

Masculine and Feminine Identities of Slaves, *Patrocinados* and Freedmen in Cuba in the 1880s

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Abstract:

This article presents some of the results of a research project which compares the social processes following slave emancipation in Cuba and Martinique as part of a wider comparative project on post-slavery societies in the Caribbean and Africa. The article focuses on the research on Cuba from the abolition of slavery (1880-1886) until the beginning of the Independence War of 1895-1898. The text looks at the testimonies left by slaves, *patrocinados* (“apprentices”) and libertos (freedmen) during the process of emancipation, examining in particular how male and female identities were defined and transformed in this process of social transition. This research represents a form of archaeology, excavating discourses of subaltern(ised) men and women whose voices were long ignored in writing the history of nation states or colonial empires. “Making visible” the speech and the resisting agency of enslaved people, reconstructing the voices of the apparently voiceless means to decolonise writing on history in the tradition of the “history from below” and “subaltern studies.” This form of decoloniality has its limitations: only scattered fragments of the discourses of (former) enslaved people have survived in the archives, and thus it is impossible to reconstruct a complete version of their thought. The reader cannot gain more than a glimpse of what they did and spoke in a particular historical situation, but a mosaic of many voices gives an idea of the perspectives on the emancipation process Afro-Cuban people had.

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present article focuses on my research on Cuba in 2013. I look at the testimonies left by slaves, *patrocinados* and *libertos* on the process of emancipation, examining in particular how male and female identities were defined and transformed in this process of social transition.² This contribution differs from other studies focusing on women or gender which publish sources left by (former) slaves or quote extensively from them as it focuses on the period of *patronato* and post-emancipation, but not slavery itself, and refers to female *and* male perspectives.³ The complicated history of transition from slave labor to wage labor, the reconstitution of Afro-Cuban families and the reorganization of gender relations as well as the struggle of former slaves for full citizenship after formal emancipation within the process of Cuban Independence is often neglected in favor of separate histories of slavery and Cuban nation building. Not only with respect to Cuba but to Caribbean history in general, the post-emancipation period has attracted less attention than the era of slavery, which can be told as a complete history of horror with a presumed happy end, whereas post-emancipation history cannot be easily defined, and has not yet ended. Furthermore it is easier to find slaves in archival documents (who are simply named as such) than former slaves who have to be detected through their surnames, birthplaces and other indications. Moreover, the present study does not only rely on the much-quoted collections of the *Archivo Nacional de Cuba*, but also on documents from the *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid, and Cuban provincial and municipal archives in Matanzas, Guanabacoa and Colón.

This research represents a form of archaeology, excavating discourses of subaltern(ized) men and women whose voices were long ignored in writing the history of nation states or colonial empires. “Making visible” the speech and the resisting agency of the colonized, enslaved people of the past, reconstructing the voices of the apparently voiceless means to decolonize writing on history in the tradition of the “history from below” and “subaltern studies.”⁴ I practice this form of decoloniality in full awareness of the limitations of my work: only scattered fragments of the discourses of (formerly) enslaved people have survived in the archives, and – as most of them were illiterate – their demands were framed always by someone with experience in legal language. The reader cannot gain more than a glimpse of what they did and spoke in a particular situation and most documents leave open many

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questions. It is impossible to reconstruct a complete or unadjusted version of their thinking. Besides, those glimpses reveal many details of the thinking and the agency of people who were supposed to have been objects, not subjects of history, or “people without history”.⁵

The sources document the interrelations between formerly enslaved people and their descendants as well as between them and white masters, overseers and judges; white women are mostly absent.⁶ This is due to the fact that as a group they possessed a smaller number of slaves/*patrocinados* than men (although a minority owned many slaves and plantations). Furthermore, they did not work as administrators of *ingenios* (big sugar plantations and mills), nor could they be judges.

In analyzing the sources, I do not correct the words “negro” or “moreno” (black) and “pardo” or “mulato” (brown/colored), terms to which today we would prefer Afro-Cuban or Afro-descendant in order to avoid verbal discrimination. The people of the historical period under examination used these words in order to define a lower juridical and social status, to be differentiated from Don/ Doña, which referred to a white person without the taint of slavery. But there was an informal social hierarchy between a “pardo” (who had a higher status because of his partially “white” origin) and a “negro”/“moreno”, which cannot be collapsed into the same category. The social status of a “negro de nación” (“black of African nation”) or African person marked by its (presumed) ethnical origin “lucumí”, “congo”, “arará” etc. was still below a Cuban “moreno” (born on the island, “criollo”, Spanish speaking and “civilized” compared with the “wild” African).⁷

Historical Introduction

After 1791, Cuba took over Haiti’s economic role as global sugar producer and experienced a sugar boom in the nineteenth century. Sugar cane was planted in large plantations with sugar factories, using steam-powered sugar mills and railways to transport the sugar from the mid-19th century onwards. This industrialized form of sugar production was carried out primarily by slave workers of African origin.⁸ At least

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850,000 Africans, two thirds of them males, were transported to Cuba between 1780 and 1873.⁹ They were brought by Spanish, Portuguese and American slave traders. A large share of the profit generated by the slave trade ended up in Spain and financed this colonial power's late capitalist development and the modern urban constructions in Spain.¹⁰ Despite trafficking in slaves becoming illegal in 1817 and 1835 respectively, most of this activity was in fact smuggling with tacit support from Spanish authorities.¹¹ It ended only in 1873, when the Spanish government finally ceded to the pressure of Great Britain, the United States as well as the international and Spanish abolitionist movement.¹²

Cuban plantation life during the mass slavery of the nineteenth century had nothing in common with slave families living in small huts on small plantations as described in Harriet Beecher-Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which has influenced our picture of slave life so much. The slaves were locked up in big prison-like barracks. During the sugar harvest they worked twelve hours in the fields during the day and after that they spent half the night in the sugar mill. Under these conditions there could be no natural reproduction of the slave population, the death rate always being higher than the birth rate. While there were sugar plantations where slaves could live in nuclear families,¹³ the birth rate among slave women was low and infant mortality exceedingly high.¹⁴ Other *ingenios* were mere "rural prisons for men", where several hundred men, without a family, worked under the lash until they simply died of exhaustion.¹⁵ The claim of Paul Gilroy and Toni Morrison that African slaves were the first modern human beings, as they were first subjected to the uprooting and alienating processes of modernity in their American diasporas, is certainly applicable to the fate of Cuban slaves.¹⁶

The process of the abolition of slavery began in the 1860s on both sides of the Atlantic.¹⁷ In Spain, the Abolitionist Society was founded in 1865. From 1866 onwards, the *Junta informativa de Ultramar* prepared reforms in the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean.¹⁸ During the *Sexenio Democrático* between 1868 and 1874, a "Free Womb Law" was declared for Cuba (Ley Moret 1870).¹⁹ In 1869, during the Ten Years' War for the independence of the island (1868-1878), Cuban patriots declared the abolition of slavery (in the Constitution of Guaimaró), but forcibly recruited the ex-slaves for the *Ejército Libertador* (Liberation Army) and forced them

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to work under a *Reglamento de Libertos* (Rules for Freedmen) which was only a disguised form of slavery.²⁰ The high mortality rate among Afro-Cuban soldiers and helpers in the patriotic troops meant that the offer from Cuban nationalists to slaves was not *libertad o muerte* (freedom or death) but *libertad restringida y muerte* (restricted freedom and death). This is why some of them preferred to desert from the Cuban army as they did not want to die for the freedom of their former owners. But the majority stayed. The ex-slave soldiers had their freedom guaranteed by the peace treaty of Zanjón, which ended the Ten Years' War between the Cuban insurgents and the Spanish colonial power in 1878 with the capitulation of patriotic troops, but made some concessions to Cubans like amnesty and limited political rights. As Zanjón did not abolish slavery, many Afro-Cuban combatants continued the war against Spain in the *Guerra Chiquita* of 1879. Some of the slaves who had fought on the Spanish side were also freed, as the *Ley Moret* (the aforementioned Free Womb Law of 1870) had promised in a special clause.²¹ The military route to emancipation was closed to women; although many women fought with the patriots, they were not acknowledged as soldiers and veterans. Women had their own strategy for liberation: they bought their freedom and that of their children with the produce of their kitchen gardens on plantation land or with income from urban labor and after some time managed to buy a house and garden to maintain the family.²²

After the slave liberations during the war and with the *ingenios* of Oriente destroyed by the war, the days of slavery were numbered. Spanish and Afro-Cuban abolitionists launched a campaign to demand the immediate abolition of slavery. The majority of civil Afro-Cuban leaders and the military officers of the Ten Years' War, Antonio Maceo, Guillermon Moncada, Quintín Bandera, Policarpo Pineda and the famous Afro-Cuban journalist Juan Gualberto Gómez, were in favor of Cuban Independence.²³ But others, such as the abolitionist journalist Rodolfo Fernandez-Trava y Blanco de Lagardère and the members of the Pro-Spanish society "*Casino Español de Color*" (forgotten today as they do not fit in with Cuban nationalist discourse on the unity of the resistance against slavery and colonialism) put their hope in liberation by the Spanish Government.²⁴

On 13 February 1880, the Spanish Government decreed the *Ley de Patronato*, a labor system somewhere between slavery and freedom, albeit closer to

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slavery. The *patrocinados* received a small wage and could buy their freedom more easily than before. But if they left the plantation without permission they were hunted down with dogs as they had been previously.²⁵ On 7 October 1886, the *patronato* system was finally abolished.²⁶ During the following years a campaign by the *Directorio Central de las Sociedades de la Raza de Color* led the colonial government to forbid racist segregation in public spaces. In 1893, discriminatory designations such as *morenos* and *pardos* were prohibited, but this measure was not enforced in many cases.²⁷ As the land continued to belong to Spanish, white Cuban and North American landowners, the majority of Afro-Cuban men remained itinerant rural workers without land, wandering from plantation to plantation in order to get wages slightly higher than elsewhere. They were put up in the old slave barracks, often without the possibility of having their family with them. The sugar centrals, sugar factories surrounded by huge sugar cane fields, employed wage laborers and developed the share-cropping system called *colonato*, in which a farmer produced sugar cane on his own or rented land and sold it to the sugar central. This required some financial resources to start with, which is why most *colonos* (tenants/share croppers) were white farmers.²⁸ Most Afro-Cuban women left field work on the plantations. They worked in towns as washerwomen, domestic servants, seamstresses and street vendors. If they were able to, they bought a house and a small piece of land to produce food.²⁹

Cuban independence was achieved in the war of 1895–1898, but American intervention strengthened the racist and segregationist tendencies of the white Cuban elite and thus destroyed Afro-Cubans' hopes for a society based on racial equality.

“You Will Enable my Children to Obtain Justice“: Mothers’ Never-Ending Fight for the Freedom of Their Children

Here, I start with a testimony of formerly enslaved woman, a petition to the Cuban *Junta de Patronato*, a commission which decided on the complaints of *patrocinados* against the breaking of the *patronato* law by their masters, of which there were hundreds. The complaints of *patrocinados* followed a long tradition among

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manumitted slaves in Cuba, aiming to gain the freedom of family members and reunite families through petitions to the *Síndicos de Esclavos*, special judges who had decided over complaints of enslaved people.³⁰ My example demonstrates the particular, gender-specific argumentation of a female former slave and her definition of motherhood.

With this petition (which was written for her by Mateo de Cárdenas as she was illiterate), Beatriz Montes, already freed and living in Nueva Paz in Güines, tried to obtain the liberation of her children Pedro and Lucia, who were still *patrocinados* under the tutelage of their mother's former master, Don Gil Montes. Beatriz Montes argued that her children were not receiving the education which the law of *Patronato* prescribed for minors. This provision was often used as an argument by parents of minor *patrocinados* and by older minors themselves to obtain their emancipation. But the local Commissions of Nueva Paz and San Nicolás had not intervened in favor of the children.³¹ The petition in the mother's words: "Thus, your Excellency, they mock the wise decisions of the Government and insult the poor children who are humiliated and debased when they claim their rights. But, fortunately you, your Excellency, are very superior to the miserable dealers in human flesh and you will enable my children to obtain justice and to punish the abuses of these hapless functionaries." [my translation]³² Here, we hear a mother convinced that her children of both sexes have the right to freedom and education and that these rights have to be protected by an enlightened and paternalistic government. After a two-year correspondence, the *patrono* freed the children in 1885. As Camillia Cowling has shown, Beatriz Montes' struggle is representative: of 130 petitions in favor of the freedom of another person (not of the slave/*patrocinado* himself) submitted between 1870 and 1886 and kept in the *Miscelanea de Expedientes* collection of the Cuban National Archive, 81 % were filed by women.³³ This reflects the fact that the main responsibility for the family and children fell on women. The femininity constructed by the text focuses on the role of the responsible mother who speaks for her children, the father not being mentioned here.

“It Is a Consolation for a Father to See Himself Free”: Masculinity and the Role of the Father in a Family of Slaves/*Patrocinados*

The *patrocinado* Francisco Maruri/Marule, sixty-two years old, born in Africa, “de nación congo”, in 1884 petitioned the *Gobernador General* for his emancipation, which other *patrocinados* of the same master already had achieved on the basis of a provision of the law of *Patronato*, according to which persons older than sixty years had to be freed. However, we do not know if Francisco Marule achieved his aim. This rare document shows the reconstruction of fatherhood by a former slave against the idea of slavery as a fatherless society where the status of children was inherited by her mother and the master occupied the providing and punishing role of the father.³⁴ In practice, of course, masters were always fed by slaves, not vice versa, and slave mothers and/or fathers alimanted their children.

Francisco Marule wrote: “[...] I continue to drag the chain of slavery whereas they all have enjoyed their freedom, already for nearly two years now. And it is very painful for a father of a family such as I am, and already in old age, not to dispose of the product of my labor for maintaining my children, small as that may be, since my weak arms are tired from age and labor. At least, your Excellency, it is a consolation for a father to see himself free, and surrounded by his beloved family, and even more so for me whom destiny has for so long separated from it.” [my translation]³⁵

An African, presumably from a Bantu-speaking society in Central Africa, Francisco Marule appeals to the colonial authorities and argues according to patriarchal Christian gender role models.³⁶ He wants to be free, respected as a man, honored because of his age. He wants to play the role of the father and head of the family, who provides for his family, brings them the fruits of his labor and lives with them. He paints a picture of manhood marked by personal and economic autonomy, but also by his responsibility as the head of the family which itself is not referred to in detail. He does not mention the wife and mother as part of this family.

There is women’s and gender history on Cuban slavery, but not a men’s history which looks at them as sexual beings performing a particular concept of masculinity or fatherhood.³⁷ The role of Afro-Cuban men as fathers during and after slavery was also long underestimated in the research on slavery because in many

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cases they were not married to the mothers of their children.³⁸ Apart from a few exceptions made by some priests, they were not mentioned in baptismal records (the exceptions being cases where they had acknowledged their natural children born out of wedlock before baptism, which was only possible for freedmen). They were also omitted in plantation records. But they can be found in notarial acts of acknowledgement of their children after their own emancipation, in wills (which often demonstrated long-lasting social fatherhood without juridical acknowledgement) or as grandfathers in baptismal records.³⁹ And sometimes, especially when the mother was absent or dead, they acted on behalf of their children, for instance to get them exempted from the *patronato*.⁴⁰

“The Black Crescencia Criolla, Whom the Testatrix Has Brought Up Feeling Motherly Love”: Family Without Blood Ties

Former slaves without kin in Cuba created “substitute families” which can be found in testaments like that of Francisca Ferrer, “born in Africa, daughter of unknown parents”, sixty-six year-old unmarried homemaker. She left the usufruct of her fortune from the inheritance of Don Fermín Domínguez y Portela (the remainder of originally 2574 gold pesos), still in the hands of his brother Don Domingo Domínguez y Portela (we do not learn why she inherited from Don Fermín), and 590 banknote pesos that Don Manuel Miranda owed her, to the old and ill Josefa and the orphan Crescencia: “As she does not have ascendants nor descendants nor any relative and out of gratefulness for the services rendered before and now by the black Josefa de Nacion who has accompanied her for three years, she appoints and names the same black Josefa as heiress and beneficiary of all her properties, but under the condition that she has to keep by her side, to maintain, shoe, and clothe the black Crescencia criolla, whom the testatrix has brought up feeling motherly love.” [my translation] Josefa is to appoint as her heiresses the above-mentioned Crescencia and the goddaughter of the testatrix Francisca, the *parda* Petrona Cuervo, who lived with her mother. Thus, Petrona had not to be alimented by Josefa. Francisca Ferrer appointed Don Dacio González y González as guardian of Crescencia.⁴¹

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Here, we can see the self-created family of a woman who had been brought from Africa as a slave and whose status as slave had prevented her from marrying. She had found people who cared for her and she cared for an orphan and a goddaughter. Lamentably, the document does not tell us why Francisca Ferrer became so wealthy, but it is obvious that she had also been able to establish close relations with white people. Although the inheritance of former slaves normally was of lesser value, it was not rare that they (more often lone women than lone men) created a family-like network of mutual assistance and emotional ties and named members of “substitute” families as their heirs.⁴²

“He Decided to Seduce Said Colored Girl, So That She Would Live with Him”, Romeo and Juliet in Havana 1882, or: Love and Captivity

Love and sexuality between enslaved people have been imagined in novels of the 19th century, such as *Petrona y Rosalia* (1838) by Félix Tanco y Bosmeniel and *Francisco, el Ingenio o las Delicias del Campo* (1839) by Anselmo Suárez y Romero, but rarely have they been researched empirically until now.⁴³ The following case permits a glimpse on this topic: Hilario Morales, twenty-three years old, worked as a day laborer and cook, his actual work being to wash soldiers’ clothing. He was the son of Florentino Morales, “black, of free condition, creole”, and of Facunda Morales, “black creole, slave of the property of Don José Moreno Quintero”. His maternal grandparents were Nicolás Gangá and Justa Morales, his paternal grandparents Antonio Lucumí and Juana Carabalí. He kidnapped and seduced Asunción Bravo y Padrón, eighteen years of age, a colored free woman and daughter of the black unmarried washerwoman Concepción Padrón y Frías and of Don Mateo Bravo. With this act, he had committed an offence called *raptó* (kidnapping with the aim of having sexual relations) according to Spanish/Spanish-American law of the time. In his court testimony, Hilario Morales defended himself, arguing “as he had no money to marry and, moreover, needed the permission of his *patrono* (master, now called “patron”) because he was a slave, he decided to seduce said colored girl, so that she would live with him and thus they would be obliged to marry [...]” [my translation]⁴⁴

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Asunción Bravo admitted that she had fled voluntarily with Hilario Morales and had had sexual relations with him for a month. He had told her that he had no money to marry her and proposed that she go with him, that then they would marry, and thus they had agreed that Hilario would wait for her on the corner at eight o'clock at night. Then she had gone with him. And "when she lay with Hilario she was a virgin and the night of the escape the said Morales enjoyed her virginity." [my translation]⁴⁵ Hilario Morales was sentenced to pay a dowry to Asunción Bravo and to prison for one year, eight months and twenty-one days. But he was released – after having been kept under arrest for five months during the criminal trial – because Asunción Bravo officially pardoned him. We do not know whether Hilario Morales and Asunción Bravo eventually married. The harsh judgment was presumably due to the fact that Hilario Morales, a black *patrocinado*, had seduced a free colored minor and daughter of a Don, that is, a white man. Thus, he had transgressed the racial hierarchical order in colonial Cuba.

In this case, a couple of African and European-African origin adopted an old Spanish custom (according to which a *rpto* obliged the parents of the seduced woman to accept an undesired marriage, compensating for the daughter's lost virginity and honor) with the aim of getting married despite the groom being a "semi-slave". For Hilario Morales the fact that officially he was no longer a slave but a *patrocinado* meant nothing, because he could not marry according to his wishes. He did not take his bride's virginity before the *rpto*, which indicates that he really wanted to marry her (in contrast, other men accused of seducing a woman, who did not wish to marry her, often stated that she had not been a virgin). Hilario Morales presented himself as a responsible man, fighting for his personal happiness and autonomy in decisions about his private life, despite his status as an unfree person.

Of course, not all Afro-Cuban men relied on *rpto* to get married to a woman forbidden to them; some abused marriage promises simply to have sex. Or the women left their parental home and went to their partners' house of their own accord, hoping they could force a hesitant groom to marry them immediately (which in most cases he did not): in Cuban society with its gender hierarchy, the risk of *rpto* remained always with the women.⁴⁶

“She Went with Him, Obligated and Deceived by Promises”: Sexual Relations and Undesirable Marriages Because of Racial Hierarchy in a (Post)Slavery Society

Contrasting with Hilario Morales, the white Cuban Don Juan Bosch represents the irresponsible and abusive masculinity of a man of the ruling “race” towards the discriminated “race”. Enslaved women could not complain about sexual violence committed by white men. In contrast, freed women and their families could persecute white kidnapers and rapists, but with little hope that those would really be punished.

Don Juan Bosch, a nineteen year-old tobacco worker, was accused of *rapto* in 1882 by the widowed grandmother of the *negra libre* Juana Pastor, aged fifteen.⁴⁷ Juana Pastor admitted that she had gone voluntarily with Juan Bosch and that nobody had known anything of this private decision, but she had been deceived by his promises. Juan Bosch declared that he had taken Juana Pastor to a hostel in order to sleep with her, but that there had been no love affair between them, even less that he had promised her marriage. A comrade of his, Don Francisco García (like Juan Bosch, a member of a voluntary corps defending Spanish rule over Cuba), declared that Juana Pastor had offered herself to Juan. Juan Bosch had told her that he did not wish to have a betrothal. Juana had answered him that there would be no such ceremony as “she had lost her honor with various men” [my translation]. Another witness, a white tobacco worker like Juan Bosch, repeated this testimony nearly word by word.

Of course we do not know whether Juana Pastor had been a virgin until that night, but we do know that she was only fifteen years old and should not have been touched by a responsible man. As an illiterate black girl without parents, wandering the streets unprotected, she stood no chance against the testimony of three socially superior white men before a white male judge with prejudices about the supposed premature sexuality of black women in a colonial and (post)slavery society, where the prohibition of interracial marriage had only just been abolished.⁴⁸ The prohibition of interracial marriages had secured the racialized social order of a colonial society based on mass slavery, where descendants of white masters and descendants of

black slaves were to be prevented from producing legal offspring with the right to inherit the name and the property of a slaveholder. The end of slavery and of this prohibition did not stop racial prejudice, which was deeply rooted in Cuban colonial society and survived far into the 20th century.⁴⁹

“He Gave Her Four or Five Blows with the Machete [...] and it Was Not True That He Mistreated Asunción”: The Dark Side – the Violent Eagerness of the Dominated Man to Dominate⁵⁰

In the following, I touch a taboo in the research on the agency of slaves which focuses on their resistance to whites⁵¹: the violence of formerly enslaved men against “their” women whom they aspired to govern and control. I found only a few cases of (former) slave men, victims of masters, but offenders against their wives, in the archives. One should also point to the fact that more white men than colored men were accused of *rapto*, bodily injury and homicide.⁵²

In 1888, the Overseas Ministry refused the plea of Guillermo *criollo*,⁵³ sentenced to twelve years of confinement in a penitentiary and two years and one day of correctional prison. In 1881, Guillermo, *patrocinado* of D. Julián Sararrete in the *ingenio* Bramales, had killed his common-law wife Asunción (described as *morena* or *negra*, but with no surname mentioned), also a *patrocinada*, and injured and mutilated her mother, Epifanía *criolla*.

The steward of the *Finca* stated that the previous day, the black woman Epifanía, Asunción’s mother, had told him that the black man Guillermo who lived with Asunción as her husband mistreated her daughter. The steward ordered that Asunción should sleep in the women’s dormitory instead of the couple’s room. When she took her belongings, Guillermo attacked her with a machete, injured and killed her. When Epifanía tried to help her daughter, he also injured her. According to the steward, “this black (Guillermo) was coarse in his manners, but observed good behavior.” [my translation] Guillermo testified that he lived with Asunción, whose mother tried to convince her to live with the *primer mayordomo* (butler, domestic slave). Guillermo did not agree with this, but Epifanía asked the steward to order

Asunción to leave. When Asunción took her belongings, Guillermo gave her four or five blows with the machete and also hit her mother with the machete when she arrived after hearing her daughter's cries. Guillermo also stated it was not true that he had mistreated Asunción.

Various male slaves, three Africans (Fabian Macuá, Valencio Arará, Gabriel Lucumí) and two *criollos* (Abrahan *criollo*, Panfilo *criollo*) confirmed that Guillermo *criollo* had not mistreated Asunción. The Court judged the behavior of Asunción and Epifanía as constituting mitigating circumstances and did not condemn Guillermo *criollo* to death. Instead, he was sent to prison and ordered to pay a compensation of 7,500 pesetas to Asunción's master for her death and 1,500 pesetas for the medical treatment of Epifanía. In his plea, Guillermo *criollo* explained that he deserved mercy because "On the other hand, his condemnation was result of one of those inevitable chains of events, where a man could not retreat without defending his dream of life; [...]." [my translation] Presumably he meant that he had to defend his honor by murdering the "unfaithful" Asunción, but his plea does not explain his motives more closely.⁵⁴

This case shows us that Afro-Cuban (if of African origin or born in Cuba) men and women obviously disagreed about what constituted good behavior and mistreatment in common law marriages. Guillermo *criollo* insisted on his right to punish his wife for her presumed, planned infidelity. Although Guillermo *criollo* was a *patrocinado* and ex-slave, he considered Asunción his property. The male judges accepted Guillermo *criollo*'s position to the extent that they acknowledged mitigating circumstances, but they still punished him for Asunción's murder. The winner of the trial was the *patrono*, the ex-slaveholder, who obtained – even two years after the official ending of slavery – a compensation for his dead *patrocinada*. Her mother, as next of kin, received nothing. Asunción was murdered and silenced forever; her version of the relationship with Guillermo died with her. Thus, we cannot reconstruct *her* female view on the conflict. This subaltern woman, caught between the patriarchy of the slaveholder and the colonial state as well as the patriarchal dominance of the enslaved man, is condemned to remain silent forever.⁵⁵ The case is exceptional because with Epifanía, her mother, one female perspective is on record. She was the only person who sided with her daughter in the conflict with her common law

husband. Without her we would not even know that Guillermo *criollo* had mistreated his wife, at least according to her.

In this case, white judges considered the Afro-descendant man to be a brute, but they showed understanding for him as he exercised power over “his” wife violently, as the white judges themselves insisted on the obedience and control of “their” white women, wives, daughters, sisters: gender was more important than class and race.

Conclusion: Interdependencies of the Hierarchies of Class, “Race” and Gender in the Discourses and Actions of Cuban Slaves, *Patrocinados* and Freedmen

In the documents, the male slaves, *patrocinados* or *libertos* appear as honorable and hardworking fathers (Francisco Marule), loving and responsible grooms (Hilario Morales) or as jealous, dominant and violent (common-law) husbands (Guillermo *criollo*). The women appear as mothers fighting for their children (Beatriz Montes), brides who saw promises of marriage fulfilled or disappointed (Asunción Bravo y Padrón, Juana Pastor), and (common-law) wives and victims of domestic violence (“la morena Asunción”). These identities, marked by relations within the family or the couple, cut across categorizations such as male and female rural laborer (Francisco Marule, Asunción, Epifanía and all the *patrocinados* on the *ingenio* Bramales), urban worker or washer(woman) (Hilario Morales, Asunción Bravo y Padrón, Juana Pastor), with an African (Francisco Marule, Francisca Ferrer, Josefa *de nación*), creole background (Guillermo *criollo*, Juana Pastor, *Crescencia criolla*) or ethnically mixed background (*parda* Petrona Cuervo, *parda* Asunción Bravo y Padrón). White men maintained extra-conjugal sexual relations with Afro-Cuban women and considered access to these women their natural right from which no obligation resulted (Juan Bosch and the male witnesses in his favor). Owners of *fincas*, slaves/*patrocinados* and stewards of *ingenios* were also mediators of conflicts within the community of *patrocinados* (as in the case of Guillermo *criollo*). White men, urban employees and members of the military, identified as Cuban or Spanish (like the witnesses against Juana Pastor).⁵⁶ Afro-Cuban men were oppressed as enslaved or badly paid “free” fieldworkers and as members of the supposed “inferior race”. Afro-Cuban women

were oppressed as slaves and laborers, as black persons and as women⁵⁷ – the latter always by men of the ruling class/‘superior race’ and sometimes by their own husbands and partners (as in the case of Guillermo *criollo*). The categories of difference as a justification for dominance and exploitation interfered.⁵⁸

Despite the complicated interdependencies of identities and hierarchies in the slave, *patrocinado* or freedmen community, in which gender was a central factor, the conflict between masters and slaves, *patronos* and *patrocinados*, proprietors and laborers, at the same time conflicts between “whites” and “blacks”, remained the main source of social antagonism in a slave society in transition to a post-slavery society. This conflict was part of every case cited, either directly, as in the struggle of Francisco Marule to obtain his freedom against the resistance of his owner, the fight of Beatriz Montes to get her children released from the possession of her former *patrono*, or in the effort of Hilario Montes to marry the woman whom he loved, resisting his status as *patrocinado*. It was present indirectly in the case of Juana Pastor, whose status was low compared with a white man, even though this white man was a worker, because she was black and thus obviously descending from African slaves. And in the case of Asunción, who had she not been a *patrocinada* confined to an *ingenio*, could easily have escaped from the jealousy of Guillermo *criollo*.

Neither did the racial prejudices inherited from a slavery society disappear with the liberation of individuals nor with the abolition of slavery as an institution. The heritage of slavery overshadowed most social relations even after its abolition, exposed the dispossessed former slaves to brutal economic exploitation, excluded the majority of them from social advancement because of their “race” and harshened the gender dominance of white men and Afro-Cuban men over Afro-Cuban women.

Endnotes

¹ Ulrike Schmieder, Katja Füllberg-Stolberg, and Michael Zeuske, eds., *The End of Slavery in Africa and the Americas. A Comparative Approach* (Berlin: LIT, 2011). The complete results of my project are published in: Ulrike Schmieder, *Nach der Sklaverei – Martinique und Kuba im Vergleich* (Berlin: LIT, 2nd. ed. 2017). A summary of the research was published here: Schmieder, Ulrike, “Martinique and Cuba Grande: Commonalities and Differences during the Periods of Slavery, Abolition and Post-Emancipation”,

Review, A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations, XXXVI, no. 1 (2013), 83–112 .

² “Patrocinados” were former slaves under the transitional regime between slavery and freedom, “patronatos”, the Cuban version of “apprenticeship”, and “libertos” were persons who had gained their freedom through manumission or purchase of liberty. The last term was also used for the freeborn children of slave mothers after the Free Womb Law of 1870.

³ Beatriz Joda Esteive, *Mujer y esclavitud doméstica: La Habana (1790-1844)* (doctoral thesis, University Jaume I, Castellón, 2014); Elsa Capron, *Les femmes esclaves à Cuba (1789-1886): Premières approches*, unpublished doctoral thesis, 2 vols., Université Paris VIII – Vincennes – Saint-Denis, Paris 2003; María del Carmen Barcia Zequeira, *La otra familia: parientes, redes y descendencia de los esclavos en Cuba* (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 2003). On patronato or including patronato, but not on post-patronato: Aisnara Perera Díaz and María de los Angeles Meriño Fuentes, *Cesión del patronato: una estrategia familiar en la emancipación de los esclavos de Cuba (1870-1880)* (Havana: Editorial Unicornio 2009); Camillia Cowling, *Women of Color, Gender, and the Abolition of Slavery in Havana and Rio de Janeiro* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 2013).

⁴ Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux and Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Contribución a la historia de la gente sin historia* (Havana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1974); Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti, The Saint-Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990); Gloria García, *La esclavitud desde la esclavitud. La visión de los siervos* (México: Centro de Investigación Científica "Ing. Jorge L Tamayo", 1996);

Ranjit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Rossana Barragán and Silvia Rivera, eds., *Debates postcoloniales: una introducción a los estudios de la subalternidad* (La Paz: Ed. Historias, 1997).

⁵ Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

⁶ On the role of white mistresses and the jealousy against slave women which cannot be treated here, see: Ulrike Schmieder, *Geschlecht und Ethnizität in Lateinamerika im Spiegel von Reiseberichten: Mexiko, Brasilien, Kuba 1780-1880* (Stuttgart: Heinz, 2003), 471, 476.

⁷ „Adapted” and Spanish speaking African slaves should have been called also „ladino slaves”, but I did not find the notion in the quoted documents.

⁸ For further reading on Cuban slavery, see: Michael Zeuske, *Schwarze Karibik. Sklaven, Sklavereikultur und Emanzipation* (Zürich: Rotpunktverlag, 2004).

⁹ Michael Zeuske and Max Zeuske, *Kuba 1492-1902, Kolonialgeschichte, Unabhängigkeitskriege und die erste Okkupation durch die USA* (Leipzig: Leipziger Univ. Verlag, 1998), 276. The main groups were Lucumí (Yoruba), from the Bight of Benin, Southern Nigeria, Northern Cameroon and the historical kingdom of Benin, Mandinga from Senegambia in North-West Africa; Congo, Bantu-speaking groups from the old kingdom of Congo and Angola (Central Africa); Carabalí, from the Calabar Coast (the delta of the river Niger); Gangá, from Sierra Leone and Northern Liberia; and Arará (Fon and Ewe) from the kingdom of Arder/Allada (later a part of Dahomey in today's Benin). See: Michael

Zeuske, "Sklaven und Sklavereikulturen auf Kuba", in *Kuba und seine afrikanischen Wurzeln. Internationale Tagung*, edited by Raúl Fornet-Betancourt and Horst Sing (Aachen: Mainz 2004), 51-96. According to the "Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," only 778,541 Africans went to Cuba as slaves (<http://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates>, accessed 07 September 2016), but Cuban historians and Zeuske estimate the numbers as being higher, as the database does not take into account all sources in the Spanish and Cuban archives.

¹⁰ For further reading see: Angel Bahamonde and José Cayuela, *Hacer las Américas. Las élites españolas en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Alianz. Ed., 1992); Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla, "From Periphery to Centre: Transatlantic Capital Flows, 1830-1890", in: *The Caribbean and the Atlantic World Economy. Circuits of Trade, Money and Knowledge. 1650-1914*, edited by Adrien Leonard and David Pretel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2015), 217-237 as well as Zeuske and Orlando García Martínez, "La Amistad de Cuba. Ramón Ferrer, contrabando de esclavos, captividad y modernidad atlántica," *Caribbean Studies* 37, no. 1 (2009): 97-170.

¹¹ For further reading on Anglo-Spanish treaties of prohibition of the transatlantic slave trade, see: Enrique Pérez-Cisneros. *La abolición de la esclavitud en Cuba* (Tibás, Costa Rica: Imprint LIL, 1987), 11-16, 51-82.

¹² Zeuske, *Schwarze Karibik*, 395. See also: David R. Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain and the Abolition of Cuban Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1980). 298-326.

¹³ See: Barcia Zequeira, *La otra familia*, as well as Aisnara Perera Díaz and María de los Angeles Meriño Fuentes, *Esclavitud, familia y parroquia en Cuba: Otra mirada desde la microhistoria* (Santiago de Cuba: Ed. Oriente, 2006).

¹⁴ Manuel Moreno Fraginals, "Africa in Cuba, a Quantitative Analysis of the African Population in the Island of Cuba," in *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies*, edited by Vera Rubin and Arthur Tuden, Vol. 2 (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1977), 196 and Zeuske, *Schwarze Karibik*, 312-314.

¹⁵ Zeuske, *Schwarze Karibik*, 315.

¹⁶ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993), 221. There he refers to an interview with Toni Morrison published under the title: Gilroy, Paul, "Living Memory. Meeting Toni Morrison", in: *Small Acts*, edited by Paul Gilroy (London: Serpent's Trail, 1993), 175-182.

¹⁷ On the whole process of Spanish abolition, see Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Antislavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833-1874* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999).

¹⁸ Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (AHN), Ultramar, leg. 288, exp. 16, Junta Informativa de Ultramar, Extracto de las contestaciones dadas al interrogatorio sobre la manera de reglamentar el trabajo de la población de color y asiática, y los medios de facilitar la inmigración que sea más conveniente en las mismas provincias, Madrid 1869.

¹⁹ AHN, Ultramar, leg. 5114, exp. 41, Law of 4.7.1870 (Ley Moret).

²⁰ Antonio Zambrana, *La República de Cuba* (New York, 1873), 52-56. Raúl Cepero Bonilla, *Azúcar y abolición* (Havana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, Inst. Cubano del Libro 1971), 170-174.

²¹ Rebecca Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba. The Transition to free Labor 1860-1899* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 114–115. See also: AHN, Ultramar, leg. 3551, exp. 12, Declaracion de libertad de los esclavos de insurrectos y de los que han prestado servicios al Gobierno. No. 2, “Relacion de los esclavos manumitidos por servicios prestados e Gobierno” (1869). In the AHN (Ultramar, Cuba, Gobierno) and the Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Havana (ARNAC, Asuntos Políticos, Miscelánea de Expedientes), many petitions by slaves who fought on the Spanish side to gain their liberty have been preserved. Some were freed, some not, depending on the judgment of the Spanish officials and functionaries who were asked about their merits.

²² See Michael Zeuske, “Two Stories of Gender and Slave Emancipation in Cienfuegos and Santa Clara, central Cuba — Microhistorical Approaches to the Atlantic World,” in *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World*, edited by Pamela Scully and Diana Paton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 181–198.

²³ Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share. The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality 1886-1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1995), chapter 1. ARNAC, Asuntos Políticos, leg. 183, exp. 5, Trial of Juan Gualberto Gómez for “incitement to rebellion” because of his article “Por qué somos separatistas”, in *La Fraternidad*, Havana, 24 September 1890.

²⁴ Documents which show the thinking of leading personalities of this pro-Spanish group: AHN, Ultramar, leg. 4883, caja 3=vol. 7 of the expediente “Esclavitud” No. 66 (= “La Union. Periodico. Dedicado á la defensa de los intereses de la raza de color”, 25 July 1880) and No. 67 (= Rodolfo Fernandez-Trava y Blanco de Lagardère, Text of 1880: “A mis amigos. Todo por España y por el esclavo. Sin Dios no hay libertad. Integridad Nacional. La Escuela es la Redencia. Abolicion de la Esclavitud”). AHN, Ultramar, leg. 4815, exp. 1 (= Exposicion al Congreso de los Diputados elevada á nombre de la Raza de color de Cuba, 1881).

See also: María del Carmen Barcia Zequeira “Casinos españoles ¿de color?”, *Semata, Ciencias Socias e Humanidades*, 24 (2012), 351-374, <http://www.usc.es/revistas/index.php/semata/article/view/1099>. (accessed 21 June 2016).

²⁵ See Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba* and the text of the law: AHN, Ultramar, leg. 5114, exp. 41, Law of 13.2.1880 (Ley de Abolición de la Esclavitud/Ley de Patronato). Publication in Cuba: *Gaceta de la Habana*, 8 May 1880.

²⁶ *Real Decreto de abolición del Patronato*, Madrid, 7 October 1886 (This royal decree on the abolition of *patronato* is also to be found in: Manuel Lucena Salmoral, ed., *Regulación de la esclavitud negra en las colonias de América Española (1503-1886): Documentos para su estudio*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad 2005, 349-351). The decree was published in the *Gaceta de la Habana*, 29 October 1886.

²⁷ Oilda Hevia Lanier, *El directorio central de las sociedades negras de Cuba 1886-1894*, (Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1996); Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba, Race, Nation and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill/ London: Univ of North Carolina Press 1999), 112-138.

²⁸ Schmieder, *Nach der Sklaverei*, 272-285.

²⁹ On male and female professions see: Report of the Census of Cuba 1899, 477-478. On the flight of Afro-Cubans from the estates see Rebecca Scott, "Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Cuba: A View from the Sugar District of Cienfuegos" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 78, no. 4 (1998): 687-732. The purchases of houses and land are to be found in notarial records, e.g.: ARNAC, Protocol of José Alejo Sánchez Cabrera. No. 37, 8 February 1881, D. Cayetano del Pino sells a house to the *morena libre* Loreto Romero, "natural de Africa". (Protocol of Justo Barona, No. 148, 20 April 1881). D. Martín Rodríguez y Espinosa, sells a house to the *morena libre* Matea Alonso (Archivo Histórico Provincial Matanzas (AHPM), Protocol of Benigno Capote Gutiérrez. No. 164, 9 September 1886). The *morena* Micaela Ardanza, 47, a washerwoman buys a house in Unión de Reyes. (Ibid., No. 155, 31 August 1886). The *morena* Angela Poey buys a piece of land (864 m²), Archivo Histórico Municipal de Colón (AHMC), Protocol of Manuel Vega Lavarria, Sales of land by installment to Afro-Cuban men and women by the Ayuntamiento (Town Council) of Colón.

³⁰ Examples of such complaints during slavery: Gloria García Rodríguez, *Voices of the Enslaved in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: a Documentary History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 85-104.

³¹ Law of 13 February 1880, Art. 4^o, N^o 5. The *patronos* should give minors the necessary primary education to exercise a handicraft or useful occupation. Poor slaveholders who could not afford an education sometimes gave up their rights over minor *patrocinados* voluntarily (Examples: Archive of local Junta de Patronato, Guanabacoa, Archivo del Museo Municipal de Guanabacoa, AMMG), but as we see in the case presented here, other *patronos* resisted in all instances and fought with all available means to retain ownership of the minors.

³² ARNAC, Miscelánea de Expedientes (MdE), leg. 3589, exp. As: Expendiente conteniendo instancia de Beatriz Montes reclamando varios hijos, 1884. "Así es como se burlan Exm^o S^{or}, las disposiciones sabias del Gobierno, atropellando las infelices criaturas à quienes se los humilla y ultraja al hacer uso de su derecho. Pero afortunadamente VE. q.^e está muy por encima de esos pobres mercaderes de carne humana, sabrá administrar justicia à mis hijos y castigar los abusos de esos desventurados empleados."

³³ Cowling, *Women of Color*, 61.

³⁴ On the (formerly) enslaved people as fathers and mothers see: Ulrike Schmieder, "(Antiguos/as) esclavizados/as como padres y madres: Martinica y Cuba comparadas", *Revista Cuadernos del Caribe*, 18, no. 2 (2014): 21-35. <http://www.revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/ccaribe/article/view/50386> (accessed 6 September 2016).

³⁵ ARNAC, MdE, 3513, ñ, "Instancia de Francisco Maruri sobre exención del patronato 1884" (named in the text as "Marule"). "[...], me encuentro todavía arrastrando la cadena de la esclavitud mientras ellos todos estan gozando de su libertad, hace ya muy cerca de dos años. Y es muy doloroso para un padre de familia como yo, y ya en la ancianidad, no poder disponer del producto de mi trabajo para mantener a mis hijos que aunque poco, pues mis débiles brazos se encuentran cansados por la vejez

y el trabajo, al menos Exmõ Sor es un consuelo para un padre verse en libertad, y rodeado de su querida familia y mas el que como yo, el destino le ha tenido tanto tiempo separado de ella.”

³⁶ Presumably, because ethnic denominations were always vague and changing and because slaveholders had sometimes ascribed false identities of dead slaves to recently and illegally introduced slaves.

³⁷ See: note 3 (titles of Barcia, Capron, Cowling, Perera Díaz/Meriño Fuentes) as well as Zeuske, “Two Stories”, and Digna Castañeda, “The Female Slave in Cuba during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective*, edited by Verene Shepherd, Bridget Brereton, and Barbara Bailey (London/ Kingston: Randle 1995), 141-154; Oilda Hevia Lanier, “Reconstruyendo la historia de la exesclava Belén Álvarez,” in *Afrocubanas. Historia, pensamiento y prácticas culturales*, edited by Daisy Rubiera Castillo, Inés María Matiaru Terry (Havana: Ciencias Sociales 2011), 30-53.

³⁸ With some exceptions, see Karen Y. Morrison, “Creating an Alternative Kinship: Slavery, Freedom, and Nineteenth-Century Afro-Cuban Hijos Naturales,” *Journal of Social History* 41, no.1 (2007): 55-80. Karen Y. Morrison, *Cuba’s Racial Crucible. The Sexual Economy of Social Identities, 1750-2000* (Bloomington/ Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015), 131-189. Ulrike Schmieder, “Antiguos/as esclavizados/as como padres y madres”.

³⁹ Acknowledgment of natural children: AHMC, Protocol of Manuel Vega Lavarria, No. 108, 16 May 1881 (Perfecto lucumí, *moreno libre*, recognized two daughters, born 1872 and 1879, whose deceased mother had been a black creole slave), *Ibid*, No. 158, 14.7.1881; Francisco Zulueta, *moreno libre* (who can be distinguished as a former slave by his surname, which was also the second name of one the biggest slave owners of Cuba – many slaves were given the surnames of their former masters when freed) acknowledged a daughter, born in 1869, with the “morena Juliana, patrocinada de los herederos de Dⁿ Julian Zulueta”. Wills: ARNAC, Protocol of Manuel Zambrana (Matanzas), Testament of 28 May 1888 (The African-born *moreno* José Inés Gorin named his twenty-six-year-old daughter Patrocinia San Jorge as heiress of his surname and house, he had never been married to her already deceased mother). ARNAC, Protocol of Leopoldo Rubine (Matanzas) Testament of 10 July 1886 (The African-born *moreno* Julián Zuaznavar bequeathed his house to his daughter Alejandra. He had lived with her and her mother for many years in a common law family).

⁴⁰ ARNAC, MdE, leg. 3595, exp. Cn, Instancia de Apolonio Argudin, sobre deposito en la caja de ahorros por la libertad de Ma. de los Angeles, 1883. ARNAC, MdE, 3587, Bn, Instancia de Domingo Piloto reclamando sus hijos Andrea, Ciriaco, Angel, Justo, Bernabe, Luis y Leocadia de los Sres. Guardiola y Tejedor, 1884.

⁴¹ ARNAC, Notarial records of Leopoldo Rubine y Sischka, Matanzas, 1887, No. 38, Testament of Francisca Ferrer, 2.03.1887. The quotation: “En virtud de no tener ascendientes ni descendientes ni pariente alguno, y por gratitud á los servicios que le ha prestado y en la actualidad le presta la morena Josefa de Nacion, que hace tres años la viene acompañado, instituye y nombres heredera y usufructuaria de todas sus bienes á la propia morena Josefa, pero con la condición de que ha de

conservar á su lado y mantener, calzar y vestir á la morena Crescencia criolla, que ha criado la testadora y á quien profesa esta un cariño maternal". "De nación" means also from an African nation.

⁴² More examples: Schmieder, *Nach der Sklaverei*, 322-325.

⁴³ I tried to find out more about love and sex of enslaved people despite the desperate situation of sources, but focused in that work more on slavery than on post-emancipation. Ulrike Schmieder, "Sexual relations between the Enslaved and between Slaves and Non-slaves in Nineteenth Century Cuba", in: *Sex, Power and Slavery*, ed. Gwyn Campbell and Elizabeth Elbourne, (Athens, Ohio University Press: 2014), 227-252, on Cuban novels about this topic, 241-245.

⁴⁴ ARNAC, MdE, leg. 2770, exp. B, Causa formada de oficio por rapto de la parda Asuncion Bravo Padron, procesado: M.o Hilario Ménendez(a) Venaó 1882. Hilario: "[...] como no tuviese dinero para casarse y además necesitase licencia de su patrono, por ser esclavo, resolvió seducir como sedujo á dicha parda para que se fuese con él y de ese modo lo obligaran á casarse [...]". Asunción: "[...] cuando se fué con Hilario era doncella que la noche de su fuga el citado Morales gozó de su virginidad."

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ ARNAC, MdE, leg. 2284, exp. J, Expediente criminal contra Manuel Hernández y Herrera por rapto de la morena Genara Carricarte, 1881. MdE, leg. 2810, exp. H, Rapto a la morena Francisca de la Osa, 1879. MdE, leg. 2826, exp. LI, Rapto de la morena Catalina Vanegas y Gonzalez, 1900.

⁴⁷ ARNAC, MdE, leg. 2387, exp. J, contra D. Juan Bosch, rapto de la morena Juana Pastor. Audiencia de la Habana, Sala de Justicia, Juzgado 1a. Instancia del Distrito de Guadalupe, 19.9.1882. Quotations: "se fué con el obligada y engañada con promesas" and "ella estaba perdida de varios hombres."

⁴⁸ From 1830 on interracial marriages were restricted (allowed only with a special license); between 1864 and 1874 they were forbidden completely, and only since 1881 have they been permitted without any legal obstacle. See Verena Martínez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba. A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 14, 31-40.

⁴⁹ Racism in Cuba has its roots in slavery and colonialism, but developed and changed under complicated internal and external influences during the 20th century. These developments cannot be explained in greater detail in this short article. For an overview, see Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for all. Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

⁵⁰ For more cases of the murder of common law wives, see: AHN, Ultramar, leg. 1793 caja 3, exp. 64: Genaro Criollo N. solicita indulto, denegado en 26.9.1883; AHN, Ultramar, leg. 1818, exp. 147: Indulto del confinado negro Clemente Criollo, 25 May 1889. Of course, wife killing was not a Afro-Cuban particularity, white men also maltreated and killed wives and concubines: Schmieder, *Geschlecht und Ethnizität*, 433-434.

⁵¹ Gabino LaRosa Corzo, *Runaway Slave Settlements in Cuba: Resistance and Repression*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Glora García Rodríguez, *Conspiraciones y revueltas. La actividad de los negros en Cuba (1790-1845)*, (Santiago de Cuba, Ed. Oriente, 2003); Matt Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion in Cuba and the Struggle against Atlantic Slavery*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Manuel Barcia, *West African Warfare in Bahia and Cuba. Soldier Slaves in the Atlantic World, 1807-1844*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁵² ARNAC, Miscelanea de Libros, 10875, Juzgado de Primera Instancia del Distrito de Guadalupe (La Habana), cases from 1886.

⁵³ “Criollo” or “criolla” were often used as the surnames of slaves born in Cuba.

⁵⁴ AHN, Ultramar, leg. 1804, Exp. 15, Indulto de Guillermo criollo, negado en 27.6.1888. Quotations in the headline and affirmation by the administrator: “le dio cuatro ó cinco machetazos” “y que era incierto que diera mal trato á Asuncion”, “dicho negro aunque bruto en sus morales y tratos observaba buena conducta”. In the plea Guillermo says about his crime and sentence: “Siendo por otra parte su condena originada por una de esas causalidades inevitables donde el hombre no puede retroceder sino en defensa de una vida soñadora; [...]”

⁵⁵ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Harlow: Pearson 1993), 66-111.

⁵⁶ In the context of the fight for Cuban Independence, nationality was often more important than “race”: conflicts between Cuban and Spanish men overruled black-white-clashes. That does not mean that Cuban patriots did not have racist prejudices, but that a cross-racial alliance against Spain made them less important for a while, see: Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*, 117-127; Schmieder, *Nach der Sklaverei*, 213-222.

⁵⁷ On the intersectionality of the oppression of black women: Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (New York: Random House 1981); Bell hooks, *Ain't a Woman. Black Women and Feminism* (Boston: South End Press, 1991); Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought, Knowledge, Consciousness, and Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2002). On Martinique and Cuba: Ulrike Schmieder, “Interdependencies of class, ethnicity and gender in the postemancipation societies of Martinique and Cuba”, in *Interdependencies of Social Categorisations*, edited by Daniela Céleri, Tobias Schwarz, and Bea Wittger (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert/Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2013), 65-89.

⁵⁸ Schmieder, “Sexual relations”.