulates better in the novel the unbreakable commercial tie between the two regions and the Caribbean, supported by the political machine of the US:

> "Tell me, Madam Ballard, how will the North go in the present issue [the Compromise of 1850]?" enquired Franks.
>
> "Give yourself no concern about that, Colonel", replied Mrs. Ballard, "you will find the North true to the country. [. . .] [W]e can have no interests separate from yours; you know the time-honored motto, 'united we stand,' and so forth, must apply to the American people under every policy in every section of the Union. [. . .] [I]n our country commercial interests have taken precedence of all others, which is a sufficient guarantee of our fidelity to the South. [. . .] We have as a plight of faith yielded Boston, New York, and Philadelphia-the intelligence and wealth of the North-in carrying out the Compromise measures for the interests of the South; can we do more?"[570]

The image that unites Cuba and the US becomes ever so vivid when Blake secures his wife's freedom from Mrs. Garcia, which makes the planter's wife anxious about the future of slavery on the island. For the first time becoming aware of the Cuban laws of coartación,[571] which allows Maggie to buy her freedom for less than a quarter of the money the Garcias have paid to acquire her, Mrs. Garcia feels discouraged to live in Cuba under Spanish rule. Her feelings lead to a conversation about "a patriotic movement" implying the filibustering activities and other US attempts under the presidency of Pierce to acquire Cuba from the Spanish in the early 1850s.[572] However, the novel does not allow these schemes

570 Ibid., p. 6.

571 *Coartación* was a law in Cuba as well as in some parts of Latin America that allowed enslaved people to purchase their freedom. Julia Ward Howe, in her 1860 travel narrative shares several anecdotes on the perceptions regarding the Coartación law in Cuban society. Probably the most curious one of these informs the reader about how some slaves in Matanzas put their means together and got hold of a lottery ticket that won the $100,000 prize. While the unfortunate slaves could never get hold of the price because of a fraudulent commissioner, their masters still suffered from a sense of panic that the slaves would buy their freedom benefiting from the law. See J. Ward Howe, *A Trip to Cuba*, Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860, pp. 105–106, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t8pc3sz44&view=1up&seq=7 (accessed 30 September 2020).

572 President Franklin Pierce and his administration, too, pursued expansionist politics just as their predecessors like James K. Polk or John Quincy Adams. Acquisition of Cuba was part of these policies. To read more on the topic, see L. D. Langley, "The Whigs and the Lopez Expeditions to Cuba, 1849–1851: A Chapter in Frustrating Diplomacy", *Revista de Historia de América* 71 (1971), pp. 9–22; C. S. Urban, "The Africanization of Cuba Scare, 1853–1855", *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 37 (1957) 1, pp. 29–45.

to constitute a light of hope for the US American slave exploiters in Cuba. The counter-argument to the filibusters comes from Mrs. Garcia's husband who unlike his wife calls them "a set of dissatisfied, irresponsible American intruders, who only stir up strife to danger of life and property", thus crushing Mrs. Garcia's trust in the US capacity to annex Cuba. He also explains to his wife that the Spanish rule would prefer a Black rather than a US American Cuba, based on a racist argument that the former is more "docile" and "make[s] better subjects".

The plans of Cuba's annexation to the US is not a topic that the novel introduces for the first time in this scene. These plans appear, at least as an implicit theme, in the first chapter with a reference to the upcoming US elections which resulted in Pierce's presidency. This ghost theme appears and disappears several times in the novel. Later in Part II, when Havana is stirred up with the anticipation of a Black conspiracy, it emerges once again. This time, it appears as a reason for conflict between island's loyalists like the Captain General, on the one hand, and the US planters and Cuban creoles, who deprived of enfranchisement in the country supported annexation of the island by the US, on the other. Sundquist famously suggests that these temporally-distant events that are "telescoped into the much shorter time frame of the novel [has] the effect [of] creat[ing] a fictive world in which Cuban and American slavery are yoked together in historical simultaneity."[573]

The narrative employs this simultaneous appearance of temporally-distant events in its fictive world also to challenge the authority of the slave economy's spatial order by bringing its power and capacity into question. "The concern that Cuba was undergoing a process of Africanization because of the large numbers of enslaved Africans who were being brought to the island to keep the sugar mills running" was "[p]ivotal to the annexation debate". This concern is "craftily appropriate[d]" in the novel "to unsettle the nerves of proslavery advocates".[574] The fear of Africanization and consequently of Black revolt gains an ironic momentum when the slaver vessel is forced to return to Cuba, instead of the US, with its "cargo" of more people of African descent. The narrative, hence, draws a spatial structure that is constantly being reconstructed by white US Americans through the Transatlantic slave trade for the benefit of their interest in the continuance of the slave economy. However, this enterprise is depicted also

573 Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, pp. 184–185.
574 Nwankwo, "The Promises and Perils", pp. 585–586.

to continuously contribute to the Africanization of the island, both triggering the anxieties of slaveholders and deeming the order condemned to collapse.[575]

Securing his wife at his cousin Placido's place in Cuba, Henry Blake finds employment on the *Vulture* as the sailing master after an interview with Señor Juan Castello, the first mate of the ship. The scene of the interview is significant in that this is the first time the narrative hints at Blake's past involvement in slave trade. When Castello tells Blake "the [African] coast is divided into three trades: ivory, gold, and slave",[576] and asks him with which he was previously involved, Henry refuses to answer with the pretence of protecting his honour, implying that he has been in the illegal slave trade. Blake's intention in getting once again involved in the illegal Transatlantic slave trade, as he tells Placido, is to have the enslaved people revolt and conquer the ship as part of his grand scheme.

The ship soon departs for the Gulf coast under the supercargo Spencer, who has taken Seeley's vacant post, and "Captains Paul and Garcia, and Royer and Castello, [who] were to be respectively commanders and mates [. . .] to represent their national character, as occasion required them to sail under either American or Spanish colors."[577] The significance of this sentence is best explained by Sundquist:

> [T]he *Vulture* is the very symbol of the intersecting forces that keep slavery in existence yet at the same time poised for destruction [. . .]. Cuba had the longest-standing slave trade in the Americas. Free trade in slaves, authorized in 1789 in order to stimulate the island's economy, was hardly hampered by the treaties of 1817 and 1835 outlawing it, which were seen by Spain as diplomatic concessions to Britain that could be, and were,

575 Cuba and plans regarding its annexation by the US had already began occupying Delany's attention a decade before he began publishing *Blake* when the topic itself was a more urgent public debate. Two articles that are included in Levine's Delany reader, "Annexation of Cuba" and "The Redemption of Cuba", both published in 1849 in *The North Star*, clearly illustrate Delany's interest in the matter, as well as his stance. Levine notes that even though Delany was anxious that the island would, much like Texas and the territory annexed by Mexican cession, "eventually fall into the hands of U.S. slave expansionists", he "remained hopeful that the oppressed peoples of Cuba, as in Haiti, could overthrow the white ruling class and achieve their independence." Moreover, these texts, very much like *Blake*, show that the author was well-aware of the strategic and economic importance of the island, its commercial ties to the US, as well as its position as "the great western slave mart of the world" in the illegal but ongoing slave trade from "the western coast of Africa", as he writes in "Annexation". See M. R. Delany, "Annexation of Cuba", in: R. S. Levine (ed.), *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003, pp. 160–166; Delany, "The Redemption of Cuba", ibid., pp. 167–169.

576 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 203.

577 Ibid., p. 203.

> easily circumvented in fact. A continued supply of slaves was crucial to Spain's retention of power in the region [. . .]. Diplomatic machinations and guile at sea alike operated to frustrate what minimal attempts were made to stop the trade. American slavers flying under a Spanish or Portuguese flag could not be searched by American cruisers; and ships under American flag could not be searched by British cruisers. The cat-and-mouse game of trading made a mockery of treaties, and flags became transparent conveniences in a political charade.[578]

The novel highlights the nature of the white slaveholding network between the Spanish Cuba and the US. The parties engaged in the slave trade form a unity not simply out of shared economic interest in the trade and in the continuation of slavery but also to ensure a space that is exempt from international maritime laws through each other's presence. Indeed, leaving the harbour with the Spanish flag, the vessel momentarily flies the US flag to safeguard itself from the British cruisers in the West Indies. Both here and along the Gulf of Guinea, the *Vulture* is chased more than once by British cruisers without being caught. While this spatio-political co-dependency could have been used as an evidence for the strength of the proslavery alliance, Delany capitalizes on the chase of the British cruisers to demonstrate the anxiety it triggers. This anxiety is so strong that already after the first British pursuit in the West Indies both Paul and Spencer regret their involvement in the enterprise and decide to leave it immediately once they are home. Although the narrative creates a biblical, tranquil atmosphere to enable this change of heart for the two new and possibly Northern slave merchants, the overall scene points to the fragility of an alliance based on commercial interests.

Moreover, the chase creates another opportunity for the narrative to make its point about the insubstantiality of the slave exploiters' spatial order. Whereas the chase of the British vessels causes anxiety among the white people on board, among the people of colour a cheerful sense of harmony is felt. They sing songs of revolution and freedom with the anticipation that these cruisers may in fact set them free. Their joyful yet threatening chanting about "goin' to Afraka, where de white man dare not stay [sic]" reminds Captain Royer of the unpredictability of his spatial position. He "declare[s] that the only place where a white man is safe [. . .] [is] the United States" and decides that although business has demanded him to go away from his country, he would never leave it again upon his return. The preference for the US among white characters continues once the vessel arrives on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea and the white crew of the slaver is to decide the destination to embark their "cargo". The captains agree on the favourability of Key West as a market, where the slave trade is not

578 Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, p. 200.

obstructed by "religious cant and nonsense of philanthropy and human rights" like in Brazil following the prohibition in 1831, or less profitable because of the unreliable prices that constant supply creates like in Cuba.[579] Thus, as the novel portrays a large territory under slaveholders' control, it also simultaneously depicts the fundament that holds this space together as in danger. According to the white characters from the US, such as Mrs. Garcia and Captain Royer, the only location that appears somewhat free of this danger is the US itself.

This longing for the US is felt even more tangibly during the "homeward" journey. W. Johnson highlights that the vessel is operated by Black people, "by their labor and ultimately by their purpose", and Blake seems to be more in charge of the ship and its Black crew than anyone else. Johnson's assertion that "[e]ven as the ship tracks a course charted by the slave trade, it rides the currents of Black Atlantic" clearly summarizes the inherent internal conflict embedded in the slave-exploiters' spatial order.[580] When Blake's power on board becomes clear to Captain Royer, he expresses his hatred towards people of colour, especially towards Blake, to Captain Paul:

> "I suppose [Blake] thinks himself one crust above the black wenches." [. . .]
> "You better treat him well; he's no common negro, I assure you." [. . .]
> "But we're going where he will be common, where every negro's made to know his place."
> "Where is that?" whispered Paul.
> "Home, in the United States, where else!" replied Royer.
> "Yes, but you're not yet there, and it might be that you'll never reach there!"[581]

Indeed, as Captain Paul forecasts, the vessel never reaches the shores of the US. Followed by two British vessels one after another, caught by a storm, and threatened by a slave revolt (which is deterred by the breakout of the storm that lets the white captains regain control on board), the *Vulture* is forced to land in Cuba. Hence, even the successful escape from the British, the salvage from the storm, and the prevention of the slave uprising turn out to be a failure for the slave merchants. Not only does the vessel end up embarking its "cargo" in a less favourable market but the profit is further reduced when Blake takes the chance to spread the word about the rebellious nature of the "cargo" in

579 Delany, *Blake* (2017), pp. 212–215.
580 W. Johnson, "White Lies: Human Property and Domestic Slavery Aboard the Slave Ship Creole", in: W. Boelhower (ed.), *New Orleans in the Atlantic World: Between Land and Sea*, Oxon: Routledge, 2013.
581 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 224.

Matanzas. Once again, the narrative diminishes the white capacity to establish control over its very spatial order in the Atlantic world.

After the Transatlantic travel, the narrative extends this lack of control on the whites' side in the Atlantic to the Caribbean island. Cuba appears in a state of turmoil: it is depicted, on the one hand, as in-between the conflicting interest of its white Creoles who claim the right "to be their own rulers"[582] and its US American populations supporting US interventions to the island, and on the other, as threatened by the annexationist movement in the US as well as by the Black uprising all at once. Within the slave exploiters' space reaching from the US and the Caribbean to Central and South America[583] and the western coast of Africa, the South of the US appears for a certain while in Captain Paul's and Mrs. Garcia's imaginations to be a refuge for slaveholders. While the plot, as it has survived and reached its audience today, never returns to the region, the narrator intervenes in this image of a safe South for the slave economy as it seems to appear, by uniting the region with Cuba in their shared fear of slave insurrection:

> Few people in the world lead such a life as the white inhabitants of Cuba, and those of the South now comprising the "Southern Confederacy of America". A dreamy existence of the most fearful apprehensions, of dread, horror and dismay; suspicion and distrust, jealousy and envy continually pervade the community; and Havana, New Orleans, Charleston or Richmond may be thrown into consternation by an idle expression of the most trifling or ordinary ignorant black. A sleeping wake or waking sleep, a living death or tormented life is that of the Cuban and American slaveholder. For them there is no safety.[584]

Thus, portrayed as part of a large spatial order of the slave economy in the novel, the South loses not only its image as a haven for slave exploiters but also its elsewhere-assumed centrality in this network for it can assure no safety from the nightmare of the slaveholder. "Havana, New Orleans, Charleston or Richmond"[585] all become interchangeable in their susceptibility to slave insurrection. Nor does the region emerge in the narrative as more profitable for

582 Ibid., p. 299.

583 Although there are not many references in the narrative to the networks that tie the Caribbean and the US with Central and South America through the slave economy, Delany nonetheless does not totally neglect the role of Central and South America in his novel altogether. By mentioning especially Brazil as a port in the slave trade twice – once when Blake tells Placido of his former journeys as a sailor on slavers and later when the slave merchants are discussing possible markets to sell the Blacks – the narrative draws almost a complete map of the slaveholding geography in the Americas prior to the outbreak of the US Civil War. Ibid., pp. 196–215.

584 Ibid., p. 305.

585 Ibid., p. 305.

slave-exploiter. The narrative implies, there is always another port to land the human cargo for the slaver vessels. When the *Vulture* cannot go to Key West, it can still hope to find a market in Matanzas. As for the relative favourability of the laws of the country to protect slaveholders' property rights, Mr. Garcia refers to "the many existing laws [in the US] of which [Mrs. Garcia] know[s] nothing." Mr. Garcia's response to his wife serves to highlight the shared susceptibility in Cuba and the South:

> And respecting the contingencies of insurrection, you are not more safe [sic] than here. In New Orleans, as in Havana, the great gun at the fort must at a certain hour every night be fired, to intimidate and keep down the Negroes; and there as here, while you are unsuspectingly sleeping in your quiet bed in seeming safety, a guard for private and public safety must be kept through the night, and even secret guards through the day, to keep in check the disposition to rebellion on the part of the slave population.[586]

This first spatial order within which the South is imagined to be located is therefore one that finds itself surrounded by other regions that are equally invested in the same economic system. The North, the Caribbean, and their neighbours further south, are depicted as functioning parts of a machine that works in harmony. The real and imagined borders especially between the North and the South of the US as well as Cuba become blurred within a system that holds shared financial interest beyond national and international laws. The North occupies as central a position as the US South and Cuba in its involvement in the slave economy. These seemingly distinct regions become a whole reaching beyond the Atlantic to the Gulf of Guinea under the slaveholders' tyranny.

A Space for a Black Nation

The narrative never allows the rather strong spatial image of the slave economy to prevail for too long. It introduces this vast spatial order within which it locates the South only to disrupt it. White populations of these regions are almost without exception portrayed in a state of fear of possible slave insurrections. Ironically, the narrative implies, the spatial order that the slave economy creates depends for its continuation on the very source of its most profound anxiety, that is, enslaved people with their great potential for uprising. Moreover, the narrative often shows the parts of the machine as in conflict: The expansionist US desire to annex Cuba destabilizes the island and makes it prone to slave riots. Furthermore, the South cannot be entirely sure about Northern

586 Ibid., p. 186.

support in its enterprises. The novel thus points to the fragility of the slave-exploiting society built through commercial interests. The expansive geography that the spatial order of the slave economy occupies becomes its own greatest weakness. As the narrative draws this image of fragility for the slaveholders' spatial order, it simultaneously uses this expansiveness as a strength for the awakening people of colour. Wherever it sees danger and conflict for the white exploiter, the narrative locates an opportunity for oppressed people. The very space of exploitation thus becomes the space of a reviving Black culture.

Madera in *Black Atlas* points to "a literary counter-mapping of expansionist U.S. maps" focusing on "Cuba as parallel space" and the reterritorialization of the Middle Passage in the novel. She suggests,

> *Blake*'s resolution [. . .] lies in its deterritorialization, its taking apart not only the claims but the contexts of imperialist maps. So what the novel illustrates is not just a critique of dominant white cartographies, but rather a resituating of the terms of debate, an unfixing of context. [. . .] one of the most significant spaces Delany wishes to see reconfigured was not a territory as much as a network. It was the wide commercial culture of Atlantic.[587]

Madera's work thus reveals the Circumatlantic spatial order of the slave economy as a configuration that the narrative seeks to (re)appropriate for its Black community. Other scholars also reflect upon similar spatial considerations in the novel. Guterl in his argument that "Blake shares the planter's sense of slavery recognizing it as cosmopolitan and global, primarily self-interested, and prospering, at times, outside the authority of the nation-state", for example, implies that the novel seeks a solution to white oppression in the same "cosmopolitan and global" manner. Similarly, D. Reichert Powell's notion of "internally colonized" people in the hemisphere (via both direct colonization processes and indirect ones including the Monroe Doctrine) who are included in "Blake's revolution" seems to indicate that the revolutionaries in *Blake* are to be found in spaces colonized by white exploiters.[588] My analysis draws on these works that demonstrate the parallel between the slaveholding spatial order and the space of *Blake*'s imagined resistance to it.

At least equally significant to the following analysis is Biggio's reading of the novel as a narrative not of insurrection but of formation of a Black community through the "specter" of insurrection. Biggio draws attention to the productivity of this spectre in a two-fold way. First, she argues, the spectre establishes a ground on which a sense of community among the oppressed people of colour of distant geographies can be created. Secondly, she suggests, it generates

587 Madera, *Black Atlas*, pp. 130–148.
588 Guterl, *American Mediterranean*, p. 41; Powell, "Postcolonial Theory", p. 359.

anxiety among the whites in these regions. She notes that "a united black community [in *Blake*] [. . .] depends neither on place [. . .] nor time".[589] My analysis expands on this claim by integrating it with its argument spatial appropriation. I demonstrate that the formation of a Black community built via "the specter of conspiracy" in the narrative allows this united Black community claim the territory occupied the spatial order of the slave economy as their own.

Part I of the novel provides a detailed account of Henry Blake's travels in the South, depicting conditions of slaves in each state that the protagonist visits. Through Blake's travels across the region, the narrative maps the South as it appears in the collective consciousness of antebellum US African Americans. During these travels, the narrative grants Blake with a geographic literacy from his first appearance in the novel, coming back to the Franks' plantation on a steamship from a duty he was assigned by the Colonel. Simply with this information, the reader gets familiarized with his mobility. Once Blake runs away from the Franks' plantation, his ease in navigating himself no longer surprises the reader. His spatial literacy helps him navigate from plantation to plantation almost effortlessly "as if he were walking on a map rather than walking on land."[590] This ease of movement that Blake's geographic literacy brings about, unlike what Whitlow suggests, is not a product of "naïve [. . .] assumption" regarding the capacity of the slaves for mobility.[591] Instead, once the novel is understood as a narrative of the formation of a united Black community, this smooth mobility becomes part of a rhetorical strategy that the narrative employs to create an atmosphere of danger of slave insurrection in the region. Blake's extraordinary capacity for mobility, literacy, and skills including his multilingualism and seamanship, which help him to "skillfully [cross] national, cultural, and linguistic boundaries",[592] also serve to demonstrate the existence of skill sets necessary for an insurrection among enslaved populations which are otherwise dismissed by white people. Blake's didactic role in transferring his knowledge of geography during his second journey in the South helping his family and friends escape contributes to the same argument. Alongside Blake, his skills also travel. Challenging the arbitrary borders imposed upon Black bodies, the knowledge transfer gains a great momentum. Through Blake, the novel confronts the notion of geographic literacy as a white asset and reclaims a deliberate space-making capacity in Black action. "Blake's extensive travels can be thought of as a performative enactment that inscribes both the geographic

589 Biggio, "The Specter of Conspiracy", p. 445.
590 Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies*, p. 2.
591 Whitlow, "The Revolutionary Black Novels", p. 28.
592 Nwankwo, "The Promises and Perils", p. 586.

and the cultural boundaries of Delany's conception of the not-yet-postcolonial black nation."[593]

What is remarkable both in Blake's escape and other similar acts of 'disobedience' by the characters of colour in the novel is the narrative's repeated employment of days of festivities as a tool for distracting the white folks. Sundquist notes:

> all of the significant movements toward revolution, as Delany dramatizes them, take place in the context of national festivals [. . .]. Festival moments are typically conservative in their reverence for an ancestral or nationalist past, but they are also frequently laced with a subversive energy derived from the temporary abridgement of social codes or hierarchical structures.[594]

The festivities and entertainments such as Sunday afternoon as a holiday for the enslaved people in the US South, Mardi Gras in New Orleans, King's Day in Cuba create opportunities for the enslaved and free people of colour to gather and socialize freely without being subjected to any suspicion. Hence, these events present favourable conditions to take action towards insurrection. The narrative capitalizes on the temporal ordering of social behaviour by white slaveholding communities to generate gaps in the spatial order imposed upon people of colour. Moreover, Delany makes use of the translatability of this experience to create a shared cultural condition across regions. Even though the names and dates of the festivities change, the spatio-temporal conditions allowing increased capacity for movement and socializing that they provide for the people of colour remain similar across borders. Yet, as Gilroy argues, the novel does not do this to define Blackness as a "common cultural condition", but instead as "a matter of politics".[595] Rather than cataloguing the conditions created by these festivities under a common Black cultural heritage in a romanticizing manner, Delany's novel employs them as opportunities for insurrection. This, in turn, creates a common political culture shared across ethnic lines and a sense of solidarity across regional and national borders.

The appropriation of the white-generated, white-imposed spatio-temporal orders and conditions by oppressed people of colour becomes a central tool in the scheme of raising the spectre of a slave conspiracy. The narrative takes advantage of both the spatial conditions that results from white attempts to forcefully regulate and control the behaviours of people of colour and the miscarriages of such attempts in maintaining spatio-racial order due to the inner conflicts,

593 Powell, "Postcolonial Theory", p. 356.
594 Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, pp. 210–211.
595 Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, pp. 27–28.

contradictions, and inadequacies of the white rules. For instance, the narrative employs the spatial conditions caused by the Indian Removal Act of 1830,[596] which resulted in the settlement of the Choctaw Nation in present-day Oklahoma. Leading Blake's route among the Southern plantations through the new Indian territory, the narrative forms an alliance between Native American and Black people against white slaveholders. White US expansionism that reduces both Native Americans and enslaved people to "internally colonized subjects" hence unites them in Delany's novel in "an anticolonial rhetoric of democratic freedom".[597] The narrative uses this fictional alliance between native and Black populations also as an opportunity to recall an actual account of similar affiliations between the two communities against whites. During Blake's conversation with the Choctaw chief, the protagonist mentions the Black participation to the Seminole Wars in Florida fighting alongside the Native Americans,[598] contextualizing the imagined coalitions with a historical reference to alliances in anticolonial struggle.

A similar alliance is formed once Henry Blake reaches the Great Dismal Swamp and meets the Maroon communities.[599] What is significant here is,

596 Signed by president Andrew Jackson on 28 May 1830, the Indian Removal Act of 1830 allowed the US government to forcefully displace the Native Americans residing east of the Mississippi River, who were seen as one of the main obstacles before westward expansion, to the western territories. While some tribes submitted to this, such as the Choctaw Nation through the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, some others including the Seminoles and Cherokees resisted and fought several battles to protect their native lands. The Act resulted in what is known today as The Trail of Tears, the forced relocation of thousands of Native Americans of various tribes for the following two decades to the designated Indian territories in the west of the river during which many died of starvation, disease, and exhaustion. See Boyer, *American History*, p. 38; Gilroy, *Black Atlantic,* pp. 30–36.

597 Powell, "Postcolonial Theory", pp. 356–357.

598 The Seminole Wars refer to three wars that lasted between 1816 and 1858 between the native Seminoles of Florida and the US army over the territory of Florida. While West Florida became part of the US in 1810, the East remained under the Spanish rule until 1821, constituting a barrier for the US dream of expansionism in the entire continent and providing a possible refuge for fugitives, leading to the conflicts between the Seminoles protecting their homes and the US army. To read more, see J. Knetsch, *Florida's Seminole Wars: 1817–1858*, Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2003.

599 Maroon communities refer to the runaway slave communities established throughout the Americas – particularly in Haiti, the US South, and Brazil – in topographically isolated locations, such as the Great Dismal Swamp. Maroons created their own distinct cultures and formed militias against the European and American armies that attempted to dismantle their communities and re-enslave them. Maroon communities also played an important role in abolitionist imaginations by setting examples of autonomous structures built by enslaved people and also for their contribution to abolition in Haiti.

however, more than that alliance, the utilization of the white colonial spatial structures in the narrative. Indeed, the alliance itself is so essentialized in the narrative that by the time Blake arrives at the Great Dismal Swamp and meets the Maroon communities, he is welcomed as "a harbinger of better days" who they have been "lookin' fah [. . .] dis many years". The narrative brilliantly observes the existence of Maroons – who are anachronically depicted as veterans of the Revolutionary War and Nat Turner's fellows at the same time, in the compacted temporality of the narrative – in the Great Dismal Swamp as a failure of white territorial control and capitalizes on it both in (re)assuring the Maroon support in his plans of insurrection and in "having [Blake] rested without the fear of detection".[600] Blake's short sojourn in the swamps of Virginia functions to point to the Black agency in the South wherever white oppression fails at establishing territorial order. This agency performs its own spatialization practices. The Swamp becomes simultaneously a memorial of the Southampton Insurrection by the mention of Nat Turner's name and of the Haitian Revolution by an association created through maroon communities. Hence, this sojourn serves in the novel to "reimagine the geography of maroon dispersion precisely as that of an army awaiting mobilization".[601]

Blake's excursion in the South thus displays the region, besides all the cruelty and oppression that slavery and racism cause, mainly as a space of clandestine organizations formed by different groups of oppressed people ready to mutiny. In all the quarters of Southern plantations he stops by, Blake finds a group of enslaved people who are readily awaiting the arrival of a word of insurrection. The ripeness of conditions and keenness of people do not remain limited to the South. Once Henry Blake leaves the mainland and arrives in Cuba, this enthusiasm extends to the island where the protagonist is met with increased support. The exceptional spatial literacy of Blake, too, follows the protagonist to Cuba. Tying Henry's past to this Caribbean isle as the land of his birth and youth from which he was abducted, the narrative grants Henry not only with spatial but also linguistic and cultural familiarity on the isle. The involuntary mobility of Black bodies not only gives Henry various skills that the narrative portrays as profitable for insurrection or the spectre thereof. The enslaved people that Blake meets while searching for his wife and later during the secret meetings to form an "Army of Emancipation" in Cuba are also equipped with various skills: An enslaved native African family is depicted to speak English, French Creole, and Spanish beside their native tongue, having been

600 Delany, *Blake* (2017), pp. 113–114.
601 Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies*, p. 8.

sold to plantations in various regions in the New World. Mendi and Abyssa – two Africans captured to be sold by the crew of the slaver Vulture – are similarly portrayed as gifted with skills that are valuable against the white exploiters. Abyssa, in several instances, is called a highly intelligent woman. She almost functions as a preacher during the meetings. Mendi, on the other hand, is "expected to be a powerful accession to their forces, as, being a native chief, he would meet with many of his race whose language he understood, and was thereby better suited to them than many others among them."[602]

Hence, the narrative inhabits the island with highly cosmopolitan and talented people of colour whose skills and capabilities are partially by-products of the forced migration to which the Transatlantic slave economy exposes them. That is, of course, not to mean that people of colour are *cultivated* through the *benevolently* racist actions of the white exploiters, or their skills are fruits of the imperialist "white man's burden".[603] Instead, what Delany so brilliantly illustrates through these remarkably intelligent and talented characters is the myopia of the slave exploiters that disregards the people of colour as actors with agency to utilize and manipulate the conditions created by the slave economy to their own benefit. Forced migration, hence, becomes in Delany's novel almost a 'chance' to learn ways of communicating across different diasporic groups of oppressed people and to improve spatial literacy. This literacy, in turn, helps them not only to the escape from bondage but also to form various networks of resistance.

These networks stretch further once Blake leaves Cuba on the *Vulture* for the Gulf of Guinea. Madera highlights the role of antebellum Transatlantic transportation in forming "potential networks for slaveholding solidarity and hemispheric expansionism".[604] The novel's employment of this movement, however, works to upset this potential and counter it by expanding the hemispheric network among the oppressed that it has been establishing through Blake's travels in the New World. Interestingly, however, before Blake sails to Africa, the narrative reveals Blake's past involvement in the Transatlantic slave trade both during his conversation with Placido and his job interview with Castello. The conversation between Placido and Blake also ties Blake implicitly to a slaveholding Black father – "wealthy black tobacco, cigar, and snuff manufacturer".[605] Clymer underlines Blake's passivity in the face of enslavement

602 Delany, *Blake* (2017), pp. 224–240.

603 R. Kipling, "The White Man's Burden", in *Rudyard Kipling's Verse, Inclusive Edition*, Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1922, https://www.bartleby.com/364/169.html (accessed 5 October 2020).

604 Madera, *Black Atlas*, p. 143.

605 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 195.

"until he himself was also seized and sold into slavery".[606] Considering the centrality of Blake's knowhow in the narrative, his past participation in the Transatlantic slave trade seem to function in a way to grant Blake further capacities. Indeed, Blake tells his cousin Placido, "I [. . .] have served the hardest apprenticeship at the business [. . .]; I have gone through all the grades, from common seaman to first mate; [. . .] no white men manage vessel in the African waters, that being entirely given up to blacks."[607] Hence, declaring the maritime knowledge on "the African waters" Black, the narrative displays both the vulnerability of white slave exploiters and their dependence on not only Black labour but also Black knowledge. More importantly, the novel claims the West African coast and Middle Passage as spaces belonging to people of African descent.

The Transatlantic trip serves multiple functions in the novel. Firstly, the novel demonstrates the affinity "among enslaved and free Africans in the Western Hemisphere that traditionally have been elided by a myopic U.S. focus in accounts of African American culture", illustrating the Atlantic setting as a space of Black culture.[608] Through this affinity, the narrative carries the "specter of insurrection" from the Americas to the Gulf of Guinea imagining a large space of resistance. Besides Blake's own efforts to confer with people who are "opposed to the king" (whose involvement in the enslavement of people are mentioned in the novel), the narrative also includes a brief story of little Angelina, the daughter of a Portuguese slave merchant and a native African woman. Angelina, upon discovering the barracoons[609] and her father's involvement in the trade, falls sick with despair. Once her father promises to stop "trafficking in human beings", she miraculously heals.[610] Through little Angelina,[611] the narrative demonstrates "what happened in the [New World] mattered to blacks in Africa", as "the abduction and sale of

606 Clymer, "Martin Delany's Blake", p. 722.

607 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 196.

608 Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies*, pp. 1–2.

609 Barracoons refer to the cells where the enslaved were kept before they boarded vessels to be sold in the Americas.

610 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 196.

611 Many scholars have acknowledged Delany's employment of the character Angelina as a response to Little Eva of Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Little Eva has also inspired both anti- and pro-slavery responses including a children's book by Philip J. Cozans titled *Little Eva: The Flower of the South*. However, at least as remarkable is the resemblance that little Angelina's story poses to tragic mulatto stories, including the one of Livermore's *Zoë*. Although the never first-handedly experience slavery, both Livermore's Zoë and Delany's Angelina emotionally and physically suffer from the misfortune of their race. See Cozans, *Little Eva*; Livermore, *Zoë*; Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Maggie do underscore that what happened in Cuba mattered to blacks in the United States".[612]

Having recruited sympathizers for his cause in Dahomey and, hence, spread the "specter of conspiracy"[613] to Africa, Blake heads back to the southernmost point of the US. Even though his initial plans in taking a job on the *Vulture* is to capture the vessel by provoking a riot among people of colour on board, this plan is never realized. Although there is an atmosphere of riot with Black sailors singing revolutionary marches about dethroning slaveholding tyrants, Blake holds an indifferent stance despite the readiness of circumstances for his plans. His calmness during the turmoil initially puzzles the reader. Yet, once Biggio's argument that the narrative's main purpose is not to initiate a real rebellion but to achieve emancipation by spreading an immediate fear thereof among the slaveholders is remembered, Blake's rationale becomes clear. By the time the enslaved sailors sing their first song on emancipation on board, Blake goal is achieved: The white slave-exploiters on the *Vulture* are afraid of rebellion and have become reluctant to continue their enterprise in the future. Blake's non-intervention serves further purposes. Benefiting from the storm and the British cruisers' chase which forces the vessel to embark in Cuba, Blake reduces the profit of the slave-merchants' enterprise considerably by informing the market about the "mutinous spirit of the captives". This is bad news not only for those profiting from this particular enterprise but also for white people on the island in general, as it triggers the fears of Africanization and insurrection among the white Cubans. This fear is incited even further once Blake and Placido arrange the purchase of captivated Africans by the sympathizers of their cause who, benefiting from the reduced market value, ensure the "entire cargo of captives [. . .] [to go] directly into Black families or their friends".[614] Hence, although Blake does not capture the vessel, his plan to recruit more people to his insurrection schemes is nonetheless realized.

The last 20 available chapters of the novel henceforth are set in Cuba, where Blake and Placido take advantage of the spatio-temporal fluctuations created by festivities like the National Gala Day. While the 'entertainments' during this national day are gruesome for Black people ("the sport of the chase, which consisted in training the bloodhounds exhibited on the parade ground. This sport is such that in the training the slave is sometimes caught and badly lacerated"), the narrative nonetheless describes the atmosphere among the

612 Madera, *Black Atlas*, p. 142.
613 Biggio, "The Specter of Conspiracy", p. 439.
614 Delany, *Blake* (2017), pp. 239–240.

people of colour as one of "unison and sympathy" arisen in the face of the horrid scenes. The military parade, which otherwise is a display for "intimidating the negros from action", becomes a spectacle for the united people of colour "to learn something of the character of the soldiers that might be brought against them". Finally, when the troops retreat and the Captain General goes to his palace with the nobles of the isle, the narrative, using the opportunity created by the decreased surveillance, gather many free and enslaved people of colour at the home of "wealthy mulatto merchant" to hold a "Grand Council" and form "the Army of Emancipation".[615]

Here it is pivotal to open a parenthesis and take a break from the discussion on the functions of festivities in the narrative, only to turn back to it in promptly, in order to briefly comment on the demographic composition of Blake's followers and Delany's Ethiopianist ideas. Delany's pan-Africanist ideas, reflected also in his Black nationalism, were without doubt influenced by Ethiopianism, a sociopolitical and religious belief in the unity of all people of African descent.[616] While Delany's other works including *The Origin and Objects of Ancient Freemasonry* (1853) and *Principia of Ethnology* (1879) reveal his ideas on Ethiopianism in more detail,[617] *Blake*, too, reflects his pan-African pride "in blacks' historical, cultural, and racial ties to Africa".[618] The constituents of the narrative's "Grand Council" as well as the discussions during the meetings reveal that Delany's vision of the Black nation includes people of African descent of all classes and religions and "constitute something like a rainbow army for the emancipation of the oppressed men and women of the new world."[619]

Coming back to the festivities: These occasions serve another purpose in the narrative besides the appropriation of the spatio-temporal order of the white Spanish rule by people of colour. Later during the night at Captain General's palace, the gathering among people of colour is discovered once the host realizes the absence of some servants and questions the others. This

615 Ibid., pp. 246–258.

616 The advertence to Ethiopia is a biblical reference to Psalm 68:31: "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Psalm 68:31, *The King James 2000 Bible*.

617 M. R. Delany, *The Origin and Objects of Ancient Freemasonry, Its Introduction into the United States, and Legitimacy among Colored Men: A Treatise Delivered before St. Cyprian Lodge, No. 13, June 24th, A.D. 1853, A.L. 5853*, Pittsburgh, 1853, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044044500445 (accessed 30 September 2020); M. R. Delany, *Principia of Ethnology: The Origin of Races and Color, with an Archeological Compendium of Ethiopian and Egyptian Civilization, from Years of Careful Examination and Enquiry*, Philadelphia, 1879, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.30000065070009 (accessed 30 September 2020).

618 Levine, *Martin R. Delany*, p. 317.

619 Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*, pp. 28–29.

information arouses discomfort among the white rulers of the island, raising suspicions regarding "a scheme of general insurrection". Dismissed by the Captain General, this event is followed by a report on "an unsuccessful attempt [. . .] at insurrection" involving the murder of one white person and injury of three others.[620] The last drop that leads the Captain General to declare martial law in Havana, however, is a report that the narrative prefers to leave unclarified. Still, by the mention of the involvement of the British Consul[621] in the schemes, the narrative recalls the memory of *La Escalera* that it already revokes through the semi-fictional character of Placido.

Nevertheless, from the Gala Day to the King's Day, while the island seems to be laden with various reports of possible schemes of slave revolts, the tension especially on the side of the Captain General does not appear to be too high. The narrator intervenes to the plot to explain the calmness of the general on a footnote: "So frequent were these complaints to the Captain General that he often gave them a summary dismissal." However, his calmness is disturbed on the King's Day in the face of a bigger threat with the arrival of the news about the US filibusters' schemes to annex the island. The "telescopic" use of temporality of the novel, hence, deems the memory of *La Escalera* of 1844 even more meaningful by making it anachronically coincide with López's filibustering expeditions in 1849 and 1851.[622] The dreaded possibility of a slave revolt, at this point, proves instrumental for the Spanish rule in demonstrating that "the Spanish government in the event of a loss of the island, [would indeed] prefer a Negro to a white [that is, a Creole] dominion" as Captain Garcia asserts.[623] This utilization of Black capacity to rise by the white Spanish government is explained by the narrative quoting an anonymous journalist portraying the King's Day events:

> In 1849, Roncall,[624] the Captain General then in power, took advantage of the Dia de los Reyes to give the creoles of Cuba a significant hint of what they might expect from the

620 Delany, *Blake* (2017), pp. 267–278.

621 The British consul that Delany refers to in *Blake* is the British abolitionist David Turnbull, who was convicted by the Spanish authorities of triggering the conspiracy known as *La Escalera*. For a more detailed account of Turnbull's involvement in the conspiracy, see Paquette, *Sugar Is Made with Blood*.

622 Delany, *Blake* (2017), pp. 298–306.

623 Ibid., p. 188.

624 Raúl Eduardo Chao write in a brief entry on Roncalli: "Federico Roncalli Ceruti, Count of Alloy, [. . .] served as the Captain General of Cuba (1848–1850) and organized the Volunteer Corps of Cuba (Cuerpo de Voluntarios en Cuba) in 1850 for the first time. The volunteers, whose number reached more than 80,000 during the colonial era, were the backbone of the fundamentalism and political movement that supported the idea that regarded Cuba as an

> government if they gave any alarming degree of aid to the revolutionary operations of General Lopez. He prolonged for three days the privilege of the day to the Lucumis, the most warlike of the tribes of African slave in Cuba. The hint was well understood, and many a creole family shuddered and trembled within doors at the fearful illustration thus exhibited under their eyes of the standing threat that Cuba must be Spanish or African.[625]

While the novel reveals the inner conflicts garrisoning the island's white order, it also evokes an image of an African Cuba triggering the feared spectre. Not only the festivities create opportunities for people of colour in the narrative to appropriate the spatio-temporal order but these opportunities, acknowledged by the white regime of the island, also become capitalized in terms of regaining the order. This, however, does not serve to dishearten the cause that Blake builds throughout the narrative. Instead, the narrative uses the anonymous journalist's voice to suggest that "it would be easy for the negroes to free themselves, or at least to make the streets of Havana run with blood, it they only knew their power."[626] A couple of pages later, a passage describes the fear with which the Cuban and Southern whites have to live:

> Of the two classes of these communities, the master and slave, the blacks have everything to hope for and nothing to fear, since let what may take place their redemption from bondage is inevitable. They must and will be free; whilst the whites have everything to fear and nothing to hope for, "God is just. and his justice will not sleep forever."[627]

Examples to the ways in which *Blake* in its fictional narrative appropriates the spatial structures of the slave economy both in and outside of the US can be

integral and indivisible part of Spain." ("Federico Roncalli Ceruti, Conde de Alloy, [. . .] fue Capitán General de Cuba [1848–1850] y fue el primer organizador del Cuerpo de Voluntarios en Cuba en 1850. Los voluntarios [. . .], que llegaron de sumar más de 80,000 durante la época colonial, fueron la espina dorsal del integrismo, la tendencia política que respaldaba el concepto de ser Cuba una parte integral a indivisible de España" [own translation]). Because the history of the Volunteer Corps in Cuba is not well known among English-speaking scholars, it remains unclear to us until when the volunteers remained active. However, based on this brief entry by Chao, there seems to have existed a very striking contrast between the spatial imaginations of the Cuban Volunteer Corps and the Young Americans and filibusters in the US. Trumbull White reflects on their continuing divergence of visions with regard to the Spanish-American War of 1898 mentioning the Corps as "the most aggravating and threatening of all influences against peace in Cuba". See R. E. Chao, *Rescatando a Martí*, Washington: Dupont Circle Edition, 2016, p. 48, https://books.google.de/books/about/Rescatando_a_Mart%C3%95.html?id=VoczDAAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y (accessed 30 September 2020); T. White, *Pictorial History of Our War with Spain*, Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2018, p. 104.

625 Delany, *Blake* (2017), p. 301.

626 Ibid., p. 301.

627 Ibid., p. 305.

multiplied. S. LeMenager, for instance, highlights the role of the river transportation on the Mississippi in Henry Blake's travels in the South "to reverse the dispersion of black Americans effected by the domestic and international slave trade".[628] This scene also demonstrates how *Blake* employs its thorough understanding of the class structure within the white South in order to benefit from Mississippi transportation.

These are just a few among so many examples that illustrate the ways that Delany in *Blake* observes how a possible insurrection scheme may appropriate the spatial conditions created by white oppressors to fight against them. Considered alongside the spatialization of the slave economy in the novel, the spatial appropriation by the Blacks in the novel all serve the same end: raising a spectre of slave insurrection. Biggio's thorough reading of the novel displays this "specter of conspiracy" as "the foundation for an autonomous black nation sustainable beyond emancipation and beyond any one instance, however grand, of revolutionary violence."[629] Attention to spatialization practices taking place in the narrative helps to unearth how the establishment of this united Black nation benefits from the spatial structures of racist economic order already connecting the Transatlantic and Circumcaribbean world by capitalizing this order's internal conflicts and weakness in order to establish its own space. Through Black space-making practices, the narrative reimagines what appears to be a space of oppression in the first plotline of the narrative as a space of revolution in the second.

From a Space of Oppression to a Space of Revolution

Blake: or; The Huts of America: A Tale of the Mississippi Valley, the Southern United States, and Cuba encompasses all the regions and locales that its full title captures and situates them in complex webs within a hemispheric and Transatlantic space. This space does not only circumference the immediate neighbours of the antebellum South; integrating the Transatlantic slave trade in a rather central position in its mapping of the spatial order of the slave economy, it reaches beyond the Atlantic and connects the New World to the Old through economic, political, and personal relations. In its two interwoven plotlines, *Blake* maps two coinciding but opposing spatial structures. First, it traces

628 S. LeMenager, "Marginal Landscapes: Revolutionary Abolitionists and Environmental Imagination", *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies* 7 (2005), 1, p. 53.
629 Biggio, "The Specter of Conspiracy", p. 441.

the spatial order constructed by white slave exploiters' economic interests in the continuance of slavery in the Americas. Within the racist and exploitive spatial order that the narrative depicts the common commercial interest among the whites to establish, the distinction between the North and the South of the US loses its significance. Such regionalisms cease to exist in the spatial imagination of the narrative, and the Northern and Southern regions of the US become a whole in their enterprises within the slave economy. Similarly, the national borders that separate the US from its Caribbean neighbours, particularly Cuba, where slavery is still legal in the temporal setting of the narrative, seem to lose relevance in this spatial order. Both Northern and Southern whites of the US are portrayed to maintain control over Cuban plantations, and therefore, are highly interested and invested in the island's political affairs. Filibusterism among white US Americans persists throughout the narrative as a ghost theme, reinforcing the notion that national borders within the spatial order of the slave economy remain futile as long as the continuance of slavery is at stake. Their common economic interest brings *Blake*'s white characters from the North, the South, and Cuba together on a slaver vessel in the Middle Passage extending the reach of their spatial order beyond the Atlantic to the coast of Guinea, once again rendering the spatial format of the nation state less significant in the spatial order of the slave economy.

However, this spatial order that unites the slave exploiters of several locales all at once in a common politico-economic network does not appear in Delany's radical abolitionist novel as a source of desperation for the anti-slavery movement. Instead, the narrative characterizes this dominant spatial order as one that is condemned to collapse. Portrayed as laden with conflict among different actors with different spatial agendas to ensure the continuance of slavery and threatened by the abolitionist waves, the spatial order that the slave exploiters built appears instable in the narrative. This unsteadiness is reinforced by the narrative's employment of the possibility of slave insurrection and Africanization of the slaveholding regions as factors that create fear among slaveholders. Hence, the narrative does not only diminish the control of slaveholders over their own spatial order. It also highlights the idea that the places involved in the slave economy, be it the US North, the US South, or the Caribbean, are only parts of a large spatial structure where the fear of insurrection is both constant and common among exploiters. This idea presents the national and regional distinctions as arbitrary and less important spatial configurations within this structure.

Instead, a more tangible distinction is drawn between colour lines within this spatial order. In the second concurrent plotline, the narrative demonstrates the efforts of people of colour to transform the spatial order of the slave economy

from within, tracing its protagonist Blake through his travels first in the South, then in the North, Canada, the Caribbean, and the coast of Guinea. Blake's personal skills, his fast and confident mobility through the spaces of racial exploitation, oppression, and surveillance, as well as the enthusiasm and alertness of various oppressed groups for insurrection contribute to a portrayal of the spatial order the of slave economy as vulnerable. This plotline takes creating a "specter of conspiracy" rather than the realization of an insurrection as the main purpose of the narrative[630] and uses this spectre, on the one hand, to create fear of insurrection among slave exploiters and, on the other hand, a unity among people of colour across regions with a sense of common purpose for emancipation. The new language of space allows for a reading of this fictional attempt to form a unified international Black nation as a practice of spatial (re)configuration. The spectre of insurrection and a possible united community among people of colour are both established through the appropriation of spatial and temporal structures of the exploitative spatial order imagined in the first plotline. The very structures of control and exploitation imposed upon people of colour within this spatial order are shown to be employed by the narrative to fight against the order itself.

Hence, I suggest that *Blake* imagines two colliding Souths: A South that is in alliance with the North and located in a large Circumcaribbean and Transatlantic spatial order of the slave economy, within which the spatial formats of the nation state and region seem to lose their precedence, and another South that is located in the desired spatial order of a Black nation emerging from the appropriation of the spatio-temporal structures created by the previous order. The large geography over which, as Delany observes, of the slave economy's spatial order expands does not appear in the novel as an obstacle before emancipation. Instead, the spatial reconfiguration in the narrative entails this entire geography as a whole. While these two orders occupy the same physical spaces, they point to different aspirations and political imaginations. The narrative's aspiration of a united Black nation (re)imagines the space of oppression as a space of revolution.

It should, however, be noted that the spatial imagination in *Blake*, while part of an emancipatory narrative, is not free of its imperialist biases. Very much like other spatial inspirations of Delany, *Blake*'s reconfiguration of space, too, "is ultimately interested in what we could call another brand of filibustering" in its concern in "the appropriation of the territory owned by the natives"

630 Ibid., pp. 439–454.

in search for a space for the Black nation.[631] In this sense, it can also be argued that while standing in opposition to the colonialist expansionism both of more canonical spatial metanarratives and of slavocrat spatial imaginations, *Blake* still emerges as a narrative informed by the spatio-political discourse of ante-bellum US expansionism and nineteenth-century imperialism.

631 Lowe, Calypso Magnolia, n.p.

Conclusion: Bringing Spatial Imaginations Together

The year 2019, when I was still writing this book, marked the 400th anniversary of the arrival of the first slaver vessel, *White Lion*, carrying some 20 enslaved Africans on an August day to the English colony of Virginia, changing the course of the history in the Americas. Surely, slavery had existed in the Americas before both the European colonization and the arrival of the *White Lion* to Virginia. Native Americans had enslaved people before the arrival of Europeans, as they did after the introduction of race-based slavery in the Americas. They were also subjected to slavery themselves by Europeans.[632] European colonization had also brought to the Americas its own distinctive versions of slavery, such as indentured servitude. And undoubtedly, the 20 enslaved people disembarking the *White Lion* on the Virginia coast that August day of 1619 were not the first African people to set foot on the North American continent. Both free and enslaved Africans were already living in the colonies before this date. What characterizes 1619, if not any earlier date, as a decisive moment in global history was its precedent-setting quality for the race-based slave economy in North America.

The new race-based slave economy which dates back to 1619 shaped space-making practices in the Americas for a long time. Its impact was felt especially extensively and agonizingly in the antebellum US South, leaving enduring traces behind and resulting in manifold cognitive and material space making-practices. The roots of how the South is understood, represented, and imagined today rest primarily in the antebellum period when it was more than anything else the region's ties with and involvement in the slave economy that determined the region's position not only within the US but also in the world. The image of the South as a culturally and politically distinct region within the US began to take shape mostly during the antebellum period. It was during this period that the Mason-Dixon Line began signalling more than a cartographic demarcation. It is true that the long postbellum years served to solidify the most adamant stereotypes about the South following the positioning of the region on the losing side of the Civil War. Yet, it was the pre-war decades during which the stereotypical images about the South that began to be negatively associated with slaveholding and tropicality gained a rising circulation with the

632 To read more on the topic of Native Americans and slavery, see A. H. Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992; B. Krauthamer, *Black Slaves, Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation, and Citizenship in the Native American South*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

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abolitionist sentiments and politics increasing both within and outside the region.

Risking oversimplification, one can suggest that the long nineteenth century in the world was largely characterized by accelerated processes of globalization, which resulted in a growth in global, transnational, and transregional spatial practices. In the case of the US, these practices were coupled with the national consolidation processes accompanied by the imperial expansionist movements, marking the antebellum era as a period of transition. Added to these processes, the South of the country was experiencing the (re)spatializing impacts of the slave economy under the increasing abolitionist waves of the era, which made the region a particularly transitional setting. Such transitional settings are often sites of increases in spatialization practices accompanied by proliferations in spatial semantics and imaginations. Therefore, it is no wonder that it was during the immediately pre-war decades, the image of the South as slaveholding region that is simultaneously internal and external to the United States gained its deep anchoring both within and outside the country.

During this era, the South's slaveholding class pursued fervent ideological battles to protect the source of their livelihood, whereas the enslaved and otherwise oppressed African-American populations of the region, alongside with their hemispheric as well as Transatlantic allies, sought to put an end to this oppressive economic system. The slave economy and contestations to it (re)spatialized the region, generating both material and cognitive outputs. Therefore, the antebellum era signals an epoch of (re)positioning and (re)spatialization for the South, allowing for countless spatial (re)imaginations within or outside of diverse networks, entanglements, and orders. This becomes especially clear once the Southern slave economy's entanglements with the nation's imperial expansions, the industrial production in the rest of the country, international commerce, and other slave economies outside the nation, on the one hand, and the reach of abolitionist networks in the Circumcaribbean and the Transatlantic, on the other, are taken into account.

My main objective in writing *Imagining Southern Spaces* has been to lay bare the multitude of diverse antebellum spatial imaginations about the South through representative examples in order to underline the relevance of these imaginations not only in particular and restricted settings within which they were produced but also in larger national, transregional, transnational, and global contexts. Two newly-developed concepts of space have guided me in the textual analyses: spatial formats and spatial orders. Both referring to the products of spatialization processes, these concepts respectively denote the routinized, performed, and institutionalized ideal types of spatial configurations (such as, nation state, empire, region etc.) and the less abstract and more

stabilized spatial configurations resulting from counteractions, coexistences, and even codependencies among spatial formats (such as networks). Transitional settings such as the antebellum South that are marked by long-lasting spatial ambiguities lead to (re)negotiations and (re)interpretations of spatial formats and orders. The compelling case that the antebellum era as a transitional setting allows for investigations of the conceptualizations and solidifications of as well as challenges to such products of spatialization processes in the spatial imaginations of various actors.

Being cognitive products, spatial imaginations pose a methodological challenge for researchers as abstract, intangible, and, thus, hard to pinpoint mental constructs. Literary texts as a repertoire fix such mental images that are otherwise hard to identify due to their cognitive nature. That is, literary texts stabilize imaginations, functioning as platforms where legitimizations and negotiations of as well as challenges to existing and emerging spatial configurations can be observed. Therefore, close reading of literary texts provides a method through which we can access to the ways in which spaces are intellectually and cognitively constructed and negotiated through the spatial imaginations produced in their narratives. Fictional and non-fictional texts by W. Gilmore Simms, Lucy Holcombe, William Wells Brown, Elizabeth D. Livermore, and Martin R. Delany, envisioning different regional, national, hemispheric, and Transatlantic identities and communities according to the ideological convictions of their authors regarding the future of slavery both in the region and its surroundings have offered the examples though which I have pointed out the diversity of spatial imaginations about the region in order to overcome monolithic representations of the region. The spatial imaginations in these texts pose intertextualities with each other, address not only the dominant but also the alternative spatialization patterns of the era, and respond and even contribute to different globalization processes that characterize the long nineteenth century in general.

Most iconic man of letters in the antebellum US South and the best-known *Southern belle* of the Confederacy: In examining the spatial imaginations emerging out of the Southern efforts to maintain the region as a slaveholding society, I have focused on texts penned by W. G. Simms and L. Holcombe.

Having been pigeonholed as a quintessential antebellum Southerner, Simms has often been regarded to have shifted his allegiance from unionism to sectionalism with the increasing sectional tension in the antebellum US. I have put this reductionist reading of Simms's pre-war secessionism under scrutiny by concentrating on the multidimensional yet coherent spatial imagination generated in his antebellum literature, the multifacetedness of which has often been interpreted as an evidence to the disjunction in the author's ideology. Instead, focusing on spatial orders and formats in my analysis, I have revealed that it was in

the South, which Simms formulated not simply as a distinct region within a nation state of the USA but as a having its own distinct Southern nation, where Simms's first and foremost loyalty and patriotism laid. This sectionalist patriotism is available virtually in all of Simms's texts and a constant in his political philosophy. Within this philosophy, the United States is understood not as a nation state but as a multinational confederation of many equal yet distinct states and regions united to politically, financially, and militarily to protect each other. However, Simms felt that the de facto spatial format of the US did not actually correspond to the format of confederation. The increasing sectional tension in the country led him to believe that the Union as it existed failed to protect the South. Accordingly, I have argued, Simms followed the principles of his unwavering sectionalist patriotism in adopting a secessionist tenor. It was not so much a shift in Simms's ideology but a continuity of his regionalist sentiment that led to the separatist rhetoric in his immediately pre-war texts, such as *Southward Ho!* The recognition of the author's preference for the format of confederation has allowed me to examine the significant impact of this preference in his prominent expansionism, which was also influenced by his racist vision of social hierarchy, his understanding of the frontier as a danger to Anglo-Saxon morals, and his desire to protect slavery. Read through the lenses of the new spatial semantics, it becomes clear that Simms imagined an American Hemisphere that was in its entirety under Anglo-Saxon control. Whereas different regions of Simms's Anglo-Saxon American Hemisphere could possibly point to different national spaces just as the South as a distinct nation did, these nations would nonetheless coexist in harmony. This expansionism, although similar to Manifest Destiny as it is commonly understood, fundamentally diverges from it, in that Simms thought of it not in national terms and as an American but in racial terms and as an Anglo-Saxon racial destiny.

Similarly receiving a share of the postbellum categorisation of Southern advocates of secessionism and the Confederacy as unbendable mouthpieces of antebellum antagonism toward the North has been L. Holcombe. The fictional account of Narciso López's filibustering expedition to Cuba by Holcombe has so far been read in association with the author's later secessionism and support for the Confederate States, leading to an interpretation of the novel as an explicitly separatist and expansionist argument. Decontextualizing the novel from such later associations of its author and recontextualizing it within the body of antebellum women's fiction in the US, I have argued that, contrary to its rather established previous readings, *The Free Flag of Cuba* produces a unionist sentiment. This tenor is achieved in Holcombe's novel with a primarily domestic setting that accentuates the unshakable friendship between two young female protagonists from the North and the South. I have maintained that the narrative's

unionist tenor allows for a vindication of filibusterism on a sentimental, instead of political, level as a nationwide concern rather than a solely Southern issue and to depict López's expedition to Cuba as a *selfless patriotic* act to liberate a neighbouring land from an oppressive imperialist rule. Hence, the novel dismisses claims of economic or territorial revenue as motives for this military act, generating a non-annexationist vision of filibusterism. Unionism is also embedded in the novel's proslavery argument, which portrays slavery not strictly as an economic institution benefiting only the South but as a patriotic organization that *educates* and *civilizes* African-American people to serve the entire *white* US nation. This depiction of slavery as beneficial to the entire US points to an economic and socio-cultural contribution by the South through slavery and, thus, to a spatial imagination of the South as integral to the Union. This fresh perspective to *The Free Flag of Cuba* allows for a reading of the novel as one that imagines a non-expansionist and non-secessionist future for the South. In this spatial imagination, the South emerges as an inseparable part of the United States while still maintaining its slaveholding status. The narrative's vindication of the filibustering expedition to Cuba as a selfless, liberating, republican mission contributes to this imagination by implying that the continuation of the slave economy in the South would be politically and economically ensured by postcolonial slaveholding islands such as Cuba, which would act as satellite states of the US. Notwithstanding its attitude toward Cuba's annexation, the overall expansionist undertones of the novel should not be disregarded: Such undertones are readily available in the novel's repeated yet subtle references to the Mexican Secession or the California Gold Rush.

A brief comparison of Simms's and Holcombe's spatial imaginations unveils the multivocalism that prevailed among the slaveholding class of the antebellum South in the last decades before the Civil War. There exists a conspicuous disparity between the romantically unionist tenor of Holcombe's novel and the fervent secessionism of Simms's *Southward Ho!*, as well as between the former's restraining from explicit imperialist rhetoric and the latter's portrait of panoramic expansionism in the entire American Hemisphere. Once considered from the vantage point of any postbellum period until today from where the authors' aligning partisanships for the Confederate States can easily be observed, their divergent antebellum positions attest to an even deeper ideological, political, cultural and societal diversity among proslavery Southern actors in the pre-war era. Hence, what has often been reduced to a single and monolithic mind of the old, white South as secessionist, imperialistic, or as a national 'other' after the Reconstruction Era regains the diversity that it accommodated in the antebellum era with these spatial imaginations. These imaginations both respond to and diverge from the predominant visions about the region and ultimately produce their own distinct narratives

about it. Borrowing, reinterpreting, modifying, and confronting the spatial formats, orders, and narratives surrounding them, they do not only react to local but also global (re)spatialization processes, seeking to find and create a space for their desired futures in a changing world, producing unique visions that answer to commonly shared concerns of their region.

Against these proslavery spatial imaginations, I have brought together three texts with diverse emancipatory agendas and by three authors with different backgrounds: W. W. Brown, E. D. Livermore, and M. R. Delany.

Brown's *St. Domingo*: a lecture on the Haitian Revolution held by a fugitive from Kentucky who achieved considerable fame among the abolitionists both within and outside the US and penned the first novel to be written by an US African American. Produced in a European setting which provided its author with a new perspective on the ties between colonialism and slavery, Brown's speech primarily concerns the South of the US, even though on an immediately textual level it focuses on the Haitian Revolution as an anticolonial and emancipatory framework. *St. Domingo* draws a discursive map of the Transatlantic world, uniting the oppressed and enslaved people throughout the history with the legacies of the struggles against both European colonialism in the Americas, Asia, and Africa and against slavery. It builds a metaphor of harmonious relationship between enslaved people and nature whereupon cultivated by enslaved people of different geographies and eras (including Helots of ancient Sparta), nature protects them and helps to ensure their emancipation. In my reading of the speech, I have suggested that this relationship is utilized for building a rhetoric that claims a home for the enslaved people in the lands that they cultivate through their labour. *St. Domingo* sees a continuity in anti-slavery struggles as well anticolonial resistance all throughout history, be it in the Haiti, Greece, or the US independence wars. The speech hence imagines a space of resistance in the Circumatlantic, of which the US emerges as the barycentre with its yet unfulfilled revolutionary promise. In this sense, I have come to the conclusion that rather than engaging itself with dominant spatialization patterns such as expansionism, national consolidation or secessionism, *St. Domingo* challenges both domestic and international imperialistic spatialization tendencies by tying colonialism and slavery together and putting the South in a central position in the space of resistance that it imagines.

The scarcity of records about her and her literature in the achieves implicates that the Northern abolitionist author Livermore might not have enjoyed as large of an audience as Brown. However, similar to Brown's *St. Domingo*, Livermore's *Zoë* initially appears to have a spatial focus distant from the South as it centres around two Transatlantic journeys between St. Croix and Copenhagen. I have argued that the plot's spatial remoteness from the US context allows the novel to

grant its US readers with a critical distance to assess their country's wrongdoings through the examples that other settings offer. The Transatlantic setting provides a nationless space for the narrative that disassociates the characters from their national ties allowing them to engage in conversations which contribute to their intellectual development in a setting that the novel imagines as a space of freedom from racial, national, and gender prejudices. This portrayal of the Atlantic as nationless and hence favourable for intellectual development emerges as a sign of the narrative's disapprobation for the spatial format of nation state as a structure that fosters racism and discrimination. Turning especially its white characters into feminists and abolitionists in this space of freedom in the Atlantic, the novel establishes via the conversations between these characters the principles of a utopian future – a "Christian Republic" – which is to emerge in the US with the knowhow of the Caribbean on the abolition of slavery. The assignment of the US as the heart of this utopia yet only with the help of the Caribbean flattens the commonplace spatial hierarchy between the continent and the archipelago by changing the commonplace direction of the imagined pedagogical relationship between the two. The South, however, cannot escape its inferior status to the North even in this altered imagery, as the Caribbean knowledge is imagined to travel there not directly from the Caribbean but via the North. Hence, the novel reinforces some of the most conventional white abolitionist antebellum imagery of the South as a domestic other in need of intellectual guidance of the North.

And lastly, I have analysed a novel by the father of Black nationalism, Delany's *Blake*, for the unique abolitionist spatial imagination that it offers. I have demonstrated the two geographically coinciding yet socio-politically and culturally opposing spatial orders imagined in the novel to be configured by the actions of two opposing groups of actors in the Transatlantic world of slavery: Those who are invested in the slave economy vs. the enslaved and oppressed people of colour. The spatial order of the slave economy encompasses the South, the North, and the Caribbean archipelago, especially Cuba, all of which emerge in the narrative as equally participating in this economic system. I have established that with the imagination of the slave economy's spatial order, the novel diminishes the importance not only the national borders but also the imagined internal borders such as the Mason-Dixon Line. The same portrayal also disparages the significance of the spatial format of nation state within this spatio-economic order. I have shown that a second spatial order in the novel emerges through an appropriation of this expansive spatial order by Black people via the narrative's unfulfilled promise of a simultaneously organized insurrection in Cuba and the South. Concurrently portraying this spatial order as being (re)ordered by a Black (political) culture united through "the

specter of conspiracy",[633] *Blake* depicts the spatial order of the slave economy in the Circumatlantic as condemned to collapse simply because of the constant threat and fear of violent emancipatory rebellions. In this sense, I have concluded that the novel presents the spatial order of the slave economy in the Circumatlantic to demonstrate the potency of oppressed but united people of colour inhabiting this space. The South belongs to both spatial orders pointing to the different aspirations of opposing parties of the slave economy.

"African American literature shows that spaces of dissension are more than reactive, rhetorical gestures toward a real 'out there'. They are not just declamatory expressions against a backdrop of material history. Rather, they are fields of invention that mediate different worlds."[634] These remarks by Madera proves valid also for the non-African-American abolitionist literature of the era. The "out there" becomes the imaginative ground upon which utopian visions can gain material implications as Brown, Livermore, and Delany challenge, confiscate, de-construct and re-construct existing spatial formats and orders in their spatial imaginations and pose alternatives to dominants spatial metanarratives of the antebellum US.

One such format is definitely empire. The spatial imaginations both in Brown's *St. Domingo* and Livermore's *Zoë* are constructed through anti-imperialist discourses. While Brown's speech blends anticolonialist and abolitionist struggles as a single continuous movement in history that generates a space of resistance, an important part of Livermore's novel function as a criticism of racist and imperialist Young Americanist arguments. Yet, neither of these works replaces the format of empire with nation state. Like *Zoë*'s Christian Republic, Brown's space of resistance, too, is marked by either nationlessness or a harmonious coexistence of nations. In this, Delany's *Blake* joins them. While it argues for the creation of a Black nation united through a common political culture and goal, this Black nation is never imagined in terms of a homogenous national state. Instead, *Blake* often refers to the diversity of the backgrounds of its characters of colour who all together work for emancipation. Moreover, these texts repeatedly present an imagined futility of national borders. These borders become rather insignificant demarcations in the face of transnational commerce and financial profit as well strong abolitionist networks in the Circumcaribbean as well as the Circumatlantic. In this sense, these works challenge the dichotomy of spatial formats between empire and nation state that dominates the study of nineteenth century with the alternative spatial imaginations they offer. Situating

633 Biggio, "The Specter of Conspiracy".
634 Madera, *Black Atlas*, p. 142.

the South within these imaginations of complex spatial organizations whereupon the coexistence of races and nations and self-governance of people of colour are made possible, they signal a simultaneous familiarity and discontent with these formats, while seeking novel and alternative formulations.

The dissatisfaction and the desire to do away with existing spatial formats and orders that enable oppressive practices in the abolitionist spatial imaginations, unsurprisingly, distinguish these imaginations from proslavery ones in Holcombe and Simms's texts. By imagining either a USA surrounded by independent and slaveholding satellite states or an independent Southern confederation strong enough to stand against the new markets emerging in the globe, Holcombe and Simms react to the changing spatial orders in the world, whereupon the spatial orders and formats established in the late eighteenth and early to mid-nineteenth centuries are reimagined, restructured, or replaced by newly-emerging ones. Their answers to these changing orders, while reactionary in the sense that they seek to ensure the continuation existing structures, are also simultaneously informed by these spatio-structural changes. Besides a conformity with the remnants of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century conceptualizations of the dialectic between national and imperial formations, one also encounters a mid-nineteenth-century tendency of expanding these 'imperial nation states' to accommodate the increasing transnationalization of economic markets in their spatial imaginations. Holcombe's imagination of Cuba as post-colonial and semi-independent demonstrates an awareness of new forms of imperialist territorialization. Simms's vision of Southern confederation similarly implies an intellectual affinity with federalist notions materialized in the Europe of 1860s. In either case, however, what at first glance seem to be rather provincial narratives concerning only a limited region and its immediate neighbours become manifestations of cross-border spatial knowledge circulations. In this sense, although their conformity with the existing spatial configurations differentiates these proslavery visions from their abolitionist contemporaries, both sides share a tendency to reflect larger spatial knowledge circulations.

Another and very crucial commonality that I have observed in all abolitionist and proslavery spatial imaginations is the attention that they pay to various entanglements in the American Hemisphere. On the proslavery side, both Simms and Holcombe turn their faces to the southernmost rims of the US, to the Caribbean or to Texas and Mexico, with imperialist intentions as a solution to the vulnerabilities of the South in the face of what they regard as threats from the North and Europe. Both authors are aware of the changing spatio-financial and political orders in the world. Slavery is no longer a vital mode of production to meet the globe's need for raw material, with the colonies in Africa and Asia

providing cheap labour for the industrial markets in Europe, thereby forming new spatial orders and putting the spatial order established by the slaveholders in Americas in danger. In turn, Holcombe and Simms see opportunities in engaging in directly expansionist or politically/militarily interventionist imperialist enterprises in the southern American Hemisphere in their discursive attempts to safeguard the slave economy's continuance in the South. The dominant position that the hemispheric, especially the Circumcaribbean, context occupies in their imaginations indicate the role that the American Hemisphere played for many Southern proslavery actors seeking solutions to the problems that the slave economy faced in the antebellum period. On the abolitionist side, entanglements in the American Hemisphere provides an inspiration for the authors by setting an example with recent histories of emancipation in the British and French West Indies, as well as in Haiti, by providing a vehicle to intimidate slaveholders in the US through accounts of violent uprisings with which these settings were associated, or by offering possible destinations for the emigrationist visions as new homes for predominantly Black communities.

I have also observed a clearly more intense attentiveness to the Atlantic in the abolitionist spatial imaginations compared to the abolitionist spatial imaginations. In fact, the oceanic setting remains largely omitted except for some brief mentions without much in-depth consideration in the proslavery literature, notwithstanding various material and intellectual engagements many white US American actors in the antebellum era had with eastern side of the Atlantic, especially with Europe. In the abolitionist spatial imaginations of Brown, Livermore, and Delany, however, Trans- and Circumatlantic entanglements and spatial configurations emerge as central issues. These texts reveal the Transatlantic dimension of the order of the slave economy while also seeking an end to this order again in an Atlantic context. The Circumatlantic emerges in these spatial imaginations as a space that reveals the intertwining histories of colonialism and slavery, displays the contrast between post-abolitionist and slaveholding worlds in the two-opposite side of the ocean, or hosts a Black political culture, all serving to augment the texts' argument for the immediate abolition of slavery in the South. In this sense, these imaginations reveal the antebellum South's Atlantic orientation pointing to both to strategic significance of cross-oceanic entanglements for different (groups of) actors in the US and to historical connections of the country and the region within the Circumatlantic.

The attention that I have paid to the categorizations of the spatial format of the South as a region has, hence, allows for the identification of a series of imagined spatial orders that have determined the respective global positionings of the US as part of the Atlantic area and the Americas. Circumcaribbean, hemispheric,

or Transatlantic: No matter to which of these spatial contexts the texts refer, one common aspect in both the proslavery and abolitionist spatial imaginations is their positioning of the South in particular and the US in general within larger spatial configurations than many established spatial narratives about the US as a nation state and the US South as a region may suggest. That is, in responding to existing spatial entanglements or envisioning new ones, these antebellum spatial imaginations of the South position the region and, along with it, the US as a whole in the globe.

According to the convictions and arguments of the authors, these global (re)positionings varied enormously, implicating divergent imagined spatial formats and orders emerging as a result. In the spatial imaginations generated in the texts by Simms and Holcombe, these positionings point to territorial or ideological expansionisms, echoing similar undertones with (yet in certain aspects also divergent from) the more canonical spatial narratives about the antebellum South such as Turner's Frontier Thesis, Errand into the Wilderness, or Manifest Destiny and paving the way for the later implementations of the Monroe Doctrine as a pretence for the US interventionism in the Latin America. Besides their similarities with such canonical narratives, these slavocrat imaginations also entail and work with dominant and established spatial formats of region, nation state, empire, and sometimes even nation-state-cum-empire.

Diversely, in the abolitionist spatial imaginations, expansionism do not emerge as a compelling theme in the way hemispheric and Transatlantic entanglements are addressed. Rather, these imaginations locate the South in larger spatial contexts via abolitionist and anticolonialist networks or African-American heritages and solidarities. This, of course, does not mean that the abolitionist narratives are free from imperialist implications. Although their imperialist undertones may not be as blatantly obvious as in Simms's hemispheric territorial expansionism or Holcombe's liberating mission that spreads American democracy through military interventions, the abolitionist imaginations in their large disregard of native populations, spaces, and perspectives reinforce the imperialist 'empty lands' rhetoric that was dominant during the period. Moreover, unlike slavocrat imaginations where a conformity with established spatial formats and orders are detected, the abolitionist visions seek to diminish the hegemony of such spatial configurations which they observe to go hand in hand with the oppressive economic order against which they are fighting.

The focus on peripheries allows for a substantiation of the postulation that spaces which are regarded as peripheries from one perspective can point to the "gravitational field[s]" ("Gravitationsfeld") of other (marginalized, othered,

overlooked) spatial configurations.[635] This is certainly the case, for example, for the Caribbean – a spatial reference that is common to both proslavery and abolitionist spatial imaginations. An area that is often reduced to a rimland because of its colonized and partially non-continental status emerges in the spatial imaginations as a locus of aggravated attention in both safeguarding and fighting slavery. That is not to say that all these imaginations necessarily challenge continental perspectives and take archipelagic agencies and viewpoints into account. Although the focus on the Caribbean in the spatial imaginations carries the archipelago to non-peripheral positions, most of these imaginations – especially those emerging in the proslavery literature – nonetheless adopt a persistently continental imagery of the islands. Notwithstanding, all these spatial imaginations intentionally or unintentionally grant the Caribbean more central positions (as spaces of hope, legacy, revolution, territorial expansion, or ideological imperialism) as opposed to its commonly-assumed peripherality. These positionings of the Caribbean complicate the often-articulated spatial binary of centre-periphery.

The South itself, too, appears in most of these visions no longer in the peripheral position that it assumes in many prevalent narratives about the region (such as positive or negative depictions of Southern tropicality which have ever since the early colonial times served to mark the region as essentially different). This is observed at least in three cases. Firstly, the South is imagined as the centre of a slaveholding empire as well as its own national space with its own distinct nation in Simms's texts. This imagination disassociates the South from its marginalization in the US context. Secondly, in Holcombe's unionist imagination, the region is portrayed as an intrinsic part of a whole, that is, as integral and indispensable to an imagined white US nation. This tenor of integrality dismisses the notion that the slave economy marginalizes the region within the Union, by depicting slave labour as beneficial to the entire white US American nation. Lastly, in Delany's *Blake* the South's othered position vanishes within the spatial imagination that regards the US North as equally invested in the slave economy which otherwise serves to differentiate the South from the rest of the US. Even though these visions serve to weaken the binary of a peripheral South and a central North, not all of them function to turn the South into a "gravitational field". Only in Simms's spatial imagination, this is definitely the case. Although Simms is considered a quintessential regionalist, he reconceptualizes the South as a national space (as he pictures Southerners to form a distinct nation) and not as a region, therefore declaring the area its own cultural, political, social, and economic centre.

635 Pisarz-Ramirez and Wöll, *Periphere Räume*, p. 5.

These findings concurrently point to different aspects of spatialization processes in the antebellum US such as the cognitive and material space-making practices of the slave economy and abolitionist thought, the national consolidation practices, imperialist movements, and, most importantly, the positioning of the South within these diverse (imagined) processes. These findings altogether serve to prove two main arguments: Firstly, accordingly to the initial theoretical postulations of this book, transitional periods and spaces, such as the antebellum South among the multitude of different globalization processes circumscribing it, indeed emerge as sites of increases in (re)spatialization practices and an accompanying proliferation in spatial semantics. These spatial imaginations I have studied portray the antebellum era in the South as a period laden with processes of negotiations, contestations, and justifications of spatial configurations. Secondly, these spatial imaginations make plain the diversity that makes up the South as opposed to the region's common monolithic depictions. This finding aligns this book with the trajectory in US American and Southern studies that express the constructedness and plurality of the Souths against the essentialist otherings of the region and brings a new perspective to this understanding of the South with its immediate attention to spatialization processes and spatial imaginations. This distinctive focus does not only illustrate an even larger and more intricate mosaic of possible Souths by taking the imagined (as in non-realized) versions of the region into account but also via its considerations of space-making processes, complicating the already scrutinized demarcations of the South further.

Imagining Southern Spaces is inspired by many former works in American and Southern cultural and literary studies which have already paved the way in focusing on transnational, global, Circumatlantic, hemispheric, and inter-American entanglements. In specifically addressing spatiality over temporality, I have benefited from and advanced on preceding works by putting under scrutiny not only the overwhelmingly common approach that takes the US as "the default unit of intellectual engagement" in transnational contexts.[636] My findings indeed evidence for a reciprocity of intellectual as well as material interactions in the Circumatlantic and Circumcaribbean, which can be further explored with emphases on diverse aspects of these interactions during different epochs. Moreover, by treating spatial formats such as nation state, empire, and border not as solid, material realities but as cognitive abstractions of certain spatial configurations among many other possible formations, I have also questioned the validity and the nature of this "unit" as a spatial construct for diverging actors.

636 C. F. Levander and R. S. Levine, "Introduction", p. 400.

Offering a complete collection of antebellum spatial imaginations about the South would be, if not impossible, a herculean task however limited one may keep the scope. Neither the corpus of literary works analysed in *Imagining Southern Spaces* nor the visions generated by these five examples of the abolitionist and proslavery segments of the US society as case studies suffices to offer such an all-embracing catalogue. Despite their limitedness, however, the variety of spatial imaginations in the literary works that I have studied attests to the diversity that made up the antebellum South and stands in opposition to the common one-sided and stereotypical representations of the region. The scope of this diversity can be enlarged firstly by expanding on to temporal frames later antebellum period. Even though the pre-war decades provide this book with the necessary pinpointing of certain spatial imaginations as well as historical events and settings around which these imaginations were produced the conceptual as well as the material (re)construction of the South has continued ever since the antebellum era. There remains an abundance of such antebellum, bellum, and postbellum imaginations waiting to be discovered. Moreover, although the discussions on slavery and its abolition in the antebellum South were perhaps the most compelling factors that led to several concurrent mental and material spatialization processes, there were also other pressing issues marking this setting around which the commonplace images of the US have evolved. A more comprehensive understanding of spatialization processes in the transitional setting of the antebellum South can be achieved with further research that focuses on other central concerns marking this setting such as the Indian Removals or the continuing migrations from both within and outside of the Americas. Likewise, multilingual research focusing on non-English languages can increase our understanding of these spatialization processes.

In short, *Imagining Southern Spaces* is but a step forward in understanding the trajectory leading to deep anchoring of the commonplace image of a Southern United States ever since the colonial times by pointing to the diversity of imageries and imaginations which this monolithic image has replaced and caused to be erased from our memories. A diversity of antebellum imaginations in the US literature questioned not only the validity of the South as a peripheral region and this region's location in the USA as well as in the world, in often-conflicting and multifaceted ways. These imaginations also reconsidered and negotiated the formatting and ordering of spaces such as the US as whole, the American Hemisphere, or the Atlantic world, with which the South was put into various entanglements, in diverging fashions. It was out of this diversity that the image of a South as a region distinct and othered from the rest of the United States has emerged.

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