

New Voices

REVOLUTIONS AND INSURRECTIONS: THE *NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW* AND HAITI, 1821–1829

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“These questions belong to a class, which the peace and safety of a large portion of our Union forbids us even to discuss.”

(Senator Robert Y. Hayne, South Carolina, 1825)¹

IN January 1821, an extensive discussion of Haiti appeared in the literary periodical *North American Review*. The journal published a very favorable review of essays by Baron de Vastey, a prominent official in the Kingdom of Haiti and a well-known critic of slavery that extolled Haiti’s virtues and celebrated its Revolution. After offering lavish praise for the Haitian revolutionaries, Caleb Cushing, the review’s writer, concluded, “Surely no more convincing argument in proof of the capacity of blacks could be required, than their achievement of such a revolution.” Eight years later, however, Cushing published a second essay on Haiti in the journal that presented a very different tone and content. Cushing claimed that Haiti’s economic condition was hopeless, and he no longer celebrated Haiti’s revolutionary origins but instead referred disapprovingly to “the insurrection of the blacks.”² These two descriptions presented contrasting views of

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¹*Register of Debates*, 19th Congress, 1st session, 166 (1826).

²Caleb Cushing, “Hayti,” *North American Review* (hereafter NAR) 12 (1821): 115, and “Hayti,” NAR 28 (1829): 151. Although the reviews were unsigned, in 1878 the Harvard librarian William Cushing published a detailed index that identified Cushing as the author. William Cushing, *Index to the North American Review*, vols. 1–125 (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1878).

the Haitian Revolution. The following essay contextualizes the two reviews, using them as a mirror for the transformation of the attitudes of New England's political elite and for its acceptance of the emerging racist tenets of American nationalism during the early nineteenth century. Such an examination illuminates our understanding of antebellum nationalism and its nature.³

The Significance of Semantics

The difference between the two reviews echoed a deeper tension, which troubled parts of the American reform movement in the early republic and antebellum era, particularly in New England. During the "Age of Revolutions" Americans celebrated the rise of the nation-state and the American Revolution's inspiration for the establishment of republics throughout the Atlantic. The rebellion in French Saint-Domingue challenged this vision. By imagining Haiti white Americans defined the extent and limit of republicanism. Where did Haiti fit? Could a society of African-descended individuals, then, become a civilized nation? In 1821 Cushing's review answered with a resounding "yes." Eight years later, however, the events in Haiti had become "insurrections" rather than a "revolution." There was no resemblance of a "singular nation." These two descriptions presented two Haitian Revolutions—and two snapshots, in 1821 and 1829, of a distinct political culture and its transformation.⁴ By the late 1820s moderate white Americans gradually adopted a racist logic that treated the concept of nationhood as the exclusive propriety of whites.⁵ During the early

³For recent discussions of New England, Webster, and antebellum nationalism see Christopher Childers, *The Webster-Hayne Debate: Defining Nationhood in the Early American Republic* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018); and Benjamin E. Park, *American Nationalisms: Imagining Union in the Age of Revolutions, 1783–1833* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), chap. 5. On the embracement of the Union cause in general see Kenneth M. Stampp, "The Concept of a Perpetual Union," *Journal of American History* 65 (1978): 5–33; and Elizabeth R. Varon, *Disunion! The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789–1859* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

⁴I use the term in the sense invoked by Daniel Walker Howe in his study of the Whig Party. Howe defines political culture as "an evolving system of beliefs, attitudes, and techniques for solving problems, transmitted from generation to generation." *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 2.

⁵On racist nationalism see David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). For recent studies of Haiti's reception in the early republic,

republic many rejected emerging assumptions that viewed racial characteristics as innate, most notably those racist conjectures found in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*. The opposition to those assumptions on race was particularly robust in New England.⁶ Reginald Horsman, however, has noted that by the 1840s New England's journals "increasingly found themselves on the defensive or even succumbing to the beliefs in inherent racial inequality."⁷

The *North American Review* was widely regarded as the official voice of New England's conservative elite. Its founders and contributors came from Boston's Federalist, Harvard-affiliated Unitarian milieu. Despite its clear sectional affiliation, the journal aspired to represent the republic's nation-making project. As Robert Levine notes, the journal's founding in 1815 was a seminal moment in the nation's literary culture that exerted a powerful influence in the nation's early efforts to define itself.⁸ The periodical became the model

see Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); Ronald Angelo Johnson, *Diplomacy in Black and White: John Adams, Toussaint Louverture, and Their Atlantic World Alliance* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014); Wendy H. Wong, "Diplomatic Subtleties and Frank Overtures: Publicity, Diplomacy and Neutrality in the Early American Republic, 1793–1801" (PhD diss., Temple University, 2014); and *The Haitian Revolution and the Early United States: Histories, Textualities, Geographies*, ed. Elizabeth Maddock Dillon and Michael J. Drexler (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). On the Antebellum Era see Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988); and Matthew Clavin, *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War: The Promise and Peril of a Second Haitian Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). On the Caribbean influence, see Edward Bartlett Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation: The Caribbean Roots of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008).

⁶Frank Shuffelton, "Thomas Jefferson: Race, Culture, and the Failure of Anthropological Method," in *Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*, ed. Frank Shuffelton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 58; Bruce R. Dain, *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); and Nicholas Guyatt, "'The Outskirts of Our Happiness': Race and the Lure of Colonization in the Early Republic" *JAH* 95 (2009): 986–1011.

⁷Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 150–51.

⁸Robert S. Levine, *Dislocating Race and Nation: Episodes in Nineteenth-Century American Literary Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 68. Marshall Foletta, *Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of an American Culture* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001) is the most thorough analysis of the journal. See also, Harlow W. Sheidley, *Sectional Nationalism: Massachusetts Conservative Leaders and the Transformation of America, 1815–1836* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998); Scott E. Casper, *Constructing American Lives: Biography and Culture in Nineteenth-Century*

American highbrow media outlet. As Jennifer T. Kennedy has observed, far more than other post-colonial nations the United States determined “its seeming legitimacy and naturalness in a manner that is more literary than overtly political.” The *NAR* undoubtedly had a key role in that process.⁹

With very few exceptions, the literature on Haiti’s reception in nineteenth-century America has not discussed either of Cushing’s reviews.¹⁰ This lacuna reflects an understatement of the tension between opposition to racialism and patriotic, chauvinistic nationalism and the degree to which it troubled moderate reformers.¹¹ In the voluminous literature on its American reception, a sympathetic view of Haiti among white Americans appears either as an aberration or the expression of radical abolitionist leanings. The literature on Haiti’s reception in the free states focuses on the fear of Haiti usually as represented by Pennsylvania.

Neither the *NAR* nor Caleb Cushing fit this narrative. During the 1820s, the journal gradually embraced a world-view that appeared as distant from antislavery radicalism as one could find in antebellum New England. The *NAR* came to support a conservative political position that became associated with Daniel Webster and Edward Everett, the journal’s most influential editor-in-chief. Their politics advocated white supremacy rather than racial egalitarianism. New England’s conservatives, later Whigs, championed the sanctity of the Union and a white national consensus while silencing the question

America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Eileen Ka-May Cheng, *The Plain and Noble Garb of Truth: Nationalism and Impartiality in American Historical Writing, 1784–1860* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008); and Sandra A. Gustafson, *Imagining Deliberative Democracy in the Early American Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

⁹Jennifer T. Kennedy, “Mourning at the Jubilee Celebrations of the Declaration of Independence,” *PMLA* 115 (2000): 1112. On the rise of nationalist print culture, see G. Jerald Kennedy, *Strange Nation: Literary Nationalism and Cultural Conflict in the Age of Poe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

¹⁰The exceptions appear in recent discussions of Vastey’s legacy by Marlene L. Daut. See for example, *Baron de Vastey and the Origins of Black Atlantic Humanism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). Also see, Doris L. Garraway, “Print, Publics, and the Scene of Universal Equality in the Kingdom of Henry Christoph,” *L’Esprit Créateur* 56 (2016): 82–100.

¹¹For a significant and influential exception see Nicholas Guyatt, *Bind us Apart: How Enlightened Americans Invented Racial Segregation* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

of slavery.¹² Caleb Cushing, the writer of both reviews, emerged as a senior statesman and diplomat in the antebellum era. Cushing (1800–1879) displayed a willingness to make extreme concessions to Southern slaveholders in the name of the Union. Cushing’s public racial stances also took a dramatic shift as he became a supporter of “manifest destiny” and the Mexican-American War. His biographer John Belohlavek notes, “No public figure argued the case for America’s role in the world with more intellectual prowess, with more rhetorical skill, and—unfortunately—with a more caustic racial edge.”¹³ However, during the 1820s Cushing was thoroughly committed to the causes of reform and antislavery. As editor of the *Newburyport Herald*, he supported the young William Lloyd Garrison in his early reform activities. Several decades later, Frederick Douglass characterized Cushing as his “first abolition preacher and teacher.”¹⁴

Cushing’s shift during the 1820s reflects a larger phenomenon. Only recently have scholars begun to emphasize that parts of New England’s social elite had shown sympathy towards Saint-Domingue, later Haiti, since the 1790s and afterwards.¹⁵ In addition, several studies have challenged Haiti’s portrayal as being hermetically isolated during its first two decades, before its diplomatic recognition by France in 1825. Focusing on the United States, Ron Johnson has highlighted the cross-cultural dimensions of the Adams’s administration’s aid to Toussaint Louverture during the 1790s. Looking at the 1820s, Sara Fanning uncovers a debate on the recognition of Haiti in the 1820s and argues that the debate “could have gone either way”

¹²On Webster and conservative Whigs see Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*, especially chapter 9. For Everett’s most thorough biography see Matthew Mason, *Apostle of Union: A Political Biography of Edward Everett* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

¹³John M. Belohlavek, “Race, Progress, and Destiny: Caleb Cushing and the Quest for American Empire,” in *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Exceptionalism*, ed. Sam W. Haynes and Christopher Morris (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1997), 22. For Cushing’s most recent biography see John M. Belohlavek, *Broken Glass: Caleb Cushing and the Shattering of the Union* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2005).

¹⁴Belohlavek, *Broken Glass*, 9–11, 14. For Douglass’s quotation see “Recollections of the Anti-Slavery Conflict,” April 21 1873, *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, ed. John W. Blasingame and John R. McKivigan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 4:368.

¹⁵Michael J. Drexler and Ed White, “The Constitution of Toussaint: another Origin of African American Literature,” in Drexler and White eds., *The Haitian Revolution and the Early United States*, 213–31; and Julia Gaffield and Philip Kaisary, “From Freedom’s Son Some Glimmering Rays Are Shed that Cheer the Gloomy Realms: Dessalines at Dartmouth, 1804,” *Slavery and Abolition* 38 (2017): 155–77.

and thus the “racial hardening” of the 1820s “was not inevitable or uncontested.”¹⁶

Like the American hardening position against Haiti, Cushing’s turn to racial “edge” was hardly inevitable judging by his early writings. Nor was the acceptance of a racist form of nationalism by conservative New Englanders. Recent scholarship has challenged the portrayal of Northern centrists as mere weaklings. Matthew Mason and Joshua Lynn have demonstrated that antebellum centrist Northerners perceived themselves as “Northern men who advanced a *national* principle” in Lynn’s phrasing.¹⁷ Compromise and moderation were sorely needed in order to achieve that goal, especially among conservative New Englanders. After the War of 1812 a new, burgeoning American nationalism placed emphasis on the Union’s sanctity. In the historical memory this wave is identified with conservative New Englanders above all others. Nonetheless, this was not the case in the war’s immediate aftermath. The Hartford Convention of 1814 left New England’s anti-Jeffersonian elite tainted by treason. Moreover, Westward expansion decreased the region’s proportional size in the nation.¹⁸ In the aftermath of the Missouri Crisis, the North as a whole met a unity of purpose among the slaveholding states.¹⁹

¹⁶Sara Fanning, *Caribbean Crossing: African Americans and the Haitian Emigration Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 43. On Haiti’s formal status in the international community, see Julia Gaffield, *Haitian Connections in the Atlantic World: Recognition after Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); and Cristian Cantir, “‘Savages in the Midst’: Revolutionary Haiti in International Society (1791–1838),” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 20 (2017): 238–61.

¹⁷Mason, *Apostle of Union*; and Joshua A. Lynn, *Preserving the White Man’s Republic: Jacksonian Democracy, Race, and the Transformation of American Conservatism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019), 20. For a recent revision of the common portrayal of antebellum moderates see also Adam I.P. Smith, *The Stormy Present: Conservatism and the Problem of Slavery in Northern Politics, 1848–1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

¹⁸On the passions emerging in reaction to the War of 1812 and Daniel Webster’s opposition to the war, see Nicole Eustace, *1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), especially the introduction. On the Hartford Convention see Alison L. LaCroix, “A Singular and Awkward War: The Transatlantic Dimensions of the Hartford Convention,” *American Nineteenth Century History* 6 (2005): 3–32. On the population changes see John McWilliams, *New England’s Crisis and Cultural Memory: Literature, Politics, History, Religion, 1620–1860* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 260.

¹⁹On the strength of the “slave power” see John Craig Hammond, “President, Planter, Politician: James Monroe, the Missouri Crisis, and the Politics of Slavery,” *JAH* 105 (2019): 843–67.

Given these circumstances, the decision of conservative New Englanders to accept racial nationalism likely reflected a conscious choice, at least partially. As Marshall Foletta explains, the *NAR* offered “a conservatism that combined elitism and social responsibility, traditionalism and adaptation,” which sought to adapt to the victory of Jeffersonian democracy.²⁰ The two reviews indicate what such an adaptation dictated at the beginning of the 1820s and as the decade closed.

Celebrating the First Black Nation, 1821

Cushing’s 1821 review discussed a book written by the Baron de Vastey. In the preceding decade Vastey had gained reputation as a staunch defender of the Haitian Revolution’s legacy and as a harsh critic of the slave system in the French Empire.²¹ Vastey’s writings, Cushing’s review began, represented the “nobles of the late kingdom of Hayti” and could “afford us a specimen of the literature of that singular nation.”²² The Kingdom of Haiti was in fact one of two Haitian nations. After the assassination of Jean-Jacques Dessalines in 1806, a civil war broke out between his heirs. At its conclusion, Henry Christophe established a separate regime in Haiti’s northern part declaring himself king in 1811 while Alexandre Pétion ruled the island’s southern part, called “The Republic of Haiti.” Shortly before the review’s publication Christophe committed suicide. An army of Haiti’s southern region invaded the Kingdom of Haiti and executed prominent Christophe supporters, among them Vastey. The Republic of Haiti, ruled by Jean-Pierre Boyer, subsequently abolished the island’s northern regime.²³

Why did a journal that celebrated national unity choose to review the writings of a Haitian leader? Several years earlier the *Richmond*

²⁰Foletta, *Coming to Terms*, 14. On the embracement of racial compromise and its victims, see Lena Zuckerwise, “‘There Can Be No Loser’: White Supremacy and the Cruelty of Compromise,” *American Political Thought* 5 (2016): 468–93.

²¹For Vastey’s biography, in addition to Marlene Daut’s studies cited above, see also David Nicholls, “Pompeo Valentin Vastey: Royalist and Revolutionary,” *Revista de Historia de América* 109 (1990): 129–43.

²²Cushing, “Hayti 1821,” 112.

²³David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour, and National Independence in Haiti* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979); and Chelsea Stieber, “The Haitian Revolution and the Myth of the Republic: Louis Joseph Janvier’s Revisionist History,” in *Remembering Early Modern Revolutions: England, North America, France and Haiti*, ed. Edward Vallance (London: Routledge, 2018), 145–57.

Enquirer had attacked British cooperation with Christophe, thus signaling a turn in the Southern stance towards Haiti. It was therefore not trivial that a centrist American magazine should publish Vastey's views. Indeed, the *NAR* was the only mainstream American newspaper to offer a substantive treatment of Vastey's writings, probably because of Cushing's commitment to reform and antislavery at the time.²⁴

One explanation concerns Cushing's involvement with future abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison. However, Cushing's zeal alone is not a sufficient explanation. As Marshall Foletta explains, in accord with contemporary cultural standards, a piece published in the magazine could not have been diametrically opposed to the positions of the editors. The magazine's "owners, editors, and contributors" regarded it "as the voice of a culture," representing a distinct value-system rather than the opinions of an individual. Writers "were subjected to the heavy hand of the editorial board," and the editors "altered and revised without apology, concerned less with individual egos than with the integrity of the culture they represented."²⁵ Foletta's contention surely applies to editor-in-chief Edward Everett. Six years Cushing's senior, Everett had already gained fame as a renowned classical scholar, the first American to receive a PhD from a European university. The hierarchy between the two, then, appears unambiguous. Indeed, a letter he sent Cushing on October 1820 indicates that Everett modified his original draft. While Everett's note appears in the Caleb Cushing Papers, the original draft itself has not been found.²⁶ All this suggests that at the very least, Everett found Cushing's view tolerable and in accordance with the journal's value-system.

The distinct, hegemonic culture at the *NAR* descended from a self-conscious, Harvard-affiliated elite. William Tudor and fellow Boston philanthropists John Kirkland and Richard Henry Dana established the journal in 1815. The journal's founders and its contributors were supporters of the Federalist Party. Harvard's brand of Unitarianism

²⁴For the attack on Christophe, see Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation*, 70. On the review's uniqueness and reprinting, see Garraway, "Print, Publics," 92; and Daut, *Baron de Vastey*, 88–89n25.

²⁵Foletta, *Coming to Terms*, 74–75.

²⁶Edward Everett to Caleb Cushing, October 27 1820, Papers of Caleb Cushing, Box 3, folder 11, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. The transcription of the letter is courtesy of Matthew Mason. I further thank John Belohlavek for sending me a picture of the handwritten letter.

merged a long-held value-system rooted in Calvinist New England with the rise of a new movement that sought to moderate the radical interpretations of the Enlightenment. This strand of conservatism viewed the French Revolution's "Reign of Terror" as a natural outgrowth of Thomas Paine's and Thomas Jefferson's admiration of it.²⁷ As John Brooke has observed, Jeffersonians began to dominate electoral politics, and elite Federalists came to see "a cultural politics, of print culture, of sensibilities, of religion, of reform" as an alternative mechanism for advancing a form of nationality compatible with their vision for the nation.²⁸ Thus, elite New Englanders were thoroughly committed to the reform cause. Particular reform campaigns included the advancement of public education and prison reform, as well as support for the Greek independence movement.²⁹

1815 marked a low point in the Federalist Party's struggle to defeat Thomas Jefferson's conception of the nation. From Jefferson's victory in the 1800 presidential election and onward, New England's elite declined in power, and its world-view appeared on the defensive. The states increasingly progressed towards universal male suffrage, and the nation expanded to the West, two moves strongly opposed by New England's Federalists. Finally, when the Hartford Convention and Andrew Jackson's surprising victory at the Battle of New Orleans sealed the Federalist Party's fate as a contender for national leadership, the *NAR* sought to adapt its messages to the triumph of Jeffersonian democracy.

Cushing's Review

Cushing implicitly treated Christophe's Kingdom of Haiti as representative of the entire Haitian nation and as the legitimate heir to the Haitian Revolution's legacy. Christophe differentiated himself from his southern counterpart Pétion in several important ways.

²⁷On Unitarianism and the *NAR*, see Foletta, *Coming to Terms*, 61–75. For an especially informing discussions of the unique character of New England's conservative Unitarianism, see Marc M. Arkin, "The Force of Ancient Manners: Federalist Politics and the Unitarian Controversy Revisited," *Journal of the Early Republic* 22 (2002): 575–610.

²⁸John L. Brooke, "Cultures of Nationalism, Movements of Reform, and the Composite-Federal Polity: from Revolutionary Settlement to Antebellum Crisis," *JER* 29 (2009): 12.

²⁹George Ticknor, "Free Schools of New England," *NAR* 19 (1824): 448–57; Edward Everett, "The Greek Revolution," *NAR* 29 (1829): 138–99; and Francis Lieber, "Prison Discipline," *NAR* 49 (1839): 1–43.

Christophe's affinity for "English civilization" appealed to moderate New Englanders the most. According to the conservative conception of social order that dominated New England's elite, "savage" societies should be cultivated gradually by introduction into "civilization," since only then could they become capable republican citizens. "Civilization," according to a *NAR* article, meant "A knowledge of the arts, and religion."³⁰ Moderate New Englanders attributed "savagery" to those outside of Christendom, as well as Catholics and un-propertied classes.³¹ Thus, in characterizing Haiti's various social groups, Cushing stated, "The language of the better classes in Hayti is pretty correct . . . but the middle and lower classes speak a most corrupt and barbarous dialect, whose substance indeed is French, encumbered by confused admixtures of English, Spanish and the native languages of the slaves from Africa."³²

For New England's elite, English, or "Anglo-Saxon," culture served as the epitome of civilization.³³ After the War of 1812 and the Hartford Convention, the declining Federalist Party refrained from showing political support for the mother country; yet, even enthusiastic nationalist Edward Everett still clung to what he regarded as "English civilization." In 1824 Everett stated that while he was not "the panegyrist of England," its civilization remained "the cradle and the refuge of free principles, though often persecuted; the school of religious liberty, the more precious for the struggles through which it has passed; the tombs of those who have reflected honor on all who speak the English tongue; it is the birthplace of our fathers, the home of the Pilgrims."³⁴

³⁰Jared Sparks, "Emigration to Africa and Hayti," *NAR* 20 (1825): 192.

³¹Jonathan M. Beagle, "Remembering Peter Faneuil: Yankees, Huguenots, and Ethnicity in Boston, 1743–1900," *New England Quarterly* 75 (2002): 388–414.

³²Cushing, "Hayti 1821," 130. On the aversion to Spanish ethnicity in New England, see Ivan Jaksic, *The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820–1880* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); and John C. Havard, *Hispanicism and Early US Literature: Spain, Mexico, Cuba, and the Origins of US National Identity* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2018).

³³Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*. See also [Mrs.] Ware, "The Anglo-Saxon Race," *NAR* 73 (1851): 34–71.

³⁴Edward Everett, "The First Settlement of New England," December 22, 1824, in *Orations and Speeches on various Occasions* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1850), 1:65. On the admiration for Britain in New England's elite, and particularly Everett's, see Drew Maciag, *Edmund Burke in America: The Contested Career of the Father of Modern Conservatism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), especially 77–86.

When he crowned himself, Christophe manifested his admiration of Britain's governing philosophy and followed British "civilization" in several different ways. For instance, he appointed New England-born, African American, experienced educator, Prince Saunders, to establish a public education system. For advice and aid with this project, Christophe maintained close connections with British humanitarians such as William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson.³⁵ Cushing hailed Christophe because he "could not hesitate in adopting the language of England" and characterized it as "that language, which now possesses a literature unrivalled by the proudest in ancient or modern times" and "is spoken in the first instance by two nations of which one is the noblest in the old and the other the noblest in the new world [*sic.*]." Despite a so-called "Paper War" in which the *NAR* and other American journals sought to assert their cultural independence from British periodicals, Cushing relied on the London-based *Quarterly Review* and *British Review* for information on Christophe.³⁶

The closeness between Christophe and conservative New Englanders pertained to Britain's governing system as well. Indeed, the Kingdom of Haiti served as a mirror for the Federalist Party's declining political ideology. In addition to Christophe's penchant for aristocratic symbols, he maintained a hierarchical social system that limited the freedom of the Haitian peasants.³⁷ Such a policy particularly appealed to New England's conservative elite, which was highly skeptical of the potential of uncultivated societies for self-government without hazard to law and order. Unsurprisingly, then, Cushing enthusiastically approved of Christophe's regime system. In an age celebrating republics, he praised the "royalists," Christophe's supporters, in their

³⁵Karen Racine, "Imported Englishness: Henry Christophe's Educational Program in Haiti, 1806–1820," in *Learning from Abroad: The Reception of Liberalism in Education, Religion and Morality in Post-Colonial Latin America*, ed. Marcelo Caruso and Eugenia Roldán-Vera (London: Peter Lang, 2007), 205–30; and Peter Wirzbicki, "The Light of Knowledge Follows the Impulse of Revolutions: Prince Saunders, Baron de Vastey, and Haitian Influence on Antebellum Black Ideas of Elevation and Education," *Slavery and Abolition* 36 (2015): 275–97.

³⁶Cushing, "Hayti 1821," 130; 120n. On the "Paper War" and the prominent role of the *NAR*, see Joseph Eaton, *The Anglo-American Paper War: Debates about the New Republic, 1800–1825* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); and Mason, *Apostle of Union*, 27–32.

³⁷Carolyn E. Fick, "Emancipation in Haiti: From Plantation Labor to Peasant Proprietorship," *Slavery and Abolition* 21 (2000): 11–40. On Christophe's aristocratic pretensions see Johnhenry. Gonzales, *Maroon Nation: A History of Revolutionary Haiti* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 260.

battle against the “republicans,” supporters of Haiti’s northern part, then ruled by Boyer. The division served the ideological purposes of the *NAR* well: as Cushing explained, while a nation “which has attained considerable refinement . . . can enjoy a free and republican government,” in a degraded society “the firm hand of kingly power is needed to stifle faction, repel aggressors, and give energy, dispatch, and secrecy to the public measures.” Cushing concluded decisively: “Hayti, we doubt not, enjoyed more prosperity under the specter of an absolute king, than she could ever have hoped for from republican institutions.”³⁸

While Cushing’s review held conservative, hierarchical assumptions, large portions conveyed a world-view that was becoming radical. This was especially true of the parts that harbored political implications. In the “Age of Revolutions,” the celebration of nations and revolutions was especially powerful. Cushing did both when he authored a tribute to the Haitian Revolution’s legacy and tied the Haitian cause with the rise of new nations such as the United States. Thus, when Cushing referred to Haiti as a “nation,” he celebrated the Haitians for “the force of mind required to perpetuate their national being.” Subsequently, Cushing bemoaned that, “Although exalted to the rank of a nation, [Haiti] has continued to be harassed by restless and able enemies.”³⁹ While Cushing likely referred to the French Empire, his assertion harbored implied criticism towards the United States and Jefferson. Jefferson had been hostile towards Haiti after his election in 1800, and in 1805 his administration embargoed the newly-independent island against Federalist protests.⁴⁰ For Cushing Haiti deserved to be a place of interest for the United States. “Whatever might be the fate of the island, it must continue as an object of increasing interest to the citizens of the United States.”⁴¹

Elsewhere, Cushing marveled, “What revolution has the world ever beheld, that was comparable to this in the credit which it does to the

³⁸Cushing, “Hayti 1821,” 119–20. On the significance of the nominal division in Haiti’s history, see Stieber, “The Haitian Revolution and the Myth of the Republic.”

³⁹Cushing, “Hayti 1821,” 119.

⁴⁰Donald R. Hickey, “America’s Response to the Slave Revolt in Haiti, 1791–1806,” *JER* 2 (1982): 375–76; and Gordon S. Brown, *Toussaint’s Clause: The Founding Fathers and the Haitian Revolution* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), 268–76. On Jefferson’s hostility towards Haiti, see Michael Zuckerman, “The Power of Blackness: Thomas Jefferson and the Revolution in Saint-Domingue,” in *Almost Chosen People: Oblique Biographies in the American Grain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 175–218.

⁴¹Cushing, “Hayti 1821,” 134.

aptitude and perseverance of its leaders?"⁴² In the early nineteenth century the term "revolution" was far from neutral. Contemporary white commentators applied this positively to the War of Independence as well as to the upheavals in Europe, most notably the French Revolution, and many included the revolts in Spanish America within the celebrated "Age of Revolutions."⁴³ Few white commentators placed the events in Haiti within this context.⁴⁴ Slave uprisings were deemed "insurrections," a term which connoted "violence that was deemed to be illegitimate," as Paul Giles explains.⁴⁵ Seeking to explain the troubling contradiction, theorists and statesmen distinguished among actions done by "civilized" cultures to protect the rights of subjects and citizens and the deeds of "barbarous" societies. In the decades following the Haitian Revolution, the distinction between "revolutions" and "insurrections" became explicitly racialized. Thus, in 1797 in an influential essay by Caribbean planter Bryan Edwards, Haitians were destined to be "savages in the midst of society."⁴⁶ Jefferson privately referred to the Haitian rebels as the "cannibals of the terrible republic."⁴⁷ This view of Haiti gradually

⁴²Cushing, "Hayti 1821," 115.

⁴³For discussions of the distinctions between different forms of revolutions, see *Scripting Revolution: A Historical Approach to the Comparative Study of Revolutions*, ed. Keith Michael Baker and Dan Edelstein (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015). On the treatment of the revolutions in Spanish America, see Caitlin Fitz, *Our Sister Republics: The United States in an Age of American Revolutions* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2016).

⁴⁴Exceptions are Abraham Bishop and Theodore Dwight, both from Connecticut, who wrote justifications or outright celebrations of the Haitian Revolution in the mid-1790s. Tim Matthewson, "Abraham Bishop, 'The Rights of Black Men,' and the American Reaction to the Haitian Revolution," *The Journal of Negro History* 67 (1982): 148–54; and Theodore Dwight, "The Effects of Slavery on Slaves, Masters, and Society" (1794), in *American Political Writing during the Founding Era, 1760–1805*, ed. Charles S. Hyneman and Donald S. Lutz (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1983), 884–99; David Waldstreicher and Stephen R. Grossbart, "Abraham Bishop's Vocations, or the Meditations of Jeffersonian Politics," *JER* 18 (1998): 617–57; and Rachel Hope Cleves, "Mortal Eloquence: Violence, Slavery, and Anti-Jacobinism in the Early American Republic" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2005), chapter 3.

⁴⁵Paul Giles, "U.S. Slave Revolutions in Atlantic World Literature," *The Cambridge Companion to Slavery in American Literature*, ed. Ezra Tawil (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 189.

⁴⁶Bryan Edwards, *An Historical Survey on the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo* (London: John Stockdale, 1797), 191. I thank Cristian Cantir for helping me find Bryan Edwards's comment.

⁴⁷Thomas Jefferson to Aaron Burr, February 11 1799; *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-31-02-0015> (accessed April 11, 2019).

gained the status of a consensus in the mainstream transatlantic community. Accordingly, rebellions by Africans which had once been considered legitimate, such as the war engaged by the Jamaica Maroons in the mid-eighteenth century, increasingly became considered lawless.⁴⁸

In New England, however, distinctions based on pronounced racial concepts were frowned upon. While God may have created mankind equal, according to a long standing belief in “environmentalism,” non-Europeans had been degraded because of their environmental condition and not according to the modern concept of “race,” a term signifying “a system of differentiating human beings based on bodily characteristics perceived to be immutable and inherited, whether as visible as skin color or as slippery as ‘blood.’”⁴⁹ This view had an especially powerful appeal in New England, rooted in Calvinist culture.⁵⁰ To be sure, the question of innate racial differences was often implied rather than pronounced. Thus, some fragments in the review displayed racial characteristics that contradicted environmentalist assumptions. When Cushing characterized Vastey as “a yellow man, either a mulatto or mestizo,” whose “color gave him some little advantage over pure blacks,” he invoked the common distinction between “mulattoes” and “blacks,” implying the former’s innate intellectual superiority, and demonstrated the pre-racial understanding of “civilization” and “savagery.”⁵¹

In his discussion of Haiti, Cushing challenged the rising forces that belittled it by invoking the language of “civilization” and “savagery.” Cushing compared the Haitian Revolution to the so-called “civilized” revolutions. The degraded nature of slaves, Cushing argued, made their revolt all the more virtuous. Indeed, he continued, the Haitian rebels were more audacious than their European counterparts. Other

⁴⁸Clavin, *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War*; Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009); and Daut, *Tropics of Haiti*. On the Jamaican Maroons see Tyson Reeder, “Liberty with the Sword: Jamaican Maroons, Haitian Revolutionaries, and American Liberty,” *JER* 37 (2017): 81–115.

⁴⁹Margot Minardi, *Making Slavery History: Abolitionism and the Politics of Memory in Massachusetts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 7.

⁵⁰On environmentalism and the rise of racist theories, see Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and “Race” in New England, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998) especially 137–50.

⁵¹Cushing, “Hayti 1821,” 113n. On the distinction between “mulattoes” and “blacks” in the Haitian Revolution, see Daut, *Tropics of Haiti*.

revolutions had been conducted “by men who were free, if not independent; who had before enjoyed rights and knew how to prize them; who were comparatively speaking enlightened and civilized.” Vastey’s writings, Cushing explained, provided “some means of judging of the intellectual dignity, which a population of blacks may hope to reach, in the most favorable circumstances.” For opponents of racist theories, Cushing noted, “The difficulty was to point out a nation of this colour that had reached any tolerable degree of civilization,” but the problem had been abated, he declared, since “Such an example is given to the world in the case of the people of Haiti.”⁵²

Discussing the Haitian Revolution as part of the Age of Revolutions, Cushing used a rhetorical method which Maggie Montesinos Sale has characterized as “the trope of revolutionary struggle.” Antebellum-era radical abolitionists used this trope to equate the African American struggle against slavery with the American Revolution. As Haiti became a synonym for bloodshed in the mainstream mindset, such usage became all the more radical.⁵³ The writers of the *NAR* did not show similar generosity towards other new neighbors in the American hemisphere. Writing about the Spanish American revolutions in April 1821, Edward Everett contemptuously stated,

We have no concern with South America: we have no sympathy, we can have no well-founded political sympathy with them. We are sprung from different stocks, we speak different languages, we have been brought up in different social and moral schools, we have been governed by different codes of law, we profess radically different forms of religion.

Everett acerbically added no aid could transform “their Bolivars into Washingtons.”⁵⁴ Strikingly, Cushing compared Haiti with the American Founders. Cushing conceded, “Franklins and Washingtons indeed she [Haiti] may not yet have produced” but then approvingly he repeated Vastey’s rhetorical question, “Is it reasonable to expect that people who were bent down under the burden of ignorance and

⁵²See Cushing, “Hayti 1821,” 112, 115.

⁵³Maggie Montesinos Sale, *The Slumbering Volcano: American Slave Ship Revolts and the Production of Rebellious Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 6–7.

⁵⁴Edward Everett, “South America,” *NAR* 12 (1821): 433–34.

slavery, to whom one denied intellect, should suddenly have Franklins and Washingtons?"⁵⁵

Equally striking was Cushing's discussion of the relations between France and Haiti. In the preceding years the French Empire had begun to negotiate with the Haitian regimes on the possibility of diplomatic recognition in exchange for a substantial compensation for its financial loss. The Kingdom of Haiti strongly opposed the proposal. Vastey charged that the French intended to turn Haiti's sovereignty into "nominal independence," in effect making the island a de-facto French colony. Cushing unequivocally supported de Vastey's position and referred to the French proposal as unjust. "No man of course but a colonist," Cushing wrote, "can seriously think the king of Hayti was under the least obligations to restore the lands of the planters, or even pay them an equivalent."⁵⁶

Cushing's stance was fascinating for several reasons. First, his contemptuous reference to the French as "colonists" reflected his aversion towards French culture among New England's elite. The comment further reflected a form of "American exceptionalism," the growing belief that the United States had liberated itself from the European imperial system. But while Jefferson and his many supporters contrasted their "empire of liberty" with Britain, the *NAR* saved its contempt for the French. Elsewhere in the review Cushing characterized the French Empire as "the most acute and warlike nation of modern times, acting under every excitement of interest, pride, indignation and despair."⁵⁷

Cushing's questioning of the idea that compensation could be fair especially stands out. The topic was hardly a remote subject in the early national period. In the previous decades many countries throughout the Atlantic began to gradually abolish their slave systems. Compensation arrangements had been a known measure in these emancipation procedures. Cushing did not seem to factor in these considerations while offering his endorsement of Vastey's cause.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Cushing, "Hayti 1821," 131. I thank Kevin Gutzman and Wendy Wong Schirmer for helping me with the translation from French.

⁵⁶Baron de Vastey, *Essay on the Causes of the Revolution and Civil Wars of Hayti* (Exeter, UK: Western Luminary Office, 1823), 236; and Cushing, "Hayti 1821," 128. On the negotiations between France and Haiti, see Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier*, 62–66.

⁵⁷Cushing, "Hayti 1821," 115.

⁵⁸See Everett to Cushing, October 27, 1820.

*Another Attempt for a Black Nation:
Colonization, 1825*

Moderate reformers soon confronted another obstacle in their attempt to reconcile their world-view with the new requirements for a stable Union. The NAR supported colonization as the best remedy for slavery's end. After the passage of the 1807 Slave Trade Act, interest in colonization grew as many believed slavery would not "wither away," and sought to take proactive actions to bring about its demise.⁵⁹ At this stage the coalition that supported colonization relied on different, sometimes diametrically opposed, ethical assumptions. Supporters of "benevolent colonization" maintained their belief in the innate equality of individuals of African descent. Like Cushing, they believed that a state of freed Africans like Haiti illuminated blacks' capacity and innate equality to whites. The supporters of colonization from writers in the NAR and most likely Cushing used a similar reasoning in their support for colonization as a solution to slavery. Similarly, they celebrated black sovereignty. Moderate reformers presented an analogy between the new African settlement and the United States and drew favorable comparisons between the African settlement and the British colonization of North America two centuries earlier.⁶⁰

In the early 1820s reformers supporting colonization faced another dilemma involving Haiti. The American Colonization Society (ACS) sought to settle the free black population in an area what would become Liberia; however, having united Haiti into a single government in 1824, President Boyer approached the African American community as well as the ACS to offer free land to black migrants to the island—a significant attraction to potential migrants and a reduction in cost for sponsors of colonization.⁶¹ Supporters of colonization

⁵⁹Nicholas Perry Wood, "Considerations of Humanity and Expediency: The Slave Trades and African Colonization in the Early National Antislavery Movement" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2013).

⁶⁰Beverly C. Tomek, *Colonization and its Discontents: Emancipation, Immigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 2011). For "benevolent colonization" see Brandon Mills, "'The United States of Africa': Liberian Independence and the Contested Meaning of a Black Republic," *JER* 34 (2014): 79–107.

⁶¹For the African American migrations to Haiti in the 1820s, see Fanning, *Caribbean Crossing*. On the colonization project's financial difficulties, see Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005).

from the slaveholding South were far from enthusiastic. Along with their increasing suspicion towards humanitarian reformers, slaveholders became more hostile towards Haiti. In the 1820s prominent leaders of the slaveholding states referred to Boyer as a “black menace” and accused him of the incitement of rebellions, most notably Denmark Vesey’s supposed conspiracy in 1822, and refused to negotiate with him.⁶²

Moderate reformers, then, faced a choice: to what degree should they promote a solution that appeared more hopeful but might upset the slaveholders? The journal could either contemplate Haiti as a second possible destination or treat an African colony as the only viable solution. Seeing the slaveholders’ opposition to Boyer’s offer, the ACS continued to present the “African solution” as the only choice for supporters of colonization.⁶³

We have indications for editorial disapproval of Cushing’s original article. On October 27, 1820 Everett sent Cushing a letter, in which he clarified the cuts he made in an earlier draft of the article. Everett explained, “The phraseology I have often moderated, as being too strong. It is the cool tranquil manner that cuts deepest.” Referring to Cushing’s attack of the French imperial demands Everett commented, “You must remember too that we should always be suspected of meaning to whip the Southern Planters, over the shoulders of the [French] Colonists,” and commented that some of Cushing’s original phrases were “too strong for the Southern Stomach,” since “At present, we must submit to this servitude of public opinion.”⁶⁴

Everett had good grounds for concern. The eruption of the Missouri Crisis increased the suspicion in both sections of the Union. Slaveholders were concerned over a righteous rhetoric, which emphasized the issue of slavery’s immorality, during the debates. Slaveholders increasingly connected such rhetoric with the rise of slave revolts throughout the Anglo-American Atlantic.⁶⁵

⁶²Fanning, *Caribbean Crossing*, 42–76; and Michael P. Johnson, “Denmark Vesey and his Co-Conspirators,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (2001): 950, 964–65.

⁶³Fanning, *Caribbean Crossing*, 62–68; and Merton L. Dillon, *Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966), chapter 6. A minority group, including Benjamin Lundy, continued to advocate the “Haitian solution.”

⁶⁴See Everett to Cushing, October 27 1820, cited above.

⁶⁵On the Missouri Crisis see Robert Pierce Forbes, *The Missouri Compromise and its Aftermath: Slavery and the Meaning of America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005). On early proslavery signs see Nicholas P. Wood, “The Missouri

Yet, in 1825 the editor of the *NAR* was still willing to give the Haitian solution a chance. In that year the journal published a lengthy article—the second within a year—promoting the colonization project.⁶⁶ The writer, Jared Sparks, future president of Harvard, had replaced Everett as editor in 1823. The article, “Emigration to Africa and Hayti,” discussed both colonization options at length. Sparks began by asserting his partiality for the “African solution”; despite this declared bias, Sparks devoted considerable, sympathetic space to Boyer and “the Haitian solution.” Sparks’s arguments combined the logic of benevolent colonization with racial malice. Sparks began by noting the practical advantages of the “Haitian solution.” While “the noble and humane purpose of kindling the torch of civilization in Africa is not advanced by the Hayti project . . . far as we in the United States are concerned, this is but a secondary consideration.” The immediate benefits, Sparks continued, would be “relieving ourselves from the evil of the colored population, and if possible, wiping the disgrace of slavery from the charter of our country’s freedom.” Sparks determined that Haiti would provide the migrating black population “equality of rights and privileges, a fertile soil, protection of property, and the consequent advantages of social life.”⁶⁷

In his discussion of Boyer’s regime, Sparks contended that the Haitian government “is apparently founded on principles as liberal, as the present condition of the people will bear, and for the last few years it has been administered with energy.” Citing an agent who had been sent to the island, Sparks stated, “Great attention is paid to education; schools and the higher seminaries of learning are rapidly multiplying; and in the city it is a rare thing to find a person under thirty years of age, who cannot read and write.” Sparks’s compliments, like Cushing’s, employed economic nationalist arguments in supporting a vigorous programs of internal improvements. Cushing had feared that Boyer’s regime would halt “the internal improvement of the country: for the manners of the republicans have always been more lax than

Crisis and the ‘Changed Object’ of the American Colonization Society,” in *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization*, ed. Beverly C. Tomek and Matthew J. Hetrick (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017), 146–65. On the growing fear of slave revolts see Carl Lawrence Paulus, *The Slaveholding Crisis: Fear of Insurrection and the Coming of the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017).

⁶⁶Jared Sparks, “Emigration to Africa and Hayti,” *NAR* 20 (1825): 191–210. For the previous article see Jared Sparks, “Colonization Society,” *NAR* 18 (1824): 40–90.

⁶⁷Sparks, “Emigration to Africa and Hayti,” 192, 203–4.

those of the royalists.” Qualifying Cushing, however, Sparks expressed his optimism, predicting that the educational system would soon uplift the population.⁶⁸

To be sure, Sparks’s rhetoric was a far cry from Cushing’s celebration of Vastey. By the mid-1820s, partially following the increased number of slave rebellions, such rhetoric gradually became the province of zealot reformers such as Benjamin Lundy who characterized Boyer as a “second Moses.” The later abolitionist movement would celebrate Haiti’s legacy even more. While Sparks hardly reached such heights, his articles showed that in 1825 he was still willing to celebrate an African self-government in public.⁶⁹

The Waning of Haiti

In January 1829 Cushing published his second review of Haiti’s condition in the *NAR* focusing on Boyer’s rule. In the context of his previous piece on Haiti, the review appears strikingly different in both content and tone. While his first review centered on the writings of Vastey, a blunt critic of slavery and racial prejudice, Cushing’s 1829 review surveyed a voluminous essay on Haiti’s condition written by British naturalist James Franklin.⁷⁰ Franklin published the essay as part of the internal debate in Britain on the future of its Caribbean colonies. In 1823 the British government had agreed to initiate a plan of gradual emancipation, but by the decade’s end the antislavery movement protested the plan’s slow, seemingly reluctant execution. Franklin stated, “Hayti affords us a strong instance of what may be expected from the emancipation of slaves before they have been previously prepared to receive this boon by moral and religious instruction.” Thus, Franklin argued that an emancipation “before [the slaves] have been prepared for such a measure” would assure that “the colonies may be taken leave of forever as a productive appendage to the crown.”⁷¹ Cushing commented on Franklin’s political bias, then

⁶⁸Sparks, “Emigration to Africa and Hayti,” 203–4; and Cushing, “Hayti 1821,” 133–34.

⁶⁹Dillon, *Benjamin Lundy*, 92.

⁷⁰Caleb Cushing, “Hayti,” *NAR* 28 (1829): 150–65. James Franklin, *The Present State of Hayti, with Remarks on its Agriculture, Commerce, Laws, Religion, Finances, and Population* (London: J. Murray, 1828).

⁷¹Franklin, *The Present State of Hayti*, 409. On the British debates over emancipation, see Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor versus Slavery in British Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press 2002).

proceeded to dismiss it, and asserted that the study provided “a pretty correct idea of the state of the island under President Boyer’s administration.” The review largely treated Franklin as an impartial observer and accepted his gloomy depiction of the island’s economic conditions.⁷²

Franklin displayed hostility towards Haiti throughout his essay. While focusing on Boyer’s rule, he devoted several passages to the late Vastey, Cushing’s subject of admiration in 1821. His remarks stood in stark contrast to Cushing’s 1821 review. Discussing Vastey’s accusations against France’s colonial system, Franklin stated, “De Vastey being a negro, it is natural that he should exhibit the worst side of the picture, without noticing its better one.” The comment undoubtedly betrayed a crude racialism according to Cushing’s ambiguous logic in his first review. Elsewhere, Franklin commented on Vastey’s refutation of racialism, “At present but little of that improvement manifests itself which has been the subject of so much praise and admiration.” The comment, too, blatantly contradicted the spirit of Cushing’s first review. In his 1829 review, Cushing alluded to none of these statements.⁷³ However, the difference between Cushing’s two reviews lay in their treatment of the Haitian population. Cushing’s 1829 review displayed indifference above all. Just as in Franklin’s essay, Haiti appeared solely as a colony; and its inhabitants, as economic assets rather than human beings. Unsurprisingly, then, in contrast to his 1821 celebration of the Haitian rebels, Haiti’s revolutionary origins played no role in his 1829 review.

Cushing made one passing, yet highly revealing, reference to the circumstances of Haiti’s birth. Franklin’s study, Cushing wrote, examined “the present condition of the island, as compared with what it was previous to the insurrection of the blacks.”⁷⁴ By adopting the term “insurrection,” Cushing acquiesced to the conception of Haiti’s origins as an illegitimate revolt rather than a republican revolution. For comparison, while characterizing the French Revolution as a violent corruption of republican principles, Edward Everett still referred to it as such in an 1826 review.⁷⁵ In short, by 1829 Cushing and the *NAR* accepted the terminology of America’s “racial consensus.”

⁷²Cushing, “Hayti 1829,” 151.

⁷³See Franklin, *The Present State of Hayti*, 91, 215. On Franklin’s racist dismissal of Vastey in the work see Daut, *Tropics of Haiti*, 138–40.

⁷⁴Cushing, “Hayti 1829,” 151.

⁷⁵Edward Everett, “Memoirs of Richard Henry Lee,” *NAR* 22 (1826): 379–80.

Reading Cushing's draft of his 1829 review, Everett initially asked Cushing to add information on the colonization project in Haiti. A few days later, however, he recanted and asked Cushing not to discuss the topic.⁷⁶ In 1832 the journal published another large report on colonization. The report contained one paragraph on Haiti. The writer noted that Haiti is "a no less objectionable asylum for our black population, as regards the general American interest" but then commented that reports on the situation in Haiti "have agreed in scarcely any thing." The only certain fact, he added, was that the project had nearly ceased and that many emigrants had returned to the United States. Support for the "Haitian solution" had clearly waned.⁷⁷

After critiquing Cushing's first review, Everett assured the young writer, "Should the *North American Review* acquire a decisive authority and popularity in the Country, Slavery shall be one of the things on which its battery shall oftenest be played, while I have any concern in it."⁷⁸ Everett's hope came true. Within a decade of its establishment, the *NAR* became a major force among the nation's literary elite. By 1827 John Brown Russwurm, a pioneer of African American print culture, observed that the *NAR* "has made Boston the focus of literature; every major literati has been eager to enroll his name among the contributors to its pages."⁷⁹ Yet, Everett did not keep his promise. Cushing's 1829 review was part of a larger process: during that period the *NAR* as a whole curbed any sympathetic treatment of non-whites, paternalist or otherwise. This was even true of the journal's treatment of Native Americans. Since the American Revolution New England's political leadership had firmly retained its "philanthropic" view of the Indigenous population and its potential to assimilate and enter "civilization."⁸⁰ In 1830 the journal published conflicting positions on Andrew Jackson's plan to remove the Cherokee. Although a strident opponent of Jackson, the January issue featured Lewis Cass's support for removal and included a dismissal of the intellectual abilities of Native Americans. Conversely, in the October issue missionary Jeremiah Evarts published a review that expressed the traditional

⁷⁶Everett to Cushing, October 27, 1828 and November 1, 1828.

⁷⁷"American Colonization Society," *NAR* 35 (1832): 131.

⁷⁸Everett to Cushing, October 27, 1820.

⁷⁹John Brown Russwurm to Samuel E. Cornish, August 1827, quoted in James Winston, *The Struggles of John Brown Russwurm: The Life and Writings of a Pan-Africanist Pioneer, 1799–1851* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 171.

⁸⁰Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973).

anti-racialist view common in New England.⁸¹ With the emergence of the Nullification Crisis and the growing risk of disunion, New England's political leadership embraced the cause of a sanctified Union in a stronger manner than ever before, and that view dictated greater appeasement of the South.

Dehumanizing the Revolution was key to slaveholders' growing attacks on the legitimacy to Haiti's existence. South Carolina Senator Robert Y. Hayne expressed the South's hardening stance in 1826. When Simon de Bolivar invited the United States to participate in a gathering of the new American nations in the Congress of Panama, slaveholders were concerned by the implied recognition of Haiti, despite the fact that it had not been invited to the gathering. Hayne famously stated that the recognition of Haiti "belong[s] to a class, which the peace and safety of a large portion of our Union forbids us even to discuss." While scholars have rightly noted Hayne's statement as an example for the Southern desire to conceal the memory of Caribbean slave revolts, his other comments suggest a stronger message. By participating in the Congress, Hayne explained, the United States would implicitly sanction the notion that Haiti was similar to the Latin American nations, which "have proclaimed the principles of 'liberty and equality,' and have marched to victory under the banner of 'universal emancipation.'" In other words, Hayne was very much bothered by the treatment of Haiti as a legitimate offspring of the "Age of Revolutions."⁸² In 1832 scholar Thomas Roderick Dew, an influential proponent of the "positive good" of slavery, best articulated this position as he cried, "Had it come at last to this? That the hellish plots and massacres of Dessalines, Gabriel, and Nat Turner, are to be compared to the noble deeds and devoted patriotism of Lafayette, Kosciusko, and Scynnecki?" Their rejection of "recognition" meant far more than diplomatic formalities.⁸³

⁸¹Lewis Cass, "Removal of the Indians," *NAR* 30 (1830): 62–121; and Jeremiah Evarts, "Removal of the Indians," *NAR* 31 (1830): 396–442. For a discussion of both articles see Maureen Konkle, "Indigenous Ownership and the Emergence of U.S. Liberal Imperialism," *American Indian Quarterly* 32 (2008): 297–323. On the later view of Native Americans among New England's conservative elite, see Howe, *Political Culture*, 38–42.

⁸²For Hayne's comments, see 1 *Register of Debates*, United States Senate, 19th Congress, 1st session, 165–66 (1826). See also, Paul D. Naish, *Slavery and Silence: Latin America and the U.S. Slave Debate* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), chapter 1.

⁸³Thomas Roderick Dew, "Abolition of Negro Slavery," September 1832, *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830–1860*, ed. Drew

Everett maintained a posture of appeasement in his political capacities. As Massachusetts governor, Everett actively supported the silencing of debate on slavery following the establishment of the “Gag Rule,” and he continued to oppose “antislavery agitation” throughout the Antebellum Era, as did Jared Sparks. The *NAR* continued to serve as the voice of Webster and the Whig Party’s conservative faction.⁸⁴ Cushing himself eventually left the Whig Party and supported the Mexican-American War. As attorney general in Franklin Pierce’s administration, Cushing enforced the Fugitive Slave Act. His willingness to appease the South in the Union’s name grew to the degree that in the 1860 presidential election Cushing supported the candidacy of John C. Breckinridge. In 1861, when Cushing asked to join the Union forces in Massachusetts, Governor John A. Andrew declined his request.⁸⁵

While the story could end here, the legacies of the *NAR* and of its cultural and intellectual milieu are more enduring and complicated. Several scholars have underlined the rhetorical connection between New England’s conservative, former Federalist elite and antebellum antislavery and anti-racism movements as illustrated, for example by the Garrisonians for their principled challenges to racialism. In its celebration of Haiti and opposition to racist assumptions, Cushing’s 1821 review provides further illustration of these rhetorical affinities.⁸⁶ Moreover, a look at Cushing’s two reviews reveals a more

Gilpin Faust (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 59–60. On the significance of Haiti in Dew’s evolving thought, see Alfred L. Brophy, *University, Court, and Slave: Proslavery Academic Thought and Southern Jurisprudence, 1831–1861* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2016), 40, 241.

⁸⁴Mason, *Apostle of Union*, chapter 4; also see Matthew Mason, “‘The Sacred Ashes of the First of Men’: Edward Everett, the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, and Late Antebellum Unionism,” *Remembering the Revolution: Memory, History, and Nation Making from Independence to the Civil War*, ed., Michael A. McDonnell et al. (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 265–79. On the *NAR* as the voice of conservatism, see Paul E. Teed, “The Politics of Sectional Memory: Theodore Parker and the ‘Massachusetts Quarterly Review,’ 1847–1850,” *JER* 21 (2001): 301–29.

⁸⁵Bruce Laurie, *Beyond Garrison: Antislavery and Social Reform* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Michael Todd Landis, *Northern Men with Southern Loyalties: The Democratic Party and the Sectional Crisis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014); and Lynn, *Preserving the White Man’s Republic*. On Andrew’s reply to Cushing see Henry Greenleaf Pearson, *The Life of John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts, 1861–1865* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1904), 1:197–98.

⁸⁶Paul Goodman, *Of One Blood: Abolitionism and the Origins of Racial Equality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Richard S. Newman, *The*

essential, conceptual connection between New England's early national conservatism and antebellum antislavery—and also sheds light on the later rupture between these movements.⁸⁷ “Abolitionism began, and ended, with man,” Ronald Walters has observed, reflecting on the tension between social control and social protest that, to one degree or another, animated all of the era's reform movements. Abolitionism “sought to liberate men and, at the same time, to control man, to make him moral.” That was the same paternalistic impulse observed in Cushing's 1821 review and in some pro-colonization rhetoric.⁸⁸ At the same time, the *NAR*, through its promotion and defense of New England history and culture, would help lay the groundwork for the antislavery movement. John Gorham Palfrey, an *NAR* editor, would become an antislavery Whig, a Free Soiler, and a Republican, as would future *NAR* contributor Charles Sumner.⁸⁹

Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). On these rhetorical affinities see Marc M. Arkin, “The Federalist Trope: Power and Passion in Abolitionist Rhetoric,” *JAH* 88 (2001): 75–98. See also Matthew Mason, “Federalists, Abolitionists, and the Problem of Influence,” *Am. 19th Cent. Hist.* 10 (2009): 1–27.

⁸⁷Kinley J. Brauer, *Cotton versus Conscience: Massachusetts Whig Politics and Southwestern Expansion, 1843–1848* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967); and Corey M. Brooks, *Liberty Power: Antislavery Third Parties and the Transformation of American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

⁸⁸Ronald G. Walters, “The Erotic South: Civilization and Sexuality in American Abolitionism,” *American Quarterly* 25 (1973): 200.

⁸⁹Frank Otto Gatell, *John Gorham Palfrey and the New England Conscience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 78–90. Cushing, *Index to NAR*, 1:147; and Anne-Marie Taylor, *Young Charles Sumner and the Legacy of the American Enlightenment, 1811–1851* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001). Mason, *Apostle of Union*, introduction, especially 8.

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