

'The Indian Image in The Black Mind:'

Representing Native Americans in Antebellum African American Public Culture

by

Arika Easley-Houser

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate School-New Brunswick

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in History

Written under the director of

Mia Bay

And approved by

New Brunswick, New Jersey

MAY 2014

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

'The Indian Image in The Black Mind:'

Representing Native Americans in Free African American Public Culture

in the Antebellum North

by

Arika Easley-Houser

My dissertation considers how ideas about Native Americans were figured into free African American rhetoric in antebellum America. Scholarship about the 1830s has emphasized how white reformists from the North supported the gradual abolition of slavery by calling for blacks in America to emigrate to West Africa while opposing the policy of Indian Removal. Yet, scholars have not explored how African Americans linked Indian Removal with the abolitionist causes. While there has been an emergence of literature about the experiences of enslaved African Americans within the "Five Civilized Tribes" (Cherokee, Seminole, Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek), there is a dearth of historical research about how ideas about Native Americans were part of the underpinnings of free African American intellectual life.

The "Indian Image" is not monolithic in the "Black mind." In fact, I argue that African American writers present three different perspectives about Native Americans that are distinct, and not necessarily complementary to each other, or to those ideas

held by white Americans. First, some African Americans aligned themselves with Native Americans to critique white supremacy and bolster their struggles for abolition and citizenship. In some instances, this alliance was linked to either real or imagined shared ancestral relationships between African Americans and Native Americans. Secondly, some African Americans espoused uplift ideologies in order to position themselves above Native Americans along racial, class and gender hierarchies. Thirdly, some African Americans compared and contrasted between Native American and white slaveholding practices, and perceived Native American slaveholders as being more benevolent.

This project builds upon scholarship about racial ideologies in the early American republic by demonstrating that African Americans explored diverse ideas about social constructions beyond anti-slavery rhetoric alone. It contributes to a growing subfield of African American and Native American comparative histories which is linked with the scholarship of racial construction by historians such as George Fredrickson and Mia Bay. I document the historical binaries of Black/Indian which are inextricably linked to the White/Black and White/Indian binaries explored in these earlier works.

Given the resources in African American early print culture, my methodological approach is interdisciplinary. I analyze a range of primary sources in order to examine the language, descriptions, narrative sketches, and rhetorical choices that African American writers used to describe contemporary and past experiences of Native Americans. My sources include articles in the African American press, letters, speeches, memoirs, church and political organizational records and narratives of former slaves. In addition, I draw on interdisciplinary insights from a number of academic fields, including

African American and Native American histories, Literature, Racial Theory, and American Studies.

My introduction chapter defines the methodological framework and intervention of my dissertation. Chapter 1 examines of the rhetoric that appears within the emerging print culture of the eighteenth-century to reveal the varied ways that writers of African descent invoked Native Americans. The "Indian image" changes over the eighteenth century: from violent/"savage" images of indigenous people in the mid-eighteenth century to viewing them as either allies or foes. African Americans invoked ideas their about Native Americans either symbolically or due to actual encounters in the later decades of the eighteenth century.

Chapter 2 illuminates how Native Americans figured in the emergence of the black printing press and pamphlets for the purpose of bolstering the challenge against slavery, Indian Removal and African colonization in the first two decades of the nineteenth-century. I consider the mission of the *Freedom's Journal*, America's first black-edited newspaper, and the implicit ways that the editors juxtaposed news coverage about Native Americans and reports of violence and racial uplift. I also examine the symbolic ways in which David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, which was first published in 1829, incorporated the symbolic use of Native Americans in order to illicit violent opposition to slavery.

Chapter 3 examines the impact of federal policies, particularly the Indian Removal Act of 1830, and the expansion of slavery. A tragedy for many members of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Act also causes widespread fear amongst free African

Americans who were concerned about their own future in the new Republic. Two issues about Native Americans dominate African American writings in these years: the Seminole Wars in Florida and two Supreme Court decisions pertaining to the Cherokee Nation. This chapter also discusses how many African Americans who were ancestrally linked with Native Americans challenged nascent pseudo-scientific ideas about the constructions of race.

Chapter 4 analyzes how black-edited newspapers from the 1850s in the North and in Canada included reports which revealed that there was more limited actual contact between Native Americans and African Americans than in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. I also examine the various ways that some African Americans claimed "Indianness" as a form of social capital as evidenced through their writings in memoirs and newspaper reports about legal cases. Finally, my conclusion chapter ends with a debate that occurred amongst an organization of free black men in Brooklyn, New York in 1860 around the issue of comparing the historical injustices faced by African Americans and Native Americans.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As it seems to be the case with each of the author's of dissertations and books that I have ever read, it is also the same for me: many people have helped me to complete this project. As a part-time doctoral student at Rutgers, it has been a long and exciting journey. Over the years to help me pay for coursework, I have benefitted from grants from various sources to fund my doctoral studies, including from the Rutgers-New Brunswick Department of History Warren and Beatrice Susman Dissertation Completion fellowship, The Albert Greenfield Dissertation Fellowship from the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Social Science Research Council as a former Mellon-Mays Undergraduate fellow, The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey Emerging Scholars supported by the Provost Office and the Historical Studies Program and the Isiah Thomas Stipend from the American Antiquarian Society. Additionally, while juggling full-time work in student affairs and full-time teaching, I also benefitted from the tuition remission benefits from Montclair State University and Hudson County Community College.

I must begin by extending individual thanks to the impeccable group of scholars who formed my dissertation committee. My advisor, Mia Bay, has long been inspirational to me, especially through her first publication, *The White Image in the Black Mind*. Her work was first introduced to me as a graduate student at Columbia University by my thesis advisor, Farah Jasmine Griffin. Dr. Bay has been a model historian (her humor shines through her writing), and I appreciate all of her time and patience guiding me through the years. Deborah Gray White provided great assistance

to me at a critical juncture of developing my dissertation proposal. Camilla Townsend has been a steadfast supporter of my work over the years, and also has provided a lot of personal encouragement. Finally, Ann Fabian has inspired me and motivated me from our first meeting when I first described my project, and especially through providing expedient feedback in the last final stages of my dissertation prior to my defense. One scholar who became an "unofficial" part of my committee was Stephen Hall. After reading his work, I immediately knew that he would be a great resource. Not only did Stephen read my work and offered critical feedback, he provided encouragement about being a historian. He encouraged me about the importance of reading of my African American historical figures through the lens of understanding of Christian values. Also, Stephen inspired me because he studied under the tutelage of Benjamin Quarles during his college years at Morgan State University. I always kept Quarles' classic work *Black Abolitionists* close at hand near me while writing my dissertation.

I am grateful to many wonderful librarians and archivists who have assisted me, including Tom Glynn, at Rutgers-New Brunswick, Emily Belcher of Princeton University, and Larry Weimer of the Brooklyn Historical Society. My research at the Library Company of Philadelphia was not only shaped by the wonderful archivists there, Phil Lapsansky, James Green, Krystal Appiah and Connie King, but also through the short-term and long-term research fellows I was also to meet. A special thanks to Erica Armstrong Dunbar for her committee's selection of my project to receive the long-term fellowship, and for inviting me to give a lecture at the University of Delaware to finally meet Arica Coleman, who has become a steadfast supporter and confidante. In

particular, Marie Stango (University of Michigan) was particularly supportive of my project and helping me during frenzied times of trying to clarify some of my arguments in my project. Post-doctoral fellows, Britt Rusert (University of Massachusetts-Amherst) and Peter Jaros (Franklin & Marshall College) were each instrumental in helping me. In fact, if it were not for Peter's encouragement, I would not have connected with his colleague, Katy Chiles, whose scholarship was an inspiration for my first dissertation chapter. Additionally, at the end of my term there, it was a pleasure getting to meet and chat with Nicholas Guyatt.

Many graduate students both at Rutgers and outside of Rutgers have become steadfast supporters and friends over the years, including Danielle Pritchett (Department of Political Science), Donovan Ramon (Department English), and within the Department of History, Dara Walker, Miya Carey, Robin Chapdelaine, John Adams, and Jasmin Young. Outside of Rutgers, Keisha Blain, Jennifer Jones and Tikia Hamilton (Princeton University) Nancy Morgan and Jon Crider (Temple University) Taja-Nia Henderson (Rutgers-Newark School of Law) were each helpful and inspiring in many ways. In terms of additional layers of support, the staff and participants of the Faculty Success Program sponsored by the National Center for Faculty Diversity and Development provided an enormous source of virtual accountability which helped propel me along over the last two years.

As a former student affairs administrator, and full and part-time faculty member at several colleges and universities throughout New York and New Jersey, there is also a long list of former supervisors, staff members and former students to thank. Some key

supporters include the following people: Allyson Straker-Banks, Rosemary Howell, Michael Whelan, Leslie Wilson (all from Montclair State University, Keith Chu (Bergen County Community College), Mirta Tejada, Dorothy Anderson, Daisy Baiza, Denise Dunovant, Katy Sweeting and Sean Egan (Hudson County Community), Claudine Keenan, Robert Gregg and Michelle McDonald (The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey).

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my family, whose history has continuously inspired me and shaped my desires to study history. On my maternal side, it was my interests in claims for Cherokee ancestry that first prompted me to write an undergraduate research paper as a Mellon Minority Undergraduate Fellow at Dartmouth College. On my paternal side, my aunt Madeline Scott has been a steadfast supporter and committing to documenting our family's history. My aunts Carol Mitchel and Lorna Ruth Elmore have also been encouraging over the years. My parents, Bill and Bettye Easley have continued to be my biggest cheerleaders and always pushed me to work hard and pursue my dreams. My brothers, Brent and Jeffrey, sister-in-law, Cicily, niece, Kennedy and nephew, William, have always helped keep me grounded with love and laughter. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to sincerely thank my loving husband and partner, Tierream Houser. He has continued to keep me balanced on all the things that matter: our love, home life, and fun with my step-daughter, Serena. They have all helped to make the dissertation writing process enjoyable. Finally, I thank my baby-boy-to-be, Tyler Robert Houser, who is due June 14th. God willing, his arrival will mark major shifts that will be forthcoming in my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii-v
Introduction	1 - 11
Chapter 1	12 - 42
Representations of Indigenous Peoples in African-American Writings in the Revolutionary Era, 1746-1790	
Chapter 2	43 - 71
Juxtaposing Debates about Slavery, Colonization and Indian Removal in Early Nineteenth-Century America 1800-1829	
Chapter 3	72 - 118
"Whether an Indian or African Sun May have Burned Upon Them:"African American and Native American Racial Politics in the Pivotal Years, 1830-1849	
Chapter 4	119 - 152
'The Absurdity and Wickedness of Making a Man's Freedom Depend Upon the Color of His Skin or The Quality of His Hair': Fugitive Slave Law, The Claim of Native American Ancestry and Indian Slaveholding in the 1850s	
Conclusion	153 - 164
Chapter Endnotes	165 - 234
Bibliography	235 - 268

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure #1. Lucy Terry, "Bars Fights" from Josiah Gilbert Holland. History of Western Massachusetts(1855).....	13
Figure #2. Frontpiece of fourth edition of John Marrant's memoir (1785).....	36
Figure #3. Images of Rev. Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm, co-editors of the <i>Freedom's Journal</i>	48
Figure #4. David Walker's <i>Appeal</i> title page.....	70
Figure #5. February 1849 Broadside for Copway's lecture tour.....	86
Figure #6. " The first steamboat on the Missouri" reprint by Robert Douglass,Jr.....	97
Figure #7. "Baptism of Pocahontas" by John Gadsby Chapman.....	104
Figure #8. Frontpiece image of Armstrong Archer's A Compendium of Slavery as it exists in the United States (1844).....	106
Figure #9. Newspaper Clippings. A) Sarah Green in the Rights of All. B) H.C. Thorp in an article from the New York Tribune featuring one of his patients providing a reference for his services and "Carminantia" cure.....	112
Figure #10. George Caitlin painting of Choctaw Chief, Mosholatubbee.....	138

INTRODUCTION

My project seeks to answer the questions: how do ideas about Native Americans reverberate in black writings from the mid-eighteenth century to the Civil War and how are they distinct from the broader meanings that white Americans invested in "Indianness?" I argue that African American writers present three different perspectives about Native Americans that are distinct, and not necessarily complementary to each other, or to those ideas held by white Americans. First, some African Americans aligned themselves with Native Americans to critique white supremacy and bolster the struggles for abolition and citizenship. In some instances, this alliance was linked to either real or imagined shared ancestral relationships between African Americans and Native Americans. Second, some African Americans espoused uplift ideologies in order to position themselves above Native Americans along racial, class and gender hierarchies. And thirdly, African Americans compared and contrasted between Native American and white slaveholding practices.

The Indian Image in the Black Mind examines these varied "images" of Native Americans in African American "minds," or within African American intellectual history from 1746 to 1861. This project is purposefully titled in homage of two important earlier works about racial construction by historians George Fredrickson and Mia Bay.¹ I document how the historical binaries of Black/Indian are inextricably linked to the White/Black and White/Indian binaries explored in this earlier scholarship. The main sources this project considers are African American writings around racial ideologies, comparative African American and Native American histories, and the connected

histories of the abolition movement and social reform movement for Native American causes.

Racial ideology historiography

My discussion of the history of race formation draws on the existing scholarship about the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which has generally presented Native Americans as seen by white intellectual and political figures. Starting in the 1960s and 1970s, scholars such as Robert Berkhofer, Michael Rogin, Ronald Meek, and Bernard Sheehan published works tracing the history of white perceptions of Native Americans from the colonial era to the nineteenth century. They examined how racial views were derived from certain socio-political decisions, such as the civilizing strategies for certain Native Americans and the passing of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, and how ideas about racial attitudes began to be justified by scientific beliefs in the mid-nineteenth century.² In the 1980s, Reginald Horsman and Brian Dippie's works explored the subject of the "vanishing Indian" with broader themes such as the history racial ideologies, imperialism and the concept of America's "Manifest Destiny."³ More recently, scholars such as Philip Deloria and Lauren Mielke have built upon this older research to illuminate how Native Americans have both been historically oppressed and mythologized.⁴ Deloria explored how the process of "othering" Native Americans informed the national self-identification process from the early national era to antebellum era, while Mielke examined how the trope of the "Indians" evolved in key moments in antebellum American literature.⁵

Other recent scholars such as Steven Conn and Maureen Konkle have considered Native American sources in our understanding of the past. For example, Conn noted that Native American history "went largely unrecognized and misunderstood by white Americans" in the nineteenth century.⁶ Similarly, Konkle asserted that the historiography of nineteenth-century Native American history has been a struggle over "what is counted as true and real." She explained that we have to consider the written and oral sources by Native American intellectuals to fully understand the nineteenth century.

Like the scholarship about the racial perception of Native Americans, scholarship about such racial ideologies focused on African has a long history. The publications by Winthrop Jordan, Edmund Morgan and George Frederickson inaugurated an ongoing scholarly debate about how racial ideas shaped the development of slavery in America. Some scholars argue that racial ideas were present upon colonial encounters between Africans and Europeans, and others maintain that racial ideas evolved over time.⁷ Moreover, scholars in both of these camps have documented the classification of race in a system of social and legal hierarchy between the colonial era to the nineteenth century.

Also relevant to this dissertation are studies of the racial perceptions held by African Americans addressing the ways in which some African Americans linked the history of Indians with oppression of African Americans.⁸ One example is Rhett Jones's critique from 1977 of African Americanist scholarship which "promulgat[ed] earlier racist stereotypes of Indians."⁹ He asserted that 1960s era historians who wrote about African Americans tended to over-romanticize the shared historical experiences of Native Americans and African Americans. He also described a persistent theme in some of the existing scholarship that suggested "blacks suffered more than Indians." I argue in my

dissertation that this problematic theme has its beginnings in black writings in the eighteenth century.

My dissertation addresses connections between African American and Native American intellectual history as part of a broader subfield of comparative studies between both racial groups. As John Stauffer has noted, black abolitionists often employed rhetoric about Native Americans to challenge America's political status quo.¹⁰ Writing with little reference to "actual Indians" they identified "with the symbol of the savage warrior" revealing the "central components in their worldviews and reform visions during the height of their alliance."¹¹ More specifically, Stauffer analyzes a fictional account, *Blake: Or the Huts of America*, by Martin Delany. Delany writes about a former slave, Henry Blake who travelled throughout the United States to encourage slaves to rebel. Blake encountered a Choctaw Indian. Through this encounter, Stauffer writes, Blake "learns from the Indians the virtue of violence in resisting white oppression and authority."¹² However, Stauffer limits his analysis by only considering sources from the 1850s and 1860s. Similarly, although outside of the timeframe for this project, Michelle Kuhl suggested that African American men who participated in the Plains Indian wars of the late nineteenth-century saw their participation as "a path to racial advancement and manhood."¹³ My dissertation builds upon the work of Stauffer and Kuhl to explore how racial and gendered ideas about Native Americans are depicted by enslaved, free and recently enslaved African American men and women writers over a different and longer timeline from the mid-eighteenth century to the antebellum era.

African American and Native Comparative Studies Historiography

My work is also part of the subfield of African American and Native American comparative studies. I draw upon interdisciplinary insights from a number of academic fields, including African American and Native American histories, Literature, Racial Theory, and American Studies. Scholars such as Tiya Miles, Celia Naylor, Fay Yarbrough, Claudio Saunt, Barbara Krauthamer and others have shaped this subfield through their investigation of Indian slaveholding and shifting racial attitudes by Native Americans about African Americans.¹⁴ Much of their research also has examined the lived experiences of both people of African American and Native American mixed racial ancestry, or those African Americans who were enslaved amongst the Five Civilized Tribes in the Southeast and in Indian Territory.

My project engages with the lived experiences of both populations, while paying close attention to the symbolic encounters between African Americans and Native Americans, or ways in which Native Americans were symbolically identified. I examine the proliferation of racial ideas about Native Americans that resonated within African American discourse in various spaces and places. Still, the bulk of my sources are produced by blacks whose status was either free or enslaved who lived and published their works in the North, in Canada or in London, and including those who also lived in South. My work uses these sources to explore how African American viewed Native Americans and reframed other Americans' ideas about this group.

Social Reform Historiography on Intersections between the Abolition Movement and Anti-Indian Removal Reform

The idea of the "long abolition movement," is crucial to my study. It requires further elaboration. This term suggests that we cannot limit the scope of our understanding of abolitionism the decades immediately preceding the Civil War. Instead, we must recognize that abolitionism began alongside the development of the institution of slavery.

Furthermore, although abolitionism is usually defined by scholars as an "interracial" movement between blacks and whites, several historians, including Alisse Portnoy, Natalie Joy, Linda Kerber, Mary Herschberger, Christine Bolt and John Campbell, have evidenced linking African American abolitionism and Native American reform movements.¹⁵ Their work focuses on the 1830s, a decade in which radical abolitionism and anti-Indian Removal reform occurred simultaneously.¹⁶ Various evidence from this period, including rhetorical and literary sources, such as poetry, suggests that reformers drew analogies between the oppressions facing African and Native Americans. For example, as Kerber notes, John Greenleaf Whittier, a poet and editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman* in 1838 wrote about his opposition to Cherokee removal for three years prior to writing his first formal antislavery statement.¹⁷ Likewise, Herschberger notes that two future abolitionists, the white women social reformers, Catharine Beecher and Lydia Sigourney, led national petitions to oppose Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal policies. She argues that this experience opposing removal "prompted [these] reformers to rethink their position and to reject African colonization in favor of immediatism."¹⁸ Finally, Campbell suggests that stories about bloodhounds were

used in abolitionists' rhetoric to garner sympathy and appeal to white Christian supporters who viewed the injustices towards both African Americans and Native Americans as immoral.¹⁹ Such literature underscored that bloodhounds were used to track and capture both fugitive African American slaves and rebellious Indians during the Seminole Wars that occurred at various moments during the first half of the nineteenth century.

However, historical studies of the connections between the African American abolitionism and Native Americans reform movements have largely focused on white reformers. My work exposes the silences in the literature that have not included African American writings and thoughts.²⁰ Native Americans were widely referenced in the nineteenth-century African American discussions of abolitionism and citizenship. Free African Americans challenged historical injustices that Native Americans faced, and also were aware of Native American slaveholding and protested these practices alongside white slaveholding.²¹ My dissertation will document these challenges and protests and also demonstrate that it was not solely the issue of Indian Removal that caused black writers to draw upon links they saw in the oppressions facing both Blacks and Indians over the course of this longer timeline.

Methodology and Sources

My methodological approach is interdisciplinary. I analyze many kinds of primary sources in order to capture the language, descriptions, narrative sketches, and rhetorical choices that African American writers used to describe contemporary and past experiences of Native Americans. My sources include articles in the African American

press, letters, speeches, memoirs, church and political organizational records and narratives of former slaves. These sources illuminate the various spaces in which African American public culture took shape.²²

Chapter Overview

My project look at black thought between 1746 and 1861. Chapter One provides a fresh perspective about how depictions of Native Americans appeared in African American writings during the eighteenth-century era amid imperial battles and religious revivals. This chapter considers several early black literary texts, beginning with Lucy Terry's ballad from 1746, which documented an attack by Abenaki Indians on the Anglo American and enslaved African American settlement of Deerfield, Massachusetts. While Terry's ballad dates back to the first half of the eighteenth century, the bulk of the sources I examine were published either immediately prior to or after the American Revolution. They include writings by black figures such as Briton Hammon, Olaudah Equiano, Phillis Wheatley and John Marrant. I argue that their works offer insight into the lived interactions between people of African descent and indigenous Americans which occurred along the frontiers of European imperial powers in the Americas. Furthermore, I argue that Revolutionary rhetoric and ideas about Native Americans informed black writings about racial ideas during the early national era. This chapter draws inspiration from works by Tiya Miles, Emily Fields, and Katy Chiles. Their publications illuminate the connections between African American literature and Native American history.²³

Chapter Two illustrates the ways in which black writers cited the injustices faced by Native Americans to support their radical opposition to slavery and African

colonization during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. I examine the development of African American print culture, particularly focusing on the emergence of the *Freedom's Journal*, American's black newspaper, which operated from 1827-1829. I highlight the coverage of Native Americans in this newspaper, and also explore discussions of Native Americans in sermons and speeches by black orators. Ideas by white reformer and political leaders which compared and contrasted the oppressions facing Native Americans and African Americans also informed black rhetoric. The emerging black print culture provided a space to challenge racial discrimination, combat African colonization efforts, and empathize with Native Americans in the debates about Indian Removal prior to 1830. Finally, I highlight references to Native Americans, which appear in David Walker's seminal text, *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* (1829), which reportedly circulated among the Cherokees in Georgia. In doing so, I also compare the intellectual contributions of this text to the works by the Native American intellectual figure William Apess, who was Walker's contemporary.

Chapter Three covers the turbulent years from 1830 to 1849, starting with the passage and implementation of the Indian Removal Act. A tragedy for many members of the Five Civilized Tribes, Indian Removal also caused widespread fear amongst free African Americans who were concerned about their own future in the American republic. During the decades of implementing Indian Removals, the expansion of the domestic slave trade and the disenfranchisement of most Northern blacks inspired many black writers to incorporate symbolic representations of Native Americans (ie. as a "dying race" and less civilized than blacks) in their writings in an effort to affirm demands of those struggling for black citizenship and counter racial beliefs about black inferiority. Black

writers also frequently documented how Cherokee Removal and the ongoing Seminole Wars provided additional ammunition for black writers to critique racism in America, and align these causes with their continual opposition against slavery and racial discrimination.

Chapter Four considers the decade preceding the Civil War, a period when racial ideologies about the inferiority of African Americans and Native Americans by white Americans were more hardened than in prior decades. Violence and surveillance of enslaved and free African Americans increased with the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. While legal cases that questioned racial and status had occurred since the colonial era, reports about legal cases proliferated more in black newspapers during this era. Court officials often had to determine whether such individuals were either Black and enslaved as opposed to being Indian and free, and in doing so, frequently incorporated ideas about different racial characteristics based on perceived phenotypical and temperament. Additionally, this chapter chronicles the westward expansion of slavery, which included the expansion of Native American slaveholding of African Americans in Indian Territory. Indian nations in western territories were often threatened by violence from the white and black settlers. Finally, I also analyze references to Native Americans in several slave narratives published in the 1850s, including works by Sojourner Truth, Henry Bibb, and Solomon Northrup. Each writer incorporated various depictions of Native Americans, including some who assisted fugitive slaves, or others as benevolent slaveholders.

The dissertation concludes with an examination of an 1860 debate between black community leaders in Brooklyn, NY, which was documented the *Anglo-African*

newspaper. The debate took on the question of who had faced more historical oppression, African Americans and Natives Americans? While we can understand today the fruitlessness of such a debate, it is my hope that this project illuminates how and why such a comparative debates about Native American oppression once made sense to African Americans. I contend that such debates informed the development of black-nationalist ideologies, citizenship claims and the fight against racial discrimination that faced by African Americans.²⁴

CHAPTER 1:
**Representations of Indigenous Peoples in African-American Writings
 in the Revolutionary Era, 1746-1790**

Introduction

"August 'twas the twenty-fifth, seventeen hundred forty-six; The Indians did in ambush lay, some very valiant men to slay, The names of whom I'll not leave out..."²⁵ These words begin a ballad entitled "Bars Fight," by Lucy Terry, an enslaved African woman in Deerfield, Massachusetts.²⁶ Her work is one of the earliest known literary sources credited to an enslaved person of African descent in America. She was about twenty-years old when she created this twenty-eight line ballad which was shared through oral tradition for over a hundred years until it was written in 1855. In her ballad, Terry described witnessing a group of Abenaki Indians attack and kill British settlers in Deerfield. The Abenaki Indians were allies of the French in the French and Indian War.²⁷ While Lucy does not provide the context or background, she detailed the names of all seven of the Abenaki's British victims- five men and one woman. There was also an eight-year old child, Samuel Allen, Jr., who survived the attack, but was taken as a captive by the Abenakis to Canada (see Figure #1 for complete ballad).

In one key line, she noted that one victim, Oliver Amsden, "was slain which caused his friends much grief and pain."²⁸ As the narrator of the ballad, Lucy never identified herself as a friend of the dead men and woman, nor can we be certain how much sympathy-- if any-- she felt as she witnessed such violence. We can only imagine the range of violence she may have witnessed in her lifetime. We know that as a child she endured the horrors of the Middle Passage and likely witnessed deaths aboard ship. What

can Terry's ballad tell us about the possible worldview of people of African descent, particularly their impressions of Native Americans during the age of revolution?

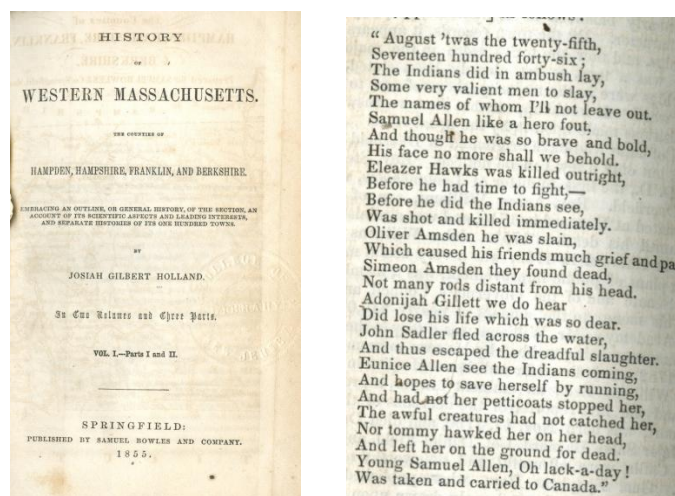


Figure #1. Josiah Gilbert Holland. *History of Western Massachusetts*. Vol I and II.

(Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles and Company, 1855): Title page, 360.

This was one of the earliest printed versions of Lucy Terry's "Bars Fights" which dates back to 1746.

This chapter explores early black literary texts, such as Lucy's ballad, for their depictions of Native Americans during eighteenth-century. Black writers in the Atlantic World first appeared in our historical records in the eighteenth century which is the earliest moment when we can trace their depictions of Native Americans. During the American Revolutionary era, black writers were inspired by the rhetoric of "liberty" and the religious fervor of the Great Awakening movement.²⁹ Many of these writers spent most of their lives on the mainland of North America in the midst of imperial battles. Other writers spent some of their lives in other locations in the Atlantic World, including London, Nova Scotia, Caribbean and South America. Their writings appeared in various genres, such as memoirs, public letters, and captivity and travel narratives. Taken together, these texts constitute a transatlantic body of literature about movement, cultural encounters and exchange of racial ideas about Native Americans by writers of African descent.³⁰

This chapter examines of the rhetoric that appears within the emerging African American print culture of the eighteenth-century to reveal how many black writers (except for Lucy Terry) invoked Native Americans. There was not one unified image of the "Indian" in various "Black minds." The "Indian image" changes over the eighteenth century: from violent/"savage" images of indigenous people in the mid-eighteenth century to viewing them as either allies or foes, either symbolically or due to actual encounters in the later decades of the eighteenth century. I also argue that by Black writers depicted Native Americans through the use of various rhetorical devices to understand their actual or symbolic encounters with Indians. Their rhetorical choices included Christian and biblical imagery to depict their actual or symbolic encounters with Indians as either allies to Indians who were Christians or as being superior to non-Christian Indians. Their depictions of Native Americans were also steeped in a complex set of social relationships. Black writers viewed themselves as "above" indigenous people along social hierarchies marked by race, gender and status. Furthermore, since most of the writers were black men, they employed rhetoric which helped them to stake claims for a higher social status which sheds light on how gender, race and class status were perceived in the eighteenth century.

While literary scholars have studied these sources generally from the perspective of White/Black or White/Indian binaries, this chapter will examine these sources from the perspective of Black/Indian encounters.³¹ The chapter's opening section will compare Lucy Terry's ballad to a text by one of the earliest known African American writers, Briton Hammon, which also makes references to Native Americans. They both depict Native Americans through the violent attacks that occurred along the frontiers of early

America In the second section, I examine a well-known letter by Phillis Wheatley, the famous African American poet, from 1774, written to Samson Occom, a Mohegan Indian minister who she considered a friend and an ally in the early abolition movement. I argue that Wheatley's letter utilized biblical rhetoric to highlight the shared oppressions faced by African Americans and Native Americans during the American Revolutionary era.

The next section focuses on the decades after the American Revolution. I compare two memoirs by African abolitionists, namely, a well-documented figure and text, Olaudah Equiano's memoir published in 1789, and a lesser known contemporary and significant work, Ottobah Cugoano's 1787 memoir. Both writers explained their ideas about their actual and symbolic encounters with indigenous peoples in a variety of places, including in Canada, and in South America. They also drew comparisons and contrasts between the oppressions of Africans and indigenous Americans. Finally, in the last section, I examine two abolitionist works by African Americans who wrote conversion memoirs during their captivity within Southeastern Indian tribes, namely John Marrant's memoir, first published in 1785 about his missionary experiences with Cherokees, and David George's memoir from 1790 about his experience as fugitive slave who ran away from a white slaveholder to live with both the Creek and Natchez Indians. Racial attitudes towards Native Americans depicted in each of the texts are described within the broader historical context around the time of publication of these texts, including white slaveholding, Indian captivity practices, and the formal institutionalization of black churches and masonic fraternal orders. I am interested in examining how African American and Native Americans identities are being redefined and contested during the Revolutionary era as the institution of slavery and the nascent nation expanded.

Black "Go Betweens" on the Frontiers of Indian Country in the Pre-Revolutionary American Colonies, 1746-1760

Historian William Hart coined the expression "black go betweens," which is a suitable term to best understand the lives of Lucy Terry and Briton Hammon.³² These black go-betweens existed alongside various Euro-Americans and Indian tribes on frontiers in mid-eighteenth-century America. Both of their works exemplify the fact that race, status and identity were malleable and mutable along these frontiers.³³ Both Terry and Hammon witnessed Indian violence, but their lives were spared. Both texts can be viewed as having a two-fold purpose: black voices documenting their own humanity to be remembered and documenting Indian resistance. They also both depict Native Americans as "savages."

Lucy Terry was born in either 1721 or 1725. Scholars have not been able to pinpoint the exact date or location of her birth in West Africa.³⁴ When she was a teenager, Terry was sold in the New England slave market to a white slaveholding family in the rural town of Deerfield, Massachusetts located at the crossroads of the frontier in the western area of the state, bordering Vermont and New Hampshire.³⁵ Lucy did not think of herself as a commodity of exchange and did not live her life as such. During her enslavement, she was baptized as a Christian in Deerfield, during the heightened religious times known as the Great Awakening. She was known as a talented storyteller. Many people in Deerfield listened to her stories, including her legendary ballad which became part of the community's historical memory.³⁶ We know a few other things about Lucy's life and her ballad. First, August 25, 1746 was a Monday, and Lucy was likely to be working in the "bars." This term is not to be confused with the present-day popular

understanding of this word meaning a "tavern," but rather near a harbor in Deerfield, located inland in western Massachusetts.³⁷ It was at the "bars" when Lucy witnessed the attack led by the Abenaki Indians.³⁸

Lucy begins the ballad referring to the British settlers who perished as "valiant men." At the end of the ballad, her only descriptor for the Indian attackers was that they were "awful creatures." While she purports racial stereotypes about Native Americans, we know that she challenges her own racial oppression during her lifetime. For example, when she became free years several later in the late 1750s, she and her husband become involved in several legal battles to challenge the racial restrictions despite their freedom (ex. land rights, education rights of their children, etc).³⁹

Lucy's ballad was not initially a written work and did not appear in the historical record until it was printed as part of a newspaper advertisement in 1854 and a regional history book by Josiah Holland published in 1855.⁴⁰ There are at least two versions of the ballad that were written.⁴¹ We do not know exactly how her original ballad was modified from the time she created it. Potentially, these written versions could have altered the original ballad to fit into a larger "British racial agenda" which included negative descriptions of Native Americans, such as including the term "awful creatures," which was similar such terms "savages" or "heathens" to depict Native Americans.⁴² Terry could have supported the depictions of Native Americans as "awful creatures" or she may have originally used a different descriptor in her ballad. We will never know for certain.

Her ballad is just one example of a source that testified on the violence in pre-Revolutionary American colonies. While there is a lot about her life that we do not know, we do know that she was taken away from her own West African ancestral lands.

We can assume that she remembered this experience, even if she did not want to remember the trauma of such an experience. Regarding her awareness of Abenaki Indians, she may have been aware of the purpose for their attack on the Deerfield community was to fight for their own ancestral and spiritual lands. She may have been aware of other ways that Indian people demonstrated their agency, which is evident throughout the ballad, including taking a captive of war to replace one or more deaths of Abenaki Indian family members.⁴³

Throughout the decades of mid-eighteenth-century, captivity was a common theme in Anglo-American writings. These years saw imperial battles over land and trade, which helped foster a growing sense of distrust between Indians and Anglo-Americans settlers.⁴⁴ This sense of distrust was particularly high along the frontiers in places like Deerfield, MA where imperial battles over land and trade existed for decades preceding the American Revolution.⁴⁵ As a "black go between," Lucy provided a glimpse of the day-to-day life for the Anglo-Americans and the smaller group of African descended people who lived along frontiers of Deerfield during her lifetime. Frontier locations were situated where European and African settlers were most likely to grapple with attacks from indigenous people who lived in the surrounding communities. Scholar June Namias calculated that there were 1,641 white captives taken by various indigenous tribes between 1675 and 1763.⁴⁶ It is unclear how many of the captives were black. But there was at least one example of a black captive who documented his experiences: Briton Hammon.

His memoir, *A Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings and Surprising Deliverance of Briton Hammon* was published in 1760.⁴⁷ Like Terry's ballad, Hammon's

Narrative featured Indian violence along a frontier but specifically along the coast of Florida. Indian captivity practices in warfare were a central theme in his work. His memoir was published and was a much longer text, originally a fourteen-page printed pamphlet, in comparison to Terry's twenty-eight line ballad. While we know more about Hammon's life than Terry as a result of more details included in his memoir, many unanswered questions remain. His memoir records that he lived most of his life in Marshfield, Massachusetts. But it is unclear whether he was a slave or an indentured servant. Also unclear is his place of birth, presumably somewhere in West Africa.⁴⁸

In Hammon's memoir, we learn that, like many other black men in eighteenth-century America, he was a sailor. Both enslaved and free black seafarers were common throughout the age of sail. According to scholar W. Jeffrey Bolster, many black men viewed seafaring as a desirable occupation, especially due to the salary benefits, although blacks were paid less than white shipmates.⁴⁹ Another major benefit was the mobility that the position allowed these men aboard and off the ships. Bolster asserted that shipboard communities were "an ambiguous world in which black men simultaneously could assert themselves within their occupation and find with white sailors common ground transcending race, while also being subject to vicious racist acts."⁵⁰ We can also consider how seafaring as a phenomenon to challenge the narrowed White/Black racial binary because it fostered extensive encounters between Blacks and Indians, as can be seen in Hammon's memoir.⁵¹

Hammon was at sea for approximately thirteen years. His first voyage was on a ship named *Plymouth*. The ship carried logwood which was a type of tree log used to produce a commercial dye.⁵² Starting in December 1747, it travelled from Plymouth,

Massachusetts to Jamaica before running aground on the reefs of Cape Florida- near present-day Miami, in June 1748. The ship's heavy cargo of the logs, Hammon reported, caused the ship to not move as quickly as it left the cape, which resulted in a fatal incident. Hammon described how a large group of Indians (unnamed tribal identity) attacked the ship from their canoes. But these Indians were not allies. Hammon notes that "to our very great Surpize (sic), [we found] Indians of which there [were] Sixty; being so near them we could not possibly make our Escape."⁵³ Hammon describes this indigenous-led attack, although he does not contextualize or posit any reasons for the attack. All eight of his shipmates were brutally killed and Hammon was the sole survivor. After he saw the first three men killed by the Indians, he "immediately jump'd overboard, chusing rather to be drowned, then to be kill'd by those barbarous and inhuman Savages."⁵⁴ He then describes how he heard the shots of the remaining five British shipmates who were killed by the Indians, including "Moses Newmock, Mollato." He explained how the indigenous attackers took him out of the water, beat him and tied him down onto their canoes. Finally, the Indians "set the Vessel on Fire, making a prodigious shouting and hallowing like so many Devils."⁵⁵

Hammon was held captive by these Indians in Florida for about five weeks.⁵⁶ He was able to communicate with the Indians who spoke "broken English" and kept telling him that he would be "roasted alive." But in the end, Indians treated Hammon "better" than he felt he had been treated by his former British shipmates. A devout Christian, Hammon attributed their actions to divine protection. A Spanish ship arrived at Cape Florida and under the command of a captain who Hammon met during his earlier voyage to Jamaica. He noted that the captain asked the Indians to "let me go." Hammon

explains that the reason he escaped from "these Villains" (referring to Indians) was because a Spanish captain, named Romond, arrived to negotiate for his freedom. Initially, he was released from the captors and boarded Romond's ship. But after merely four days after being released, he noted that "the Indians came after me, and insisted on having me again, as I was their Prisoner."⁵⁷ Romond offered the Indians a payment of ten dollars to return Hammon from captivity, in exchange for the promise of peace and that no other future captives would be taken. Hammon was central to these diplomatic exchanges and was a "black between" the Spanish captain, Romond, and his Indian captors.

Once Hammon was freed from Indian captivity, he voyaged with Romond to Cuba. There, he worked for a year for the Spanish governor. Hammon does not name him in the text, but scholars have determined that he was Francisco Antonio Cagigal de la Vega.⁵⁸ However, he was soon arrested by guards who try to force him to sail again. He remained in jail for "four years and seven months" and worked first for de la Vega and then later for an unnamed Catholic bishop. He attempted to escape several times, and finally returned to sailing. He boarded a ship to England where he lived for several years and initially planned to go Guinea. But, he found that there was a ship going to New England. In a miraculous twist of fate, he reunites with Mr. Winslow, his former employer from Marshfield, Massachusetts, on this ship.

Hammon's memoir appealed to the English and Anglo-American readers of his day who were entranced by such tales of Indian captivity in the Americas. There were four advertisements which appeared about his memoir in the *Boston Evening-Post*, a weekly newspapers edited by Anglo-Americans.⁵⁹ According to literary scholar, Rafia Zafar, many white editors supported the publication and marketing of black writings

during the eighteenth century because these texts included conformed "to cultural myths and literary traditions of an already established audience appeal, such as Indian captivity or evangelical conversion narratives." She adds that "black self-portraits were cropped and framed according to the standards of an alien culture."⁶⁰ Hammon's memoir blended a few literary traditions, as a combination of a travel narrative and Indian captivity narrative and a slave narrative.⁶¹

Lucy Terry's ballad and Briton Hammon's memoir both reveal ideas about Indians as "savages" as well as some appreciation of indigenous agency. While Hammon's story told of one black person who was captive of indigenous people during the mid-eighteenth-century, many questions remain unanswered. Were the ideas represented in his memoir his own ideas about Native Americans, or were these ideas from his editor?⁶² What is clear in is that he compared his treatment with the Indians of Florida to his experiences with English or Spanish people he encountered. For instance, at one point during his Indian captivity, he noted that the Indians "us'd me pretty well, and gave me boil'd Corn, which is what they often eat themselves." One can speculate whether he was making a comparison regarding the quality of food he ate in comparison to his earlier life as either an enslaved or indentured servant to British-Americans in Massachusetts.⁶³

Literary scholar Karen Weyer argues that Hammons' use of the term "Indian" in his memoir is interchangeable with other descriptors that he used, such as "barbarous and inhuman Savages," "Devils" and "Villains."⁶⁴ In addition to describing indigenous people in this way, Hammon also does not contextualize any possible reasons for the attack from the perspective of the indigenous people.⁶⁵ As noted earlier, he explained that the boat was attacked near "Cape Florida," an area controlled by Spanish, which was also home to

indigenous groups. The Indians who Hammon encountered could have various indigenous tribes, such as Yamasee Indians. The Yamasee and several other indigenous tribes were forcibly relocated from South Carolina to Florida in the early eighteenth century after a series of battles with British-American settlers who encroached on indigenous lands. They also could have been Creek Indians who relocated from Georgia, or Seminole Indians, who had battled with the Spanish during the colonial era and would later have a century long battle with the British over land in Florida in the early nineteenth-century.

In closing, both Lucy Terry and Briton Hammon shed light on the mid-eighteenth-century era, which was fraught with violence across the American colonies and particularly along American frontiers. These decades saw the British colonists embroiled in the French and Indian Wars (1754–1763) fending off Pontiac's Rebellion in the frontier of the Great Lakes region (1763–1764) and supporting Lord Dunmore's War against Shawnee and Mingo Indians in 1774 in the Virginian frontiers. Terry and Hammon serve as examples of "go black betweeners" who documented their perspectives about encounters between various indigenous Americans and European settlers. The negative images of Indians that they depicted were shaped by the violent encounters that they witnessed. While such violent encounters do not cease during the later part of the eighteenth century, we also begin to see sympathetic representations of indigenous people in black writings during the American Revolutionary era.

"Our Modern Egyptians" against African Americans and Native Americans in the American Revolutionary Era

Phillis Wheatley wrote a letter to Samson Occom, a Mohegan Indian, on February 11, 1774.⁶⁶ Wheatley's letter to Occom was written in the midst of a climactic time: during the eighteen month period between the Boston Tea Party in December of 1773 and the first battles of the American Revolution in April of 1775. Occom had been educated and ordained as a Congregationalist minister and was viewed as a "model" for the supposed benefit of civilizing Indians. However, as he matured, he became angered by the treatment of Native Americans by Anglo-Americans. For example, in the 1760s, he felt betrayed by his former teacher, Reverend Wheelock. During this time, Occom toured London and Scotland to raise funds for the Moors Indian School in Connecticut that Wheelock founded as a result of teaching Occom and other Native American students. However, Wheelock relocated the school to New Hampshire and renamed it Dartmouth College in 1769.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Wheelock changed the mission of the school to no longer focus on educating Native American young men, like Occom, but to educate Anglo-American young men.⁶⁸

Occom documented many of his frustrations over the years in several letters.⁶⁹ In 1776, Occom wrote a letter to one of his London supporters that included references to his distress caused by the American Revolution. He expressed that both sides, the Americans and British, used Indians as "pawns" and that he wished that the Americans would leave the "poor Indians alone."⁷⁰ Wheatley's letter to Occom from 1774 does not provide any direct examples of the things that Occom experienced. However, her language, as I will describe below, does reflect that she had a sense of understanding

about some of the oppressions directed against Native Americans that paralleled the oppressions faced by African Americans.

Unlike Occom, who gained access to a formal education because he was Native American, Wheatley's intellectual abilities were developed informally. She was one of the few enslaved people in Boston who knew how to read and write. She sent the letter to Occom from London a year after being freed from her slave master, John Wheatley, and his wife, Susanna. Wheatley knew Occom since she was a teenager because he had spent nights at the Wheatley's home during several trips to Boston, Massachusetts. Occom developed a sense of respect for Phillis and once noted in a letter to Susanna in 1771 that Phillis should be freed and "return to [her] Native Country as a Christian evangelist," given her knowledge of the Bible. After all, she had proven herself to be a "genius in bondage."⁷¹

Phillis and Occom had mutual respect for each other. Their correspondence began when he wrote a letter to her and she responded. However, his letter has never been located in the historical archives. Phillis begins her letter by acknowledging his letter and that she was "greatly satisfied" with his reasons expressed in his letter "respecting the Negroes." She thought it was "highly reasonable what [he suggested regarding the] vindication of their natural Rights." She added that "in every human breast, God has implanted a principle, which we call love of freedom."⁷² She also used her biblical knowledge as a rhetorical strategy, referring to Exodus story when the Israelites, the modern Native Americans and African Americans, were freed from slavery from the Egyptians, the modern European Americans. She added "[we are] 'impatient of oppression" and that "by the leave of our modern Egyptians" she asserted that the "same

principles live in us." Wheatley closed the letter by exclaiming "liberty and the reverse disposition for the exercise of oppressive power over others."⁷³

Some scholars have limited their analysis of Wheatley's words to reflect her resistance to the enslavement and denigration of African Americans during the Revolutionary era.⁷⁴ But the Biblical imagery and coded racial language in her letter, and her use of the terms, such as "us," and "modern Egyptians" reflected her appreciation of the parallel struggles faced by African Americans and Native Americans against European American oppression. The extent of Wheatley's use of such pronouns leads us to make such a speculation. Furthermore, while we do not the text of Ocom's letter, we can glean, based on the context of their relationship, that they likely viewed each other as non-white Christian allies because despite both being Christian, they were both denigrated to the lower racial and status hierarchies.

As Native American scholar Robert Warrior notes, the correspondence between Wheatley and Ocom is a "stunning reminder that Native American written intellectual work has contemporaneous roots with a comparable African American history."⁷⁵ Unlike the image of Native Americans as "savages" which was depicted by Lucy Terry and Britton Hammon, the context of the relationship between Wheatley and Ocom is significant because she views Ocom as an ally. Wheatley's letter is one rare example of an intellectual work produced during the American Revolutionary era that we can glean ideas about Native Americans written by an African American author. Her letter underscores the point that "Indian images" in "Black minds" in the eighteenth century were sporadic in terms of depicting actual encounters between African Americans and

Native Americans in different ways—through alliances, comparisons, captivities, violence—throughout the eighteenth century.

The letter also reminds us that during the American Revolutionary era, African Americans and Native Americans continually resisted oppression. During the late eighteenth century as indigenous lands continued to be ceded throughout the nascent nation, the institution of slavery ended gradually in the North, and increased rapidly in the South. Free black communities proliferated in the North, but their economic opportunities were limited. Enslaved Africans throughout the Americas would continue to rebel in various ways, either by running away, or legally petitioning for their freedom.⁷⁶ As opposed to the mid-eighteenth-century era when racial ideas were more malleable, racial ideas become more hardened after the American Revolution, as "white maleness" began to define citizens, and those who did not fit into this definition were viewed as "others." The next section will examine how two late eighteenth-century black writers, Olaudah Equiano and Ottobah Cugoana, defied being viewed as "others" and incorporated past and present depictions of indigenous people in the Americas to bolster their fight for abolition.⁷⁷

Equiano and Cugano: Depictions of Indigenous Peoples in the Revolutionary Age

Most Americans in the eighteenth century perceived African Americans and Native Americans as inferior by claiming natural science and biblical interpretations to justify ideas about racial differences.⁷⁸ They believed that blacks were inferior to whites, both physically and mentally. Indians were also viewed as inferior. However, they could rid of their "Indianness" by miscegenation with whites.⁷⁹ This racial view served as justification to "civilize" Indians, such as Oocom, by educating them to be literate

Christians, rather than to be "violent savages" along the frontiers of America. In this section, I will first examine how these racial ideas about indigenous people were compared and contrasted by black writers such as Olaudah Equiano in his work, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* published in 1789 and Ottobah Cugano's *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* published in 1787. Both writers represented their ideas of "Indian images" in different ways. For Equiano, his views of Indians included nuanced ways of viewing them as both "savages" and as allies. Cugoano symbolically used Indians to bolster his fight against the hypocritical deployment of Christianity by Europeans which was used to justify colonialism and slavery.

While Equiano's Nigerian birthplace has been contested, my interest is to focus more on his later years of his life.⁸⁰ In 1757, he was purchased by Michael Pascal, an officer in the British navy." By 1766, he purchased his own freedom, and then resided in London from 1767 and 1773, while continuing his seafaring. His autobiography documented a number of encounters with indigenous people in the Americas. He presented both favorable and unfavorable racial views about such encounters.⁸¹

In one of the earliest references to indigenous people, Equiano described British attacks on Native Americans during the "war." While he does name the war, we know it was the French Indian War. Stationed near Cape Breton in Nova Scotia, Canada, in 1758, he witnessed scenes of combat and confessed that he "long[ed] for battle" well before the violence ensued. Once it did, he noted, "I now expected I should be gratified in seeing an engagement, which I had so long wished for in vain." After witnessing a British lieutenant get shot in the mouth and noting some of the "many [who] were killed

on both sides, he remarked, "I had that day in my hand the scalp of an Indian king, who was killed in the engagement: the scalp had been taken off by [a] Highlander [Scottish infantry against French]. I saw this king's ornaments too, which were very curious, and made of feathers."⁸²

Equiano does not elaborate on his thoughts about Indians at this particular moment in his life, nor does he specify the indigenous tribe he encountered in Cape Breton.⁸³ Some scholars have determined that the specific engagement in Nova Scotia was with Mi'kmaq Indians.⁸⁴ Scholars have also suggested that Equiano's account of his interaction with Mi'kmaq reflect his desire to have power or mastery over Indians in the wake of their defeat. I would add that Equiano's desire to engage in the battle was also shaped by his desire to fight to affirm his sense of black manhood. Throughout his life, he was denigrated by various European men he encountered throughout his life, especially during his experience on the slave ship during the Middle Passage.⁸⁵ For example, at the beginning of his memoir, he writes to reader that his testimony is "a production unlettered African."⁸⁶ He adds that he wanted to garner the support of the reader to fight to end the slave trade and that the reader ought to "trust such a man." Such ideas have to be recalled when reading the memoir to better understand the nuanced ways he depicted "Indian images" through his understanding of himself.

In other passages, he described his encounters with Indians during his voyage to Jamaica in 1775. He referred to them as "Musquito" Indians, who are actually the Miskito Indians.⁸⁷ He noted that during the passage from England to Jamaica, he met four Miskito Indians who had spent about a year in England and learned English. He explained that he when he first spoke to them, he was "mortified in finding that they had

not frequented any churches" as they came to be baptized, nor "was any attention paid to their morals." During the voyage, he became an unofficial missionary to one of them, including an eighteen-year old named George who he described as a Miskito "prince." Equiano taught George how to read the Bible and described in detail his attempts to explain Christian tenets to this young man. Equiano added that George had become zealous in his beliefs, and he was teased by white shipmates regarding his conversion to Christianity by Equiano. He noted that he "rebuked them as much as I could; but this treatment cause the prince to halt between two opinions."

He also explained initial encounter with the Miskito Indians once he arrived in Jamaica.⁸⁸ He noted that he read about Christopher Columbus's voyages to the Americas and how he encountered Indians. He noted that "recollecting a passage I had read in the life of Columbus, when he was amongst the Indians in Mexico or Peru, where, on some occasion, he frightened them, by telling them of certain events in the heavens"⁸⁹ He decided to employ a similar tactic as Columbus: to frighten Indians by telling them Biblical stories. Equiano explained that he made this decision in the midst of a feud started as a result of riot between two Indian men after feasting and drinking together with Equiano and his shipmates. Dr. Irving, who was one of the authorities on the ships, failed to mediate between the Indians and fled. Left alone, Equiano thought to take a page out of Columbus' book, as he thought it would help to quell what potentially could have been a riot. His Columbus inspired moment suggests that he felt a sense of mastery over these Indians he encountered and was eager to prove his manhood. It also may proved that he had assimilated a Christian set of mores, and that he knew how to behave "almost an Englishman," as he described himself in another section of his memoir.⁹⁰

Equiano provided more extensive commentary about the Miskito Indians than any other indigenous people in his memoir because he spent the most time with them. Unlike his initial encounter with the Miskito Indians, or his earlier encounter with Mi'kmaq Indians in Nova Scotia, his depictions of Miskito Indians were positive. He described them as "good neighboring Indians," and being "well-made and warlike."⁹¹ Furthermore, he drew parallels between these Indians and his own people, writing that their customs were "exactly like the Africans," with regard to the labor practices of men, women and children.⁹² He developed a rapport with them. He said "they knew me and received me kindly."⁹³ He also noted that "they acted towards me more like Christians than those whites I was amongst the other night, they had not been baptized."⁹⁴ In this case, he believes that even though he is encountering non-Christians, they act more "Christian-like" people than whites who profess to be Christian. His reference to Christianity is one rhetorical strategy he employs to explain his views of racial ideas about indigenous people in comparison to whites.

According to James Walvin, Equiano's story can be described as being "striking for its omissions and silences as it is for its more obvious details" covering his transatlantic life and his experiences from slavery to freedom.⁹⁵ Equiano documented his views of the Black and Red Atlantic world during the increasing tide of British abolitionism.⁹⁶ In fact, his memoir is also partly responsible for leading the efforts to end of the legal slave trade in 1807.⁹⁷ While his text is a principal example of an abolitionist text because of his claims for black equality, the varied depictions of indigenous people are also significant. While he reproduced European ideas of figures such as Christopher

Columbus about indigenous people, he also incorporated his own images of Indians based on his encounters.⁹⁸

Another early black writer whose abolitionist text portrays complex racial views about indigenous people is Ottobah Cugoano, an Afro-British writer and friend of Equiano. Published in 1787, Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species*, is a memoir that critiques the slave trade, and also condemns Eurocentric historiography. Born in 1757 in present-day Ghana, Cugoano's early life typified the experiences of millions of Africans whose lives were commodified through the transatlantic slave trade. He narrated his own enslaved experience in the West Indies in order to use his experiences to combat the institution of slavery "on theological, humanitarian and practical grounds."⁹⁹ He dedicated several pages of his memoir to explain the history of various indigenous encounters with Spanish explorers from the sixteenth-century. His overarching goal was to link his European oppression of Native Americans with those facing African Americans.

Cugoano's depictions of indigenous people, like those of Equiano, referred back to their readings about voyages of Spanish explorers to the North America. They both cited examples of the harsh impact of such exploration on various indigenous people. Cugoano argued that "at Hispaniola the base perfidy and bloody treachery of the Spaniard, led on by the perfidious [Nicolás de] Ovando, in seizing the peaceable Queen Anacona [Taino Indian] and her attendants, burning her palace, putting all to destruction, and the innocent Queen and her people to a cruel death, is truly horrible and lamentable."¹⁰⁰ He also described the "treacherous" Hernán Cortes and the fate of the great Aztec leader Montezuma which was "dreadful and shocking' how that [indigenous]

American monarch was treated, betrayed and destroyed." He then mentioned the "treacherous bastard" Francisco Pizarro who "artfully penetrated into the Peruvian empire, and pretended an embassy of peace from a great monarch, and demanded an audience of the noble Atahualpa, the great Inca or Lord of that empire." Finally, he added that one of the Spanish clergymen, Father Vincent Valverde, a chaplain in the expedition who required Athualpa "to embrace the Christian religion [and] acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Pope." In a compelling scene, Cugoano describes Athualpa, who takes the bible and "opened it eagerly[and] lifted it to his ear [saying] that the bible"tells me nothing." Athualpa threw the bible "with disdain to the ground." As a result, the insulted European Christians killed him.¹⁰¹

Cugoano critiques all the European Christians for being hypocritical, and called them "heathens," a term used often by Europeans to refer to those who are not Christians, including indigenous people and people of African descent. In fact, he aligned the examples of indigenous people with his "African countrymen." He notes that Africans "know and understand, that the destroyers and enslavers of men can be no Christians; for Christianity is the system of benignity and love, and all its votaries are devoted to honestly, justice, humanity, meekness, peace and good-will to all men."¹⁰²

Cugoano's work shows him using his knowledge of European history to challenge white supremacy and advocate for the humanity of Africans and Native Americans."¹⁰³ Literary scholar, Joselyn Almeida asserts that Cuguano's work is significant because of the "the uncanny doubling between the enslavement of Native Americans and Africans, linking to the European imperial and commercial expansion"¹⁰⁴ I would add further that the Indian image depicted by Cugoano can be compared to other black writers, like

Equiano, who wrote about the shared oppressions facing African Americans and Native Americans by European Americans. These Black writers are clearly well-versed in history, as evidenced by Equiano's reference to reading Columbus or Cugoano citing historical writings about Spanish colonial relations with indigenous peoples. Their works show how early black writers used both European history and knowledge of Christianity to combat ideas of racial oppression and slavery. Furthermore, as articulated through the rhetoric by Equiano, we also have an understanding of how the "Indian image" was filtered through his own understanding of his race, class and gender status.

Southeastern Indigenous Allies in the Memoirs of John Marrant and David George

In this final section, I examine two publications: John Marrant's memoir, *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black*, first published in 1785, and David George's memoir, *An Account of the Life of Mr. David George, from Sierra Leone in Africa*, published in 1793. Marrant was born free in New York; George was born enslaved in Virginia. During different parts of their lives, they also each lived in South Carolina and Nova Scotia. As documented in their memoirs, they both faced racial discrimination. As Christians, they also both proselytized various Southeastern Indians. Similar to the indigenous captivity and conversion memoir of Hammon, both Marrant and George documented their views on indigenous people based on their experience living amongst these people. In both cases, their encounters with Indians are along frontiers separated by borders near plantation communities in the Southeast.

However, before analyzing these themes, it is important to remind ourselves of the social context of both writers. There were enormous social changes in America

during the years that the memoirs by Marrant and George were published. The number of freed African Americans increased dramatically after the Revolution. After the ratification of the Constitution in 1789, citizenship was defined on the state and federal level and was increasingly marked by race.¹⁰⁵ The Naturalization Act of 1790 restricted citizenship to "free white persons" and neglected to deal with those in this country who did fit this racial and status description. Similarly, the 1792 Militia Act limited conscription to "free able-bodied white male citizen." The Haitian Revolution in 1791 caused widespread racial fears throughout the Americas about future potential rebellions by enslaved African Americans. This sweeping historical landscape serves as an important backdrop to better contextualize black writings published during this time.

It is equally important to note the particular changes within the black communities in America that shaped the lives of the black writer during this time. Starting in the 1790s, the Black protestant evangelical tradition of the late eighteenth century became institutionalized with the creation of black churches.¹⁰⁶ The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church took root in Philadelphia in 1793. Over the turn of the century, other black churches, mutual aid societies, benevolent organizations developed as more blacks became free and migrated to urban Northern cities. Several black itinerant ministers went "into Indian country," like Marrant and George, including Richard Allen, one of the founders the AME church.¹⁰⁷ Shared religious experiences with Native Americans informed the lives of these black men because they could compare the oppressive spaces controlled by whites with their experiences with Southeastern Indians, as documented in two memoirs described below.

John Marrant was born free in 1755 and came of age during early years of the formation of the American nation.¹⁰⁸ He was born in New York and lived in several places before he was twelve years, including in Florida and Georgia, but spent most of his formative years in Charleston, South Carolina.¹⁰⁹ By the time he was fourteen, he had learned how to play the violin and French horn, and was an apprentice to a music master. As he described in his memoir, the moment that changed his life was hearing a sermon the popular white itinerant minister, George Whitfield, whose preaching influences the lives of several black writers, including Marrant.¹¹⁰

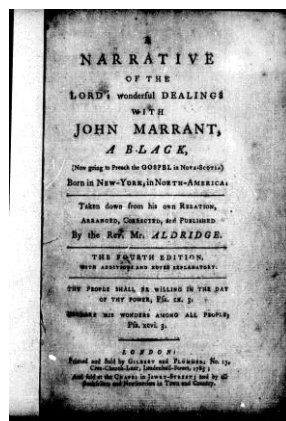


Figure #2: Frontpiece of fourth edition of John Marrant's memoir (1785)

After Marrant accepted the Methodist faith, he experienced rejection from his family. They believed he was "crazy" because he became quite zealous in his beliefs. As a result, he noted that "[a]fter spending some time in the fields I was persuaded [by myself] to go from home altogether." He "went over the fence" and walked miles away from his home into the wilderness.¹¹¹ He was continuously praying aloud to the Lord for help and protection. He encountered a male "Indian" (no tribe specified) hunter who asked Marrant to whom he was speaking, and why he was in the wilderness. The Indian hunter told Marrant that he was fifty-five miles from his home. Marrant responded by explaining

that he was praying and proceeded to explain his Christian beliefs. The Indian hunter then told Marrant that if he worked with him, than he would not return him home.¹¹² Marrant hunted with this Indian man who provided him with food and shelter for over ten weeks.¹¹³ After that, they both entered "a large town owned by the Cherokee nation" with a "large fortification all around the town with a guard placed at each entrance." This part of his story may be an evocation of biblical stories of captivity, particularly with the references to being freed after being held in captivity.¹¹⁴ Yet, from what he described about his time during captivity, he "acquired fuller knowledge of the Indian tongue." This linguistic knowledge prepared him for the next phase of his experiences living amongst Cherokee people. In fact, after this point in his life, Marrant became an itinerant minister to the Cherokee and other Indians in the South. He traveled hundreds of miles to preach and was able to convert several different Southeastern Indian tribal members, including Cherokees, Creeks, Catawba and Houma Indians, to Christianity.¹¹⁵ He wrote that he preached among the Cherokee for about eight weeks, longer than his time spent with other indigenous people. Some of converts among the Cherokee included an unnamed chief he describes as a "Cherokee king" who tried to persuade Marrant to stay longer. However, after experiencing a bout of home sickness, he decided to return home back to Charleston. The king "was much against" Marrant's return, as the king felt a "strong bias towards my country," referring to Charleston, as opposed to Indian country.

After making a decision with prayer, and getting the Cherokee king's consent, Marrant returned home. He travelled 60 miles and was accompanied by 140 Cherokee men enroute "back [to the] settlements of the white people" in Charleston.¹¹⁶ The size of his entourage suggests that Marrant garnered an enormous amount of trust and

recognition from the Cherokee. Not only does his experience living amongst Cherokees provide an "image" of Indians, but he adapts this image by incorporating their style of dress. He mentioned he appeared "purely in the Indian [style]: the skins of wild beasts composed [his] garments."

Marrant's editor and transcriber, William Aldridge, a minister, noted in the preface:

[w]ho can view him among the Indians without wonder? He arrives among the Cherokees, where gross ignorance wore its rudest forms, and savage despotism exercised its most terrifying empire. Here, the child just turned fourteen, without sling or stone, engages with the arrow of prayer pointed with faith, wounded Goliath, and conquers the king.¹¹⁷

It is clear that Aldridge had a cultural bias against Native Americans, and this sentiment does not seem to be shared by Marrant.¹¹⁸ According to Joanna Brooks and John Saillant, the fourth edition of Marrant's memoir includes references of Native American agency. They note that this edition included "various Indian raids against white settlers to colonization and the usurpation of tribal lands."¹¹⁹ Tiya Miles argues that we can view Marrant's text as recognizing indigenous people's "motivation for resistance" against European colonial imperialism.¹²⁰ She adds that Marrant likely felt "empowered" by the transformation he endured as a result of his experiences living with indigenous people. The perspective of viewing Native Americans as allies depicted in Marrant's text also appeared in the works of other contemporary black writers.

David George's memoir was published in London in 1793 in the *Baptist Annual Register* and chronicles his conversion and life in Indian Country. He was born enslaved in Essex County, Virginia, in 1743, and he grew up "about 50 or 60 miles from Williamsburg, on Nottaway River. His parents, who were "brought from Africa," were not Christians. He left the plantation as a teenager because his master "was a very bad

man to the Negroes."¹²¹ He decided to run away to live "among the Creek Indians." He noted that as he came near the Okulmulgee River, "the Indians observed my track. They can tell the Black people's feet from their own, because they are hollow in the midst of their feet, and the Black's feet are flatter than theirs. They followed my track down to the river, where I was making a long raft to cross over with."¹²² One of these Indians who George describes as a "king" was named Blue Salt who knew some of the English language. George added that Blue Salt:

carried me about 17 or 18 miles into the woods to his camp, where they had bear meat, deer meat, turkies and wild potatoes. I was his prize, and lived with him from the Christmas month till April, when he went into his town, Augusta, in the Creek nation. I made fences, dug the ground, planted corn, and worked hard; but the people were kind to me...[However, his master's son has to come and paid Blue Salt for him] in "rum, linnen, and a gun; but before he could take me out of the Creek nation, I escaped and went to the Nautchee [Natchez] Indians [in Silver Bluff, SC, near coast of Augusta, GA] and got to live with their king, Jack, who employed me a few weeks.¹²³

It is unclear what George meant when he wrote that he was Blue Salt's "prize," although it seems suggestive that he may have been his captive. What is clear is that not only was the food good living with the Creeks Indians, but his overall living conditions were better than when he was enslaved by his white plantation owner, who he described as cruel and violent. Such feelings may have contributed to his description of calling himself a "prize" to convey the fact that he received favorable attention when living with the Creek Indians.

After George's stint living with the Creek Indians, his master's son paid Blue Salt for George by giving him "rum, linen and a gun." He runs away again and lives amongst the Natchez Indians who were led by "King Jack." He worked for Jack, who traded deer skins in Natchez with Mr. Gaulfin, a white resident of Silver Bluff.¹²⁴ Three years later,

George decided that he wanted “to live with [Gaulfin] in Silver Bluff” on his plantation because he treated him kindly. During this time in his life, a Jamaican-born preacher, George Liele, inspired David George to convert to Christianity.¹²⁵ In the Silver Bluff region of Charleston, he eventually becomes a leader of one of the earliest black congregations founded prior to the American Revolution.¹²⁶ During the Revolution, Gaulpin joined the Patriots for protection, while George and Marrant become Loyalists. They soon emigrated and settled in Halifax, Nova Scotia. By the early 1790s, some of the settlers debated whether to emigrate to Sierra Leone. George noted briefly that there was intermarriage between some of the blacks and indigenous people in Canada. He described that some settlers from Nova Scotia decided that instead of emigrating to Sierra Leone, that they would settle in New York. Among the settlers that he mentioned were Lizze as a “Quebec Indian” and her husband who was “half Indian.”¹²⁷

While George's memoir is not as extensive as Marrant's work, George similarly depicted positive representations of indigenous people.¹²⁸ These two examples of black writings in the 1790s presented a shift from the negative images of Indians depicted in black authored works in the earlier decades of the century.¹²⁹ Their Christians beliefs were central to the ways in which they each encountered Native Americans initially. Upon their first encounters, they immediately feared Native Americans. Their views about Native Americans shifted towards seeing them as allies because of the amount of time they each spent living amongst tribes: Marrant spent over eight weeks living with the Cherokees, while George spent 4 months living with Creek Indians, and four years living with Natchez Indians.

Conclusion

During the eighteenth century, many African American writers documented their ideas about various indigenous people through their actual encounters with them in Caribbean, Canada, and the Southeast and Northeastern regions of North America. The relationships between the people of African descent and indigenous people occurred along the "bars," (as witnessed by Lucy Terry) along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean (as documented by Hammon and Equiano) or over the literal fences that separated Southern plantation communities with Indian country in the Southeast (as evidenced by Marrant and George).

In the earliest known black authored works in the mid-eighteenth century by Lucy Terry and Briton Hammon, Indians are stereotypically depicted as savages because of the violent ways that they were encountered by Blacks who lived along the frontiers. By mid-century, Phillis Wheatley's letter to Samson Occom during the Revolution depicts a sense of shared racial oppressions directed against Blacks and Indians in the eighteenth-century. Through her rhetorical strategy of using biblical imagery, she connected her views on both the oppressions towards Blacks and Indians as both being like the Israelites who were freed by the Egyptians.

After the American Revolution, black writers countered their positions deemed as inferior in the fight against slavery. Equiano depicted indigenous people as subordinate in his claims to resist assessments about him as inferior by placing Native Americans in a more inferior position along perceived racial, gender and status hierarchies. However, like Wheatley, Cugoano wrote about viewing indigenous people as allies in the fight against colonialism, oppression and slavery. He also deployed the rhetorical strategy,

like Wheatley, of using the bible to highlight the hypocrisies of Europeans who justified their actions victimizing indigenous people and enslaving Africans in the name of Christianity. He symbolically incorporated ideas about Indians, rather than discussing his views based on actual encounters with them. In contrast, by the late eighteenth century, John Marrant and David George depicted positive representations of indigenous people as allies based upon their extensive encounters living amongst Southeastern tribes.

This chapter highlights the fact that eighteenth-century blacks writing included diverse depictions of Indians that were sporadic.¹³⁰ The "Indian image in the Black mind" during the eighteenth century shifted not solely over time, but also depended on the writer and the purpose of including Native Americans in their writings. Black writers had varied ideas about indigenous people which were incorporated into their worldview to further complicate their ideas about race beyond the more narrowed White/Black or White/Indian binaries.

CHAPTER 2
**Juxtaposing Debates about Slavery, Colonization and Indian Removal
 in Early Nineteenth-Century America 1800-1829**

Introduction: African American Abolitionism & The Perception of "the Indian"¹³¹

John Russwurm discussed debates that connected the abolition movement and Indian removal in an editorial he published in *Freedom's Journal*, one of the first African American newspapers. The first edition of the paper was published on March 16, 1827. In a two-part editorial published the following month, Russwurm compared the federal government's treatment of Native Americans and enslaved African Americans in the article "People of Color,"¹³² noting:

I regret, that while the interests of a hundred thousand Indians, already in a train of prosperity, compared with their state a few years ago, should receive not more indeed than their due, but a very marked attention in the inaugural discourse of our new President, there should not have been some slight allusion to the interests of *two millions* of our fellow-subjects, more wronged, more degraded and more hopeless of relief from any quarter of the national government.¹³³

We must briefly extrapolate Russwurm's remarks to understand the context. The "new president" to whom he is referring is John Quincy Adams, and the Indians on "train of prosperity" are the Creek Indians.¹³⁴ Creeks were part of the so-called "Five Civilized Tribes" in the southeast United States, who were deemed a population assimilated into antebellum America culture, along with the Cherokees, Seminoles, Chickasaws and Choctaws. Prior to Adam's presidency, President James Monroe initiated an 1825 land cession treaty between Creek Indians and the United States. The federal government ultimately agreed to pay two hundred thousand dollars for the land to the faction of Creeks who signed this land treaty in 1826 to take effect on January 1, 1827.¹³⁵ The Senate approved this treaty during the first month of Adams' presidential term without much debate.

Russwurm's editorial echoed his goal to garner national sympathy towards enslaved African Americans whom he deemed as "wronged," "degraded" and "hopeless" in comparison to Native Americans.¹³⁶ Only in part of his first sentence of Russwurm's editorial can we glean *some* sense of his sympathy towards Native Americans, when he stated that they "should receive not more indeed than their due." Russwurm's editorial appeared immediately preceding the federal Indian Removal Act of 1830 when the fate of Native Americans living in the Southeast was under debate.

This editorial about the Creeks was not the only story about Native Americans to appear *Freedom's Journal*. In fact, the *Journal* featured at least fifty reports mentioning Native Americans, which prompts the following question: why and how did the *Journal's* black writers and readers compare the struggles of African Americans and Native Americans? This chapter explores how Native Americans figured in the African American rhetoric contained in *Freedom's Journal* and other sources, such as pamphlets and sermons. Few scholars have considered antebellum era African American rhetoric about Native Americans.¹³⁷ Some historians have argued that white reformers became radical abolitionist as a result of their prior involvement in anti-Indian Removal causes in the 1830s.¹³⁸ For instance, in 1835, white women activists led by Catharine Beecher and Lydia Sigourney signed national petitions to oppose Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal policies.¹³⁹ Mary Herschberger argued that this experience opposing removal prompted white reformers "to rethink their position and to reject African colonization in favor of immediatism."¹⁴⁰ Yet, scholars have not considered how African American reformers, such as John Russwurm, linked the oppressions facing Blacks and Indians.

The chapter focuses on the issues raised in Russwurm's 1827 editorial. First, I briefly consider the demographic concerns that Russwurm mentions in his comparisons between African Americans and Native Americans. Next, I consider the mission of the *Journal* and the juxtaposition of news coverage about Native Americans and reports of assimilation, violence and racial uplift. In the third section, I build on the research by Phil Deloria regarding how Native Americans were historically used by "non-Indians to reevaluate their own understandings of themselves and their society."¹⁴¹ I would add to his analysis and argue that the *Journal* should not be viewed as an "unexpected place" to locate ideas by African American writers about Native Americans.¹⁴² In the fourth section, I consider how white reform leaders articulated connections between African colonization and Indian Removal. Next, I examine how black writers responded to these ideas and documented their own views steeped in a complex set of racial ideas about African American and Native Americans. Finally, I examine how David Walker employed a rhetorical strategy similar to Russwurm's. Both men compared the historical oppressions facing Native Americans and African Americans. I also briefly examine the reported circulation of Walker's pamphlet to Cherokees.

This chapter's premise is aligned with the research of Tiya Miles who asserts that the activism by Cherokee women in defense of themselves predates the campaigns and interests of white reformers.¹⁴³ African American protest rhetoric drew on the shared experiences facing African Americans and Native Americans and was characterized by dissimilarities as well prior to the 1830s. I will illuminate how African Americans writers and orators compared and contrasted the plans to relocate both racial groups. By

considering African American ideas about Native Americans during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, I will complicate histories that often focus only on white ideas.

"A Hundred Thousand Indians [vs.] Two Million of Our Fellow Subjects":

Brief Demographic and Racial Considerations

In order to further understand the context of Russwurm's 1827 editorial, some brief demographic considerations are needed to illuminate the racial landscape of the early American republic. Prior to the Civil War, nearly 90% of the entire population of African Americans was enslaved. While slavery expanded in the Southern and Western United States, Northern states adopted gradual emancipation policies by the 1820. This resulted in the emergence of free black communities and the creation of black social organizations and printing presses.¹⁴⁴

Throughout the 1800s, Native American tribes were dispossessed of millions of acres of land. In fact, there were seventeen land cession treaties signed between the United States and the "Five Civilized Tribes" in the South from 1816 to 1828.¹⁴⁵ Indian Removal had been proposed during the presidency of Thomas Jefferson, specifically for Cherokees in 1808-09. Plans for the removal of the eastern Cherokees continued to be debated after the War of 1812. Despite the fact that some Cherokees received annuities for their land, most Cherokees did not support the plans for their removal.

By the 1820s, most Americans living along the northeastern seaboard of the United States had limited contact with Native Americans. Indigenous people increasingly lived on the borders of newly settled territories within the expanding nation. The indigenous population had declined and had been pushed away from most densely populated towns. For example, there were very few Native Americans living in

Manhattan during the 1820s. One exception was Rachael Peterson who secured a handwritten document in 1825 stamped and signed by New York mayor William Paulding indicating that she was a “free woman having been born of Indian parents both of whom were free person.”¹⁴⁶ While her tribal affiliation is unknown, this document demarcated her racially and defined her mobility. Two years after Rachel received this document, New York banned slavery. It is clear that had she been an African American woman in 1825, she would not have easily been as mobile.¹⁴⁷

"On a Train to Prosperity": Juxtaposing Native American Assimilation, Violence and Racial Uplift in the *Freedom's Journal*

The black press began in New York with the publication of *Freedom's Journal* in 1827, which was the same year that the state abolished slavery.¹⁴⁸ The paper's principal editor, John Russwurm, was born in Jamaica and raised in Maine and Quebec, Canada.¹⁴⁹ He moved to New York after graduating from Bowdoin College in 1826.¹⁵⁰ The other co-editor of the *Journal*, Samuel Cornish, was an older and distinguished minister at the first black Presbyterian Church in Manhattan and a graduate of the Free African School (see Figure #3). The topics covered by the newspaper included religion, education, abolitionism and anti-discrimination.¹⁵¹ The newspaper was also deemed by the editors as a space to share a variety of genres of writing, including poems, stories with moral lessons, sermons and speeches, as well as a space to articulate local and national news.¹⁵² In sum, the purpose for the development of the *Journal* was not monolithic. Also, the themes in the articles did not just originate by the editors starting in 1827, but were rooted in a much longer history of black protest rhetoric.¹⁵³

After only six months as editor, Cornish resigned to focus more on his ministerial duties. Yet, prior to his departure, Cornish and Russwurm shared the view that the newspaper would serve as a beacon of inspiration to elevate black people.¹⁵⁴ While the mission of the newspaper was "to plead our cause," I argue that the "our" can be inclusive of not only African Americans, but also represented the oppressions faced by Native Americans.

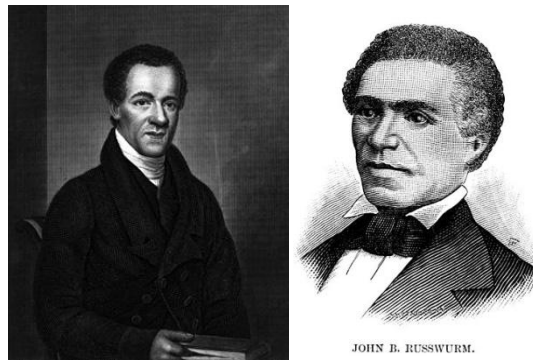


Figure #3: From left to right, Rev. Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm, co-editors of *Freedom's Journal*
155

According to Jacqueline Bacon, author of the only book about the history of *Freedom's Journal*, the paper reflected a time when African Americans selectively blended "African, Euro-American, and Native American [racialized] ideas into their own complex socialization into adult men."¹⁵⁶ Yet, she does not fully explain these ideas or how this "blending" process occurred, specifically related to ideas about how Native Americans informed the newspaper editors and writers.¹⁵⁷

One major subject of the short-lived newspaper was African colonization. Over one hundred articles covered this theme. Several articles highlighted the early history of African colonization efforts in Britain, including a five-part series entitled "Memories of Capt. Paul Cuffee."¹⁵⁸ These articles were reprinted from a newspaper in London in 1812 and accounted for the support that Cuffee garnered by recruiting Blacks to resettle in

Sierra Leone.¹⁵⁹ Two of the reprinted articles about Cuffee appeared on the *Journal* on the same newspaper page as the two-part editorial, "People of Color" (discussed in the introduction of this chapter) which noted the different treatment of the government towards Indians and Blacks.¹⁶⁰ This evidence sheds some light on how Blacks juxtaposed African Colonization and Indian Removal.

Another example of how the *Journal* included ideas about African Colonization alongside ideas about Indian Removal is from the November 23, 1827 edition of *Freedom's Journal*. One article on the front page labeled as a "scheming" plan of the American Colonization Society. The back page contained a story citing an account of Creek Indian diplomatic history, which was likely to resonate with the black newspaper readers. The brief account reported a conversation between an unnamed Creek Indian chief and General Benjamin Lincoln, a white federally appointed military commissioner and former American Revolutionary war official. The following story noted the following:

When General Lincoln went to make peace with the Creek Indians, one of the Chiefs asked him to sit down on a log. He was then [asked] to move, and, in a few minutes, to move farther. This request was repeated till the General got to the end of the log. The Indian said, "move further," to which the general replied, "I can move no farther." Just so it is with us," said the Chief, "you have moved us back to the water, and then ask us to move farther."¹⁶¹

Russwurm does not offer any explanation about the story, or the fact that the incident happened nearly twenty years before the article's publication. The story refers to treaty negotiations between Lincoln and the Creeks that occurred in 1790.¹⁶²

While Russwurm did not include any descriptions of the story, John Frost, a white writer, includes the exact same story in his book about indigenous customs published in 1859 several decades after the story appeared in the *Journal*.¹⁶³ Frost describes the story

as an example of "Indian shrewdness."¹⁶⁴ This term refers to racial perceptions about Native Americans as astute, which countered the negative racial perceptions of them as "ignorant savages," a prevailing stereotype which was widely accepted in antebellum print culture.¹⁶⁵ What can be implied by the inclusion of such a story is that some African American writers opposed the idea of being forcibly asked "to move farther" by white supporters of African colonization plans which was also the same contemporary argument applied toward Native Americans about Indian Removal.¹⁶⁶

We can also surmise that black readers may have held different interpretations of this story about Creek Indians and about debates about Indian removal in general. We can certainly imagine that black readers viewed the Creek chief's response to General Lincoln in a positive way and coupled this story with other examples about Native American resistance to combat racial politics of American nascent nationalism.¹⁶⁷ On the surface, the story represented some of the top-down diplomatic relationships between whites and Indians, while on the ground, it represented confluent struggles against white supremacy by Native Americans and African Americans.

To put it more plainly, the Creek story above was not just a Creek story but symbolically represented the experiences faced by Native Americans and African Americans during the early years of the American republic. Further, this Creek story resonated with black readers of the early black press regarding "racial uplift" in America to oppose white supporters of African Colonization and Indian Removal.¹⁶⁸ Both African Americans and Native Americans combated racial discrimination in congruent ways during the antebellum era. Furthermore, both racial group members faced limited choices: either to fight to become part of "white" America in the face of racialized

policies of the antebellum era, or to leave or be removed from the American body politic.¹⁶⁹

Another major theme that appears in the early black press in the 1820s is comparing the degree of violence directed against African Americans and Native Americans. Violence was part of the day-to-day reality facing enslaved and free Blacks. Reports about violence targeted against Blacks littered the *Journal* pages and were typically featured in the daily summaries. Some of the reports include accounts of various racial riots in various northern cities, the dehumanizing process and violence directed against enslaved Blacks, violence directed against runaway slaves, and police attacks directed against Blacks.¹⁷⁰ One example from 1828 reported how some Blacks in Gloucester, New Jersey, tried to gather for a meeting but were "disturbed [by] some ill disposed white men [who] commenced to quarrel with one of them, which resulted in a general fight."¹⁷¹

The *Journal's* editors similarly reported on violence directed against and instigated by indigenous peoples who were staking their own land claims. For instance, the *Journal* reported on Indian tribes in the west who resisted encroachment on their lands in an article published on November 16, 1827. The account mentioned General William Ashley who had explored the Rocky Mountains.¹⁷² The report highlighted "dangers that [came] from the Black Feet and other Indians, who [were] instigated to rob and murder our people by the British traders who have almost exclusive possession of our territories at and beyond the Rocky Mountains."¹⁷³ The conclusion explained how Americans were employed by the British and that the American government also funded the explorations in this western territory. At this point in the article, the language

changes. The article noted that as a result of land explorations, this "excit[ed] our own Indians against us." This article appears in the summaries section of the newspaper, which typically reprinted newspaper articles about incidents happening around the country. However, in this case, we have to question who is included in the reference to "our" in reference to "our own Indians." Is this "our" from the perspective of whites, or is it inclusive of blacks? I speculate that this article was not inclusive of blacks, but that the *Journal* editors chose to reprint it along with other articles reporting violence facing Indians which resonated with the reports about violence directed against Blacks.

Another example about reported violence directed against and prompted by Native Americans appeared in the August 10, 1827 edition of the *Journal*. The report described several violent engagements between the Winnebago Indians and whites in which "a number were killed on both sides." A few weeks later on August 24, 1827, a report under "Summary" header noted that Governor Edwards of Illinois had "ordered out six hundred militia and directed twelve hundred more to be in readiness to act against the hostile Indians."¹⁷⁴ *Journal* reports about violence directed against indigenous were often caused by whites. Such reports were intentionally selected by the *Journal* editors to report, and as noted earlier, the reports were often reprinted accounts from other national newspapers. We can speculate that such reports about violence directed against Indians exacerbated the outrage felt by Blacks about violence directed against them.

Disparate Racial Attitudes about Native Americans in the *Freedom's Journal*

References to Native Americans that appeared in the *Journal* related to several themes other than the theme of chronicling violence directed against African Americans and Native Americans. While the majority of articles dealt with the past and present experiences facing groups of indigenous people, including southeastern tribes, such as the Cherokee, Creeks, and Choctaws, the newspaper also featured reports about other tribes in the North, such as the Seneca in New York, or Winnebago Indians in the West, and even references to First Nations in Canada, such as the Knisteneaux Indians.¹⁷⁵ Additionally, there were also reports about "imagined Indians." In fact, like Russwurm's 1827 editorial, such reports were part of the comparative rhetorical strategies to link and contrast experiences between African Americans and Native Americans.

One major theme that appeared in the *Journal* was about various missionary activities for Native Americans. For instance, on November 9th of 1827, one report noted that there were "eight females of the highest respectability in the employment of the Board of Domestic Mission [who] passed through Hagerstown, Md. on their way to the state of Mississippi to reside with the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians."¹⁷⁶ Another article highlighted that "[t]he Choctaw nation of Indians have established a Seminary of Instruction for the benefit of a portion of their children, at a place called the Great Crossings, in the state of Kentucky."¹⁷⁷ This long editorial continues and notes that:

This institution [seminary school] is subject to the regulations of the United S. War Department, and is under the immediate direction of the Baptist Board of Missions. In imitation of this laudable example, and stimulated by the prosperous results which have already begun to appear among their Choctaw brethren, the Creeks and the Pottawattamies have taken similar steps, and appropriated a certain portion of their means for the diffusion of learning and the arts of civilization among their rising progeny.¹⁷⁸

As suggested in this article, various Native American tribes were both being compared to other tribes and to non-Indians by their levels of "civilization" in the antebellum era.

Ideas about the perceived racial differences between African Americans and Native Americans permeated *Journal* reports. As a case in point, there is a reprinted story in the *Journal* on May 18th in 1827 about a British naval commander, Sir James Yeo. He was stationed in West Africa at one point during his career in the early nineteenth-century. Based on his impressions of his encounters with West African people, he noted that they were "superior in intellect and capacity to the generality of Indians in North America" and that they were "more sociable and friendly to strangers, and except in the vicinity of European settlements, are a fine and noble race of men."¹⁷⁹ This article was originally published ten years earlier in the *New York Spectator* in 1817. The *Journal's* editors chose to reprint certain articles that they deemed as significant. In this case, the reprinting of Yeo's ideas about race challenged prevailing beliefs which placed Blacks below Indians in the racial hierarchy. Instead of challenging the ideas of the racial hierarchy or offering any commentary about Yeo's report, it is likely that the *Journal* editors included the report to spark a debate amongst the readership about racial ideas.

Alternatively, in a reprinted speech by a Supreme Court Judge Joseph Story on November 7, 1828 included a different representation of Native Americans.¹⁸⁰ In one part of this reprinted speech, Story described Native Americans and noted that "[b]raver men never lived; truer men never drew the bow. They had courage, and fortitude, and sagacity, and perseverance, beyond most of the human race."¹⁸¹ He added that:

it is impossible not to read in such a fate, much that we know, and how to interpret; much of provocation to cruel deeds and deep resentments; much of apology for wrong and perfidy; much of pity mingling with indignation; much of doubt and misgiving as to the past; much of painful recollections, much of dark foreboding.¹⁸²

Story was a longtime advocate for Native Americans. In *Cherokee v. Georgia* (1832), he supported the Cherokees claim that the state of Georgia did not have any rights to impose laws on the Cherokee nation.¹⁸³ Both the prior example of Yeo's ideas and this article about Judge Story's claims mirror the ideas presented in Russwurm 1827 editorial regarding racial comparisons drawn between African Americans and Native Americans.

The *Journal* sometimes reported about specific Native American people, including members of the Seneca Nation of New York. Although Seneca Indians lived in upstate New York, and the *Journal* was published out of Manhattan, it is likely that the editors and readers of the newspaper may have had some familiarity with the tribe. For example, Jacob Jamison, a Seneca Indian, appeared in several articles describing his accomplishments.¹⁸⁴ Jamison had received some education at Dartmouth College from 1816 to 1818. He later received medical training in Buffalo, New York, and was appointed to a well-paid surgeon's mate position in the United States Navy in 1828.¹⁸⁵ His educational and professional accomplishments appear to be celebrated at a time when such accomplishments were rare for African Americans.¹⁸⁶ Another article about Jamison appeared in 1828 to briefly announce that he won a poetry prize. The journalist noted that when it was found out that Jamison was the "real author" that "much noise was made" about it. It seems implied that this "noise" was made due to Jamison's racial background.¹⁸⁷ In other articles, the Seneca Chief Red Jacket is also referenced in the *Journal*. For example, in the October 12, 1827 edition of the paper, the writer described

him as the "celebrated Indian chief" and noted that he known "for his flagrant immorality, and his inveterate opposition to every attempt to improve their condition. Red Jacket is about seventy years of age, and remarkably active."¹⁸⁸ He was a well-known orator and speaker on behalf of Seneca Indian rights.

While individual names of Seneca Indians, like Jamison and Chief Red Jacket, were included in the *Journal*, the Cherokee Indians received the most attention as a tribe in the *Journal*. In the paper's summary of national news, the editors reported in 1827 that the "Cherokees contemplate[d] the establishment of a paper [the *Cherokee Phoenix*], for the purpose of circulating general intelligence among the members of their nation." Immediately following this report was a concise statement that "six Osage Indians, four chiefs, and two squaws arrived at New Orleans [from a] travelling tour through Great Britain."¹⁸⁹ While it was not noted in these brief reports, these two tribes fought over land during the 1820s. Many white authors wrote about Cherokees during this time as being "model" Indians, and depicted Osage Indians as enemies who had to seek European allies.¹⁹⁰

Some references to indigenous people in Canada and South America also appeared in the *Journal*. For instance, there were several reports about indigenous marriage practices in Canada. One article referred to the Knisteneaux Indians, although the tribal name is spelled incorrectly in the newspaper. The article noted "when a young Knistaux [sic] Indian marries, he immediately goes to live with the mother and father of the wife, who treat him as a perfect stranger."¹⁹¹ The story continues by noting that after the birth of the first child, the Indian man "attaches himself more to them than his own parents, and his wife no longer gives him any other denomination than that of the father

of her child."¹⁹² Another article printed on March 21st in 1828 refers to "Nova Scotia Indians," without a tribal reference, and reports that a "Nova Scotia Indian chief presented a petition praying that the selling of rum to the Indians may be prohibited."¹⁹³ A general reference featured indigenous people in Colombia, South America. This article was reprinted from the *Baltimore Gazette* and noted that there was "little success to fix the Indians in permanent settlements and civilize them."¹⁹⁴ Even indigenous people in New Zealand are briefly referenced in the *Journal*. For instance, there is a reprinted article describing that "natives of New Zealand [were] massacred," and it was noted that the original article was printed *Nantucket Enquirer* in 1824.¹⁹⁵ While such representations of Native Americans in the *Journal* about are disparate, most reports often depicted Indians in broader ways to make comparisons between Indians and Blacks, similar to Russwurm's claims in his 1827 editorial.

After Russwurm resigned from his editorial position in 1829, Cornish returned to the newspaper, after initially resigning from his editorial post in 1827. He changed the newspaper's name to the *Rights for All* (starting in May 1829). In fact, this newspaper title reflected the sentiments of many blacks during this time. One example from the February 22, 1827 edition is an article by James Forten, who signed his name as "a man of colour." He was the wealthiest free black man in the antebellum era, who managed a shipmaking enterprise based in Philadelphia. He noted in his editorial that the "idea [of liberty] embraces the Indian and the European, the Savage and the Saint, the Peruvian and the Laplander, the white man and the African." He added that Americans are subverting this privilege and are "in direct violation of the letter and spirit of our

Constitution, and become subject to the animadversion of all, particularly those who are deeply interested in the measure."¹⁹⁶ His letter challenged the ideals of liberty from the American Constitution and asserted that the privilege of liberty should be a "right of all" without considering racial differences; hence, Cornish wanted to similarly reflect upon such this democratic phenomenon through the newspaper's title change.

On March 7, 1829, Russwurm publically professed his shift of opinion about colonization as he joined the minority of free blacks emigrating to Liberia.¹⁹⁷ In his essay entitled "Our Vindication," he explained that in Liberia, blacks could find "our happiness," presumably echoing the phrase of having the right to the "pursuit of happiness" from the Declaration of Independence. He noted that free blacks were "to remain here, where the mere name of colour, blocks up every avenue - where if he have the feelings of a man, he must be sensible of the degraded station he holds in society."¹⁹⁸ Historian Winston James suggests that Russwurm had become "disillusioned about African American's prospects in the United States" and changed his perspective from opposing to supporting African colonization.¹⁹⁹

As Russwurm sailed to Liberia in the summer of 1829, a new organization had recently formed in New York called The Indian Board for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement of the Aborigines of America. Its membership included various clergyman in its' membership, particularly from the Dutch Reformed Church.²⁰⁰ While it is uncertain if Russwurm was aware of this organization, he may have connected the fate of Africans Americans and that of Native Americans. Further, a few years before Russwurm emigrated, Curtis Austin, a Cherokee man, emigrated to Liberia. He brought his knowledge of the Cherokee syllabary to develop Vai syllabary, an indigenous West

African language.²⁰¹ This raises an additional issue to consider how Native Americans may have been represented transnationally in West Africa.²⁰²

"More Wronged, More Degraded and More Hopeless:" Comparative Rhetoric of Slavery, Indian Removal and African Colonization

Historian Nicholas Guyatt argued that removing free blacks to African and Indians to the American West were similar proposals presented "as voluntary schemes for colonization."²⁰³ White clergymen and members of both organizations justified their plans for displacing these groups due to their ideas about racial differences from whites and African Americans and Native Americans. They also believed that it was God's plan for both groups to be separated and excluded from the white republic. White religious leaders, supporting colonization and removal, included Jeremiah Evarts, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and Leonard Bacon, of the American Colonization Society (ACS). Both agreed that sending Blacks to Africa and Indians into western lands would "absolve the nation" of its moral dilemma concerning the treatment of both racial groups. [do you have quotes from them?] Furthermore, due to their beliefs in Black and Indian inferiority, they felt both colonization schemes would benefit both groups.²⁰⁴ Both removals were viewed as "a way of protecting the nation from a population which some believed to be dangerous to social stability."²⁰⁵

ACS member Leonard Bacon, a Congregational preacher from New Haven, Connecticut, vehemently opposed the expansion of slavery.²⁰⁶ In 1823, he delivered a speech that was reprinted in newspapers, such as the *National Intelligencer* in Washington, DC which he warned his white audience that he predicted that the nation would be overwhelmed with slaves, based on his estimations of population growth.²⁰⁷

According to Bacon, there would be twelve million slaves by 1880.²⁰⁸ Plots and insurrections would increase, he predicted, and a fictionalized leader he described as an "African Tecumseh" would "rise up in vengeance."²⁰⁹ His prediction referenced the Shawnee Indian leader, Tecumseh, who was well-known because he urged Indians across tribal lines to oppose whites during the War of 1812. Americans eventually killed him during one of the battles against the British and Native American allies. For Bacon, to merge a racially generic descriptor, "African" onto Tecumseh's name is quite telling about his racial ideas. Bacon's intention also was to illicit fear from his white audience members by presenting the prospect of a combined violent front made up of African Americans and Native Americans.²¹⁰ Of course, whites did not have to imagine such violence because the Seminole Wars were still raging in Florida when runaway Black slaves forged alliances with Seminole Indians to oppose white encroachment.²¹¹

On the state level, some political leaders sometimes linked their racial ideas about African Americans and Native Americans. For instance, at the Constitutional Convention that was held in New York in 1821, white congressmen debated voting rights. Many argued that based on prevailing ideas of "racial fitness" that, in fact, they viewed Indians as deserving of more rights than Blacks due to their racial station. For example, one delegate questioned, "If you admit [into the state constitution for enfranchisement] the negroes, why exclude the aborigines?"²¹² He was not arguing to give the Indians the vote, but just to not permit blacks to vote.

Such comparative ideas about Native Americans and African Americans were not just isolated in state conventions. In prior years, several whites proposed the solution to send Blacks into the western territory settled by Indians. For example, in 1812, Samuel

Stanhope Smith lectured at Princeton University in New Jersey about settling African Americans to the west of the established states with Native Americans.²¹³ He suggested that "each black freeman, freed woman" shall receive a certain portion of "unappropriated lands of the United States" where Native Americans lived.²¹⁴ Similarly, George Tucker, a U.S. House of Representative member from Virginia, prompted a debate in Congress in 1825 by proposing that the United States examine and purchase land from Native Americans west of the Rocky Mountains to determine if it was suitable for free African Americans. Neither proposal by Smith or Tucker was adopted. But, their ideas were popular enough to inspire fears among free blacks that they may be removed somewhere remotely in the West be even more policed by the federal government than they currently were.²¹⁵

By the early nineteenth century, the formalized network of black organizations blossomed. Leaders in these organizations responded to the proliferation of ideas by white advocates for African Colonization and Indian Removal. Black clergyman articulated their racial ideas in various orations and included references to Native Americans.²¹⁶ For instance, in 1815, a celebration occurred on the seventh anniversary of the New York African Society for Mutual Relief (founded in 1808). Peter Vogelsang, one of the founding members and clergyman, delivered a hopeful message about the fact that American citizenship should not be racially determined. He specifically stated:

Hasten the time, O God! When slavery shall no more exist in these states; where every man in this republic, whether European, Indian or African, shall be eligible to citizenship, and enjoy the immunities of liberty and the rights of man.²¹⁷

The hope for liberty reflected the sentiments held by most African Americans during the early decades of the nineteenth century. However, the assumption steeped in his rhetoric

is a misunderstanding: he did not account for the fact that unlike African Americans who wanted full American citizenship, most Native Americans fought for their sovereignty.

Related to the intentions of Vogelsang's sermon, Hosea Easton, a leading man of color in Massachusetts, delivered a speech in Providence on Thanksgiving Day holiday in 1828 to highlight various hypocrisies in the American republic. His passion for advancing racial equality is reflected by the fact that he mocked the history of the Thanksgiving holiday. He argued that English settlers claimed their Christian ideals to promote economic prosperity at the expense of Native Americans. He explained that these settlers displayed "their superior knowledge in the use of fire arms above that of the natives, by which means the latter were drove out before them, being slain by thousands." He similarly critiqued slavery in a country of purported liberty and denied the assertion that free blacks are actually free.

In another oratory example that included references to Native Americans, Reverend Jeremiah Gloucester delivered a sermon at the Bethel Church in Philadelphia in 1823 regarding the issue of how Blacks were barred from educational institutions due to racial discrimination. Gloucester's speech was one of the many free black orations crafted to celebrate the anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade in 1808. His speech included a critique of the African colonization "scheme." Gloucester asserted that some African Americans might support African colonization if in America, there was "a college, or seminary of colour, where all the arts and sciences [could] be taught, for it is learning that constitutes a good government, it is the life of any country."²¹⁸ He asked "is it not by sending teachers among the Indians that they are becoming civilized? So in like manner [educate] persons of colour completely; when I say completely, I mean to teach

them everything that can be taught, and then send them to Africa, to set up schools, and instruct people."²¹⁹ He is clearly aware of the existence of various missionary efforts to educate and "civilize" Indians. He is critical of the fact that similar educational efforts did not exist to educate African Americans.

William Grimes highlights a similar point about racial discrimination in educational institutions for African Americans and Native Americans in his memoir, *Life of William Grimes, the Runaway Slave*, published in 1825. Born enslaved in Virginia in 1784, Grimes escaped and moved to New York in 1814. He lived most of his life as a free man and entrepreneur in Connecticut in 1817, specifically in two towns, New Haven and Litchfield.²²⁰ He endured racial discrimination in the North.²²¹ He makes a brief reference to Native Americans in his description of the misfortunes he faced during his life:

I am a poor man, and ignorant. But I am a man of sense. I have seen [whites] contributing at church for the heathen, to build churches, and send out preachers to them, yet there was no place where I could get a seat in the church.... I knew in New-Haven, Indians and negroes, come from a great many thousand miles, sent to be educated, while there were people I knew in the town, cold and hungry, and ignorant.²²²

He is probably describing a school established by The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Cornwall, Connecticut, in May of 1817, which was founded to educate predominantly Native American students. Grimes lived in Litchfield, a town only about 12 miles away from Cornwall. This school was financially tied to Yale College in New Haven. One former student at the school, John Ridge, later became a Cherokee Indian leader. However, no records indicate that African American students were admitted to the school.²²³ While Grimes reports witnessing "Indians and negroes" being educated, we must understand the broader implications of his

statements.²²⁴ His brief reference to Native Americans is intended to bolster the purpose of his memoir to two-fold: to point out the hypocrisy of Christians and to account for the years of unjust hardships he faced during his life because of the color of his skin. While we cannot be certain of the exact school to which he is referring, the brief mentioning of Native Americans bolsters his own arguments about his own racial oppression. The issue of "civilizing" or giving "marked attention" towards Native Americans in comparison to African Americans in the early decades of the nineteenth century draws us back to Russwurm's editorial from 1827. His views that some Native Americans were on the "train of prosperity" can be compared to the rhetoric by Vogelsang, Easton, Gloucester and Grimes. They each briefly referenced Native Americans as the comparative rhetorical strategy to draw a larger attention towards oppressions facing African American.

Case Study: David Walker's *Appeal*, Cherokees, and William Apess

David Walker incorporated representations of Native Americans in his work, *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*. This work is one of the most significant pamphlets about black abolitionism and nascent black nationalism. In fact, he is "appealing" to the "colored citizens of the world, but expressly to those in the United States. Some scholars have identified Walker's text in evocative terms, as "overshadow[ing] all other literature," as "antebellum America's most powerful political documents" and as "the most vehement abolitionist tract of its day."²²⁵ However, scholars have not fully examined his references to Native Americans.²²⁶

First we must briefly consider Walker's life. He was born free in North Carolina and lived most of his life in Boston. He owned and operated a clothing shop. He was also

a community activist and an agent for the *Freedom's Journal*, selling copies of the newspaper in his store. His radical abolitionist rhetoric did not just begin with the publication of his pamphlet. In fact, an anti-slavery speech that he delivered to General Colored Association in Boston was printed in the *Journal* a year before the pamphlet was printed.²²⁷

From 1829 to 1830, Walker's three-part pamphlet was widely circulated (see Figure #4). In the *Appeal* Walker punctuated his points through the use of various typeface and exclamation marks in the *Appeal* to evoke his radical tone to protest against the institution of slavery.²²⁸ Walker began his *Appeal* with an article entitled, "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of Slavery," and included references to indigenous people in his opening statement. He addressed his readers as "beloved brethren" and cited "Indians of North and South America" in addition to other racial groups, including the Greeks, Irish and Jews as "all inhabitants of the earth (except, the sons of Africa) "[who] are called *men*" and ought to be free. He added that while all of these other racial groups "are called *men*.....we (colored people) and our children are *brutes!!* and [are currently viewed as] SLAVES to the American people and their children forever!" By connecting ideas about race and gender, he argued that Indians were deemed as more superior than Blacks because of being defined as men, as opposed to Blacks who are deemed as brutes and children.

Furthermore, he noted that enslaved indigenous people in the colonial era had "to dig their mines and work their farms; and thus go on enriching them, from one generation to another with our *blood* and our *tears!!!!*"²²⁹ It is clear that his pronouns, "their" and "them," refer to Europeans and European-Americans and he is describing "exploitation

without mincing his words. Walker, like many other black writers this time, opposed a commonly held idea by white writers: the Enlightenment era vision of world history as shaped by various binaries, such as civilized/uncivilized, White/Black, etc.²³⁰ Such ideas justified commonly held beliefs about Black inferiority; hence, Walker's recapitulation of history is a political act and bolsters the argument of the *Appeal*: to "trouble the pages of history."²³¹

In the second article of the *Appeal* entitled, "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of Ignorance," Walker discussed differing perspectives about the historical experiences of African Americans and Native Americans and racial ideas about each group. He critiqued Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* which was first published several decades prior to the *Appeal*. Walker questioned, "how could Mr. Jefferson [give] the world these remarks respecting us, when we are so submissive to [slavemasters] and so much servile deceit prevail among ourselves."²³² He continued by posing another question, why do "we so *meanly* submit to their murderous lashes, to which neither the Indians nor any other people under Heaven would submit."²³³

His criticism of African American submission is not just about enslaved people, he inserted himself and other free blacks, into this issue through the use of the pronoun "we." He drew parallels between experiences of enslaved African Americans and free blacks in the early republic and presented several racial stereotypes that were applied to all African Americans during this era.²³⁴ By contrast, he seems to differentiate between black and Indians by asserting that there are differences in the ways in which each racial group has historically resisted violence from whites. At times, he embraces widely held stereotypes about the differences in racial temperament between blacks, who were

deemed as docile or "servile" and the stereotype of Native Americans as warrior-like savages who would not submit.

Walker made his most explicit comparisons between Blacks and Indians in the final passage of the *Appeal*. He asked:

Why do they not get the Aborigines of this country to be slaves to them and their children, to work their farms and dig their mines? They know well that the Aborigines of this country, or (Indians) would tear them from the earth. The Indians would not rest day or night, they would be up all times of night, cutting their cruel throats. But my colour, (some, not all,) are willing to stand still and be murdered by the cruel whites. In some of the West-Indian Islands, and over a large part of South America, there are six or eight coloured persons for one white.²³⁵

His sentiments reflected in this passage echo his other reference to indigenous people regarding the fact that they dug "the mines" to denote the long legacy of forced labor that shaped the economic development of the Americas.²³⁶ Yet, he also perpetuates a historical fallacy to bolster his argument against the enslavement of blacks when he says that indigenous enslavement in the Americas ended because Indians resisted. It seems clear that he presented such stereotypes about passive blacks and violent Indians largely to incite blacks to defy them by engaging in violent resistance.²³⁷

All of Walker's references to indigenous people invoked racial and gendered stereotypes about Black and Indian masculinity: Indian men as warriors and savages, and black men as docile and emasculated through enslavement. Overall, one can assume that Walker cited past colonial history as a cautionary tale to white slaveholders in North America by highlighting that their slaves, like indigenous people before them, might rise up in armed resistance; and in the same vein, he explicitly calls for armed resistance by enslaved African Americans in other sections of his text. He links the possibility of armed resistance on the part of the slaves to how indigenous people "cut throats" to stir his

readers to combat violence, presumably based on the Old Testament biblical adage: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

Walker's *Appeal* was widely circulated in the North and even smuggled on ships to circulate in the South.²³⁸ According to Peter Hinks, the *Appeal* "shocked white Southern authorities [who] reacted against its arrival in their communities swiftly with new and sterner prohibitions against slave literacy, against distribution of antislavery literature, and against contact between blacks living in port towns and black sailors from Northern vessels passing through."²³⁹ Reportedly, Walker's *Appeal* circulated to two white missionaries, Samuel Worcester, and Elizur Butler.²⁴⁰ At the time the *Appeal* was published, the two men were running an Indian School in Cherokee Country, and according to Samuel May, an abolitionist from Massachusetts, both Worcester and Butler were reportedly imprisoned because they circulated the *Appeal* and admitted black children into their Cherokee missionary school.²⁴¹

Hinks analyzes the source of this "rumor": a memoir by Samuel May, which was published in Boston in 1869.²⁴² Hinks makes a conjecture that Worcester and Butler may have been familiar with the *Appeal* because of the popularity of the text.²⁴³ We can speculate about this "rumor" by considering the circulation of news and reports about the Cherokees that appeared in the *Freedom's Journal*. These articles provide some evidence that there may have been a connection between either the white Cherokee missionaries, members of the Cherokee nation, and/or the African American editors of the *Journal* in New York.²⁴⁴

Journal writers and readers were also aware of the socio-political events within the Cherokee nation. For example, on November 23 1827, one article noted that as a

result of the new constitution adopted by the Cherokees, the nation "appears to be in full operation."²⁴⁵ The next month on December 7, 1827, an article appeared the header "INDIAN NEWSPAPER" adding more information that the prior year's article about the *Cherokee Phoenix*. The writer noted "[p]roposals have been issued for publishing a New Echota, in the Cherokee nation, a weekly newspaper, to be entitled "The Cherokee Phoenix" for the exclusive benefit of the Cherokee Indians. The writer added that the *Phoenix* editor, Elias Boudinot "a full blooded Cherokee, and was educated at Cornwall, CT."²⁴⁶ Relatedly, Boudinot's education seems to parallel the broad mission of racial uplift for the *Journal* writers and readers regarding access to educational and professional opportunities.

The *Phoenix* was also one of the few southern newspapers that debated the merits of slavery.²⁴⁷ Boudinot published some antislavery articles that portrayed African Americans in a "positive light."²⁴⁸ The *Phoenix* was not the only Native American newspaper to be mentioned in the *Journal*. On May 9, 1828, the *Journal* reported that "another Indian Newspaper [was] about to be published under the Cherokee nation [and] to be printed at Columbus, on the Chatahoochee (sic) river, in Georgia, under the title, *The Columbus Enquirer*."²⁴⁹

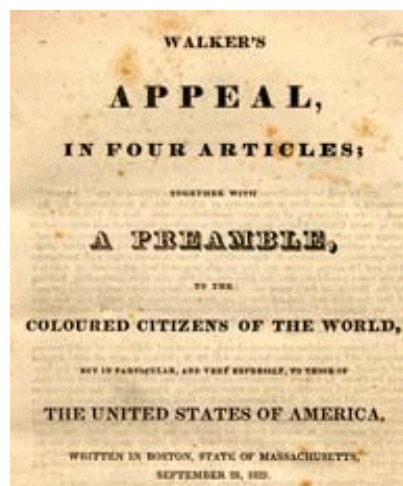


Figure #4. David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* which first published in September 1829 in Boston, Massachusetts²⁵⁰

Conclusion

This chapter highlights the various ways in which both information about and images of Native Americans informed African American rhetoric in the early nineteenth century. The antislavery movement or African colonization plans cannot be viewed solely along the White/Black racial axis, and nor can Indian removal along the axis of White/ Indian binary. The debates about these issues were intertwined during the antebellum era. Both racial groups were generally excluded from the white American republic, resulting in efforts to remove both populations. Some Native Americans were viewed as "civilized" and granted certain opportunities, such as education, over free or enslaved African Americans. Disparate image of Native Americans appeared regularly in early black press, namely, *Freedom's Journal*, which should not be viewed as an "unexpected place" to find such accounts of indigenous people from various tribes in the Southeast (Creeks, Osages, Cherokees, and Seminoles), and in the West (Blackfeet and Winnebagos) or sometimes about "Indians" in general. Some black writers and orators used symbolic references to Native Americans as part of their rhetorical strategies to bolster their fight

against slavery and racial discrimination. Native Americans would continue to inform African American ideas and rhetoric in the 1830s and 1840s which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3:
"An Indian or African Sun May have Burned Upon Him"
African American and Native American Racial Politics in the Pivotal Years,
1830-1849

Introduction

No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an **Indian or an African sun** may have burned upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation.
 - John Philpot Curran

John Philpot Curran's phrase about "an Indian or African sun may have burned upon him" is often quoted by abolitionists. Curran originally used it in 1794 in his defense of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, an Irish militant accused of sedition and "inciting the public to take up arms to overturn the established [British] constitution." Several decades later, abolitionists, inspired by Irish struggles, used the phrase to help create support for their own anti-slavery and struggles and in their fight against racial oppression in America.²⁵¹ Black abolitionists may have transposed the references to "African "or "Indian" to ideas about perceived racial differences between African Americans and Native Americans.

One of the earliest references of the phrase used by black abolitionists was in an editorial that appeared in *Colored American* in October 28, 1837.²⁵² The paper described a homecoming celebration for Dr. James McCune Smith, America's first black medical doctor. The Colored Citizens of New York hosted a homecoming for Smith who returned to New York after completed his education in Glasgow. Ransom Wake, one of Smith's former teachers at the African Free School, delivered introductory remarks. He

explained that Smith had gone to the University of Glasgow because racial discrimination prevented him attending medical school in the United States. Echoing Curran's speech, Wake noted that in Scotland, "no matter what may be the complexion of an individual, 'whether an Indian or an African sun may have burned upon him.... may [he] stand up a candidate for the highest suffrage of a great people.'" ²⁵³ The Scottish people promised to regard Smith as a "man [of] real worth, and not for the fortuitous circumstance of color." ²⁵⁴

The article about Smith was not be the only reference black abolitionists made to the ideas of the plight-- whether "an Indian or African." In fact, Smith used the same phrase in his introductory remarks in Frederick Douglass' autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*. ²⁵⁵ He writes that Douglass' story "shows that any man [that] no matter what complexion an Indian or an African sun may have burned upon him" may also "stand up [as] a candidate for the highest suffrage of a great people." Douglass repeated the "Indian or an African" phrase and performed Curran's speech in his international lecture circuit. ²⁵⁶ Applause was especially strong when he recited the famous passage about an "Indian or an African." ²⁵⁷

Why were black abolitionists so drawn to Curran's call on the "Indian or an African sun"? Did black abolitionist use it describe the shared oppressions facing Native Americans and African Americans in the 1830s and 1840s? Alternatively, did they use Curran's phrase for rhetorical purposes to symbolically refer to Indians to bolster their claims for citizenship? ²⁵⁸ This chapter examines these questions about how Native Americans depicted by black African Americans by analyzing several sources, including the following black-edited newspapers: *The Weekly Advocate/Colored American* (1837-

1841), the *National Reformer*, (1838-39) and the *North Star* (1847-1851). Reports in the black press suggest that the debates over Indian Removal, slavery, colonization and emigration did not stop with the final publication of the *Freedom's Journal* in 1829.

In her article, "Abolitionist Perception of the Indian," Linda Kerber asserted that the news coverage about Native Americans was given a "lower priority in journals edited by blacks" during the first few decades of the nineteenth century. In fact, she specifically claimed that the *Colored American* newspaper "found virtually no room for the subject at all."²⁵⁹ Native Americans were particularly prominently in African American press in the 1830s-1840 decades of increased political activism in both free black and Native American communities. The 1830s opened with both the first National Negro Convention meeting of 1830 and the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. In the 1830s, free blacks were increasingly faced with the denial of their citizenship rights. Native Americans were forced to move to Indian Territory. After the passage of the Indian Removal Act, there was an increase in radical abolitionism to oppose the booming domestic slave trade, which will be further explained in this chapter.

This chapter is organized into three sections. First, I briefly consider how beliefs about racial differences shaped American thoughts about Native Americans and African Americans in the 1830s and 1840s. I also examine how black press editors and journalists challenged these ideas. The next section broadly considers the how lived experiences of Native Americans were featured in African American abolitionist rhetoric. I ask how various orators linked their support for anti-Indian Removal protests with the anti-slavery movement. Also, I examine how black writers inflated their critiques against American government for expanding slavery by critiquing the governmental endorsement

of Cherokee Removal and the Seminole Wars. Finally, in the longest section of the chapter, I consider the specific adaptations of symbolic images of Native Americans used by African American writers in the 1830s and 1840s. To counter the beliefs about black inferiority, many African Americans placed Native Americans below themselves in an imagined social hierarchy. Like their white contemporaries, they perpetuated stereotypical images of Native Americans as "uncivilized" and "noble savages."

Brief Consideration of the Emerging School of American Ethnology and Racial Differences in the 1830s-1840s

Any study about American intellectual and cultural history in 1830s and 1840s would be incomplete without considering how racial ideologies were developed by white American ethnologists and countered by Black and Indian intellectuals. This section briefly examines these racial beliefs as part of the wider intellectual debates that occurred about notions of racial hierarchy during the 1830s and 1840s.²⁶⁰ The specific aspect of such ideologies is to frame this chapter with the understanding of how the passing of the Indian Removal Act justified racialized perceptions about Native Americans as “passive victim[s] or seeker[s] of vengeance,” and how such racial views were compared and contrasted to African Americans. For example, *National Reformer*, a reported noted that for African Americans and Native Americans, there was "no real place in American society" to live with whites.²⁶¹ African American and Native American writers continued to challenge such racist ideas.

We can first begin by considering the development and decision in naming the *Colored American*, America's second black-edited newspaper. As literary historian Elizabeth McHenry points out, the *Colored American* newspaper was an integral part of

this trend of debating such racial ideas. The newspaper "dealt with the issues of colonization and racial names...with a combination of sharp political assertiveness and distinguished literary prose."²⁶² The newspapers' editors, Samuel Cornish and Phillip Bell, sought to continue a similar agenda from the *Freedom's Journal* and drew an immediate and direct link between the papers' missions by using the same banner slogan as the former newspaper: "Righteousness Exalteth the Nation" and emphasizing its long running major themes of countering prejudices and showing hypocrisies in the United States.

The first edition of the *Colored American* appeared on January 7, 1837 and like the *Freedom's Journal*, it was published in New York. Yet, one critical difference between the newspapers was the content in their editorial sections. The *Journal* tended to be padded with reprinted material on "domestic tragedies and international trivia."²⁶³ By contrast, articles in *The Colored American* contained more attacks on the government, and the paper was especially vigorous in its attempts to debunk prevalent racial ideologies. Editors and writers combined critiques of white racial thought with their continued opposition to slavery and discussions of the hypocrisy of the American republic that excluded Africans Americans, and oftentimes incorporated references to Native Americans to bolster such critiques.

One example of the ways in which black writers invoked Native Americans into their own broad conceptions about racial differences can be found in a letter by Samuel Cornish. Published under the heading "Our Brethrens in Philadelphia," he mentioned a debate about naming of the *Colored American*. Cornish opposed other African American activists, like William Whipper who did not think that racial terms should be used in anti-slavery newspapers or for reform organizations. Whipper, a leading free black

activist in Philadelphia, was the founding member of the American Moral Reform Society (AMRS), and later the editor of the newspaper, *The National Reformer*.²⁶⁴ He felt that other African Americans should follow suit and name organizations with such nationalist terms (instead of racialized terms) as a way of proving their "Americanness" and citizenship.²⁶⁵ Whippier also rejected the idea that organizations only limit themselves to having white members because he felt that blacks should not further their causes alone.²⁶⁶ Some blacks, like Whippier, believed that racial categories were "irrelevant to the citizenship rights which people of color demanded."²⁶⁷ Cornish found his idea of not including racialized terms in the names of organizations "ridiculous" and noted the following in his letter:

Oppressed American! Who are they?" he asked. "Nonsense brethren! You are COLORED AMERICANS. The Indians are RED AMERICANS and the white people are WHITE AMERICANS, and you are as good as they and they no better than you. God made all of the same blood. Do not fool away any more of your time, nor fill up any more of your papers, with SUCH NONSENSE."²⁶⁸

Historian Patrick Rael interprets Cornish's letter regarding racial categories and the naming issue of the *Colored American* newspaper. It seems that Cornish believed that the terms "oppressed" and "disenfranchised" were "too vague and indefinite to present a proper idea of us as a people."²⁶⁹ One could add that this vague descriptor of "oppressed Americans" could also be inclusive of Native Americans.

This issue of naming the *Colored American* newspaper had broader implications about racial ideas. The typical descriptor by whites about blacks as a "degraded race" is repeated throughout the paper. In fact, one article, more than likely written by Cornish, appeared in the *Colored American* in the October 27, 1838 edition and was actually entitled, "Degraded Race." In this piece, Cornish critiqued the term "degraded" by noting that that "our sensibilities are often offended by the above too frequent and misapplied

phrase. Nothing is more common than for the minister, the lawyer, the demagogue and the philanthropist when speaking of colored people, to say 'degraded race' [or] 'degraded nation.'"²⁷⁰ Cornish added that "God has made but one race of men, and all Americans within the United States, (*red ones excepted*), both white and colored, constitute one nation" (*my emphasis added*). Unlike the prior statement by Cornish of viewing all races being "of the same blood," this article suggests, by noting "red ones excepted" that he understood that Native Americans were sovereign nations, as opposed to the fight for African Americans to be part of American body politic.

While the *Colored American* newspaper became a counter public sphere for black writers to present different perspectives about racial ideas, it also was a space to challenge racial attitudes published by white writers. For instance, the April 3, 1837 edition of the paper reprinted an article on the "Moral Character of Africans," from the *New Evangelist*, which was a white antislavery newspaper published in New York, NY from 1830-1850. The articles included a mixed-bag of quotations about African colonization and abolition in America by white writers, such as Sarah Grimke. Another author cited was Dr. William Ellery Channing, author of entitled *Slavery*. This popular antislavery book was first published in 1835. Channing's book received many accolades by the editors of *Colored American*, including one review which noted that book "denounces the inhuman traffic in slaves, and the perpetuation of it by that addition of a slave trading community to the Union."²⁷¹ In the article entitled "Moral Character of Africans," one particular passage from Channing's book is cited as follows:

Of all races of men, the African is the mildest and most susceptible of attachment. He loves where the European would hate. He watches the life of the master, whom the North American Indian, in like circumstances, would stab to the heart.

The African is affectionate. Is this a reason for holding him in chains? Quasshi - Mr. Channing

Channing's overarching aim was to garner support for abolition. While some people believed in favoring "Indians" were more likely to be assimilated into white society than "Africans." Channing claimed that Africans were gentler and less apt to resist white slave masters the racial beliefs about Indians as more aggressive. His claims were written merely four years after Nat Turner led a rebellion in Southampton, Virginia which resulted in nearly 60 whites being killed, and between 100-200 slaves being killed. Yet, we can assume that writers and readers of *Colored American* may have favored Channing's seemingly "positive" endorsement about their race to place blacks above Indians in the racial hierarchy, given the proliferation of negative racial ideas about blacks. Yet, there is no commentary by black writers about this specific reference by Channing to unravel the problematic set of stereotypes being purported by Channing about blacks or Indians.²⁷²

Racial ideas were presented in several contemporary publications. One example was Alexis de Tocqueville's classic work, *Democracy in America* which was published in 1835. Passages and references to this work actually were reprinted in *The Colored American* a whopping fourteen times in the run of the newspaper.²⁷³ While he draws comparisons between African American and Native Americans, the *Colored American* newspaper coverage is silent on the racial ideas about Native Americans. Instead, the *Colored American* reporters critiqued de Tocqueville's writings about slavery.²⁷⁴

De Tocqueville is one of several European writers to describe about racial ideas. White American theorists also published works about "racial ideas" and justified these beliefs by using science to justify human differences. Literary historian Brit Rusert notes

that these writers sought to critique "the ascendancy of the so-called American school of ethnology in the 1830s. Its practitioners- most famously Samuel George Morton, Louis Agassiz, George Gliddon, and Josiah Nott- used the tools of comparative anatomy to attempt to prove the innate mental and physical superiority of the Caucasian race."²⁷⁵

Ideas about black ethnology were developed to counter such racial ideas, including through the publication of Robert Benjamin Lewis' *The Light and the Truth: Collected from the Bible and Ancient and Modern History, Containing the Universal History of the Colored and Indian Race, from the Creation of the World to the Present Time*. This work was first published in 1836, a year after both Channing's and Tocqueville's works, published in 1835.²⁷⁶ As noted by Mia Bay, this work made blacks the "first family" of the human race due to Lewis' insistence that "all the early nations were colored: Greece, Europe, and North and South America were settled by descendants of Egypt." Yet, as Bay writes, Lewis' work "provides an early example of how easily African-American efforts to rebut white racial doctrine could shade into a black chauvinism that mirrored the very racist logic it opposed."²⁷⁷

Some scholars have built upon Bay's scholarship by considering Lewis' work as an example of an "Afro-Native" ethnology because of his focus on challenging prevailing beliefs about both African Americans and Native Americans.²⁷⁸ Lewis' work was one of several other writings by people of African descent written to counter prevailing racial ideas. Others included James W.C. Pennington's 1841 *Text Book of the Origin and History of the Colored People* and Hosea Easton's 1837 *Treatise on the Intellectual Character, and Civil and Political Condition of the Colored People of the United States*. For example, in his text, Pennington included a brief reference to the fact that indigenous

slavery preceded African slavery. In his discussion about Europeans in general (after specifically critiquing Christopher Columbus) he noted that Europeans took "the aborigines' lands for nought, and in addition to this they must have the aborigines work it for nought."²⁷⁹ He added that "when this appeared to be not so convenient, they must have a supply of Africans."²⁸⁰ This powerful passage can be linked to the ways in the black press covered such issues of how African Americans and Native Americans were historically oppressed.

Black newspaper writers discussed white racial thought in the *Colored American* newspaper to understand how white ideas about race justified certain political and legal policies directed against African Americans and Native Americans in the 1830s and 1840s. For instance, in an article entitled "An Indian: A Free Person of Color" noted that "it has been decided in one of the courts of Charleston, a person of free Indian descent unmixed with Negro blood, is a free, and therefore an incompetent witness. This decision is in opposition to the practice which has hitherto obtained in the courts of South Carolina; free Indians and the descendants of free Indians, in amity with the State, having been always regarded as competent witnesses of the superior courts."²⁸¹

In other cases, black newspapers cited reports about state laws demonstrating that in fact, Blacks and Indians would be treated the same. For instance article in the *Colored American* made note of a Massachusetts Legislature law, from March 5, 1840, which held that "no white person shall intermarry with a negro, Indian, or mulatto" and further decreed that such marriages would be void. The article cited this legal source from Chairman George T. David, of Joint Special Committee. Similarly, in an editorial from *The North Star* in 1848 noted that "no Indian, negro or mulatto's words shall be taken in

evidence against a Christian white person."²⁸² The editorialist explained that this "diabolical law exists in Washington, the capital of the nation, and in Ohio and several other miscalled free States."²⁸³ In both this example, and the prior example, it is clear that blacks are paying careful attention to some of the similar and differential treatment of Blacks and Indians which was codified into law.

In a related example cited in an article entitled "Negroes vs. Horses," Frederick Douglass reported a legal case from 1848 and questioned, "[w]hy does NOT the public generally regard the Indians with the same antipathy as the Africans? Is it color? The educated Indian, or the well-bred Chinaman, is admitted to the social circle without encountering any sentiment of aversion." He continued by highlighting that Europeans are equal to African, and even historically referred back to medieval Spain and France to bolster his argument on how different people from different nations were treated equally during that time as opposed in antebellum America.

While these themes about legal codification of racial ideas are further examined in my next chapter about the 1850s, it is important to consider these ideas in the 1830s and 1840s to begin to understand how blacks specifically represent how racial views about Indians aligned with ideas about Blacks, which will be further discussed in the next two sections of this chapter.

LIVED EXPERIENCES OF NATIVE AMERICANS
IN AFRICAN AMERICAN ABOLITIONIST RHETORIC 1830s - 1840s

Rhetoric on Lived Experiences of Native Americans in 1830s and 1840s

In this section, I examine several lectures to highlight how some orators employed rhetoric about the lived experiences of Native Americans to bolster their fight against discrimination and oppression directed towards both African Americans and Native Americans. Also, I consider examples of Native American orators who gave speeches to black and white audiences to garner support for their causes, particularly as last-ditch efforts to fight against racial oppression (especially Indian Removal), but also to create counter narratives about indigenous cultural practices.

Oppression faced by Native Americans in other many parts of America and in Canada received attention in the anti-slavery press. For example, in 1831, William Lloyd Garrison, the editor of the *Liberator* changed the newspaper's masthead to include various vignettes depicting slavery. Under the first vignette depicting the sale of slaves at an auction block, the words "INDIAN TREATIES" appeared under the image to draw attention to the linked historical injustices facing Blacks and Indians.²⁸⁴ In the May 30, 1838 edition of the *Liberator*, an advertisement was printed about a lecture by a "young colored gentleman" named John Fatal. The advertisement added that Fatal would deliver a speech about the "Niphet Indians" to the Adelpic Union at the Abiel Smith School in Boston.²⁸⁵ His reference is probably a misspelling of Nipmuc Indians, especially since this tribe lived in Massachusetts. The advertisement noted that "it is sincerely to be hoped that those who profess that they desire to see the colored man burst from the thralldom of prejudice, and assert his right in the scale of beings, will encourage with their

attendance." It added that "this laudable effort in the young man to redeem the character of the free colored population of this country from the stigma that has been heaped upon them by their enemies [and] that their inertness and mental imbecility procluded [sic] them from intellectual distinction."²⁸⁶ The last line was separated with a manicule, a printers' typeface symbol of a finger, to draw the reader's attention to the following additional line that "the attention of abolitionists is particularly directed to this notice." Three years after delivering this speech, Fatal would become an active member in the Boston Vigilante Group to help support slaves escaping through the Underground Railroad. The theme from his speech to challenge the "thralldom of prejudices" would reverberate in other advertisements for lectures in black newspapers that included references to lectures delivered by Native Americans.

While indigenous tribal names were sometimes incorrectly noted in newspaper advertisements (such as in the case for Fatal's speech), in other cases, such affiliations were not specified at all. For instance, one mysterious advertisement appeared in the April 22, 1837 edition of *The Colored American*. The brief notice cited that on the evening of April 24th at the first AME church/Bethel, "an Indian would lecture on Monday evening...[to discuss] the manners and customs of his people. The object is to benefit the Church, by aiding in paying her debt. He will appear in the full dress of an Indian Chief. Ladies will do well to come in season, as the house may be crowded. Tickets may [be] had at the door, and of the Elder, 44 Laurence St- Price 25 cts, child half price."²⁸⁷

The identity of this "Indian" is unclear and there are no archival materials mentioned this lecture.²⁸⁸ We can surmise that it may have been two Native American

intellectual orators who were either lived in New York or visited New York during this timeframe. One famous Indian orator, William Apess, had moved to New York during this time, and conducted several lecture tours throughout the United States and in England.²⁸⁹ Native American scholar Robert Warrior notes that many audience members "found a great concourse of people who had come to hear the Indian [Apess] preach."²⁹⁰ Additionally, in 1835, Apess published his work entitled, *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts Relative to the Marshpee Tribe: or, The Pretended Riot Explained*. In this piece, he makes explicit links between the treatment and enslavement of Mashpee Indians, and draws a link between their experiences and "the enslavement of two millions of [African] American people in the Southern States, the tyranny of this nation assumes a gigantic form."²⁹¹ My speculation that he could have been the orator is both because of he viewed himself as ally to African Americans, and that he lived in New York during the time of the April 1837 lecture at the black church.

We can also speculate that this unnamed lecturer could have been Reverend Peter Jones, a leading Ojibwe (Indian) Methodist minister from Canada, worked closely with British and Canadian missionaries.²⁹² He frequently travelled to fundraise for his church and missionary schools. According to historian and biographer Donald Smith, Jones travelled to New York in 1837.²⁹³ While there are no known records to explain the subject of the unnamed Indian lecturer at the AME church in New York in 1837, the advertisement does provide suggest that this unnamed Native American speaker came to the church to seek black sympathizers for the experiences facing Native Americans.²⁹⁴

Similarly in the March 16, 1849 edition of the *North Star*, an article appeared noting another "Indian lecture" and noted "[a] very intelligent, half blood Indian, of the

Ojibbeway nation, has been delivering lectures, in relation to the Indian wrongs, at the Tabernacle, with considerable success."²⁹⁵ According to other advertisements around the same time, this speaker was George Copway who spoke in 1849 across the country (see Figure #5). While this article was reprinted from another newspaper, Frederick Douglass also delivered a speech at the Tabernacle around the same time as Copway.²⁹⁶ Several months later, another reference to Copway appeared in the *North Star* with his full indigenous name "known as Ka-ge-gah-bowh" and "head of Ojibwe tribe."²⁹⁷

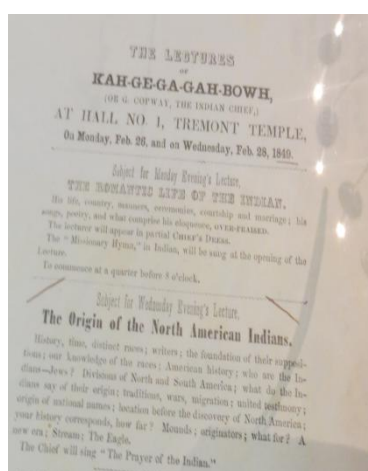


Figure #5: February 1849 Broadside for Copway's lecture tour. June 19, 2013. Worcester, MA. Source: American Antiquarian Society.

The May 1849 editorial was entitled "Indian courtship" and cited information about Copway's typical lecture themes, such as traditional Ojibwe Indian marriage, courtship and ceremonial practices.²⁹⁸ One related issue reported in the article about his lecture included Copway's opposition to intermarriages between whites and Indian.²⁹⁹ The report noted that Copway cited a proposal written to support "interracial marriage between the whites and the Indians; there was one universal shout of indignation raised from one end of the Union to the other." Copway refers to a particular proposal by William H. Crawford from 1816 which he wrote during his role as Secretary of War. Crawford encouraged Indians to marry frontier white people as a way of protecting them

against removal.³⁰⁰ Copway critiqued this proposal because he felt it purported racial ideas about Native American inferiority.³⁰¹

Copway toured around North America to gain support for his plan from various prominent individuals, including Frederick Douglass.³⁰² For the lecture in New York, the article noted that the audience was racially mixed. Copway noted that he "thought he'd have a full audience of blacks." However, unfortunately, Douglass noted that Copway's lecture garnered "no sympathy" and there was "apathy everywhere exhibited towards the poor Indian." Yet, in contrast, there were more reports in black newspapers about sympathies for Cherokees.

While Copway did not garner sympathy from his audience, other orators experienced more favorable responses. For example, Charles Burleigh delivered a speech entitled "Indian Wrongs" in 1838 that did garner support. Burleigh was a white antislavery lecturer and reformer from Connecticut who was sent to Philadelphia in 1836 by the American Antislavery Society for an intense campaign to spread abolitionist causes throughout eastern Pennsylvania. His speech was delivered outside of the former Pennsylvania Hall which recently had burned down by an angry group. Pennsylvania Hall was a central meeting space used in Philadelphia by black and white abolitionists.³⁰³ Several supporters came to attend the rally after the fire to hear various orators. Burleigh's speech appeared on the roster of speakers prior to William Lloyd Garrison's speech about immediate emancipation.³⁰⁴

The focus of Burleigh's speech was the mistreatment of Indians in 1838. Blacks were part of the audience, including members of the Purvis and the Douglass families who were prominent black abolitionists of Philadelphia.³⁰⁵ Additionally, a letter by John

Ross, the Cherokee chief, was also read during the rally. Ross could not attend because he was in Washington, DC showing Cherokee petitions against Indian Removal to Congress in the spring of 1838 and which was signed by over 15,000 tribal members.³⁰⁶

Learning from the Cherokee Removal Protests and Seminole Wars in the Black Press

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, newspaper coverage about Indian Removal Act was commonplace. The combination of reports opposing Cherokee Removal and the coverage of the ongoing Seminole Wars would be readily on the minds of abolitionists. These two stories would dominate the subjects about Native Americans in the black press during the 1830s and 1840s. One example is a story entitled "The Toscin," which originally appeared in *The Liberator*, and was reprinted in the June 23, 1838 edition of the *Colored American*. This story's title referred to an alarm that was called to awaken the national sentiments against ending oppressions facing Native Americans and African Americans. The story started with the call to "Wake! children of the men who said, 'All are born free!' Their spirits come Back to the places where they bled In Freedom's holy martyrdom, And find you sleeping on their graves, And hugging there your chains, - ye slaves!" The story highlighted the experiences of slaves and further elaborated on the paradox of American democracy. The story continued as follows:

At Slavery's beck , ye send your sons To hunt down Indian wives or maids,
Doomed to the lash! - Yes, and their bones, Whitening mid swamps and
everglades, Where no friend goes to give them graves - Prove that ye are not
Slavery's slaves! At Slavery' s beck, the very hands Ye lift to heaven , to swear
ye're free, Will break a truce, to seize the lands Of Seminole or Cherokee!³⁰⁷

This passage highlighted two key issues. First, it illuminated the history of African American freedom seekers, or runaways, who went to Florida to fight during the ongoing Seminole Wars.³⁰⁸ Secondly, it referenced the Cherokee Removal policies, which would ultimately lead to the expansion of slavery. While this article connected both of these issues, other reports in other the *Colored American* newspaper separated the issues between reports on either Cherokee Removal or the Seminole Wars. Further, the articles sometimes connected these two issues with the issue of slavery.

Starting with the April 12, 1838, articles about Cherokees or Seminoles appeared in each consecutive edition of the *Colored American* newspaper. In that particular edition on the front page, a long editorial was featured and entitled "The Cherokees: Address to the People of the United States." The writer, "Phileleutherus" noted that "Cherokee Indians have again presented a memorial to Congress setting forth their grievances, and praying to be saved from the exterminating and sinister designs of the American Government." Given the enormous attention in this newspaper about slavery and the disenfranchisement of blacks in the North during this time, it seems likely that the papers readers linked such Black oppressions with Indian Removal policies, given how such issues covered the newspaper pages. In this case, this news story about the Cherokees appeared on the front page of the newspaper, alongside an anecdote about a book entitled "The Slave's Friend" which featured a six year old boy protagonist. This unnamed boy was trying to understand the concept of slavery as he "had previously known nothing of slavery, or anti-slavery." After an unnamed character explained these issues, the boy exclaimed "that to make people labor without wages was wrong."³⁰⁹

The Colored American newspaper would sometimes report about military engagements directed against the Cherokees and Seminoles by the United States. One brief report appeared under "News of the Day" on September 29, 1838 in the *Colored American* newspaper featured Edmund Gaines, who was one of the generals in the Seminole Wars in the earlier decades of the 1800s. It noted that he "arrived at St. Louis on the 12th inst. on board the steamer Platte, from the Missouri River." The report added that when Gaines arrived, "the principal Chiefs of the different tribes had refused to attend the Cherokee Council, which induced him to return." Gaines was actually opposed President Andrew Jackson's policy of Indian removal. In 1836, Gaines and his troops were noted to be the first U.S. soldiers to revisit the scene of the Dade Massacre in Florida where they identified and interred the bodies.³¹⁰

Two months later, an article entitled, "CHEROKEES STILL PASSING." It noted that "[t]hese poor children of the forest are still, one detachment after another, passing through our city." The article continued to explain that "[o]n Monday evening last, we had in the Presbyterian Church, a very interesting meeting of many of the friends of the "poor Indian," to hear some two or three of them, recount the goodness of God to them amidst all their troubles."³¹¹ The article was reprinted from the *American Presbyterian* from Nashville, Tennessee, which is the city referred to where Cherokees are passing through headed to Indian Territory along the Trail of Tears. The article described two important missionary figures, including "Mr. Jones," referring to Reverend Evan Jones who was a staunchly opposed Jackson's Indian Removal policies. He was a Baptist missionary for eighteen years and he actually "marched with the Cherokee Nation on their Trail of Tears and assisted them in settling in what is now northeastern

Oklahoma."³¹² The article also referred to "Mr. Bushyhead, an Indian brother, and a Baptist preacher gave us a moving account of his conversion to God." The full name of this figure is Jesse Bushyhead who had been "appointed a member of the deputation of Cherokee who were selected to mediate between the United States Government and the Seminole Indians" in 1837.³¹³ What is evident through this example, along with the prior reference to General Gaines is that blacks were certainly well aware that many white supporters opposed Indian Removal. Indeed, blacks sometimes drew comparisons between the types of support reported for Native Americans, as opposed to enslaved blacks. For instance, in the August 22, 1840 edition of the *Colored American*, an article critiqued the government for spending money on removing the Cherokees and waging war against the Seminole, in addition the federal expenses on slave prisons in the nation's capitol.³¹⁴ The writer noted that "we should not now have had slave prisons in "Washington," built with the peoples' money, and continued at the public expense." The writer of the article maintained: "We should have saved the twelve or more millions of dollars expended in the Florida war. We should have saved the expense and the disgrace of oppressing the Cherokees, and removing them beyond the Mississippi. We should have saved the bankruptcy of the South, and the consequent immense losses at the North."³¹⁵

One final example about Cherokees is noteworthy. This article was part of the August 3, 1839 edition of the newspaper under the summaries section, alongside international reports about Turkey, China and domestic reports, which included reports about slavery in Iowa and emancipated slaves in Ohio.³¹⁶ The brief report highlighted the

internal strife between Cherokees who agreed to Removal versus Cherokees who opposed it. The article noted that:

Maj. Ridge, his son John Ridge, together with Boudinot, eminent leaders and chiefs among the Cherokee Indians, were murdered by the Ross party of Cherokees. The Ridges and Boudinot were educated men; the latter was for a long period the editor of that most extraordinary of newspapers, the Cherokee Phenix [sic]. We fear this crime may lead to others among this ill-fated people.³¹⁷

This example highlights the division amongst Ross, Ridge and Boudinot was a dramatic episode during Cherokee Removal. We can presume that the African American readership viewed the pangs of Removal and internal strife amongst Cherokees in the same vein as the abolition movement which also experienced internal strife between supporters of gradual abolition, versus those who had radical abolitionist leanings.

Regarding the Seminole Wars, two feature articles in February of 1838 appeared in the black press. First on February 3rd, an article about General Jesup noted that he was "decoying the Indians within his power by means of the 'flag of truce' and them sending them to the dungeon, is the highest degree abominable." The article added that "it must and certainly will down the indignation of heaven. It is not enough that the solemn treaties made with the poor red man, by which their lands were guaranteed, are ruthlessly violated, and the Indians."³¹⁸ The next week on February 10th under "News of Day" about Congress, a report noted that in "the House, after the reading of the Journal, Mr. Cambrelend, from the committee of ways and means, reported a bill making a partial approbation for the suppression of Indian hostilities for the present year...report from the acting Quarter-Master General, declaring the war against the Seminoles, and a loss from the protection of the northern frontier, the rules were suspended....proposed the

appropriation of a million dollars..."³¹⁹ Such sympathetic reports about Indians were compared by the newspaper writers with the treatment of those who were enslaved.

In one example from the December 1840 edition of the *Colored American*, a reprinted speech of President Van Buren described a more explicit connection between Indians and Blacks. Van Buren noted in his speech that "40K Indians relocated by Spring 1837" with specific reference on Seminole Wars using terms like "cruel treachery" and "Indian atrocities."³²⁰ He added that "Indians have been defeated in every engagement." He drew a comparison with these issues to Black slaves who he noted have also received the "continued attention of the government."³²¹

On March 27, 1841, a similar article entitled "Another Indian Skirmish" was featured in the *Colored American*. Editors reported that "the red men of the everglades, are neither so few in number, nor so determined on peace as has been supposed."³²² To highlight the fact that indeed, Seminole Indians actually won many of the battles (unlike the prior example), the article added the following passage:

An affray took place on the 2d inst., near Fort Russell, East Florida, in which Lieut. Albertis with his men had to retreat, bearing with him five of his number wounded. After having recruited his men, and placed a guard around his post, he again encountered the Indians, in which two of his troops were killed, six wounded and one missing. The number killed or wounded among the Indians, or whether any or not was not ascertained. So that it appears the Indians are not yet satisfied for the frauds heaped upon them, and are not likely soon to be.³²³

In one final example, speeches by Senator Joshua Giddings of Ohio were reprinted in five- part series in the *Colored American* in 1841.³²⁴ His original speeches were delivered to the House of Representatives in February of 1841. He noted that "one hundred thousand dollars for the removal & C. of such of the Seminole chiefs and warriors as may surrender for emigration." The theme of accounting for the cost that the government

spent on wars and treaties against Native Americans resonated with free African Americans who grappled with the challenges of lack of economic opportunities.³²⁵ By analyzing the pages of the *Colored American*, we can understand how news reports about oppressions facing Native Americans appeared alongside reports about slavery and racial discrimination. Further, we gain a clearer picture of the "Indian image in the Black Mind" in terms of that Native Americans figured into abolitionist rhetoric.

SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS OF NATIVE AMERICANS

IN BLACK WRITINGS, 1830s-1840s

The Romanticized Trope of "Indians" in Black Abolitionists' Fight for Citizenship in 1830s and 1840s

Pennsylvania, one of the "miscalled" free states in the North, disenfranchised blacks in 1838 in its new state constitution. To contest this law, Robert Purvis published a pamphlet entitled *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens Threatened with Disfranchisement to the People of Pennsylvania*. Addressed to "fellow citizens," Purvis challenged the idea that the "government belongs to the whites" and argued that blacks had demonstrated their equal citizenship over the years by paying taxes and in, some cases, owning property.³²⁶ He also evoked Pennsylvania's history and included references to Native American in his criticism.³²⁷ He wrote that "the founder of your capital [Harrisburg]," he noted, "was rescued by a colored man, from a party of Indians, who had captured, and bound him to the stake for execution." He adds "in gratitude for this act, he invited colored persons to settle in his town, and offered them land on favorable terms."

This story about Harrisburg was probably well known to Purvis and other black Pennsylvania residents as part of their state's history.³²⁸ The tale was documented in several publications in the 1820s about the town's namesake, John Harris, Jr., who was the son of one the earliest European American settlers and a shopkeeper along the Susquehanna River. The story of his rescue from the "bad Indians" by the "colored man" named Hercules, who was one of Harris' slaves. The incident occurred in 1733 and was later documented in a memoir published in 1828 by one of his descendants. According to more detailed accounts of the story, a number of Native Americans who were noted to be from the "Mahanoy, Mahantongo or Shawanese tribe...who had been down the river either for predatory or trading expedition, stopped by at Harris' house on their return northward." They were reportedly "under the influence of alcohol" when they confronted Harris and dragged him to a tree, preparing to burn him alive, after he refused to come out of his home. At this point, Hercules, helped save Harris' life when he led "a band of *friendly Indians*, supposed to have belonged to the Paxton tribe" (*my emphasis added*). In return, Harris reportedly emancipated Hercules. Furthermore, "some of the descendants of Hercules [who] still reside in the borough, enjoy[ed] their freedom, so nobly won, in the bosom of the large community who occupy the ground on which the occurrence took place."³²⁹

Purvis' story illuminates the ways in which racialized representations of Native Americans become part of the African American rhetoric regarding their claims for citizenship.³³⁰ Native Americans acquired increasingly prominent symbolical uses in black writings in the years following the passage of the Indian Removal Act. Although the symbolic use of Indians was a prominent phenomenon in white writings, black voices

have generally not been considered in this national trend, sometimes referred to by scholars as the "vanishing Indian paradigm."³³¹

Using pamphlets, such as the Purvis example, friendship albums, newspaper articles and advertisements, I consider the symbolic uses of Native Americans by African American writers and readers during the 1830s and 1840s. From these sources, I assert that African American hopes for racial uplift through education and moral reform, often rested on an understanding of racial hierarchy in which Blacks attempted to position themselves as more racially civilized and worthy of citizenship than Indians. I will begin by first analyzing of a peculiar friendship album that contains references to Native Americans that underscores this point.

The Symbol of the "Vanishing Indian" along the Missouri River

In 1841 in Philadelphia, Robert Douglass, Jr., a free African American artist, included one particularly interesting entry that pertained to Native Americans in the friendship album of Martina Dickerson.³³² Dickerson's album, similar to a scrapbook or autograph book, provides a rare glimpse into the private lives of a free African American woman and thoughts about public debates in the antebellum era.³³³ In a watercolor copy, Douglass replicated a painting originally created by John Gadsby Chapman, a white American artist known for his American historical paintings and landscapes. The small painting entitled, "The First Steamboat on the Missouri," appeared originally in the 1839 edition of *The Token*, a gift book which was a popular keepsake in the nineteenth-century. This gift book included various essays and poems, and were popular Christmas gift items. Yet, out of dozens of poems and stories in the gift book, Douglass specifically chose to replicate this particular entry of Chapman's small painting that

featured two Native American figures who were sitting on a canoe along the river looking at a steamboat that appears in the distance (see Figure #6). Images of steamboats were increasingly common throughout the country during the early age of industrialism. Specifically, steamboats began to be prevalent on the Missouri River by fur trading companies in the early decades of the nineteenth-century.³³⁴

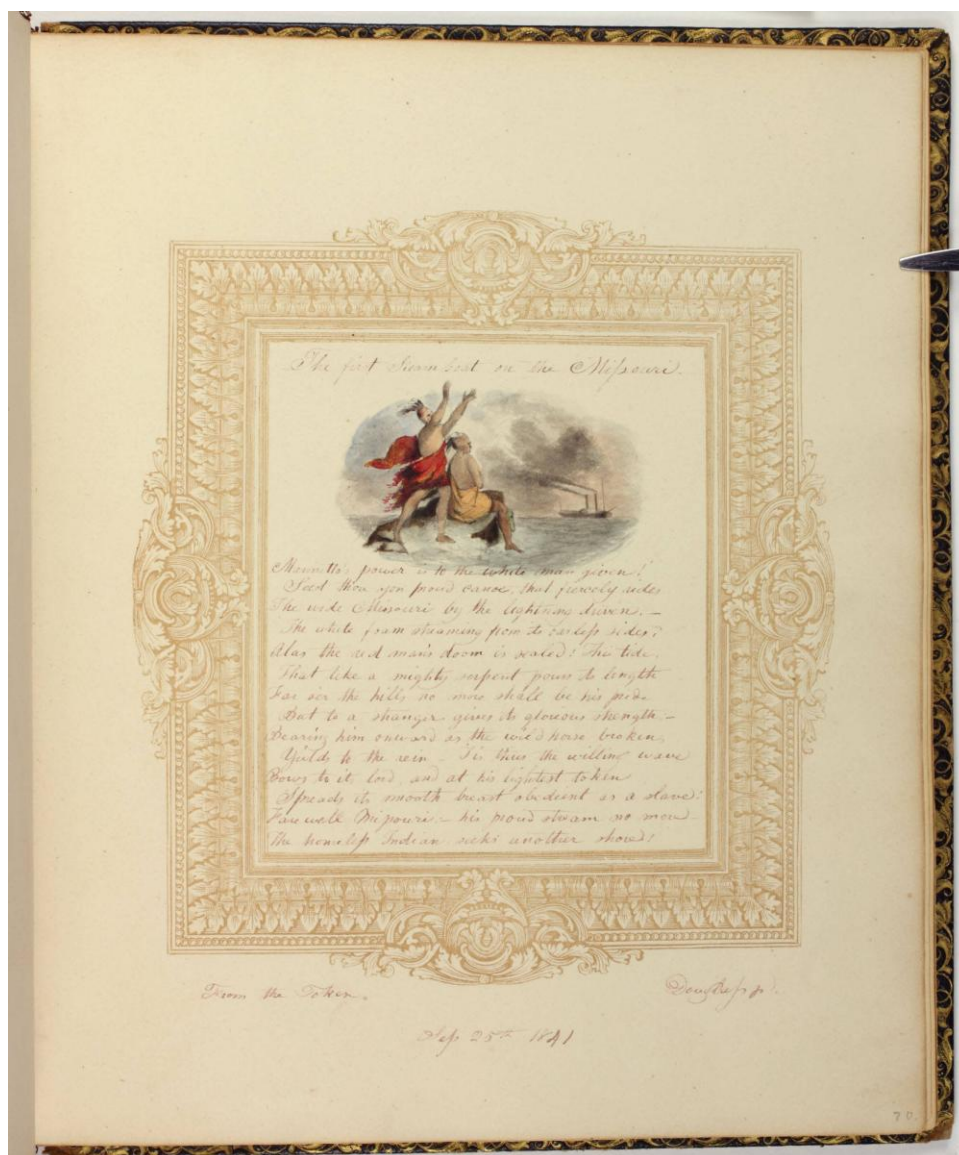


Figure #6: Robert M. J. Douglass. The first steamboat on the Missouri.³³⁵

Library Company of Philadelphia. Accessed September 17, 2013.

http://lcpdams.librarycompany.org:8881/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=126755&local_base=GEN01

Below the copied artwork, Douglas also copied the poem that also originally appeared in *The Token* underneath the painting. In calligraphy, Douglass includes the full poem entitled "The Indian's Farewell To the Missouri" which certainly is connected to the artwork, and appears in its entirety below:

Mannitto's³³⁶ power is **to the white man given!**
 Lest thou you proud canoe that fiercely rides
 TThe wide Missouri by the lightning drive
 The white foam streaming from its oarless sides?
 Alas the **red man's doom is sealed!** The tide
 That like a mighty serpent pours its length
 Far o'er the hills, no more shall be his pride
 But to a stranger given its glorious strength
 Bearing him onward as the wild horse broken
 Yield to the rein - Tis thus willing wave
 Bows to the lord, and at his lightest token
 Spread its smooth breast **obedient as a slave:**
 Farewell Missouri- his proud steam no more
 The homeless Indian seeks another shore! [**my emphasis added**]³³⁷

It must be noted that the original entry in *The Token* was printed merely a year after the final Cherokee Removal.³³⁸ Furthermore, the language in the poem that I emphasized above should be further examined. Did Douglass or other African Americans think that fate of Native Americans was doomed, or that Native American's spiritual power (noted by the use of the term "Mannitto") was given to the "white man?" It would certainly not seem to be an idea that blacks would argue, particularly in the midst of countering disenfranchisement, racial beliefs and discrimination caused by whites. The references between "white men" and "red men" in the poem further suggest the blatantly racial overtones of the poem that would have resonated with black readers of the album. Furthermore, the allegorical references to the Missouri River as being like as "obedient as a slave" certainly would have resonated with Douglass, Dickerson, or even to other black abolitionist readers of the friendship album. Such allegory would have evoked to blacks

that westward expansion was *directly* linked to the increase of the domestic slave, especially given the passage of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 which passed the year after the first steamboat appeared along the Missouri River.³³⁹ The constant sectional tensions of trying to balance slave and free states elided the radical abolitionist causes to immediately end slavery throughout the entire nation. Given these potential meanings for this friendship album's entry and the wider set of social debates in the 1830s and 1840s, the choice for Douglass to include the depiction Native Americans in the image and poem certainly makes sense. Furthermore, we can think about this particular entry featuring Native Americans in comparison to sources that depicted more blatantly symbolic and romantic Indian images and the meaning of this appropriation in the minds of blacks in the 1830s and 1840s.

Native Americans, Land and the American Progress Narrative

Travelling agents for the *Colored American* newspaper often documented their thoughts on racial ideas they encountered traversing the Northern states, and would sometimes briefly reflect on Native American history of various geographic spaces. Reverend Charles Bennett Ray, one of the agents, and later the editor of the newspaper, travelled around the country reporting his views about abolition and promoting ideas about racial uplift in his speeches and writings. In a letter written to Samuel Cornish published in the *Colored American* newspaper on August 5, 1837, he reported on his trip to New England. Specifically, he notes that he had travelled to "Fall River is situated on the eastern bank of Taunton River, near its mouth. It is located half-way from New Bedford to Providence, on one of the stage routs, distance fifteen miles."

The river's location, he added, lies in the region "where King Phillip and Annanwan, noted in the Indian war, lurked." The region's people were friendly and "receive [d] a colored man, of respectability and enterprise, with all the burstings forth of their sympathy and respect, as a man and a brother." Black residents of the area were likewise well treated: there was "one colored mechanic here, a smith, [who] finds no difficulty in getting employment at his trade." His last remark before closing his letter notes that "[o]ne thing worthy of note, in the scenery which presents itself, between this place and Providence, is MOUNT HOPE on the Bristol side of the river, the look out of King Philip, at the top of which stands a monument, in memory of that heroic Indian Chief." It is interesting that he actually highlights King Phillip twice in his brief letter, reminding readers about the past history of the New England region, in the midst of his discussion on the social mobility of blacks living there today. King Phillip was a popular figure and Ray suggests his familiarity with this figure when he cites the "Indian war," referring to King Phillip's War from the colonial era.³⁴⁰ Ray may have been using the reference to Phillip to connect to prevailing ideas of American progress, which included negative perceptions of Native Americans as being part of the past and pre-modern. Ray's letter is one of many examples of sources that evoked a romanticized perception of Indians documented by a black writer.

In another example, another traveling agent of the newspaper who used the pseudonym, "Cushing," included a brief letter entitled "A Trip to Albany" in the June 6, 1840 edition of the newspaper that featured references to Native Americans.³⁴¹ He noted that he was "on a steamboat where once the Indian canoe alone sailed along the stream, now speed multitudes of noble vessels, laden with the abundant products of a fertile soil."

He added, "I could not help musing on the hard fate of the original inhabitants of the place, now driven from their former scenes of happiness, to the inhospitable wilds of the Western prairies, where they must all eventually perish, and their race became extinct."³⁴² Towards the end of his description of eavesdropping on various pro-slavery conversations he heard while on the steamboat, it becomes clear that the writer may have been white based on the following statement: "I know not whether this boat extends to colored passengers equal privileges with the white, but I presume that it does not, for I saw on board a very respectable looking young colored man, Mr. H. C, with whom I have some slight acquaintance, sitting apart from the rest, apparently very much dejected, doubtless thinking of the wrongs and injustice to which his prejudice-crushed brethren are subjected, in this land of slavery and oppression." While it is challenging to figure out who is the actual writer, the theme of describing Native Americans as being part of the past was prevalent and confirmed certain negative and romanticized images of Indians in black publications. Even in the case where the travelling agent, "Cushing" appears to be white writer, the fact that such writings appeared in a black-edited newspaper suggest the notion that the black editors and readers may have held similarly shared negative racial ideas about Native Americans.

Finally, an article from the February 10, 1841 edition of the *Colored American* addressed westward expansion over the last ten years.³⁴³ The article noted that "the land of the Indian and the savage beast, has been turned into fruitful fields....The Indian wigwam was given place to the elegant mansion - the neat cottage ...The bark canoe is no longer seen with the 'plunder' of a whole Indian family, squaw, papooses, and dogs." In this case, conceptions of Indians by Blacks is linked with ideas of animals, which is

certainly problematic. The notion of describing people with animals notes the idea of under-development, and that Indians were somehow being deemed as "savages" like the animals mentioned.

While romanticized references to Native Americans sometimes linked ideas about American progress and the land, black writers also commented on the proliferation of artwork that featured Native Americans as "symbols" throughout American history. In the July 18, 1840 edition of the *Colored American* newspaper, a reprint of the Benjamin West's 1777 painting, "William Penn's First Treaty with the Indians" was included.³⁴⁴ This article appeared on newspaper page next to an editorial about the Seminole Wars. There was no commentary about the reprinting of West's painting on the page. Literary historian, Benjamin Fagan, suggests that the painting seems to "celebrat[e] peaceful reconciliation between whites and American Indians while simultaneously revealing the contradictions underlying such seemingly benevolent practices."³⁴⁵ He adds that the painting could have also depicted the fact that "founding ideal of tolerance and inclusion were contaminated with the realities of colonial conquest" for Native Americans; hence there is a possibility that such a painting represented the sense of doom feared by African Americans about their own fate in the American Republic.³⁴⁶

The Resonance of the Myth of Pocahontas Image to African Americans

While the "William Penn's First Treaty with the Indians" painting was popular, portrayals of Pocahontas during the antebellum era were even more popular.³⁴⁷ Many historians have written about the myths and stories that circulated about her past history and connections to the English settlement in Jamestown. Black newspapers writers also referenced ideas about her, particularly based upon artistic depictions of her. In the

December 19, 1840 edition of the *Colored American*, one reference to Pocahontas appears in a letter to "Brother Ray" by a Washington correspondent named "Libertas" appeared.³⁴⁸ Brother Ray is Charles B. Ray who became the sole editor of the newspaper starting in 1839. "Libertas" described a painting by John Chapman "Baptism of Pocahontas" which was installed in the Rotunda of the Capitol building in Washington, DC in 1840. Chapman was the same white artist that Robert Douglass Jr. reproduced in the Martina Dickerson's friendship album in 1841. "Libertas" notes that the government spent a total of twelve thousand dollars for Chapman's painting to be installed (see Figure #7). In his criticism of the painting, he notes the following:

I suppose you have heard of the new national painting called the baptism of Pocahontas. It is a magnificent affair, and cost Uncle Sam ten or twelve thousand dollars. I think it rather too high colored. One thought I will here express. Pocahontas, you know, was an Indian girl, and married an English captain whose life she had saved. Well, there she is in the picture, tawny as life, her English captain standing [n]ear. This looks very like amalgamation. And yet all Congress, and all the nation gazes on it with admiration! But I must close....

"Libertas" referred again to the painting at the end of his lengthy letter which expressed his dissatisfaction of Congress and their inability to deal with slavery or to confront the racial problems in America. He made two references that merit some analysis. First, he referenced "amalgamation" which was a hot button term that was oftentimes used as a fear tactic by pro-slavery supporters who believed that abolitionism would somehow lead to interracial sex between blacks and whites. Yet, in the case of painting, it references interracial sex between whites and Indians. Of course, interracial sex between Indians and whites had been deemed by whites as socially acceptable and such interracial union was even encouraged by whites (even dating back to Thomas Jefferson in his *Notes of Virginia* from the mid-eighteenth-century). Secondly, he stated that the skin color of

Pocahontas "looked too white."³⁴⁹ Finally, the interpretation of the legacy of Pocahontas is actually incorrect. It reflects a long-standing myth about her for in fact, she did not marry the man whose life she saved (John Smith); she was married to John Rolfe.³⁵⁰



Figure #7: "Baptism of Pocahontas" by John Gadsby Chapman.³⁵¹ NB: This is the same artist from **Figure #6** that was copied into Martina Dickerson's friendship album by Robert Douglass, Jr.

Another reference to Pocahontas appeared around the same time as the newspaper article. Her image was included in a publication by Armstrong Archer entitled *A Compendium of Slavery as it Exists in the United States*.³⁵² Archer is described as either a free black or "mulatto" minister who served as a pastor at the African Meeting House in Boston, MA for one year in 1835 and then continued his career delivering speeches and sermons in the abolitionist lecture circuit.³⁵³ Likewise, his book was "squarely within the anti-slavery literary tradition," but his subtitle inserted another subject: Native Americans.³⁵⁴ The subtitle of the *Compendium* is noted as follows:

[A] brief view of the author's descent from an African king and on the other side from the celebrated Indian Chief Powhatan on the other; in which he refers to the principal transactions and negotiations between the noble chief and the English colony under the famous Captain Smith, on the coast of Virginia, in the year 1608, as well as to his still more illustrious daughter, the Princess Pocahontas, who excited so much interest in England.³⁵⁵

Likewise, the frontpiece of the text is an illustration entitled "Pocahontas Saving the Life of John Smith" (Figure #8), which represented the famous colonial encounter. Archer

noted this artistic rendering "is preserved in a beautiful piece of sculpture, over the western door of the rotunda of the capitol at Washington." This piece was by an Italian artist, Antonio Capellano, entitled "Preservation of Captain Smith by Pocahontas, 1606" which was installed in 1825 (earlier than the reference to the painting by Gadsby installed in the Rotunda of Congress in 1840).³⁵⁶ Interestingly, there were no images included on any people of African descent in Archer's memoir, despite the fact that majority of the work represents the anti-slavery movement. Why did the publisher, or perhaps Armstrong himself, choose an image which would seem to prioritize his supposed "Indian" ancestry over this "African" ancestry?³⁵⁷

In the twenty-four page prefix of the text prior to address slavery, Archer wrote his genealogy, which would be become a common practice for many black authored ex-slave narratives. He explained that his paternal grandfather, a descendant of a West African King from Guinea, and father, were kidnapped, enslaved and endured the Middle Passage. After being bought and sold in Virginia, his father later married to a woman named Powcanoe who is the younger sister of Pocahontas, and who were bought the daughters of the "the Indian chief Powahatan."



POCAHONTAS SAVING THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

Figure #8: Frontpiece image of Armstrong Archer's *A Compendium of Slavery as it exists in the United States* (1844)

Archer later noted, "[b]eing myself directly descended by my mother's side to this extraordinary man, who was scarcely ever equaled by any other Indian chief, either in ancient or modern times, in regard to the influence and reputation which he enjoyed among his countryman far and wide, as well as the intellect and energy which he always displayed, I feel convinced that a short notice of this celebrated family will not be uninteresting."³⁵⁸

He told his history of the Powhatan Indians and consulted "the most authentic sources of information that can throw any light on the Powhatan," including Thomas Jefferson's *Notes from the State of Virginia*. He then listed two eighteenth-century sources about Virginia's colonial history.³⁵⁹ Immediately after listing these sources, he added that "[i]t is not my intention to enter any detail of the history of the Powhatan [sic]." He assumed that the reader was familiar with this history and made a historical leap from the past to the present to draw connections between Africans and Native Americans in the antebellum era. He noted that "many years have not elapsed since the Indians, as well as the scar-branded Africans, were in these their native regions hunted by

bloodhounds, as they are at the present day scoured from the Floridas" referring to the ongoing Seminole Wars.³⁶⁰ He also mentioned that the leading belief about Native Americans that they were believed to have come from Asia and "migrated across the Behring straits to the western continent." He added that "in a few centuries from hence, the red men of America will only live on the pages of history" and that "like the trees of the forest at the progress of agriculture, disappear as beings who were only known to the historian." In sum, Archer's work is significant for the links he draws between the history and ideas about Native Americans and the abolition movement.

Native American Pseudonyms

Another issue to consider how blacks are symbolically used Native Americans in abolitionist rhetoric is the fact that some black writers used Native American pseudonyms. One such writer is Sarah Forten, the daughter of the famous sailmaker of Philadelphia, James Forten, Sr. In one essay that appeared in *The Liberator*, she used the name "Magawisca." Literary historian, Elizabeth McHenry, noted that this pseudonym is derived from the name of a Native American character in Catherine Maria Sedwick's book, *Hope Leslie; or Early Times in Massachusetts*, published in 1827. It was a popular text, which reportedly sold 2,000 copies when it was first published. Magawisca was the character that was named as the daughter of a Pequot chief.³⁶¹ Using the pseudonym Magawisca, Forten published one critical piece, entitled "The Abuse of Liberty," where she argued that those "who cannot shew a fair exterior (no matter what be the noble qualities of their mind,) are to be robbed of the rights by which they were endowed by an all-wise and merciful Creator, who, in his great wisdom, cast a sable hue over some of the 'lords of creation.'"³⁶² Towards the end, she posed the question: "[God] who made the

sun to shine on the black man as well as on the white, will always allow you to rest tranquil on your downy couches?"³⁶³ She answered this question by proclaiming "No- He is just, and his anger will not always slumber. He will wipe the tear from Ethiopia's eye; He will shake the tree of liberty, and its blossoms shall spread over the earth."³⁶⁴ Her rhetoric seems to echo the popular phrase mentioned in this chapter's introduction about "whether and Indian of African sun burned upon his face." Yet, in Forten's text there is no clear evidence that she's trying to compare the oppressions of blacks and Indians, but that she may be gesturing towards this by using an indigenous pseudonym.

Another black writer who used a Native American pseudonym was James McCune Smith. Unlike Forten who just wrote just one article under the "Magawisca" pseudonym, Forten penned dozens of articles under his "Communipaw" name in *Frederick Douglass' Paper*.³⁶⁵ His name is derived from "Communipaw" from the Algonquian language Lenape for one of the earliest sites of the Dutch West India Company colonies: New Amsterdam. The town's name became legendary because it was included in an early historical work by Washington Irving, who published *A History of New York* in 1809 which was a popular success (similar to the success of Sedwick's book). Irvin's book was a fictionalized version of the history of New Amsterdam. The town included an interracial community of Blacks, Indians and Dutch settlers who resisted British invaders. McCune Smith called himself a "descendant" of Communipaw, and according to historian, John Stauffer, many of Smith's articles penned under his pseudonym "Communipaw" reflected stereotypical "savage" ideas about Indians as an example for blacks to adapt savagery as a method to combat slavery."³⁶⁶

It is significant that both Forten and Smith used Native American pseudonyms, as opposed to African, Greek, Roman or other popular choices used by other antebellum newspaper writers. The decision to choose a pseudonym generally signaled to the reader that the writer viewed themselves with the characteristics evoked by the name, such as in the earlier reference to "Libertas" which obviously evokes the idea of liberty for abolitionists. Both Smith and Forten are part of a black elite: they are free, educated and well-read; hence, referencing popular literary examples of Native Americans also signified their literate status.

Seneca Cough Syrup and "Indian Doctors" in Advertisements

Not only were Native Americans symbolically figured into the past through the use of pseudonyms, but they also appeared in black writings during these years through advertisements. Four editions of the *Colored American* from 1837-1838 featured the same advertisement for "Seneca Cough Syrup."³⁶⁷ This remedy was marketed to be used for "Coughs, Colds, Asthma, and Consumption." The ads noted:

This invaluable Medicine is prepared from some of the most powerful and rare plants in the vegetable kingdom. From the original recipe of Towanda, the celebrated Indian Chief and Physician, of the Seneca tribe. Its efficacy is beyond imagination. All who have tried it have given ample proof of its beneficial results. To be had only at the old established Indian Medicine Store, 117 Varick Street.³⁶⁸

It is not clear whether this reported "Indian Chief" was an actual Seneca Indian or someone "playing Indian."³⁶⁹ They may be drawing upon drawing on the stereotypical mystique of knowledge of Indians about natural healing practices. Furthermore, the name of the reported chief is unknown, although there is a Seneca band known as Tonawanda Senecas.

Similar advertisements appeared in the *Freedom's Journal* newspaper ten years prior of various "Indian doctors" and "doctresses." Like the "Seneca cough syrup" advertisements, we can speculate that these early advertisements may have been trying to sell their various cures by appealing to popular stereotypes about Native American medicinal knowledge.³⁷⁰ Such advertisements seem to reflect particular stereotypes about Native Americans as having spiritual or medicinal powers.³⁷¹ For example, an advertisement in 1827 appeared for an "Indian doctress" named Sarah Green.³⁷² The article highlighted her office and services under the title, "Diseased Cured" and promoted her ability to heal "the Piles, Dysentary, all kinds of Wounds, and Bruises."³⁷³ However, scholars who have studied Green's genealogy have concluded that she was a free African American woman.³⁷⁴ She may have descended from a multi-racial family from New England and may have had some Native American ancestors. Green could have been familiar with indigenous medicinal practices due to her background as an Afro-Indian.³⁷⁵ Or she could have been "playing Indian," meaning that she may not have actually had an indigenous ancestry.

Another "Indian physician and botanist" was "Dr. Thorp" who published an advertisement in the *Journal* in 1827 that offered his "thanks to the public in general for past favors." He added that he hoped "to solicit [the] patronage [of more *Journal* readers] in future."³⁷⁶ It also proclaimed that he could cure "all diseases of the human system, with roots and herbs, free from the use of mercury."³⁷⁷ Similar references to a "Dr. Thorp," and his cures which are noted in this white newspaper the *New York Daily Tribune*. Yet, Thorp's *Tribune* advertisements do not make any reference to his race as "Indian." Instead they only note that he used vegetables and various herbs to cure these

diseases. He was the manufacturer of a popular medicinal cure known as “Carminantia,” which received favorable mention in several letters written by his “respectable” white clients who vouched for its’ effectiveness.³⁷⁸ One may assume that Thorp, like Green, was possibly “playing Indian,” or perhaps he could have been racially mixed with African, European and/or Native American ancestry who may have also learned about indigenous medicinal practices.

Historian Sharla Fett offers a historical context to explain such antebellum medical advertisements. Fett notes that “Native American knowledge of medicinal plants no doubt influenced African American (and European) herbal medicine, though the exact historical processes of this exchange are difficult to identify.”³⁷⁹ We can assume that Green or Thorp may have appropriated an Indian identity for financial purposes during the long market revolutionary era. There is no evidence in the early black press that explained what African American journalists thought about such advertisements for potentially “quasi-Indians” such as Chief Towanda, Dr. Thorp or Dr. Green who appeared in African American newspapers. But these advertisements do suggest that romanticized images of Native Americans appeared in black antebellum sources (see Figure #9). In sum, whether through such advertisements, pamphlets, friendship album entries, newspaper articles, or memoirs detailed in this section, Indians are symbolically appropriated in black newspapers.

DISEASES CURED.

SARAH GREEN INDIAN DOCTRESS
 informs her friends and the public, that she has removed to No. 36 Mulberry street, where she continues to cure the following disorders. Piles, Dysentery, Small Pox, Wounds and Bruises, Felons, Fistulas, Rheumatism, Agues, oppression of the lungs, growing in of the toe nails, Bite of a mad dog &c. Her skill in the cure of these disorders can be attested by many credible and respectable persons, both in this city and other places, who have obtained a cure under her hands, which they sought for elsewhere in vain. In cases of small Pox, she is able to heal the patients in such a manner, that no marks of the disease shall remain.

New-York, June 12, 1829.

DR. H. C. THORP'S CARMINANTIA OR PAIN-EXPELLER.—The objection the faculty have in general to any medicine of this kind has been gradually overcome by the benefit they have seen result from the use of it. Hundreds in this city can attest to the cures performed by this invaluable article. Certificates of respectable persons giving their address, are in the possession of the proprietor, who have been cured of the following diseases:—Scrofula or King's Evil, Syphilis or Mercurial diseases, Rheumatic affections, Dropsy, Dispepsia, Palsy, diseases of the Liver & Lungs, Dropsy &c. &c.

The CARMINANTIA invariably gives relief to be afflicted. The proprietor merely requests a trial and its efficacy will soon be apparent. Price \$1 & \$1.50 cts. per bottle—for sale in this city by the proprietor alone, 309 Broadway corner Walker st. N. York. d17

Figure #9: Newspaper Clippings. A) Sarah Green in the *Rights of All*. B) H.C. Thorp in an article from the *NY Tribune* featuring one of his patients providing a reference for his services and "Carminantia" cure.³⁸⁰

In the Hearts of Black Women: Symbols of and Sympathies towards Indians

The ways in which free black women participate in the discourse of viewing Native Americans as the "savage other" is the focus of this section.³⁸¹ Considering racial, gendered and class politics, the status of free black women filters the lens through which they view Indians, even if such views are generally just as ethnocentric and paternalistic as male writers. This section will highlight black women orators and abolitionists, like Maria Stewart and Elizabeth Wicks, who referred to Indians symbolically as part of a liberation theology tradition to address black female respectability and inspire the spread of Christianity. Alternatively, Ann Plato and Jarena Lee seem to write more sympathetically about Indians because of their actual encounters with them, and in Plato's case, perhaps because of her own Native American ancestry. Ideas about Indians documented by black women writers and orators in the 1830s and 1840s mirrored those divisions by male writers and orators. However, it is important to separately highlight such contributions of women which are oftentimes overlooked in abolitionist historiography.

Bostonian free black woman abolitionist and writer, Maria Stewart delivered a public address in 1833 at Boston's African Masonic Hall.³⁸² Some of her speeches and writings were published in *The Liberator* newspaper, edited by William Lloyd Garrison, which started publication in 1831. Historians have noted that Stewart's spiritual calling to become a public voice for African Americans was particularly awakened after her friend, David Walker's mysterious death in 1830.³⁸³

As she began her career as a public speaker, she delivered a powerful speech at Franklin Hall to the Afric-Intelligence Society in Boston on September 21, 1832. She started off by questioning, "why sit we here and die?" She symbolically referenced Native Americans by stating the following:³⁸⁴

Did the Pilgrims, when they first landed on these shores, quietly compose themselves and say, 'The Britons have all the money and all the power, and we must continue [to be] their servants forever? Did they sluggishly sigh and say, 'Our lot is hard- the Indians own the soil, and we cannot cultivate it?' No- they first made powerful efforts to raise themselves and then God raised up those illustrious patriots, Washington and Lafayette, to assist and defend them. And, my brethren have you made a powerful effort? Have you prayed the legislature for mercy's sake to grant you all the rights and privileges of free citizens, that your daughters may rise to that degree of respectability which true merit deserves, and your sons above the servile situation which most of them fill?'³⁸⁵

Stewart briefly examines Puritan's encounters with Native Americans in Massachusetts as part of her state's history. Instead of identifying with the struggles of blacks as similar to oppressions of Native Americans, she chooses to refer to Puritans and their work ethic as a model of respectability for her black audience.³⁸⁶ Stewart's ideas are a part of a much broader intellectual tradition during this time. Most black and white reformers opposed the idea of Indian Removal and were inspired by the contemporary resistance of southeastern Indians, while ignoring the plight of Indians in other parts of the country. Yet, by reflecting on a romanticized views of the past regarding Native Americans and

Puritan settlers, Stewart tried to inspire her black audience to adapt enterprising ideas as part of the market economy in the antebellum era, regardless of the fact that it was originally indigenous lands on which they lived and worked.

Like Stewart, another free black woman, Elizabeth Wick of Troy, New York, gives a speech, in 1834 entitled, *Address delivered before the African Female Benevolent Society of Troy* [AFBS].³⁸⁷ In her speech, Wicks tells of her free black audience of women:

While we are enjoying all these privileges, and are endowed with the blessings that a bountiful Providence can shower upon us, let our minds travel south and sympathize with the present state of the two millions of our brethren who are yet in bondage, and denied the smallest privilege we enjoy....

The time may come when the face of the moral and of the course the natural world shall be changed; when the wilderness and solitary places shall blossom like the rose; when all the families and nations of the earth shall be of one mid, and shall allay their thirst at the same pure fountain of heavenly wisdom. Then shall the Indian no more adore the sun, nor think to wash away his moral pollution in the streams; but all nations shall adore one God.

As part of a politicized liberation theology, Wicks evoked her Christian beliefs to offer hope and a sense of racial uplift for Black women. Yet, she generalized her views about Native Americans by assuming that there were not any Native Americans who were Christians. She castigated Native Americans as non-believers. Yet, she is hopeful that they would all eventually become part of a future Christian republic that would encompass all races of people, including Blacks.³⁸⁸

While Stewart and Wicks only briefly reference Indians to gesture towards Christian beliefs, other black women writers are more explicit in their references about Native Americans. Over a decade after Wick's speech, Jarena Lee published her autobiography *Religious experience and Journal of Mrs. Jarena Lee* in Philadelphia in 1849. Like Maria Stewart, Lee's spiritual calling occurred after the death of her

husband. In her autobiography she explained that her calling was "renewed" through grieving his passing and feeling that she "left alone in the world" to raise two children.³⁸⁹ She became the first black woman ordained by Richard Allen in the AME church in Philadelphia and then became an itinerant minister in the 1820s and 1830s. At one point during her career, she visits Seneca Indians in Buffalo, New York.

Lee described how she encountered two Seneca Indian chiefs during her trip to Buffalo. She noted that it was not an accidental encounter and that she had "made an appointment for the Indians; two of the chiefs called at where I stopped to see me. I asked them to pray for us they complied, but done it in their own tongue. I felt the power of God in my own heart." Later, she spoke to fifty Indian children in Buffalo Village, and she described how some dressed in English style, while others dressed in Indian style with blankets and moccasins. She noted that "their Elder or missionary had gone to teach another tribe that day, and he only taught them very plainly, and read out of pamphlets the experiences of others." She decided to share a hymn, and an interpreter translated after she spoke. She added "I spoke plain and deliberate and very pointed, the interpreter spoke it after me in the Indian tongue, and one of the women cried out Amen." Lee referenced stereotypes about Indians when she suggested that they can be "civilized and Christianized" and added further that "[w]e might call them heathens, but they are endowed with a Christian spirit."³⁹⁰ Literary scholar, Carla Peterson asserts that Lee views "Indians as cultural Others, different and inferior [was] because of their pagan beliefs." Like, even though her words offer a tinge of sympathy towards Indians, Lee's views are also steeped in ethnocentric attitudes from her perspective as a free black Christian woman.

Another example to consider would be the writings of Ann Plato. She would become known as the second woman of color to publish a book of essays and poems after Phillis Wheatley did during the eighteenth-century. Plato's work entitled, *Essays: Including Biographies and Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose and Poetry* was first published in 1841. She was born free and raised in Hartford, Connecticut and like the previously discussed Robert Lewis Benjamin (as well as another contemporary woman writer, Elleanor Eldridge) Plato had dual ancestry: she had a Native American father and African American mother.³⁹¹ When she was only sixteen years old, she published a collection of prose and poetry dealing with specific problems facing African Americans, which includes two references to Native Americans. One appears in an essay entitled "Lessons from Nature." In describing God's family, she noted that "[s]ome have white complexions, some are red, like our wandering natives, others have sable or olive complexions. But God hath made of one blood all who dwell upon the face of the earth."³⁹² Her sentiments echo much of the biblical references used in abolitionist rhetoric regarding the notion of the humanity of the human race.³⁹³ In the second part of the book featuring poetry, she includes a poem entitled "Natives of America" which described a conversation between unnamed indigenous father and his daughter. The daughter is asking the father to describe indigenous history and of how her "Indian fathers dwelt, and, of sore oppression felt [and] how they mourned a land serene; It was an ever mournful theme." He explained how indigenous people were sold as slaves, and how Europeans claimed to have discovered American land which resulted in oppression towards indigenous people. At the end of the story, he asked his daughter to remember the stories he has shared, as a way of preserving indigenous oral histories.³⁹⁴

This fictionalized account does not include any tribal affiliation or specific details. It may be intended to tell a sort of "pan-Indian" view of history and European encounters. It also may be indirectly referencing African Americans, specifically in the line, "strangers did us invade- strangers destroyed the fields which were us enjoyed." Literary scholar, Kenny Williams, once described this poem as an "extensive and dramatic poem" which represented the "downfall of the American Indian." She adds that the "cruel oppression suffered by Indians could be transferred to the subjugated blacks."³⁹⁵ Yet, Williams incorrectly noted that Natives Americans were a "seldom discussed issue" by writers of African descent.³⁹⁶ Furthermore, given Plato's publication date after Indian Removal, it is clear that Native Americans are, indeed, a focus for several writers of African descent during the 1830s and 1840s.

CONCLUSION

In sum, this final reference by Williams claiming that Native Americans were rarely featured by writers of African descent echoes the earlier statement noted in this chapter's introduction by Linda Kerber regarding her claim that Native Americans were seldomly mentioned in the *Colored American* newspaper. This chapter has attempted to prove both statements as being short-sighted. The image of "the Indian" framed specific values and ideals for African Americans in the 1830s and 1840s in various ways: to align oppressions faced between African Americans and Native Americans, and also to symbolically appropriate references to Native Americans to bolster Black demands for citizenship. We now can better understand that the popular "Indian or African sun" in black abolitionist rhetoric noted in this chapter's introduction may have had several

meanings for that either linked or contrasted the experiences of African Americans and Native Americans during two decades of the early nineteenth-century. Such racial ideas continued to dominate the writings about Blacks and Indians into the 1850s, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4:
'The Absurdity and Wickedness of Making a Man's Freedom Depend Upon
The Color of His Skin or The Quality of His Hair':³⁹⁷
Fugitive Slave Law, The Claim of Native American Ancestry and
Indian Slaveholding in the 1850s

Introduction

Several newspapers from around the nation reported a story in 1854 about an imprisoned teenager named Lucy in Colombia, South Carolina.³⁹⁸ She was detained because of her questionable identity: was she a runaway slave or a free Indian? When a white southerner named Mr. Darby responded to a fugitive slave advertisement about Lucy, he had to show his bill of sale to prove he was her owner. However, he was questioned because of her appearance. Darby claimed that when he bought her, she was sold to him "as a Negro" but agreed that she had the "the looks of an Indian." He claimed that Lucy "ran away repeatedly." Lucy maintained she was an Indian and not an enslaved Black, and she had "told several playmates" of this fact. Some of the community members were reportedly "impressed by the girl's appearance [and] advised the jailer not to give her up, as she evidently was an Indian."³⁹⁹ Lucy sat in jail from 1851 to 1854 because Mr. Darby's bill of sale was questioned. Lucy's case caused quite a stir and even garnered the attention of the South Carolina governor, John Means.⁴⁰⁰ Apparently, he was "so convinced that the girl was Indian" that if the case was decided against her, "he would buy her and set her free."

By 1854, a Cherokee Indian chief became aware of the case and went to the jail to validate Lucy's status. Although various news reports spelled the chief's name as "Inaluskie," his actual name was Junaluska. He was described as a well-known military figure who reportedly saved the life of General Andrew Jackson during the Battle of the

Horseshoe Bend in the War of 1812.⁴⁰¹ As reported in news article, Junaluska claimed that approximately in 1837, the girl was taken as a captive from his tribe when they were "on the way from North Carolina to Arkansas. His people had been walking on what became known as the Trail of Tears. When he heard about an incarcerated "Indian girl" in Columbia, South Carolina, he came to claim her as his kidnapped niece, named "Lut-se."⁴⁰² The combination of Junaluska's status and testimony helped to validate Lucy's status and racial identity.

Additional testimony came from Dr. Robert W. Gibbes, a white medical doctor practicing in Columbia. An expert in paleontology as well as medicine, Gibbes was a naturalist who dabbled in the emerging field of race science.⁴⁰³ He provided "scientific" evidence to help support Lucy's case to prove her race and status as a free Indian by comparing her skull to an Indian skull he brought with him into the courtroom, in addition to examining her hair.⁴⁰⁴ Gibbs testified that this evidence confirmed Lucy's Indian heritage. The attorney for the plaintiff, Mr. Darby, insisted that Dr. Gibbes "give the facts as to [Lucy's] hair grades and [Lucy's] blood" and complained that Gibbes' evidence might be inadequate, as he had not examined "by the microscope any half-breeds." Other witnesses provided details about Lucy's phenotypical and temperament characteristics. At the end of the case, "the jury decided in favor of the girl's being Indian, and she left Columbia next day with the old chief, Junaluska, on her way to Arkansas.

While we do not know any further information about Lucy's life, we know the details of her case were reported in the December 1854 edition of *Frederick Douglass' Paper*.⁴⁰⁵ Her trial opens up questions about the meaning of "Blackness" and

"Indianness" in the 1850s. There were countless slaves who failed to gain their in this era freedom, especially in South Carolina where the cotton industry was booming and the enslaved population doubled from 1830 to 1850.⁴⁰⁶ Successful escapes from slavery became more difficult just around the time Lucy appeared in court. Furthermore, her case was tried after the passage of the Fugitive Act of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Junaluska's presence in the court, however, reminded his listeners of the horrors of the Trail of Tears, which still shamed the nation, and thus provided an opening for Lucy.

In this chapter, I argue that historical events of the 1850s influenced the ways that Native Americans were depicted by African American writers. In the first section of my chapter, I examine the portrayals of Native Americans in both the real and fictionalized slave narratives. Some Black writers perceived Indians as allies who assisted fugitive slaves, while others perceived some Indians as benevolent slavemasters. Most of the sources utilized in this chapter were published in the 1850s. However, in most instances, slave narratives highlighted encounters between African Americans and Native Americans that occurred in the 1830s and 1840s. By the 1850s, black-edited newspapers in the North and in Canada printed stories to reveal that there was more limited actual contact between Native Americans and African Americans than in the earlier period. In the second section, I examine the various ways that some Blacks claimed "Indianness" as a form of social capital as evidenced through their memoirs and newspaper reports about legal cases. Next, I argue that Black writers also perpetuated a narrative of decline about Native Americans through their comments about Indians as "dying" or through their vision of Native Americans as less civilized than Blacks. Finally, I examine how Indian

slaveholding in Indian Territory was vehemently criticized by black writers after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854.

The Representation of Native Americans as Fugitive Slave Allies or Benign Slaveholders in Ex-Slave Narratives

An important narrative published in the 1850s is *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth*. It documents the experiences of a formerly enslaved woman, while the majority of narratives published in the 1850s documented the experiences of formerly enslaved men.⁴⁰⁷ In one scene after Truth is nominally freed in 1827, she described her travel in New York and noted the following encounter:

An Indian (for Indians were plenty in that region then) passed along as the bereaved mother washed the bloody corpse of her murdered child, and learning the cause of its death [the Indian mother] said, with characteristic vehemence, 'If I had been here, I would have put my tomahawk in his head!' meaning the murderer's.⁴⁰⁸

This encounter seemed to resonate with Truth's experiences as a mother that she chronicled in earlier passages of her narrative. She explained that after she was freed, she learned about the illegal sale of her enslaved son. She noted that when she "heard that her son had been sold South, she immediately started on foot and alone, to find the man who had thus dared, in the face of all law, human and divine, to sell her child out of the State" and added that she would try to "bring him to account for the deed." Several years passed before she finally found her son. He did not at first recognize her, but she soon convinced him that she was his mother. She examined his body to observe that the slavemaster "Fowler [had] whipped, kicked, and beat" him."⁴⁰⁹

We can imagine the shared anguish felt between Truth and the unnamed Native American mother. The Indian mother grieved the death of her child, while Truth experienced angst when trying to find her son and when she learned that harm had been inflicted on him. We do know for certain whether the indigenous mother's child was killed by a white person. We do know that Truth confronted the white slavemaster, Fowler, who illegally purchased and harmed her son. However, by analyzing Truth's words, we can glean the shared experiences between Blacks and Indians who grappled with white oppression. She noted that she encountered this indigenous woman during a time when there were "plenty" of Indians in the New York region. This signals to the reader that this was prior to white encroachment which resulted in Native Americans being either killed or forcibly relocated. Also, the timing for Truth's encounter with the unnamed indigenous woman occurred sometime in the late 1830s after the passage of the Indian Removal Act that impacted not only indigenous people in the Southeast, but also in the North.

Truth's encounter provides us with a rare glimpse of the shared experiences of oppression faced specifically by African American and Native American women and children. As noted earlier, while narratives written by African American men are certainly more common, such narratives rarely depicted Native American women, or did not even mention the gender of various "Indians" encountered. Nevertheless, they did discuss interactions between men and deserve our close attention. In this section, I examine slave narratives that depict Native Americans either as allies who helped fugitive slaves or as slaveholders who are perceived to be more benevolent than white slaveholders.

Josiah Henson's memoir, *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself*, was first published in 1849 and reprinted throughout the 1850s. It details his life and various experiences from the time of his birth in 1789 in Maryland. His earliest memories of his parents included his father being brutally beaten for "killing a white man" and his mother pleading on the auction block to be sold with Josiah, her youngest child.⁴¹⁰ Years later, he writes that his slavemaster told him that he "must take his slaves to his brother, in Kentucky" to pay off his debts. During one point with his new master, he travelled to New Orleans. It was then that Henson wanted to purchase his freedom. However, his owner tricked him by raising his price after he had already saved enough money to pay the original price. He explained his feelings about this incident and noted that "indignation is a faint word to express my deep sense of such villainy."⁴¹¹ At this point sometime around 1830, Henson decided to escape with his family and travelled along the Ohio River. He saw a group of people from a distance and soon realized that "they were Indians, with packs on their shoulders; and they were so near that if they were hostile, it would be useless to try to escape."⁴¹² Soon, these Indians actually ran away and Henson wondered if it was because they assumed that he was "the devil, whom they had perhaps heard of as black."⁴¹³ He noted that he heard "their wild and prolonged howl, as they ran, for a mile or more. My wife was alarmed too, and thought they were merely running back to collect more of a party, and then to come and murder us, and she wanted to turn back."⁴¹⁴

However, Josiah decided that since they had already travelled so far, they must "press on." They soon entered an indigenous settlement. He noted that "we came upon

their wigwams, and saw a fine looking, stately Indian, with his arms folded, waiting for us to approach."⁴¹⁵ He added "he was apparently the chief, and, saluting us civilly, he soon discovered that we were human beings, and spoke to his young men, who were scattered about, and made them come in, and give up their foolish fears. And now curiosity seemed to prevail." These Native Americans protected the Henson family by providing them with food and a place to spend the night. The next day, he noted that his family "resumed our march, and found, from the Indians, that we were only about twenty-five miles from the lake. They sent some of their young men to point out the place where we were to turn off, and parted from us with as much kindness as possible."⁴¹⁶ The Native Americans that Henson encountered made a positive impression on him because of the help they gave.⁴¹⁷

Other examples of slave narratives that depicted the connections between fugitive slaves and indigenous people include John Brown's narrative, *A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Now in England*, published in 1854. Brown's indigenous encounters are not as extensive as Henson's, but are important nonetheless. He included his memory of encountering Cherokees in New Echota, Georgia, prior to Indian Removal.⁴¹⁸ He noted that "[a] very large body of Indians, gathered from this territory, had been located there sometime between 1836 and 1838, where they remained six months, under guard, being on their way to their new location in Arkansas. There were some thousands in all, under the chiefs John Ross and John Ridge."⁴¹⁹ He added that his slavemaster Stevens "used to send us to these [Indian] people to sell them provisions, generally causing his son-in-law, Joe Stokes, to accompany us." When he escaped, he ended up following the path of Henson who also

escaped following the Ohio River. Brown travelled along a nearby tributary, the Wabash River, which flows through the present-day states of Ohio, Illinois and Indiana. He followed it for "[one] hundred miles, crossing the Wabash again, and going through the Indian reserve on our way."⁴²⁰ His narrative reflects his intimate knowledge about Cherokees. Although he does specifically mention if he encountered any indigenous people along the Ohio River, his reference to going through an "Indian reserve" does suggest that he could have encountered indigenous people there.

Like Brown, Henry Goings' narrative, *Rambles of a Runaway from Southern Slavery* published in 1869, included encounters with Cherokees in Georgia.⁴²¹ In this narrative, Goings described his experiences enslaved in the South in various states. He was born in Virginia, but also lived in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama, and was a victim of the domestic slave trade. During his time in Tennessee, around 1821 or 1822, he notes the following experience about visiting Milledgeville, Georgia:

I accompanied my master on a trip to Georgia. Our destination was Milledgeville the capital of that state. Through the country there were many settlements of Cherokee Indians. We found them peaceable and most of them occupied good farms tilled by slaves. I should think, from all I saw, that they were much better masters than the white people, as the colored people seemed more contented than any I had ever seen.⁴²²

Goings captures a glimpse of Cherokee life prior to Indian Removal in 1830 when many Cherokees lived in Georgia.⁴²³ I will address Goings' idea about Indian slaveholding in comparison to white slaveholding in examining the narrative by Henry Bibb.

Another example of a narrative that depicted Native Americans in a positive light is Solomon Northrup's *12 Years a Slave*, which was published in 1853. Northrup was born free in the North but while working in Washington, DC, treacherous whites sell him as a slave. He remained enslaved for twelve years. He described a scene in which he and

other enslaved people encountered Native Americans. Northrup's owner William Ford owned a lumber mill northwest of New Orleans in the Great Pine Woods along Louisiana's Red River.⁴²⁴ Northrup devised a plan to transport lumber by water which was less expensive than transporting it by land since the distance was shorter. He created a raft in the Bayou Boeuf to get to Lamourie.

After transporting the lumber, Northrup and the men with whom he travelled with encountered Native Americans near Indian Creek.⁴²⁵ He noted that "Indian Creek, in its whole length, flows through a magnificent forest. There dwells on its shore a tribe of Indians, a remnant of the Chickasaws or Chickopees, if I remember rightly. They live in simple huts, ten or twelve feet square, constructed of pine poles and covered with bark."⁴²⁶ Although Northrup was uncertain of the tribal identity of the people he saw, he should have trust his memory: they probably were Chickasaw. Chickasaw Indians originally lived in an area that included present-day states of Mississippi, Alabama and Mississippi, before being forcibly removed in 1832 west of the Mississippi River. The Red River flowed into the Mississippi River. The indigenous people Northrup encounters could not have been "Chickopee," which is actually a name of the Nipmuc Indians who originally lived in Connecticut. He also may have been confused if he knew about the Choctaw Indians who originally lived in the Mississippi River region, particularly in Louisiana area.

Northrup described the indigenous people's societal structure, style of dress and noted their equestrian abilities. He also noted the following:

[The] chief of the tribe was Cascalla; second in rank, John Baltese, his son-in-law; with both of whom, as with many others of the tribe, I became acquainted during my frequent voyages down the creek with rafts. Sam and myself would often visit them when the day's task was done. They were obedient to the chief; the

word of Cascalla was their law. They were a rude but harmless people, and enjoyed their wild mode of life. They had little fancy for the open country, the cleared lands on the shores of the bayous, but preferred to hide themselves within the shadows of the forest. They worshiped the Great Spirit, loved whisky, and were happy.⁴²⁷

He mentioned Cascalla several times throughout the narrative, but this name, along with John Baltese, appear nowhere else.⁴²⁸

Northrup also observed Chickasaw social dances. Many indigenous dance practices were associated with the seasons, such as the Chickasaw stomp dance, which was performed in the Spring.⁴²⁹ It seems clear that he attempted to understand indigenous cultural practices which is noteworthy:

On one occasion I was present at a dance, when a roving herd from Texas had encamped in their village. The entire carcass of a deer was roasting before a large fire, which threw its light a long distance among the trees under which they were assembled. When they had formed in a ring, men and squaws alternately, a sort of Indian fiddle set up an indescribable tune. It was a continuous, melancholy kind of wavy sound, with the slightest possible variation. At the first note, if indeed there was more than one note in the whole tune, they circled around, trotting after each other, and giving utterance to a guttural, sing-song noise, equally as nondescript as the music of the fiddle. At the end of the third circuit, they would stop suddenly, whoop as if their lungs would crack, then break from the ring, forming in couples, man and squaw, each jumping backwards as far as possible from the other, then forwards—which graceful feat having been twice or thrice accomplished, they would form in a ring, and go trotting round again. The best dancer appeared to be considered the one who could whoop the loudest, jump the farthest, and utter the most excruciating noise. At intervals, one or more would leave the dancing circle, and going to the fire, cut from the roasting carcass a slice of venison.⁴³⁰

This scene reminds us of the fact that Northrup was a musician which may explain why he documented so closely these indigenous musical and dance practices. Regarding his own talents, he mentioned that he was a violinist many times throughout his narrative.⁴³¹ He explained that he performed at local events and that his "master often received letters, sometimes from a distance of ten miles [inviting him] to play at a ball or festival of the

whites."⁴³² He explained that the "African race is a music-loving one, proverbially; and many there were among my fellow—bondsmen whose organs of tune were strikingly developed." In contrast to his own musical abilities, he negatively portrayed indigenous music "indiscernable" and as "nondescrip" music. However, it is noteworthy that he documents in such detail what he witnessed to help portray the image of the indigenous cultural practices he witnessed.

While each of the narratives described above documented various actual encounters between enslaved or free African Americans and Native Americans who were perceived as allies, or at least in a positive light, similar narratives were also presented in fictionalized accounts. One example is Martin Delany's novel, *Blake; or The of America Blake; or the Huts of America*, which was first published in 1859.⁴³³ The author tells the story of an enslaved character named Henry Blake. He was born in Cuba and decided to spend many years travelling around the U.S. South to incite insurrection amongst slaves after he learned that his wife had been sold to a planter there. Blake spoke with many enslaved African Americans during his travels. At one point, he also encountered a Choctaw Indian chief.⁴³⁴

He travelled to the "Indian Nation near Fort Towson, Arkansas" where he met this chief named "Mr. Culver." He described Culver as an "intelligent old Chief." He shared a conversation with Culver, using an indigenous dialect of English, and noted that Culver argued that there was "difference between a white man and Indian holding slaves. Indian work side by side with black man, eat with him, drink with him, rest with him and both lay down in shade together; white man even won't let you talk! In our Nation Indian

and black all marry together. Indian like black man very much, only he don't fight 'nough. Black man in Florida fight much, and Indian like 'im heap!"⁴³⁵ Blake responded by telling Culver that he was mistaken about his ideas about black people. He said that they "would fight if in their own country they were united as the Indians here, and not scattered thousands of miles apart as they are." He added that "you should also remember that the Africans have never permitted a subjugation of their country by foreigners as the Indians have theirs, and Africa today is still peopled by Africans, whilst America, the home of the Indian -- who is fast passing away -- is now possessed and ruled by foreigners." Towards the end of this exchange, Culver extended Blake a peace pipe and tells Henry, "Go on young man, go on. If you want white man to love you, you must fight im!"⁴³⁶ This fictionalized encounter gives us a sense of Delany's perceptions about the links between actual oppressions facing African Americans and Native Americans. His included Culver's stereotypes about African Americans as being complacent, except for in Florida, in reference to their participation during the ongoing Seminole Indian Wars. Culver also portrayed stereotypes about Native Americans as being more violent than African Americans when confronting white oppression. Culver advised Blake to fight the "white man" in order to receive "love," which suggests that he thought Native Americans experienced. Blakes' efforts to continue his fight to end slavery are bolstered by his conversation with Culver.

While the prior narratives depicted Native Americans as the allies of fugitives, other narratives explicitly depicted Native Americans as benevolent slaveholders, as briefly referenced in Goings' narrative analyzed earlier. One example is Henry Bibb's *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, An American Slave, Written by*

Himself, which was first published in 1849. Bibb was born in Kentucky in 1815 and was told that his father was his white slave owner, James Bibb. His mother, Mildred Jackson, was an enslaved black woman. Bibb was resold as a teenager and made several attempts to escape the horrible treatment of his second slaveowner before he married and had children. Earlier in his life, he first tried to escape to Cincinnati and then to Canada. However, he was betrayed by men pretending to be abolitionists on his way back to get his family and was imprisoned. Sometime after 1840, he travelled with his slavemaster through Arkansas to attend "great races" there. He explained these as gambling events managed by Cherokee Indians. At the races, Bibb met a Cherokee man who wanted to purchase him. He described why he thought this would be advantageous for him:

First, I thought I should stand a better chance to get away from an Indian than from a white man. Second, he wanted me only for a kind of a body servant to wait on him--and in this case I knew that I should fare better than I should in the field. And my owners also told me that it would be an easy place to get away from. I took their advice for fear I might not get another chance so good as that, and prevailed on the man to buy me. He paid them nine hundred dollars, in gold and silver, for me. I saw the money counted out.

He detailed his experiences living amongst the Cherokees. He described his new Cherokee slave owner as "the most reasonable, and humane slaveholder that I have ever belonged to." The Cherokee man was the "last man that pretended to claim property in my person." He added the following detailed account of his experiences with his unnamed Cherokee slave owner:

He was the owner of a large plantation and quite a number of slaves. He raised corn and wheat for his own consumption only. There was no cotton, tobacco, or anything of the kind produced among them for market. And I found this difference between negro slavery among the Indians, and the same thing among the white slaveholders of the South. The Indians allow their slaves enough to eat and wear. They have no overseers to whip nor drive them. If a slave offends his master, he sometimes, in a heat of passion, undertakes to chastise him; but it is as

often the case as otherwise, that the slave gets the better of the fight, and even flogs his master.

His description mirrored the opinion of Goings, although Bibb's story and provide further evidence to help us imagine the historical reality of Cherokee slaveholding in the 1840s and the experiences from the perspectives of those who were enslaved.

In recent years, scholars have illuminated the complexities of such practices in order to understand the historical context of Cherokee slaveholding. Historian Celia Naylor plainly states that "the "red over black" relationship was no more benign than "white over black."⁴³⁷ Furthermore, we should not assume by reading this brief account by Bibb or Goings that Cherokee slaveholding was somehow less severe, or that the plantations were somehow safer spaces for enslaved black people as opposed to white-owned plantations. As Tiya Miles notes, enslaved blacks resisted the "dehumanization and forced captivity" that they experienced on Cherokee plantations.⁴³⁸ Referring to Bibb's depictions of Cherokees, he highlighted the context of his impressions about white slaveholders as more violent than his Cherokee slaveholders. For example, as cited earlier, Bibb did not witness Cherokee overseers whipping slaves, as he did see this practice amongst white slaveholders. However, we must bear in mind the research by Naylor and Miles. We cannot interpret Bibb's text to indicate any generalities regarding the differences between Cherokee and white slaveholding practices. We must understand that this was Bibb's perspective. Furthermore, the major focus of Bibb's narrative, along with most slave narratives, is to critique white slaveholding practices to support abolition.

In closing, the views of Henry Goings and Henry Bibb about their perceived benign indigenous slaveholders can be compared with other slave narratives, such as Sojourner Truth, who represented her encounter with an indigenous woman as evidence

of the shared oppressions facing African Americans and Native Americans. We can also understand the positive portrayals of indigenous people who assisted fugitive slaves like Josiah Henson. Furthermore, we can understand why Delany may have imagined the encounter he depicted to point towards the possibility of a united front between both racially oppressed groups. The "Indian image" depicted in slave narratives are just as varied as they are in other African American writings that will continue to be explored in this chapter.

The Affinity for Indians in Black Memoirs and Legal Testimony in the 1850s

In his second autobiography published in 1855, Frederick Douglass writes about the fact that his former slave owner and father, Aaron Anthony, would sometimes speak to him "in soft caressing tones [and refer to him as] his little Indian boy."⁴³⁹ Historian Waldo Martin describes this paternalistic act within the broader context of Douglass's descriptions about Anthony who would occasionally whip him, but not mistreat him as badly as he did other slaves.⁴⁴⁰ David Adler suggests that this "little Indian boy" nickname was given to Douglass because of his "copper-like skin color, high cheek bones and wide set eyes."⁴⁴¹ It is unknown whether or not Douglass had Native American ancestry. However, by considering Douglass' memory associated with his nickname, it raises the question: in what ways did some African Americans associate a positive meaning with Native American racial identity in the 1850s? On a related note, how was Indian identity meaningful to blacks, who may or may not have had Native American ancestry?

This issue of the perceived social capital of "Indianness" for African Americans was not new. In fact, there are many examples from sources dating back to the colonial era, especially legal cases and runaway slave advertisements in newspapers which frequently reported comments about either reported cases of people deemed as Native Americans or of having dual African American and Native American racial ancestries.⁴⁴² But in the 1850s in the era of aggressive abolitionism, the "absurdity" of racial laws in the South were reported in black-edited newspapers in the North. The particular cases that will be analyzed in this section include references made by defendants who claimed evidence of Native American racial identity in order to gain a free status.

One example of legal case that referenced Native American ancestry involved a defendant named John Bolding in 1851, who like Lucy, from the chapter's introduction, lived in Columbia South Carolina. In a two-part article first entitled, "The Fugitive Slave Law Ripening," Frederick Douglass discussed Bolding's case and argued that it "illustrates the absurdity and wickedness of making a man's freedom depend upon the color of his skin or the quality of his hair." He noted that a "warrant was issued by U. S. Commissioner Brigham for the arrest of Bolding on a claim of Mr. Barnet Anderson [that Bolding was] a fugitive slave from Columbia, South Carolina."⁴⁴³ He noted that four years before, Bolding, who was "somewhat darker than the average of white men" settled in Poughkeepsie, New York, and owned a tailor shop.⁴⁴⁴ He added that he "was about 20 years of age, intelligent, industrious, and distinguished for his fine, manly appearance."

The questions of Boldings' racial and class status were key to his attempt to prove that he was not a fugitive slave. His lawyer, Mr. Upton, promised to "show that the prisoner had no African blood in his veins" by proving that Bolding was "of Indian

extraction [and] that Bolding's maternal parent was a free woman." However, some witnesses disputed these claims and suggested that Bolding's African ancestry was obvious. One witness noted that "I think John Bolding is strongly marked with the distinctive features of the African race; I do not think there is much of the Indian in him; never knew the offspring of an Indian and a white person to be so dark as he is." This witness continued to explain that "I have often known the offspring of a white person and mulatto to have straight, long hair: there are many mulattos in South Carolina who have straight hair-fully as straight as Bolding." In a cross-examination, Bolding's attorney challenged the witness who was a shoemaker. Did [this] witness have any expertise in "peculiar physiological distinctions" of race, he asked?⁴⁴⁵ "How can you tell that there is not as much Indian or other blood in the prisoner's veins as there is of the negro?" The witness responded, "I know that he has a flat nose, which is not peculiar to the Indian; his hair is not so knotty as I have seen it in Columbia; I have seen his hair quite curly; do not think he is the offspring of a white person and a mulatto."⁴⁴⁶

While the court case reprinted in Douglass's newspaper did not include the results of Bolding's case, other historical evidence suggests a favorable ending. The American Anti-Slavery Society reported in 1856 that a sum of two thousand dollars "was raised in New York, and paid to Bolding's owner, who had consented to take that sum for him, and Bolding returned to his family in Poughkeepsie."⁴⁴⁷ The case was also mentioned in a speech delivered to Congress by Horace Mann, a prominent abolitionist and educational reformer from Massachusetts. Mann cited Bolding's case in his speech to oppose the Fugitive Slave Act.⁴⁴⁸ Mann noted that the case evidenced "what the fugitive slave law has already done" and that the public mind had already "become familiarized with its

brutalities." He concluded that he hoped that the law makers would have "some sensibility to the calls of justice and mercy left among us." Douglass knew about Mann's speech and reprinted it in *Douglass' newspaper*.⁴⁴⁹

In another legal case from 1851, Judge Clements of Louisville, Kentucky tried to ascertain whether the defendant, John Fletcher, was a "freeman, or a slave, an Indian or a negro." A report about his case also appeared in *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. The article noted that Fletcher "asserted that he was an Indian, and of course free; but the court decided that he was a negro, and gave him 24 hours to prove his freedom, and procure \$500 bail for his good behavior, otherwise he will be sold for a year on the vagrant act or free negro law."⁴⁵⁰ In both the case of Bolding and Fletcher, and other cases, the price tag of freedom was tied to proof of one's claims to Native American identity, whereas the "proof" of blackness was simply ascertained by both the defendant's phenotypical characteristics and evidence of a freed status. Furthermore, since the reporting all of these related cases, it seems clear that since Frederick Douglass was the editor of these newspapers, he was invested in documenting such cases to help reinforce his fight for abolition and opposition to racial discrimination.

Race law scholar, Ariella Gross described several related examples of legal trials that included debates over racial identities of defendants who claimed their status as free based on the racial identities of their parents, and especially mothers.⁴⁵¹ In the absence strong evidence on the family background, such cases often included debates about phenotypical evidence of the defendants by various witnesses. Witnesses sometimes offered additional evidence about the defendant's moral character—which they also saw as a measure of racial identity. Gross cited a case brought against Joseph Nunez of

Georgia. She argued that no one "suggested that he might be Indian [and] no one suggested an Indian background removed [him] from the white race; on the contrary, it offered a rationale for his color that explained away his "blackness."⁴⁵² She added that not only was color used to determine one's racial identity, so too was comportment and body movements. Nunez was described as looking "more Indian than negro" and also seeming to be white or Indian by virtue of the fact that "his action and movements were as genteel as any man witnesses have known; there was no clumsiness about him." His "Indianness" was considered better because it was closer to whites along perceived racial hierarchical lines, as opposed to Blacks who were at the lowest position. His case revolved around racial ideas that are similar to several other reported cases in black-edited newspapers.

Another example of a case about a fugitive slave reported as having "Indian blood" was reported in an article entitled "An Exciting Slave Case" in the September 5, 1850 edition of the *North Star*. The case involved an unnamed fourteen-year old girl who was "fairer than a mulatto, and is said to have Indian blood in her veins."⁴⁵³ The unnamed girl ran away while travelling to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, with her wealthy slave owner, John Drennen of Van Buren, Arkansas. Her escape was covered in several newspapers. Reprinted in the *North Star*, the article noted that "on Thursday afternoon, the Monongahela House was thrown into a most terrible confusion by Mr. John Drennan of Van Buren, Arkansas, who announced the startling fact that a female slave, about fourteen years of age had disappeared while he and his lady were at dinner."⁴⁵⁴ Furthermore, it seems that this unknown enslaved young girl strategically chose dinnertime to escape while her slaveowner was busy.⁴⁵⁵ Other than her unknown name,

we also do not know if she could have been of both indigenous and/or African descent, as is suggested by the fugitive slave article.

One final example is a bit of a departure from the cases described above appears in the memoir by Okah Tubee entitled *A Sketch of the Life of Okah Tubbee, Alias, William Chubee, Son of the Head Chief, Mosholeh Tubbee, of the Choctaw Nation of Indians* which was published in 1848, and republished again in the 1850s.⁴⁵⁶ Tubee was born in Natchez, Mississippi, where he was called William McCary.⁴⁵⁷ Littlefield noted that there were merely 75 free African Americans out of twelve thousand in Natchez, and that some “free blacks did enjoy the fruits of their own labor and could, therefore, amass property.” Also, seventeen free blacks owned slaves.⁴⁵⁸



Figure #1: George Catlin painting of Choctaw Chief, Mosholatubbee. In his narrative, "Okah Tubee" claimed to be the son of this chief.⁴⁵⁹

Tubee claimed that he was the son of a Choctaw chief, Mosholatubbee (see Figure #1) and that he had been enslaved. He sought freedom around 1836 by escaping on a riverboat along the Mississippi River, and ended up in New Orleans. He made his living as a musician. He also had learned about Native American medicinal practices. He married Laah Ceil, who supposedly was the "daughter of a Delaware Indian mother and a Mohawk father." However, Daniel Littlefield claimed that it was Ceil's idea to help her husband concoct the idea that he was Native American to get him to perform as an

"Indian" throughout his career. Her own Indian identity was fabricated as well. By 1852, Tubee and his wife settled in Toronto, Canada, and gave lectures "on behalf of Native American interest."⁴⁶⁰ Literary scholar, Jonathan Brennan described Tubee's text and struggles with categorizing it as a Native American or African American text.⁴⁶¹ Tubbee described himself to be part-Choctaw, despite the fact that he is not active in the Choctaw nation at the time and lived in predominantly African American communities during his part of his life.⁴⁶²

In closing, varied "Indian images" by Blacks in the 1850s are depicted through news reports of legal cases and in memoirs. Some cases, like the Bolding case, were more explicit in drawing a direct connection between the implications of the Fugitive Slave Act in the broader context of abolitionist rhetoric critiquing the links between ideas about race and status. The legal repercussion for those determined to be fugitive slaves was reenslavement. Also, this policy challenged personal liberty laws for people who were accused of being fugitives to defend themselves in court; thus compromising the rights of free blacks. The longstanding challenges from the colonial era to the 1850s for anyone deemed as fugitive slave was to try by any means necessary to prove that they were free. In the 1850s, we have evidence that some African American writers perpetuated the meaning for "Indianness" which was positively associated with a free status during this time.

"The Indian Dies...Not so the Negro, Civilization Cannot Kill him:" Racial Tropes about Indians in the Black Press in the 1850s

At an 1848 meeting of the Female Benevolent Society in Troy, New York, Henry Highland Garnet delivered a speech:

The Red men of North America are retreating from the approach of the white man...They have fallen like trees on the ground in which they first took root, and on the soil which their foliage once shaded. But the Colored race, although they have been transplanted in a foreign land, have clung to and grown with their oppressors, as the wild ivy entwines around the trees of the forest, nor can they be torn thence.⁴⁶³

It is clear that Garnet chose to challenge the social hierarchy that placed African Americans on the lowest rung. But he did this by placing Native Americans at the very bottom. He tried to suggest that Native Americans vanished because they did not assimilate like African Americans. Instead of refuting the notion of racial hierarchy, he perpetuated it by suggesting that Blacks are superior to Indians. He spoke to a predominantly white audience and tried to garner support and sympathy for abolition and the struggle towards obtaining equal rights for African Americans.⁴⁶⁴ Garnet's ideas about Native Americans in his speech were not new, and certainly he was not the only black abolitionist to hold such beliefs. As discussed in Chapter Two, the politicization of black abolitionists in the 1830s and 1840s often included using stereotypical views of Native Americans in an effort to try to shed a positive light on blacks and their quest for citizenship.⁴⁶⁵ Such efforts continued during the 1850s.

Like Garnet, Frederick Douglass referenced vanishing Indians in a speech he delivered to an audience in 1854 at Western Reserve College. Douglass acclaimed the racial strengths of Blacks as compared to Indians, praising the former for:

their tenacity of life, their powers of endurance, their malleable toughness, would almost imply especial interposition on their behalf. The ten thousand horrors of slavery, striking hard upon the sensitive soul, have bruised, and battered, and stung, but have not killed. The poor bondman lifts a smiling face above the surface of a sea of agonies, *hoping on, hoping ever*. His tawny brother, the Indian, dies, under the flashing glance of the Anglo Saxon. *Not* so the Negro: civilization cannot kill him. He accepts it—becomes part of it.”⁴⁶⁶

Black newspaper reporters and orators may have included these stories to perpetuate the idea of Native Americans as being less "civilized" than African Americans. While black newspapers reported cases about Native American resistance during the era of westward expansion in the 1850s, they also contained conflicting images of Native Americans, including time worn stereotypes about vanishing Indians. Like white Americans, black writers often portrayed indigenous people as an uncivilized group whose days were numbered.

Like Garnet and Douglass, Martin Delany also presented a largely unfavorable comparison between Native Americans and African Americans in his work, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States and Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party* published in 1852. "The Indian and African were enslaved together," he writes, "when the Indian sunk, and the African stood."⁴⁶⁷ Similar to Garnet and Douglass, Delany used the imagery of "sinking" to compare the fate of Native Americans with African Americans. This "sinking" metaphor resurfaced in other articles from the *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. One report from 1851 explained the prevailing beliefs that considered how some cultures are deemed as more civilized than other cultures. The unnamed writer (likely Douglass) suggested that "each race that mingles with this great current [of progress] suffers for a time the common penalty of imperfect nature." He added that "it may, like the Indian, sink apparently

beneath the current, or, like the African, float, scum-like, upon the surface; yet the admixture is made, and each, in giving up its individuality, contributes its peculiar bent and modifications to the general stream."⁴⁶⁸ Three years later in the same paper, another article noted that the "North American Indian, sunk in savagery, daubing himself with ochre, and the civilized, proud of her hereditary refinement, painting herself with rouge."⁴⁶⁹ What is clear in all of these articles is that black writers are making ongoing comparisons between the fate of African Americans and that of Native Americans. One way that African Americans combated racial ideas throughout the 1850s which identified them as being at the bottom of the racial hierarchy was to place Native Americans at that bottom rung instead of themselves.

The May 6, 1854 edition of the *Provincial Freeman* newspaper printed a letter from a black abolitionist, Harvey Jackson. His epistle questioned whether in a few short years, black would be "reduced to the degraded and humiliating condition of the aborigines of this hemisphere who had wealth, numbers and unity, but no education? What reduced the Indians to their truly melancholy state?"⁴⁷⁰ In another article with a similar theme printed in the same year and in the same newspaper, an unnamed writer questioned, "Who can look upon the scattered and wasting condition of the western Indians without commiseration?"⁴⁷¹ The extensive article continued:

A strange feeling characterizes the mind of the enquirer, and the question almost involuntarily arises 'who did sin,' these nations or those that preceded them that they should waste away before the Anglo Saxon, as snow before the morning sun. No nation possessed more sagacity - more real courage than did the red men of the west; nor could any class of warriors be found that so well understood the various routes through the country, as did the Indians.....; and that the blood of thousands of innocents has cried from the ground for vengeance upon them; and the cry has been heard and the extermination of the entire Indian race will be the ultimate result.⁴⁷²

He added that "in almost every section of the western states there are evident traces of Indian battle grounds." He concluded that it was in these western lands where "the mighty, of the Indian warriors lived, fought, and died."⁴⁷³ His ideas depicted Native Americans as fighting and dying which several black writers seemed to support. Further, it reflected the continued ways that such "Indian images" figured into the minds of African American writers who considering their own fate in comparison to Native Americans.

References to Indians "dying" proliferated in the black press during the 1850s. Newspapers also included articles about Indian bones and skeletons found in various parts of North America. For instance, one article from 1854 claimed that an "Indian woman died at 142 years old" and her remains were found in Knight's Ferry, California."⁴⁷⁴ In another article from 1849 entitled, "Remarkable Trace of Antiquity," a reporter noted that a skeleton of another Native American woman was found near the Niagara River at the home built in 1849 for Major Whitney, an officer in the War of 1812.⁴⁷⁵ The unnamed writer (likely Douglass) added about the skeleton that "we understand that it rested in a sitted [sic] posture with its head facing the North, (true Indian style) about four feet below the surface."⁴⁷⁶ Similarly, in 1855 near Schlesengerville, Iowa, a "petrified Indian" was reportedly found in an excavation and was described as "singular relics of the olden times."⁴⁷⁷ "The body was perfect, not having suffered by decay. His height, at the present time, would be considered gigantic, measuring seven feet two inches."⁴⁷⁸

Lastly, a long fictionalized story entitled "A Slave's Argument" described a scene between a fugitive Black character "Wild Bill" who confronted a two other fugitive

slaves, Walter and an unnamed girl.⁴⁷⁹ Bill vehemently critiqued white slaveholding in the South, and in the midst of his demands for justice, he mentioned Native Americans. He explained that "their bones are strewn with the dead logs of the forest and swamp, and their souls are all gone to Indian heaven! And what did they get for their hunting grounds here? The Sword and the bayonet, the justice of the white men." Walter responded that "[t]here is some truth to that...I've often thought of the injustice of the Indian, and sometimes fancy that from their blood will spring avengers to curse the land which has been so freely watered by it." By the end of the story, Wild Bill asks "is the Indian who dies on his native land to be pitied and no tear to be shed for the poor African who is torn from his home, his wife, children and kindred, and dragged in chains, like a condemned criminal, beyond the sea, to be beaten and driven like the brutes?"

Similar ideas were reported in the black-edited newspaper, the *Provincial Freeman*, the black-edited newspaper from Canada. In an 1854 article, an unnamed writer described an indigenous settlement in Melville Island, in northwest Canada and noted that area is protected by the British government.⁴⁸⁰ The writer noted that the "clergyman who is charged with [the Indians] supervision and instruction, stated to me that they were lessening in numbers, and would ultimately be extinct as a race." The writer concluded that "this opinion corresponds with the general experience concerning the Indian tribes."⁴⁸¹ Another article from the *Provincial Freeman* from March of 1856, reprinted from a weekly newspaper based in Chatham, Canada, noted that "we learn that a party of Indians is about leaving this neighbourhood for the purpose of exhibiting in Europe the manners, customs and games of that very interesting, but fast fading race."⁴⁸² The writer added that "before the giant strides of civilization and settlement, [Indians] are

fading as the snow before the rays of the sun. A few years more, and the Red Man will only live in tradition, or occupy some small remote tract of the broad lands, once all his own, and which will not have sufficient value to attract the grasping attention of the white."⁴⁸³

In closing, like the trope described earlier about Native Americans "sinking," these ideas about finding Native Americans dying or documenting their bones exemplified the ideas about indigenous people as "vanishing." White writers who used similar tropes typically depicted Indians in this way to affirm their own ideas about their racial superiority. However, for African Americans, the "vanishing Indian paradigm" served the purpose to bolster the claims African Americans sought to stake in terms defying the belief that they were placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Clearly, the various tropes of Indians "sinking" "fading" and "dying" did not begin or end in the 1850s. What is peculiar is how such stories were printed during the years that other depictions of Native Americans as slaveholders were reported. Images of Indians as slaveholders, analyzed in the next section, countered the belief that Native Americans were considered below African Americans along perceived racial hierarchical lines.

Indian Slaveholding in Indian Territory Illuminated by the Kansas Nebraska Act

On March 6, 1854, the influential white abolitionist and congressman, Gerrit Smith, wrote a letter to Frederick Douglass. He described how an hour earlier, he had voted to oppose a proposed Homestead Bill.⁴⁸⁴ He noted that "just before we were called to vote on the bill, it was amended, as to limit its grant of land to white persons." He had initially been an advocate for this bill for a long time, as the debate over homesteading, or having land grants in western territories for yeoman farmers, had occurred for several

years. However, he added that he would "never regret his vote" and that the Homestead "would have been purchased at too dear a rate had it proscribed only one negro, or only one Indian." He proclaimed that "the curse of God is upon the Bill, or there is no God. There is no God, if we have liberty to insult and outrage any portion of his children."⁴⁸⁵ He concluded that the "government believes that the free colored people are too ignorant, lazy and worthless to deserve any better choice than slavery or death" referring to the fate of African Americans and Native Americans.⁴⁸⁶ While the proposed Homestead Bill failed to become law until 1862, the racialized aspect of the proposed Homestead Bill and Kansas-Nebraska Act were significant for abolitionists to bolster their fight against racial prejudices against Blacks and Indians.

According to historian Gerald Wolff, when the Homestead Bill came before the Senate in March 1854, "it was regarded as more than a simple land-disposal bill."⁴⁸⁷ But soon, the debates over the proposed Kansas-Nebraska bill overshadowed debates over the Homestead Bill. However, abolitionists quickly began to view the Kansas-Nebraska Act as a ruse to expand slavery. A segment of the state of Kansas was included in Indian Territory where slaveholding was common during these years. During the sectional crisis, the debates about the expansion of slavery facing African Americans are conjoined with the implications for the fate of Native Americans who lived in Indian Territory. This section of the chapter will specifically address how the complexities of Indian slaveholding were illuminated in the critiques of the Kansas- Nebraska Act offered in the *Frederick Douglass' Papers* and the *Provincial Freeman* newspapers. African Americans viewed Native American slaveholders as complicit, and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act brought this issue to the forefront.⁴⁸⁸

For example, it was reported in the *Provincial Freeman* that Francis Wayland attended an Anti-Nebraska meeting held at Providence, Rhode Island, on March 7, 1854. He was a professor and former president of Brown University. Not only did he attend the meeting to protest the implications of the bill regarding slavery, but he also addressed the implications of the bill on Native Americans. He argued that the "consequence of [the bill's] passage [would] be the destruction of the Indian tribes within the Territory which it proposes to establish." He added that "those poor red men had already begun to cultivate land, and were advancing in civilization and Christianity, when, in defiance of a hundred treaties, they were savagely torn up by the roots and transplanted to their present location, and in their removal, one-third of their whole number perished."

As historian Barbara Krauthamer noted, the fight over whether the new states would allow slavery or not "greatly alarmed Choctaw and Chickasaw slaveholders and lawmakers and amplified existing tensions among them."⁴⁸⁹ She cites an example of a Choctaw Indian who wrote a letter about the Kansas-Nebraska issue in the Spring of 1854 while attending the Union Theological Seminary in New York. He wrote, "I am perfectly indifferent how much the white people quarrel over it amongst themselves- if they do not trouble the Indians."⁴⁹⁰

Yet, to contrast these ideas, Krauthamer highlighted the simultaneous fact that many free black activists during this time "protested Indian slavery in Indian Territory as vociferously as they denounced slavery in the United States."⁴⁹¹ As suggested earlier, I would argue further that this act raised the issue of Indian slaveholding in Indian Territory in the 1850s more than ever before. Prior to the 1850s, there were no references to Indian slaveholding in black antebellum newspapers. However,

slaveholding Indians were figured in slave narratives in the 1850s analyzed earlier.⁴⁹² In a two-part article that appeared in May of 1854 in the *Provincial Freeman*, Indian slaveholding in Nebraska is mentioned in a letter from "William Walker" who was the "Chief of the Wyandot tribe Indians, formerly of Ohio, but now located on the Indian Territory." The article noted that "there is one fact relating to slavery in this territory, of which you are perhaps not aware, as I perceive it is not generally known in the East, viz., the existence of slavery here among the Indians and whites in defiance of the compromise of 1820." The writer added that slavery "has been in existence ever since it was organized as an Indian Territory. True, there are not many slaves, but still slavery exists. Some slaves are held by the Indians by virtue of their own laws and usages, and some by regular bills of sale from citizens of Missouri. " Finally, the writer noted that "white people going into the territory by the authority of the government in the character of Indian agents, mechanics, licensed traders, teachers, missionaries, &c., hesitate not a moment to take slaves with them, regarding it as a slave territory, and the prohibitory clause a dead letter."

By June of 1854, another long editorial was printed in the *Provincial Freeman* critiquing Indian slaveholding. Specifically, it examined Thomas Johnson, an Indian missionary in Kansas who was perceived as helping to influence Stephen Douglass to pass the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Reportedly, Johnson was " using his utmost endeavours to induce those Indians [in Kansas] to sell out their lands entire - a thing which they are very unwilling to do, and which would be very disastrous to their best interests." The article added that the "Indians are disposed to sell all the land they do not need, but they wish to be allowed to remain here in peace and quiet, for they know not where to go."

Further, the article noted that Johnson "intends to secure to himself a fat portion of these poor Indians' lands. And he would plant Slavery here; yes, has introduced it here in violation of the laws of the land.... and yet we are to believe that he is a minister of the gospel of Christ."⁴⁹³

This article reflected the vehement opposition with which black writers had regarded the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which not only had severe implications for the abolition of slavery, but for the treatment of Native Americans in Indian Territory. Johnson was appointed missionary to the Shawnees in 1830 and eventually lived and operated a school in Wyandotte County, Kansas starting in 1839 which served various indigenous tribes.⁴⁹⁴ Johnson was pro-slavery, and according to black newspaper writers, supported Native American slaveholding in these territories. At the end of the article about Johnson, the writer highlighted the hypocrisy that blacks saw in Christian missionaries in western territories who owned slaves.

The hypocrisy of Indian slaveholding being supported by Christian missionaries is highlighted in another article that appeared in the *Provincial Freeman*. The unnamed writer noted that that "the admission of slaveholding Indians to the Mission Churches was [debated] from year to year....Missionaries had employed, and even owned, slaves to assist them in tilling that portion of the Vineyard without censure." The article added a critique that "we think it rather surprising that the Board was not unanimous in its eagerness to co-operate with the Missionaries themselves in resenting an insulting interference with the affairs of their mission on the part of the Indian Nation."⁴⁹⁵ Such criticism echoed common abolitionist rhetoric about the hypocrisies of Christian missionary groups that tolerated slavery.

Black writers also documented the experiences of enslaved African Americans by Native American slaveholders in the West. In October of 1854, the *Frederick Douglass' Papers* citing a case from Fort Smith, Arkansas, noted that three boys who were "formerly the property of a Choctaw Indian" who bought their freedom by paying in installments for several years. After they asked permission from the city authorities to live within the city limits, they left their former Choctaw masters. The article noted these African American boys "have since been living and working here, bearing the reputation of honest, sober and industrious." The article added a twist to the story that "perhaps of their master being an Indian indeed from the ignorance of all the parties they never had the necessary papers made out at testing their freedom, and secured in their possession."⁴⁹⁶ What can be inferred in this story is that the boys may have purchased their freedom, but did not have freedom papers from their former Choctaw owners.

The most explicit article critiquing Indian slaveholding appeared in December 1854 in the *Frederick Douglass' Papers*. It described how the Indian Territory is "now almost wholly occupied by the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole Indians, who number about sixty thousand souls." The article added that these "Indians are slaveholders! It is estimated that the number of Negroes held by the five tribes is about two thousand." The article concluded that this Indian pro-slavery ordinance was probably "dictated by white men, as part and parcel of a political design to nurse another slave State into existence."⁴⁹⁷ The article also addressed various criticisms about how enslaved blacks were negatively treated amongst Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians. Furthermore, the article suggested that some blacks believed that whites were somehow to blame for encouraging slaveholding in Indian Territory.

By March 1855, black newspapers reported that a bill was debated in Senate about whether Native American slaveholders in Kansas should be compensated for the loss of their slave property. In some cases, we can speculate that either these slaves may have become fugitives, or been kidnapped by white slave catchers. On March 10th, the *Provincial Freeman* discussed "a Bill passed the United States Senate on the 17th Feb., by which certain Indians will be compensated for the loss of slaves. The money to be paid out of the National Treasury."⁴⁹⁸ Frederick Douglass printed a similar article around the same time in March of 1855 and noted sarcastically "how we remember when slavery was a local institution" to demonstrate the fact that slavery was, indeed, expanding and the institution was booming in Indian Territory.⁴⁹⁹ In sum, it is clear that black abolitionists were just as critical of the Kansas-Nebraska Act which contributed to the spread of slavery, as well as Native Americans slaveholding in Indian Territory. Sadly, by 1856, the *Provincial Freeman* reported that six hundred soldiers were killed by Cheyenne and Arapohoe Indians at Fort Kearney in Kansas territory.⁵⁰⁰ By 1856, Kansas became the site for what would later become known as "Bleeding Kansas" and would soon splinter the nation.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the varied meanings of "Blackness" and "Indianness" through the analysis of black newspapers and slave narratives from the 1850s. I have considered the significance of such sources to further understand the conditions that African Americans and Native Americans faced in the decade preceding the Civil War to understand the sectional tensions from the perspective of Black writers. The chapter also suggests the need to explore ideas about real and imagined racial borders between

African Americans and Native Americans in various geographic areas, including Canada (where many blacks settled during this era to flee from the hardships faced in America in the wake of the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act), Indian Territory (where many blacks were enslaved) and newly settled western states and territories (where some blacks settled despite they facing segregation policies).⁵⁰¹ "Whiteness" trumped "Indianness" and "Blackness" in this era of expanding empire to fulfill the hopes of "Manifest Destiny" of the nation. This was the context that shaped the language used by African American authors in their writing about Native Americans in this era.

CONCLUSION

On January 12th 1860, a political organization, the Committee of Thirteen, assembled in Brooklyn. This group of free African American men assisted fugitive slaves from the South who escaped bondage to live free in New York. The men met in Brooklyn to debate one question: which group of people had "sustained the most injustice at the hands of the American people- the American Indian or the Anglo African?"⁵⁰² The debate reflected the high stakes in answering such a question for both of the racially marginalized populations during the sectional crisis.

William Wilson moderated the debate. Wilson was one of Brooklyn's "most respected intellectual black leaders" and principal of the African Free School. Two of the debaters, Thomas Cardoza and John Sampson, (described as "mulattos") were born free in South Carolina and North Carolina, respectively. They had moved to New York as young adults.⁵⁰³ They presented their ideas about the "Indian question" and described their perceptions of the long history of broken federal treaties directed against American Indians. They asserted that Indians had been "subjected to all manners of tortures too horrible to contemplate." They added that there was a need for "Indian appropriations," or federal funding, that ought to be given to Indians, such as for the Dakotas who were currently "knocking at the door of the Union for admission, representation, and a voice in the councils of the nation." Their closing argument was that it would be "impossible to pull down an old house or make an excavation without the earth spewing up the mutilated bones of the red man."⁵⁰⁴

The pro-Indian side of the debate presented these examples to support their idea that Native Americans were engaged in "man fighting" against Europeans, while the pro-Anglo African debaters argued that African Americans experienced "man stealing" in reference to slavery. One of the debaters who argued that African Americans had sustained the most injustice was Isaac Hunter. He was born enslaved in North Carolina and was forced to relocate to New York after purchasing his freedom.⁵⁰⁵ He described the plight of African Americans whose names are "written in blood on the pages of this country's history."⁵⁰⁶ He maintained that if anyone were to visit the Chesapeake area of the Dismal Swamp, a site crossed by many fugitive slaves trying to escape bondage, the "very bones [of Anglo-Africans] would cry out."⁵⁰⁷ Another debater, Junius Morel, secretary of the Committee Thirteen, briefly explained the "horrors of the Middle Passage" to account for the plight of African Americans. In closing, moderator Wilson reviewed the points presented from both sides of the debate and decided that the Anglo-African suffered the most.⁵⁰⁸

This particular account appeared in the *Weekly Anglo-African* newspaper and was published nearly a year before the outbreak of the Civil War. The account reveals broader racial politics that were debated during the long antebellum era. During these decades, Americans defined racial, class and gender differences to stake their claim for a position along the perceived social hierarchy, generally in preference for being at a higher position than others. Two debaters who were born free protested to support their claim that Native Americans had been at the bottom of this social hierarchy. Other debaters who were born enslaved argued their case in favor of African Americans. All of

the debaters were African American men, but there were a number of African American women in the audience whose voices were not included in the newspaper account of the debate. The newspaper article also noted that there were Native Americans present at the debate.⁵⁰⁹ This debate raises the question: what does this all suggest and why is it important? Furthermore, how does this debate reverberate with other debates, or representations of Native Americans that formed an integral part of African American rhetoric in earlier moments?

This dissertation began with an analysis of sources starting from 1746 and ending with this 1860 debate to support my argument to understand the varied representations of Native Americans within early African American history. This debate also can be understood by considering the shifting racial discourse during long antebellum era.⁵¹⁰ Indeed, the naming of the newspaper and constituents as “Anglo-Africans” reflected some of the racial identification tensions felt by Blacks throughout the era in terms of trying to racially define themselves.⁵¹¹ During this period, African Americans opposed the racial descriptor, “Negro,” which they believed was imposed onto them.⁵¹² This debate also revealed how Native Americans were often lumped together under the racial category of “Indian,” although there was one reference to a specific tribe, the Dakota Indians.⁵¹³

The debate reflected distinct perspectives about Native Americans that were not necessarily complementary to each other, or different from ideas about Native Americans held by European Americans. As I have argued previously with other Black

figures, these debaters in the 1860s also recognized that indeed, both African Americans and Native Americans were similarly oppressed and marginalized racial groups. Second, some African Americans espoused uplift ideologies in order to position themselves above Native Americans along racial, class and gender hierarchies. Finally, while the debate did not address the theme of Indian slaveholding, it does suggest that there was awareness of some distinctions amongst Native Americans, such as the non-slave holding Dakota Indians.

We can reflect on some other ideas by African Americans about Native Americans that the debaters likely knew. James McCune Smith was a member of the Committee of Thirteen. While it is not clear whether he attended this debate or was in the audience, it is likely that the debaters knew that Smith often used an indigenous pseudonym, Communipaw, in his newspaper writings.⁵¹⁴ The debaters may also have known of the famous phrase used by abolitionists credited to John Curran that "no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an Indian or an African sun may have burned upon him."⁵¹⁵ One of the debaters, Junius Morel, was also a contributing writer for the *North Star* newspaper.⁵¹⁶ He and other debaters probably knew about various articles about Native Americans that appeared in several black-edited newspapers. For example, in the 1850s, the *North Star*, *Frederick Douglass' Paper* and the *Provincial Freeman* newspapers reported about legal cases of male and female fugitives who claimed Native American ancestry in order to be free.⁵¹⁷

This debate also represented the diversity of black intellectual life during the long antebellum era. Debaters and audience members reflected the geographical and generational divisions amongst of African Americans. Some had lived in southern states, and some had always lived in the North. A similar diversity characterized other black organizations. For example, Junius Morel was one of the thirty black delegates who came from eight states to meet at the Bethel AME Church in Philadelphia in September of 1830. The group formed what would become known as the American Society of Free Persons of Colour and helped launch the Negro Convention movement. Richard Allen, the convention President, delivered his "Address to the Free Persons of Color in the United States from 1830." In fact, Morel, who was a member of the Committee of Thirteen, was also a former secretary of the delegation and recorded the text of Allen speech.⁵¹⁸

By 1860, some members of the Committee of Thirteen would have been too young to have been participated in antebellum black public life in the first decades of the nineteenth century. However, even the younger generation of black activists and intellectuals likely knew about *Freedom's Journal*, the first black-edited newspaper. They may have known specifically about the newspaper coverage that included reports which linked opposition to African colonization with Indian Removal. As I have argued, the newspaper also drew connections between the racial violence by whites targeted against both African Americans and Native Americans.⁵¹⁹ The younger generation of black leaders may have seen copies of prior black edited newspapers in their families' home or churches. If they were formally educated, they would have had access to such

writings in institutions like the African Free Schools which had multiple locations and extensive school libraries.⁵²⁰

Thomas Hamilton, the editor of the *Anglo-African* newspaper and the *Anglo African Magazine*, identified his publications as part of a long history of the black press, which he traced back to *Freedom's Journal*.⁵²¹ In fact, the inaugural issue of the *Anglo-African Magazine* from 1859 included an artistic rendering of Hamilton seated in his editorial chair with a copy of the *Freedom's Journal* in his hand. Additionally, an image of Samuel Cornish, former editor of both the *Freedom's Journal* and the *Colored American*, appeared looming behind Hamilton.⁵²² In the case for McCune Smith, he certainly would have understood the historical precedent of the earlier black-edited newspapers especially since he contributed articles to the *Colored American* and other black-edited newspapers.⁵²³ Most of these newspapers were edited and distributed from New York and so there would have likely been an even stronger identification with the legacy of the black press amongst the debaters in Brooklyn by 1860. Articles featured in the antebellum black press often focused on issues of abolition and racial discrimination. Further, like the subject of the 1860 debate, hundreds of articles in the antebellum black press included references to the experiences of Native Americans.

We can also draw links between what debaters likely knew regarding how Native Americans were included in eighteenth-century African American writings. For example, in 1829, an abridged version *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* was adapted as a textbook for the students of the African Free School.⁵²⁴ The

Lancastrian model of education was used at the school and would have mandated that students memorize passages of such literature by writers such as Equiano.⁵²⁵ It is likely that in the school library contained many other eighteenth-century African American writings that included various depictions of Native Americans as I have illuminated.⁵²⁶

While we can speculate about what the debaters would have known, we must also reflect on a few key ideas that the debaters did not know. These debaters could not have imagined the Civil War and its aftermath. Their debate referenced Dakota Indians, who were described in the article as "knocking at the doors of the Union for admission, representation and a voice in the councils of the nation."⁵²⁷ Many Dakota Indians would later be embroiled in the Sioux Uprising in 1862 in Minnesota, merely two years after the debate took place.⁵²⁸ As a result of their attempt to protect their land, many Dakota Indians were massacred.⁵²⁹ Prior to this massacre, the debaters could not have predicted that Abraham Lincoln would be elected and inaugurated as President of the United States in March 1861. As Civil War historians have noted, Lincoln's election was one of the major triggers that would eventually led to the first battles at Ft. Sumter, South Carolina which ushered in the Civil War.⁵³⁰ The debaters also may not have realized that some members of the Five Civilized Tribes who were slaveholders would join the Confederacy, while other Native Americans fought on the side of the Union.⁵³¹

Nicholas Guyatt asserted that "the idea that America might be punished for its cruelties toward the Indians was only occasionally reprised in the decades before the Civil War."⁵³² Guyatt cited Henry Ward Beecher, a social reformer and clergyman, who

delivered a sermon in Brooklyn in January of 1861. Beecher warned that though white Americans might have forgotten "the removal debates and the expulsion of the Indians, God had not." Guyatt argued that Beecher's view of God as angry was as a result of Indian Removal. This anger was a prelude to the rage that would be felt as a result of the debates over slavery that caused the nation to reach the point of dissolution. Guyatt concluded that Beecher's idea was "unusual in a rhetorical landscape that was overwhelmingly focused after 1830 on the providential meaning of slavery rather than divine displeasure at the fate of Native Americans." Yet, contrary to Guyatt's thesis, the black press continued to pay attention to injustices to Native Americans throughout the long antebellum era. African Americans writers had not forgotten the oppressions of Native Americans. 1830 was, indeed, a turning point with the passage of the Indian Removal policy which informed the racial ideas about Native Americans. As I have argued, descriptions of oppressions faced by Native Americans that occurred throughout the long antebellum era influenced the ways in which African Americans defined their own precarious position in America during this era.

African American writers drew comparisons and contrasts with their experiences and those of Native Americans to mobilize their political activism to oppose the United States. During in the antebellum years, African Americans aligned the violence directed against them in comparison violence against Native Americans. Some of their ideas about Native Americans shifted after the Civil War. For example, some African Americans, who would become known as Buffalo Soldiers, would become actively engaged in participating in the violence against Native Americans in the Great Plains

starting in 1866. Indeed, many scholars have argued that their participation in these wars helped to affirm the fight for equal citizenship that would continue to the Reconstruction era and beyond. Throughout the Jim Crow era, both African Americans and Native Americans died as a result of lynchings. The era also witnessed outright warfare against Native Americans.⁵³³ Michelle Kuhl noted that due to the concerns "about the possibility of a race war between whites and blacks in the South, African American leaders read the fate of Native Americans as a cautionary tale and steered followers away from violent confrontation."⁵³⁴ She specifically examined how black soldiers in the Plains Wars "rejected a racial alliance with Indians and considered military service, which included violence, a path to racial advancement and manhood." However, instead of being a phenomenon that occurred in the late nineteenth century, my project illuminates a longer history of how various depictions of Native Americans were incorporated into African American comparative rhetoric during the long antebellum era.

The Civil War had multiple implications for the fate of Native Americans and African Americans. For the first time, citizenship, as defined by the nation's Constitution, was extended to all people born within the United States including African Americans. However, Native Americans remained excluded. Freedom would be tenuous for most African Americans in the post-slavery era. Citizenship and voting rights were granted by law, but not implemented on the ground. Similarly, Americans dealt with the "Indian problem" by federally recognizing some tribes and forcibly implementing civilizing initiatives. "The Indian Image in the Black Mind" would continue

to reverberate after the Civil War when all African Americans were freed. However, blacks continued to confront racial discrimination and used ideas about Native Americans to help continue to bolster their critiques against racial exclusion in American society.

For future studies, scholars may consider expanding my project to include references to Native Americans from the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century by African American writers. For example, African American writer, Albery Allson Whitman, published *A Rape in Florida* in 1884. It was one of the earliest known poems documenting the Seminole Wars.⁵³⁵ One could analyze his text to speculate the meaning of the ongoing Seminole Wars from the perspective of an African American writer. In another example, Anna Julia Cooper published her memoir, *A Voice From the South* in 1892. As one of the most prominent African American scholars during her time, Cooper's work included a chapter entitled "Woman vs. the Indian." She compared and contrasted the "Woman question" with the "Indian question."⁵³⁶ She anticipated that the "woman will have her rights...the Indian will have his rights and the Negro will have his rights, and all the strong will have learned at last to deal justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly."⁵³⁷ She argued that women, African Americans and Native Americans were historically oppressed by "all the strong," which signaled a reference to white supremacy and patriarchy. Her rhetorical strategy is similar to the ways in many antebellum African Americans writers connected the oppressions facing Native Americans to bolster their demands for abolitionism and to oppose racial discrimination.

One final source to consider is Booker T. Washington's autobiography *Up from Slavery* published in 1901. Native American students attended Hampton as part of a "civilizing experiment" which ran for fifty-years, from the 1870s to the 1920s.⁵³⁸ Washington documented his experiences as the dormitory master for the segregated housing facility for Native Americans, stereotypically dubbed the "Wigwam." He wrote about his own efforts to teach Native Americans and "civilize" them.⁵³⁹ His typical "double edged sword" style of writing can be understood in the following poignant passage that included his views on Native Americans:

I found that they were about like any other human beings; that they responded to kind treatment and resented ill-treatment. They were continually planning to do something that would add to my happiness and comfort. The things that they disliked most, I think, were to have their long hair cut, to give up wearing their blankets, and to cease smoking; but no white American ever thinks that any other race is wholly civilized until he wears the white man's clothes, eats the white man's food, speaks the white man's language, and professes the white man's religion.⁵⁴⁰

Through his statement, Washington is highlighting the assimilation strategies for Native Americans. His statements imply that he viewed Native Americans as less than civilized in comparison to African Americans. It is also clear that like many the black writers who came before him, Washington purported stereotypical ideas about Native Americans that were sometimes refracted through the lens of whites.

As Phil Deloria has claimed, white American identity depended on an imagined Native American identity.⁵⁴¹ However, the "Indian image in the Black mind" did not always align with the "Indian image in the White mind" during the long antebellum era.

Some African Americans aligned their shared oppressions with Native Americans symbolically or through actual encounters with Native Americans. Metaphorically, like "crabs in a barrel," some African Americans jockeyed for power by staking claims of their racial superiority over Native Americans as proof that they should be freed and deemed as equal citizens with whites. Finally, African Americans who were enslaved by Native Americans represented a different set of power relationships in which Native Americans dominated African Americans. These varied "Indian Images" in the minds of Blacks still reverberate today.

ENDNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

¹ George Fredrickson. *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (NY: Harper & Row, 1987); Mia Bay, *The White Image in the Black Mind: African American Ideas about White People 1830-1925* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2000).

² William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes towards Race in America, 1816-1869* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1966); Robert Berkhofer. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (NY: Knopf, 1978); Bernard Sheehan. *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973); Michael Rogin. *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York: Knopf, 1975).

These publications also documented the history American anthropologists and ethnologists to broadly understand racial history, including the beliefs about both African Americans and Native Americans.

³ Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1982); Reginald Horsman. *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

⁴ Philip Deloria. *Playing Indian*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998); Steven Conn. *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Laura Mickle. *Moving Encounters: Sympathy and the Indian Question in Antebellum Literature*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008).

⁵ Deloria, 5.

⁶ Conn, 22.

⁷ Winthrop Jordan. *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975); Alden Vaughn, *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁸ Jordan, 89-90, 240, 478; Fredrickson, 73-4, 77-8, 136, 159, 235, 250, 305.

⁹ Rhett Jones, "Black Over Red: The Image of Native Americans in Black History." *Umoja*, Vol 1, no. 2. (Summer 1977): 13. Jones aims to counter other contemporary works, such as Rudi Halliburton's, *Red Over Black: Black Slavery Among Cherokee Indians* (1977) which only described racial relationships between African Americans and Native Americans from the perspective of Native American slaveholders.

¹⁰ John Stauffer. "Advent Amongst the Indians: The Revolutionary Ethos of Gerrit Smith, James McCune Smith, Frederick Douglass, and John Brown" in *Antislavery Violence: Sectional, Racial, and Cultural Conflict in Antebellum America*. John R. McKivigan and Stanley Harrold, eds. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999): 236-173. The title of Stauffer's essay "Advent Amongst the Indians" is derived from a work by Martin Delany novel, *Blake: or The Huts of America* published in serialized form in 1859 and 1862. Stauffer also published a similar essay in chapter six of his manuscript, *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

¹¹ Stauffer, *Black Hearts*, 183.

¹² Stauffer, "Advent Amongst the Indians," 236.

¹³ Michelle Kuhl. "We Have Seen the Fate of the Indian, Western Influences on African American Leadership in the Shadow of the Plains Wars" *American Nineteenth Century History* 12:1 (March 2011): 26-6. She asserted that these men "saw the fate of the Indian as a cautionary tale and crafted a survival strategy to avoid a similar defeat."

¹⁴ The comparative subfield of African American and Native American histories include the following works: Tiya Miles. *Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Claudio Saunt. *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Circe Sturm. *Blood Politics: Race, Culture and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Celia Naylor. *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Barbara Krauthamer. *Black Slaves: Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation and Citizenship in the Native American South*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

¹⁵ Some of the many works that address the themes of interracial abolitionism, black men and women abolitionist figures, and free black life in the North include the following works: Benjamin Quarles. *Black Abolitionists* (NY: Oxford U Press, 1969); Jane and William Pease. *They Who Would be Free: Blacks' Search for Freedom, 1830-1861*. (NY: Antheneum, 1974); Shirley Yee. *Black Women's Abolitionists: Study In Activism, 1828-1860*. (Knoxville: University Tennessee Press, 1992); James and Lois Horton. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Julie Roy Jeffrey. *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Paul Goodman. *Of One Blood: Abolitionism and the Origins of Racial Equality*; (Berkley: University of California Press, 1998); Patrick Rael. *Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002);

¹⁶ Linda Kerber. "Abolitionist Perception of the Indian." *The Journal of American History* Vol. 62, No. 2 (Sep., 1975): 271-295; Mary Hershberger. "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle Against Indian Removal in the 1830s." *The Journal of American History*. 86:1 (June 1999): 15-40; John Campbell. "The Seminoles, the "Bloodhound War," and Abolitionism, 1796-1865" in *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 72. No. 2. (May 2006): 259-300.

¹⁷ Kerber, 273

¹⁸ Hershberger, 15

¹⁹ Campbell, 260-1.

²⁰ Campbell does begin his article by describing that bloodhound references appear in the *Frederick Douglass' Paper* between 1851 and 1855 over a hundred times, in addition to references in the narrative of Harriet Jacob, and in the *Freedom's Journal*. However, in terms of the connections to Native Americans, he mainly analyzed the practice of utilizing bloodhounds which he argues stemmed from a practice in Cuba originally, and later in Spanish Florida, and also analyzed the works of Lydia Maria Child who drew comparisons with Native Americans. (Campbell, 271).

²¹ James Brewer Stewart "Assessing Abolitionism: So What's New." *Reviews in American History* 27.3 (1999): 397-405. In this review essay about Paul Goodman's work, *Of One Blood*, Stewart describes various camps of historians who debated the intentions of white abolitionists and whether they purported racial egalitarianism or whether they only changed from gradual to immediate abolitionism due to African American protests for the latter. I think his analysis will be useful in my project for understanding the divisions of ideas by African American abolitionists. I will be interested in exploring works that contribute to the scholarship about black abolitionists to build upon the studies by Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists* (NY: Oxford U Press, 1969) or Jane and William Peases' *They Who Would be Free: Blacks' Search for Freedom, 1830-1861*. (NY: Antheneum, 1974).

²² Taking cues from Jürgen Habermas' thesis, historian Martha Jones warns the use of the term "public culture" should not be assumed to "elide differences and divisions among African Americans" who built an intellectual community through "dialogical negotiations. Martha Jones. *All Bound Up Together: The Woman Question in African American Public Culture, 1830-1900*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007): 210-1 n. 8

²³ Tiya Miles, *Haunted by Empire: Race and Colonial Intimacies in North American History*. Ann Laura Stoler, ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006): 163-188; Emily Field, "'Excepting Himself:' Olaudah Equiano, Native Americans and the Civilizing Mission" *MELUS*. 34:4 (Winter 2009): 15-38; Katy Chiles, *Transformable Race:*

Surprising Metamorphoses in the Literatures of Early America. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER 1

²⁵ Lucy Terry's 28-line ballad from 1746 was later described decades after she dies on July 11, 1821 (she was nearly 100 years old) in two known sources: advertisements in October 1854 on the front page of a local weekly newspaper, *Springfield Daily Republican*, and Josiah Gilbert Holland's *History of Western Massachusetts* (Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles and Company, 1855). See image from Holland's text in Figure #1. According to Holland's 1855 text, Lucy Terry was referred to as "Luce Bijah" and was the "slave of Ebenezer Wells, and was noted for her "wit and shrewdness." Her house was the constant resort of local boys in the town to come hear her talk. Once freed, she moved with her husband and children to Vermont, and purchased a tract of land, the title to which proved imperfect. A suit was brought to dispossess her, and she argued her case against Stephen R. Bradley, Royal Tyler, Judge Chase, who held the court and reportedly claimed that "Luce made a better argument than he had heard at the bar of Vermont" (Holland, 360);

More recently, scholars have written about Terry's text, including the following works: Frances Smith Foster, "'Sometimes by Simile, A Victory's Won:' Lucy Terry Prince and Phillis Wheatley" in *Written By Herself: Literary Production by African American Women, 1746-1892* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 23-43; Sharon M. Harris, "Lucy Terry: A Life of Radical Resistance" in *Executing Race: Early American Women's Narratives of Race, Society, and The Law* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), 150-182, 184-4; Harris also includes an Appendix that includes Lucy's obituary, and eulogized poem by one of her community members, Reverend Lemeul Haynes, of Manchester, VT. Lucy died in Sunderland, VT in 1821 which is approximately 5 miles from Manchester); Catherine Adams and Elizabeth Pleck, *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 25, 62-71;

There has been a long-term scholarly interest in Lucy's legendary ballad, including the following older publications: George Sheldon, *History of Deerfield* (Deerfield, MA: 1895); Bernard Katz, "A Second Version of Lucy Terry's Early Ballad," *Negro History Bulletin* 29:8 (1966): 183-4; Most of Katz's archive for this article is included in the collections at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. Incidentally, another one of his sons, William Lloren Katz, would later become the author of *Black Indians* published in 1988); James Basker, ed., *Amazing Grace: An Anthology of Poems about Slavery, 1660-1810* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 99-100;

However, the most comprehensive monograph about Lucy Terry's life, for which much of my analysis of her life is drawn from, is the following work: Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, *Mr. and Mrs. Prince: How an Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Family Moved Out of Slavery and Into Legend* (New York: Amistad Books/HarperCollins, 2008); Gerzina also notes that Bernard Katz, was responsible for conducting most of the research in the 1960s, and posthumously published (with one his sons, Jonathan Katz) a

fictionalized version of the story of Lucy's life, *Black Woman: A Fictionalized Biography of Lucy Terry Prince* (New York: Pantheon Book, 1973) (Gerzina, 60-62, 172-73).

²⁶ Adams and Pleck, 63.

²⁷ There are many scholarly debates about the naming the "French and Indian War," as it is generally referred to in America, or the "Seven Years War," as it is also been labeled. It would be more appropriate to label it as the "French and British Wars," to reflect the years of imperial conflicts between the British and French. Native Americans were part of these conflicts to serve as allies on either side of these wars.

²⁸ Holland, 360.

²⁹ This chapter is influenced by the scholarship about "Black Atlantic" world of the eighteenth century which is credited to Paul Gilroy. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Additionally, the idea the "Red Atlantic" about indigenous people has been more recently published in the following work: Jace Weaver, "The Red Atlantic: Transoceanic Cultural Exchanges" *The American Indian Quarterly* 35:3 (Summer 2011): 418-463.

³⁰ Vincent Carretta and Philip Gould, eds. *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 2001), 1.

³¹ Some exceptions to this include the scholarship of Joanna Brooks, already cited throughout this chapter, and a newly published work by Katy Chiles, *Transformable Race: Surprising Metamorphoses in the Literatures of Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

³² William Hart, "Black 'Go Betweens' and the Mutability of 'Race,' Status and Identity on New York's Pre-Revolutionary Frontier" in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*. eds. Andrew Clayton and Fredrika Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 88-113.

³³ Ibid, 94; He states that "[c]ontact between these European American and person of Indian ancestry and African descent led to almost limitless possibilities for social innovation and cultural transformation."

³⁴ Gerzina, 62; Like the countless number of other African men, women and children who were enslaved in the 1740s, the height of New England's involvement in the slave trade, she endured the horrors of the Middle Passage. Her forced migration included a brief stop along the triangular trade from West Africa, to Barbados, and finally to Bristol, Rhode Island, a major axis of slave trading in the Northeast, where she was commodified and purchased, at the young age of four. Gerzina also noted that Bristol, Rhode Island appears on Terry's obituary but that there are no detailed Bristol records to actually reference Lucy's life. Her surname, Terry, was likely linked to a prominent family of

Samuel Terry of Enfield, MA who attended Harvard College with Hugh Hall and Stephen Williams. Slaves were "status symbols for ministers," and Gerzina locates a bill of sale of Hall from 1728. She also asserts that Lucy may have come to Bristol by way of Barbados, as part of the triangular trade. Samuel Terry may have purchased Lucy from Hall, but he later experienced financial challenges, "living beyond his means." He had to liquidate his assets, including his slaves, and Gerzina speculates that Lucy was then re-sold to the Ebenezer and Abigail Wells where she lived most of her childhood and early adult life until she was freed in the late 1750s; hence Terry is enslaved for about 40 years of her life, and about 60 years as a free woman, although her freedom was continually contested.

³⁵ Gerzina, 67; According to Gerzina, she was purchased through a private sale, potentially by Samuel Terry, who first purchased her, and then later was bought by Ebenezer and Abigail Wells when she was approximately ten years old.

³⁶ Holland, Vol. II 350.

³⁷ Adams and Pleck, 63. According to these literary scholars, and others, the term "bars" title refers to "a meadow area south of town named for the moveable wooden bars that acted as a gate to keep cattle from getting into the cornfields.

The etymology of the term "bars" can be found in the Oxford English Dictionary.

Accessed December 14, 2012.

http://oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/bar

³⁸ Ibid.; On the surface, her ballad reflected some of the generally held negative racial ideas of Indians during eighteenth-century. Her ballad evoked a prior attack in Deerfield in 1704 by Indians which was made popular through the publication of the captivity narrative, *The Redeemed Captive*, by Reverend John Williams, first published in 1707. In order to see the connections of this story, and Terry, Gerzina detected that Lucy's husband, Abijah Prince, served in a military company headed by Capt. Elijah Williams, the son of the John Williams (Gerzina, 37-45). Furthermore, the Williams family still lived in the same community that was attacked again in 1746. Williams' publication was reprinted and sold for decades in the same community where Lucy lived. In fact, according to some archival evidence provided by Gerzina, Lucy Terry and her family frequently went to a shop that was owned by Elijah Williams, the son of famed Reverend Williams. I would agree with Gerzina that there was an intersection between the memory of the Williams' famous story and Lucy's ballad. However, this does not suggest that Lucy "mimicked" white ideas about Indians. Rather, she provided her own ideas in the ballad about the Indian attack in 1746. For further context about the raid in 1704 from Deerfield, MA, see John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (NY: Alfred Knopf/ Random House, Inc, 1994).

³⁹ Lucy Terry and her husband move to Vermont during the 1760s, which would soon become the first American colony to legally outlaw slavery in 1777. See Gerzina and Harris for further context.

⁴⁰ *Springfield Daily Republican*, October 1854; Josiah Gilbert Holland. *History of Western Massachusetts* (Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles and Company, 1855).

⁴¹ Harris, 210.

⁴² Jean Wagner, *Black Poets of the United States: From Paul Laurence Dunbar to Langston Hughes* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1973), 17.

⁴³ Arthur Latham Perry, *Origins in Williamstown* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896), 173. While Lucy Terry does not include this information in her ballad, at least one Abenaki was killed during their attack. However, just because she did not include this in her ballad does not mean she was not aware of what happened, as this information simply may have been excluded because it did not fit into her poetic ballad.

⁴⁴ June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993): 7

⁴⁵ John Sekora, "Red, White, and Black: Indian Captivities, Colonial Printers, and the Early African-American Narrative" in *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*. Frank Shuffelton, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 92.

⁴⁶ Namias, 7.

⁴⁷ Briton Hammon, *A Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprising Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man* (Boston: Printed and Sold by Green & Russell, 1760), 4. Accessed December 1, 2012. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/hammon/hammon.html> Briton Hammon should not be confused with another contemporary black writer, Jupiter Hammon, who is considered the first published black writer (no known familial relationship). Jupiter's first published poem earlier in 1760 entitled, "An Evening Thought: Salvation by Christ, with Penitential Cries." For more information about his work, see the following works: Lara Langer Cohen and Jordan Alexander Stein, eds. *Early African American Print Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press/The Library Company of Philadelphia, 2012), 1, 24.

⁴⁸ Carretta, 20, 24-25, n. 3. Where Hammon originated is now known, but when he first set off on the journey that he describes in his narrative, he was living in Marshfield, Massachusetts. It is not certain whether he was enslaved or an indentured servant. Carretta claims that Hammon appears to have been a free man, and used the term "master" to refer to his employer, as opposed to a slave owner. Marshfield, where Hammon lived before sailing, is about located about one hundred and fifty miles from Deerfield, where Lucy lived during her enslaved life. One scholar who details the debates of Hammon's status is Karen A. Weyler, "Race Redemption, and Captivity in *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black and Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings and Surprising Deliverance of Briton Hammon, A Negro Man*," in *Genuis in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic*.

eds. Vincent Carretta and Phillip Gould (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2001), 51-52 n. 11; Weyler noted regarding the end of Hammon's text that "[w]hile Hammon's status cannot be proven conclusively one way or another based solely on the text, it does seem off that Hammon, after thirteen years of independently managing his affairs, would express such joy and gratitude at being united with an owner." However, what Weyler does not consider is the sheer fact that Hammon may have been happy to return back to his original homeland in Marshfield where he spent most of life.

Other information about Hammon can be found in the following works, John Sekora, "Red, White, and Black: Indian Captivities, Colonial Printers, and the Early African-American Narrative" in *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*. ed. Frank Shuffelton, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 92. He notes that Hammon's publisher was Green and Russell, but there's not much known about the printers or circumstances of publications. Angelo Costanzo, "Briton Hammon" in *African American Lives*, eds. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Evelyn Higginbotham (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 370-1.

⁴⁹ W. Jeffery Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 1-43.

⁵⁰ Bolster, 5.

⁵¹ For further context about the significance of ships and the making of the Atlantic World, refer to the publications by Paul Gilroy and Jace Weaver, cited earlier, or Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (New York: Beacon Press, 2001).

⁵² Hammon, 4; Carretta 25, n. 6, 7. The actual tree is called a "logwood" which is how it is referred to in Hammon's text. Hammon does not explicitly say that the logwood was intended to be traded, but we can assume that this was probably the case. Carretta defines the term, but does not suggest provide any analysis about the reference.

⁵³ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid. For additional information, see Henry Louis Gates, and Evelyn Higginbotham, eds. *African American Lives* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2004): 370

⁵⁷ Hammon, 7. Hammon did not provide any explanation about Indian "captivity" and Spanish "slavery" practices as several scholars have differentiated. For further context, see research by Allan Gallay cited prior, as well as for some context about Spanish practices in general (although in the context of the colonial Southwest) James F. Brooks.

Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

⁵⁸ Carretta, *Unchained Voices*, 25 n. 16.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 169 n. 2.

⁶⁰ Rafia Zafar, *We Wear the Masks: African Americans Write American Literature*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 55. Zafar is citing William Andrews, "The First Fifty Years of the Slave Narrative, 1760-1810" in *The Art of the Slave Narrative: Original Essays in Criticism and Theory*. eds. John Sekora and Darwin Turner (Macomb: Western Illinois University Press, 1982), 8

⁶¹ For further context, refer to John Sekora, "Red, White, and Black" cited earlier.

⁶² Benjamin Franklin, "Captain Farra" in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 2, 1737. Accessed May 8, 2013.

<http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/becomingamer/ideas/text5/pennsylvaniagazette.pdf>

One potential influence for Hammon's memoir could have been this similarly depicted story by Benjamin Franklin about a British Captain Farra (unreported first name) who was thought to be a captive in Cape Florida by indigenous people described as "Cannibal Indians." Farrar was reportedly treated kindly, just as Hammon described in his memoir. At one point in the report about Farrar, Franklin questioned that "[h]ad this English Vessel been forc'd ashore on the civil, polite, hospitable, Christian, protestant Coast of Great Britain, Query, Might they have expected kinder Treatment from their own Countrymen?"

⁶³ Many scholars have documented that most enslaved African Americans ate food that was generally viewed as inedible or merely unwanted by white slaveowners; hence, the intention of Hammon's comment may be to differentiate his treatment by Indians. For further context in African American culinary history, particularly the diet amongst enslaved Africans in America, see Jessica Harris, *High on the Hog: A Culinary Journey from Africa to America* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012).

⁶⁴ Weyler, "Race Redemption, and Captivity," 44.

⁶⁵ While Hammon does not specify the tribal identity of the Indians he encounters, we know that some enslaved Africans "ran away" into Indian country and had favorable impressions of Indians. I put the term "ranaway" in quotation marks because the term is problematic, and evokes animals who runaway, as opposed to people. However, for the sake of clarity, I will use this term as other historians have to indicate enslaved African Americans who fled enslavement to seek freedom.

In 1751, one enslaved African who ran away from South Carolina, which was home to a black majority, stated that "there was in all plantations many Negroes more than white

people, and that for the sake of liberty [black] would join [Cherokee Indians]. For further context on this reference from 1751, see Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 197; However, Indian and black perceptions of each other varied greatly from place to place. They were shaped by a variety of circumstances, including the varied tribal relationships with both European and African settlers on indigenous lands. Additionally racial ideologies were also shaped by demographic and geographic differences, such as how many Indian tribal members lived in at the frontiers, or borderlands, of communities of Euro-Americans, enslaved and/or free people of African descent in frontier communities in the North and South. For the subject of shifting racial ideologies in the eighteenth century, refer to the following works: Phillip Morgan, "Blacks and Indians" in *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998): 477-485; Snyder, 194-201.

⁶⁶ *The Connecticut Gazette*, March 11, 1774. This was Wheatley's second letter to Occom, the first letter was written in 1765 when she was merely 10 years old. Wheatley would become the first African American woman to publish a book in 1773 in London, after having to defend that she wrote her book in a Boston court in 1772, while Samson Occom was the first Native American to publish his work in 1772. For the reference to Occom, see Philip Round, *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 7; For more information on Wheatley, see Ellis Cashmore, review of *The Norton Anthology of African-American Literature*, Nellie Y. McKay and Henry Louis Gates, eds., *New Statesman*, April 25, 1997 (Accessed July 12, 2012); Henry Louis Gates and Anthony Appiah, eds. *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 1171.

⁶⁷ Colin Calloway, *The Indian History of An American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth*. (Lebanon, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2010): 1, 70.

In fact, a year before Wheatley's letter to Occom, she wrote a poem for the Earl of Dartmouth in London, the funder for Dartmouth College, in the hopes that he would join the antislavery causes. Yet, Rev. Wheelock had enslaved African Americans and ended up not keeping his promise to educate Native Americans. Furthermore, Reverend Wheelock owned and enslaved African Americans during his years of educating Native American students.

⁶⁸ Occom wrote about his anger for Wheelock's decision in a letter from 1771. See Brooks, 5-6.

⁶⁹ Phillip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 1-3.

⁷⁰ Brooks, 112-14; Occom wrote several letters during the years of the Revolutionary War regarding his dissatisfaction with the ways that Native Americans were treated. For example, in one letter from 1776 to one of his London supporters, John Thornton, he writes that "I am Extreanly [sic] Sorry to See the White People on both sides, to use their Influence with the poor Indians to get them on their Side, I wish they would let the poor

Indians alone, What have they do with your Quarrels, and if they Join on either side, they ought not be Blam'd but thro Favour, there is but few, that Join on either Side..." Brooks notes that through this letter, "Occom correctly anticipated that the conflict between England and the colonies would mean the termination of financial which apparently happened after the Revolution. For full coverage of this, see *Ibid*, 112. Joanna Brooks cites "For instance, in a letter dated in 1774 addressed to the Oneida Nation, Occom writes, "I will now give you a little insight, into the Nature of the English Quarrels, over the great Waters, they got to be rich I mean the Nobles and the great, and they are very Proud and they keep the rest of their Brethren under their Feet, they make very Proud and they keep the rest of their Brethren under their feet, they make Slaves of them, the great ones have got all the Land and the rest are poor Tenants--and the People of this Country have their Freedom and Liberty; but the present King of England wants to make them Slaves to himself, and the People in this Country don't want to be Slaves,--and so they ^are^ Come over to kill them, and the People here are obliged to Defend themselves, they don't go over the great Lake to kill them,--And now I think you must See who is the oppressor, and who are ^the^ oppressed, and God will help the oppressed...." The quotation is from the following source: Edward Andrews, *Native Apostles: Black and Indian Missionaries in the British Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 204; Brooks, 97 "Samson Occom to Susanna Wheatley," March 5, 1771.

⁷¹ For further context, see Vincent Carretta, *Phillis Wheatley: Biography of a Genius in Bondage* (University of Georgia Press, 2011).

⁷² Phillis Wheatley, Letter to Reverend Samson Occum. Accessed October 1, 2012. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part2/2h19t.html>

⁷³ *Ibid.*; The final line of the letter revealed her own critique of Enlightenment thinking, as she noted that she "humbly think[s] it [requires] the penetration of a philosopher to determine" the truth of her words.

⁷⁴ Charles W. Akers, "Our Modern Egyptians:" Phillis Wheatley and the Whig Campaign Against Slavery in Revolutionary Boston," *The Journal of Negro History* 60: 3 (July 1975): 406-7.

⁷⁵ Robert Warrior, in foreword of Joanna Brooks. *The Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, viii.

⁷⁶ "Natural and Inalienable Right to Freedom": Slaves' Petition for Freedom to the Massachusetts Legislature, 1777. Accessed December 14, 2013. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6237/>

For example, in 1777, blacks wrote to the state representatives of the Massachusetts and noted that there were "a great number of blacks detained in a state of slavery in the bowels of a free and Christian country."

⁷⁷ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); and Jace Weaver, "The Red Atlantic: Transoceanic Cultural Exchanges" in *The American Indian Quarterly* 35: 3 (Summer 2011): 418-463. Jeannine Marie Delombard notes that Gilroy's work "set the African American canon back almost a full century" but aligning early black literature of the eighteenth-century with the nineteenth-century texts, such as Frederick Douglass' *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845). She adds that his "geographic reorientation of the field had the unexpected effect of prompting a corresponding (if less celebrated) chronological recalibration." Delombard, "Apprehending Early African American Literary History" in *Early African American Print Culture*. Lara Langer Cohen and Jordan Alexander Stein, eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press/The Library Company of Philadelphia, 2012): 94.

⁷⁸ Several publications include a history of American eighteenth century racial thought, including the following works: Tiya Miles, "His Kingdom," 166-170; Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 429-481; Mia Bay, *The White Image in the Black Mind: African American Ideas about White People, 1830-1925*. (NY: Oxford University Press, 1999), 15-19; Bruce Dain, *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 1-6; Dain counters the idea that Jefferson's *Notes of Virginia* is a starting point for American scientific racism, but that it was a text repeating "Whig idea of natural harmony" which was "central to the American Enlightenment and American revolutionary ideology" (3). Indeed, Jefferson is reacting to Phillis Wheatley's writings to diminish her accomplishments as a writer (4).

⁷⁹ Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, is significant for the ideas he represents about African Americans and Native Americans (especially in Query XIV). For example, describing the history of Virginia, he noted that Indians were "more Negro than Indian" due to miscegenation with African Americans. Regarding several indigenous tribal histories in Virginia, he described some as "powerful," but his most commonly used descriptor was to refer to them as "savages," as this was a prevailing racial attitude by many other writers, like Jefferson, and European and Euro-American writers, about any non-Christian who were deemed as uncivilized. Accessed March 12, 2013. <http://www.masshist.org/thomasjeffersonpapers/notes>)

⁸⁰ Carretta, xiv; Carretta has presented a strong case about Equiano's life as potentially being partly a "historical fiction," particularly regarding where Equiano's early years. While Equiano claims in his memoir to be born Nigeria in 1745, Carretta illuminates baptismal records to indicate that is likely that Equiano was actually born in South Carolina in 1747. Equally troubling to question is whether the authenticity of one of the most compelling aspects of his narrative, which was about enduring the horrors of the Middle Passage. Unlike in the case Lucy Terry and countless others whose experiences we can only imagine her experiences, Equiano's text provides a picture of the

dreadfulness of this experience. His account is so persuasively written that it does make Carretta's claim hard to believe that Equiano's could have been falsified.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Constanzo, 88-89; All the quotes in this paragraph are cited on these pages from this edition of *Equiano's* memoir.

⁸³ Emily Field, "'Excepting Himself.' Olaudah Equiano, Native Americans and the Civilizing Mission," *MELUS* 34:4 (Winter 2009): 20; She noted that "Equiano reverses the common association of Natives with scalping, continuing his earlier designation of European actions as 'savage'...here a Scot has savagely murdered a Native."

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Equiano, 75; This example is from part of his memoir during his experience on a slave ship during the Middle Passage regarding his views towards whites: "One white man in particular I saw, when we were permitted to be on deck, flogged so unmercifully with a large rope near the foremast, that he died in consequence of it; and they tossed him over the side as they would have done a brute. This made me fear these people the more."

⁸⁶ Equiano, iv; Accessed March 3, 2013.
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/equiano1/equiano1.html>

⁸⁷ The Miskito Indians currently reside in present-day Nicaragua and Honduras.

⁸⁸ Costanzo, 222; At one point, Equiano refers to some Indians as "flat-headed Indians who lived fifty or sixty miles above our river"

⁸⁹ Carretta, "Property," 139; Equiano, 186. Accessed Electronically.
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/equiano2/equiano2.html>

⁹⁰ Equiano, 132; He noted that "I soon grew a stranger to terror of every kind, and was, in that respect at least, almost an Englishman."

⁹¹ Equiano, 223

⁹² Ibid., 222

⁹³ Equiano, 230.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ James Walvin, *An African's Life: The Life and Times of Olaudah Equiano, 1745-1797* (London: Cassell Press, 1998), xiv-xv.

⁹⁶ Ibid.; One additional indigenous reference is that the name of the ship he would sail on in 1776 (in the midst of the American Revolution) to Jamaica was the "Indian Queen." While Equiano does not mention this, the ships' name reflected the common mistake of cultural encounters with indigenous people with assumptions that their governmental structure was similar to those of European royalty.

⁹⁷ Ibid.; Equiano's text is considered to be seminal because it helped to catapult abolitionist reforms, and is noted to have influenced the decision to end the African slave trade in 1808.

⁹⁸ Field, "Excepting Himself," 16; Field's work is one of the only scholarly works to extensively examine how Native Americans are depicted in Equiano's narrative.

⁹⁹ Joselyn Almeida, *Reimagining the Transatlantic, 1780-1890* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2011), 48-60. All quotes from this paragraph are from this source.

¹⁰⁰ Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery*, Introduction by Paul Edwards (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1969), 78

¹⁰¹ Cugoano, 80-1; According to Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Cugoano may have read an account of this story published in 1617 by Garcilaso de la Vega, an Inca Indian. There were various translations of this story that appeared. For more information, see Henry Louis Gates, *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism*. (NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), 152.

¹⁰² Cugoano, 84.

¹⁰³ Julie Ward, "The Master's Tools:" Abolitionist Arguments of Equiano and Cugoano" in *Subjection and Bondage: Critical Essays on Slavery and Social Philosophy*. ed. Tommy L. Lott (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.), 93.

¹⁰⁴ Almeida, 14-15.

¹⁰⁵ Derek Spires, "Black Theories of Citizenship in the Early United States, 1793-1860" (PhD Diss., Vanderbilt University, August 2012), 11. Spires actually argues that states rights largely trump federal rights, but in fact, both work together, as this was one the central debates of the early country between the Federalists (who wanted a strong federal government) and Anti-Federalists (who advocated for more states' rights) which Spires does not contextualize. For more comprehensive historical context, see David Bradburn, *The Citizenship Revolution: Politics and the Creation of the American Union 1774-1804* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009).

¹⁰⁶ Laurie Maffly-Kipp. *Settling Down the Sacred Past: African American Race Histories*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 20.

¹⁰⁷ Gary Nash, *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006): 52; Richard Newman, *Freedom's Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church and the Black Founding Fathers* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 46.

¹⁰⁸ Several scholars have written extensively about John Marrant, including the following important works: Tiya Miles, "His Kingdom for a Kiss: Indians and Intimacy in the Narrative of John Marrant," in *Haunted by Empire: Race and Colonial Intimacies in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 163-188; Joanna Brooks, *American Lazarus: Religion and the Rise of African-American and Native American Literatures* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Joanna Brooks and John Saillant, eds. *"Face Zion Forward:" First Writers of the Black Atlantic, 1785-1798* (Boston: Northeastern Press, 2002); Peter Hinks, "John Marrant and the Meaning of Early Black Freemasonry" in *William and Mary Quarterly* 64:1 (January 2007):105-116; Benilde Montgomery, "Recapturing John Marrant" in *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*. ed. Frank Shuffelton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 105-115; Patrick Mingos, "'All my Slaves, whether Negroes, Indians, Mustees, Or Molattoes:' Towards a Thick Description of 'Slave Religion'" in *The American Religious Experience*. Digital Journal, Accessed January 22, 2013.

<http://are.as.wvu.edu/mingos.htm>;

Brooks, "The Unfortunate,"43; In South Carolina, where Marrant spent most of his early life, the Negro Act of 1740 was passed in the aftermath of the Stono Rebellion of 1739, which attempted to thwart enslaved and free African Americans' mobility, right to assembly, and ability to learn to write in English. The act also prevented enslaved and free African Americans from growing their own crops to sell, or being rebellious, which could result in death by white slaveholders. Additionally, during his lifetime, state laws were instituted which only allowed white men who owned property to vote. Towards the end of his life, by the time he already left the US to live in Nova Scotia before moving to London in 1790, the series of federal Northwest Ordinances policies in the US in the late 1780s defined a population of sixty-thousand white males to form territories which would become new states, without any references to Blacks or Indians as part of these populations.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ John Marrant, *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black (Now Going to Preach the Gospel in Nova Scotia* Fourth edition (London: Gilbert and Plummer, 1785),7-12. Accessed March 12, 2013.
http://archive.org/stream/cihm_20674#page/n11/mode/2up

¹¹¹ Marrant, 16.

¹¹² This statement seems to suggest the "Indian hunter" is aware of the precarious "free" status of Marrant. At one point in his narrative, he refers to "his master" in South Carolina which suggests that while he was "free" and described as an apprentice, his social status may have been similar to the conditions of those enslaved. (Marrant, 10).

¹¹³ Marrant, 19-21.

¹¹⁴ This story may have been an allusion to biblical stories, particularly the Old Testament story in Genesis of Joseph and the New Testament story of Jesus in Revelation. According to Christian beliefs, Joseph had been sold into slavery and had a guard to watch him while he was in prison, and then freed, Jesus' tomb was watched by a guard, and He resurrected. Marrant may have been thinking about both stories in his own situation as a captive. For further context, see William Andrews. *To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1760- 1760-1865*. (Champaign, University of Illinois Press, 1988): 36

¹¹⁵ Marrant, 28

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Marrant, iv.

¹¹⁸ Joanna Brook and John Saillant suggest, "whitewashed to make it an acceptable captivity and conversion memoir. Brooks and Saillant, 39.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Miles, "His Kingdom..." 183.

¹²¹ George, 178-9. The page numbers refer to the text that is part of the Brooks and Salient collected edition, *Face Zion Forward*.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ George, 179. It is unclear at one point George became free, because after three years with Miller, he then decided he wanted to work for another a man named Mr. Gaulfin in Silver Bluff. He becomes freed sometime after Gaulfin, an Anti-Loyalist, left his slaves, including and George and about fifty others, joined the Loyalists.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 180.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 182.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 188

¹²⁸ Brooks and Saillant, 27. It appears that not as much about George's life has been researched, in comparison to John Marrant's life.

¹²⁹ Other contemporary black writers, like Venture Smith, also included brief references to indigenous people in his memoir. Venture Smith's *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, a Native of Africa: But Resident above Sixty Years in the United States of America*, was published in 1798 in New London, CT. He briefly owned a fishing business in New England, but the business failed once his boat was stolen. Later, he worked on a boat with an unnamed Indian man. He explains that he "took passage in an Indian's boat, and went to Saybrook, CT with him." However, once they arrived, the goods fell overboard, while the ship was trying to dock into the wharf. George notes that he had already been off the ship when this incident occurred. However, he notes that the incident ends up resulting in a legal suit, and that "the Indian [was not] able to pay" for the lost goods. Unfortunately, Smith is accused for causing the loss of the goods, despite his claims that he was not involved, he is "obliged to pay upwards of ten pounds lawful money, with all the costs of court." He concludes by explaining that this incident is evidence of his victimization he feels is due to of his race.

¹³⁰ Joseph Rezek, "The Orations on the Abolition of the Slave Trade and the Uses of Print in the Early Black Atlantic" in *Early American Literature*. 45:3 (November 2010): 655

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER 2

¹³¹ This title is inspired by the following work: Linda Kerber, "Abolitionist Perception of the Indian," *The Journal of American History* 62:2 (September 1975): 271-295.

¹³² Russwurm's first part of the editorial was published on April 6, 1827, and this passage is from the second part which was published in the April 13, 1827 edition of the *Freedom's Journal*.

¹³³ *Freedom's Journal*, April 13, 1827; Winston James, *The Struggles of John Russwurm: The Life and Writings of a Pan-Africanist Pioneer, 1799-1851* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 155. James argues that Russwurm is the author of a two-part essay, "People of Color," based on his analysis of his language and writing style that appears to be similar to other essays, including "Mutability of Human Affairs" published in 1827 in the April 6th, 13th, and 20th editions of the newspaper.

¹³⁴ Russwurm did not specify which Indians he was referring to in the editorial. During the time his article appeared, there was another during these years pertained to the Seneca Indians of New York who signed two treaties, in 1823 and 1826, respectively, to sell land and to the federal government. And, after President Adams approved the treaty, there

was a tied vote in the Senate to ratify these treaties to acquire Buffalo Creek lands of the Seneca Indians. However, as indicated above, it seems clear that Russwurm is referring to Creek Indians with the other references indicated in his editorial. Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 144-5.

¹³⁵ Prucha, 149; Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press 2010), 91-120.

¹³⁶ It should be noted that the largely black readership of the *Freedom's Journal* also had a wider intended audience, which included blacks who were illiterate, but who may verbally receive the news.

¹³⁷ There is only one known scholarly piece to address how Native Americans are depicted in the black press. However, the focus of this study is on the late nineteenth century, and the early and late twentieth century. For further context, see Hannah Gourgey, "Poetics of Memory and Marginality: Images of the Native American in African-American Newspapers, 1870-1900 and 1970-1990" in *The Black Press: New Literary and Historical Essays*, ed. Todd Vogel (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 104-122.

¹³⁸ In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison changes to the masthead of his newspaper, *The Liberator*, which featured vignettes depicting slavery. Under the first vignette depicting the sale of slaves at an auction block, he inserted the words "INDIAN TREATIES," –an insertion that seems to have been designed to draw attention to the linked historical injustices facing Blacks and Indians. Mary Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle Against Indian Removal in the 1830s," *The Journal of American History* 86:1 (June 1999): 36-7; Nicholas Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607-1877* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 211.

¹³⁹ In addition to the works by Linda Kerber and Mary Hershberger cited earlier, there have been several additional publications about the support by white reformers (especially white women) against Indian Removal linked to the colonization and abolition movements, including the following works: Christine Bolt, "The Anti-Slavery Origins of Concern for the American Indians," in *Anti-Slavery, Religion, and Reform: Essays in Memory of Roger Antsey*, eds. Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher (Folkestone: Dawson, 1980), 233-253; Theda Purdue, "Cherokee Planters, Black Slaves and African Colonization," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 60:3 (1982); Nicholas Guyatt, "The Outskirts of Happiness: Race and the Lure of Colonization in the Early Republic," *Journal of American History* 95:4 (March 2009); Natalie Joy, "Hydra's Head: Fighting Slavery and Indian Removal in Antebellum America" (Ph.D Diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2008); Brandon Mills, "Exporting the Racial Republic: African

Colonization, National Citizenship, and Transformation of U.S. Expansion, (Ph.D Diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011).

¹⁴⁰ Hershberger, 15.

¹⁴¹ Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 6.

¹⁴² Kerber, 279; Linda Kerber asserted that the national new coverage about oppressions facing Native Americans during the first few decades of the nineteenth century was given a "lower priority in journals edited by blacks." In fact, she specifically claimed that the Colored American newspaper "found virtually no room for the subject at all. The concept of Native Americans in "unexpected places" is derived from the following work that will later be cited again in the chapter: Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 6; For further context to understand this same term "unexpected places" is employed to examine the diversity of nineteenth-century African American literature, see Eric Gardner, *Unexpected Places: Relocation Nineteenth-Century African American Literature* (Jackson: University of Mississippi, 2009).

¹⁴³ Tiya Miles, "'Circular Reasoning': Recentering Cherokee Women in the Antiremoval Campaigns," *American Quarterly*. 61:2 (June 2009): 222

¹⁴⁴ For further context on antebellum demographics for African Americans, see James and Lois Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹⁴⁵ Prucha, 146.

¹⁴⁶ Letter from New York Mayor William Paulding, Jr. to Rachael Peterson [The original handwritten letter is in the possession of Muriel Roberts, Jersey City, New Jersey. Letter used with permission. Rachel was about twenty-three years old, as indicated on the letter. There is a raised seal of the City of New York on this letter to verify authenticity. A copy of the letter is in the author's possession.]

¹⁴⁷ Muriel D. Roberts. Oral interview and email, October 16, 2013. Muriel shared Racheal Peterson's story of her ancestor to highlight other genealogical records and that Rachael was noted as "colored," as many Native Americans were oftentimes racially categorized. Rachel later married William Thompson, an African American minister ordained at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in 1845. They relocated to Boston with her family who would be racially defined as "colored."

¹⁴⁸ Although New York's black population was smaller than Boston or Philadelphia, scholars have argued that the newspaper began in New York to combat discrimination from whites, particularly indicated in the white press

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Winston James, *The Struggles of John Brown Russwurm: The Life and Writings of a Pan-Africanist Pioneer, 1799-1851* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 24; James highlights the fact that Russwurm first moves to Boston to be a teacher upon graduating from Bowdoin before he moved to New York.

¹⁵¹ Todd Vogel, ed. *The Black Press: New Literary and Historical Essays* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 1

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Jacqueline Bacon, *Freedom's Journal: The First African American Newspaper* (Lanham: Lexington Books. 2007), 5.

¹⁵⁴ Some of the ideas for this chapter are inspired by the following work: Nicholas Guyatt, "The Outskirts of Happiness: Race and the Lure of Colonization in the Early Republic," *Journal of American History*. 95:4 (March 2009): 987.

¹⁵⁵ Image of Samuel Cornish. Accessed April 2, 2012. <http://www.blackpast.org/?q=aah/cornish-samuel-eli-1795-1858> Image of John Russwurm. Accessed April 2, 2012. <http://www.bowdoin.edu/africana-studies/history/images/j-b-russwurm.jpg>

¹⁵⁶ Bacon, p. 143; Her citation for this claim is from the following source: Darlene Clark Hines and Ernestine Jenkins eds. "Introduction: Black Men's History: Toward a Gendered Perspective," *A Question of Manhood: "Manhood of Rights": The Construction of Black Male History and Manhood, 1750-1870*. Vol. I. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999), 2, 14.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.; Bacon also limited her analysis on the interracial movement of blacks and whites which is most often cited in abolitionist historiography. Regarding the depictions of Native Americans in the black press, the following work briefly considers this idea: John Coward, *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820-90* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

¹⁵⁸ *Freedom's Journal*, March 16th, 23rd, 30th, April 6th, 13th 1827.

¹⁵⁹ *Freedom's Journal*, September, 21, 1827; Cuffee was born in Massachusetts his father was from Ghana and his mother was a Wampanoag Indian. As an adult, he became a wealthy entrepreneur and forged international allies with the British like many other African Americans and Native Americans who preceded him. In 1815, Cuffee departed to Sierra Leone with thirty-eight free African American emigrants from Massachusetts. Cuffee established relationships with the British colonization organization, the African Institution, founded in 1807, to create a free black settlement in Sierra Leone. In his hope

to garner support from various communities of free blacks in America, he researched the viability of resettlement of free blacks in Sierra Leone. Some articles about Cuffee were reprinted from the *Liverpool Mercury* newspaper from London. Other articles appear to be reprinted references from this source: *Memoirs of Captain Paul Cuffee: A Man of Colour* (York, England: 1812); In fact, Cuffee was thought to have been considered a "friend" of the American Colonization Movement (ACS). For further context on ACS, refer to Table #5 from the following source: Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 172; According to Burin, out of the total of 900 free black emigrants, New York had the second highest figure of 269 free blacks who emigrated, and Pennsylvania had highest figure of 292. However, there is no indication of how these figures changed over time, as it may have been in the mid-1830s when most blacks, free and enslaved, emigrated to Liberia; The figure of 35 black emigrants is cited by John Sweet (Sweet, 351); Many blacks also considered and supported emigration plans to places like Haiti and Canada. For additional biographical information about Cuffee, see the following work: Russel Barsh, "Colored Seamen in the New England Whaling Industry" in *Confounding the Color-Line: The Indian-Black Experience in North America*. ed. James Brooks (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 97-98.

¹⁶⁰ Two reprinted articles about Cuffee that appear on the front page of the *Journal* immediately next to the two-part editorial, "People of Color" in *Freedom's Journal*, April 6th and 13th, 1827.

¹⁶¹ *Freedom's Journal*, November 23, 1827.

¹⁶² For further context, see the following source: R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership*, 2nd Edition (Upper Saddle River: Pearson, 2006), 91; Similar stories were circulated in the press about negotiations between Tecumseh, the Shawnee Indian leader, and William Harrison at the signing of the Treaty of Fort Wayne in 1809. A similar story appears in secondary literature about encounters with Tecumseh, the Shawnee leader who advocated for pan-Indian political action, and William Henry Harrison during their debates over terms of land secession, particularly the Treaty of Fort Wayne in 1809 which ceded three million acres of land for white settlement of what encompass the present-day states of Indiana and Illinois. In a biography about Tecumseh by R. David Edmunds, he cites a somewhat similar story that Tecumseh asked Harrison to "give up the government's claims to the region [land ceded at Fort Wayne]." Tecumseh reportedly said "if you do not it will appear as if you wished me to kill all chiefs who had signed the treaty. I tell you so because I am authorized by all the tribes to do so."; For additional context, see the following source: John Sugden, *Tecumseh: A Life*. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1997); 107-8; Sugden, another Tecumseh biographer, described the confrontations between Indian tribes and Americans, French and British over land at the turn of the nineteenth-century, particularly Indian tribes impacted by the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and Lewis & Clark expeditions from 1804-6. Sugden described how various Native American tribal members felt and noted that "Harrison

acknowledged that the tribesmen 'were grumbling about the treaties and threatening to drive the Americans back over the Ohio.'";

It is not clear where the Creek story of the "log" originated, or whether it actually occurred in the way it is described. It may be a apocryphal story and not specifically just about the Creek Indians, but about Native Americans in general. However, there are actual accounts about land treaty negotiations with the Creeks included references to General Benjamin Lincoln, a Continental army officer in the American Revolution. He later became a diplomat to negotiate various treaties with Indians. In the 1790s, he also negotiated with other Indians in the north, including the Iroquois Indians. For more information refer to the following sources, David Mattern, *Benjamin Lincoln and the American Revolution* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995); This Creek "log story" is reprinted in several later publications, including the following: Thomas Jones Rogers, *A new American biographical dictionary, or Remembrancer of the departed heroes, sages, and statesmen of America: Confined exclusively to those who signalized themselves in either capacity, in the Revolutionary War*, Third edition, (Easton, PA: Thomas J. Rogers, 1824), 308-315; Roger's reference is the earliest dated reference could which printed this story, and is listed as an anecdote about Lincoln as part of the biographical entry about him. This same story appeared in the *London and Paris Observer, or Weekly Chronicle of News, Science, Literature and the Fine Arts*, Vol. IV. (Paris: A. and G. Gallignani, 1828), 652; Rufus Merrill, *Stories about the Indians* (Concord: J.A. Marriam, 1855), 25

¹⁶³ Old Humprey, John Frost, *History, Manners and Customs of the North American Indians* (Nashville, TN: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1859), 134. Frost's reference is where the reference is described under the header "Shrewdness."

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ For example, in an article published in *Cherokee Phoenix* on January 14, 1829, one reprinted article appears under the title, "Indian Shrewdness" reporting the following unexplained or uncredited account: "I recollect very well an Indian named Bravo, who was accused at Pomasque of having stolen the mule which he had brought from the vallies (sic) from the Eastward of Quito, laden with fruit. At the moment the accusation was laid before the Alcade, the Indian threw his pouche or mantle over the head of the mule and then desired the challenger to say of which eye the mule was blind? He answered the left. Then said the Indian taking off the Pouche, this mule cannot be your's (sic) because it is blind of neither." West Carolina University Digital Collections. Accessed November 22, 2013.
<http://www.wcu.edu/library/DigitalCollections/CherokeePhoenix/Vol1/no44/pg3col4b.htm>

¹⁶⁶ Coward, 43-63.

¹⁶⁷ John Sweet, *Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730-1830* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 350.

¹⁶⁸ Joy Rouse, "We Can Never Remain Silent: The Public Discourse of the Nineteenth-Century African American Press," in *Popular Literacy: Stories in Cultural Practices and Poetics*. ed. John Trimbur. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 128; She makes a similar argument for the explanation of a different black press newspaper story, but she cites an article from the *Weekly Anglo-African* in 1859.

¹⁶⁹ For further context, see Sweet, *Bodies Politic*; Some of this history is covered in my prior chapter regarding the history of ideas by Thomas Jefferson. As a "founding father" of the new nation, he viewed that Indians should assimilate into white society. Many white Christian organizations were tasked with such civilizing missions, such as the Society of Friends, as described further in the previous chapter; Sugden, 105; Sugden noted that "[a]ltruism of a kind distinguished the Jeffersonian approach to the Indian. It assumed that European and Indian cultures could not coexist...The 'civilization' of the Indians, as the process was called, was supposed by religious groups such as the Society of Friends and always had a philanthropic dimension, but it went hand in hand with dispossession."

¹⁷⁰ There are countless number of *Journal* articles that depict violence targeted against blacks, including the following examples: *Freedom's Journal*, January 9, 1829 (violence directed against a runaway slave); October 10, 1828 ("A singular outrageous act was committed in the Police " in New York); For further context, see Bacon, 19, 27, 76-77, 212-13; Horton and Horton, 164-5.

¹⁷¹ *Freedom's Journal*, August 29, 1828.

¹⁷² The article referred to William Ashley, who had been a military officer during the War of 1812, and he becomes the first governor of the new slave state of Missouri after the federal compromise of 1820. Binnema and Dobak, "Like the Greedy Wolf": Fur Trade and War Fever, 1807-1831," *Journal of the Early Republic* 29 (Fall 2009): 411-40; William Goetzmann, "The Mountain Man as Jacksonian Man" in *American Quarterly* 15:3 (Autumn 1963): 402-415; He later established a fur trading company and this article refers to his initial encounters with Native American western tribes who fought against American and British traders on their lands. Scholars have suggested that there were several names of the actual bands who shared a "Blackfoot" language, and other actual tribes, such as the Gros Ventres who were mistakenly all thought to be Blackfeet Indians during this era. For more information, refer to the following work: Theodore Binnema, "Allegiances and Interests: Niitsitapi (Blackfoot) Trade, Diplomacy, and Warfare, 1806-1831," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 37:3 (September 2006): 328.

¹⁷³ *Freedom's Journal*, November 16, 1827; The language shifted in the article. The descriptor is "our own" to describe Native Americans, perhaps to distinguish against indigenous people in other countries. However, the possessive descriptor is disrupted by the idea that "our Indians" would "be against us" which appears to suggest an Indian/white binary, as opposed to including blacks.

¹⁷⁴ *Freedom's Journal*, August 24, 1827.

¹⁷⁵ Winnebago Indians (or Ho-Chunk) are Siouan-speaking tribe of Native Americans in present-day states of Nebraska, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and parts of Iowa and Illinois.

¹⁷⁶ *Freedom's Journal*, November 9, 1827. Interestingly, another reference appears about present-day Sri Lanka a bible society that formed there. Similarly, on February 2, 1828, a report noted entitled, "Indian Bible Society" described that the "females in the mission School at Mayhaw have formed a Bible Society." The article added that "the members contribute the avails of their labours half a day every week, to furnish bibles for the destitute in Ceylon; to be remitted to the Female Bible Society of that Island." Mayhaw was a southern fruit, and the article appears under the "Summaries" listing.

¹⁷⁷ *Freedom's Journal*, August 1, 1828.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ *Freedom's Journal*, May 18, 1827.

¹⁸⁰ *Freedom's Journal*, November 7, 1828; Title: "The Indians," Subtitle: From Judge STORY'S Centennial Address. This story is also cited by Philip Deloria as a speech by Joseph Story, "Discourse Pronounced at the Request of the Essex Historical Society, Sept. 18, 1828, in Commemoration of the First Settlement of Salem, Mass;" Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 1

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Nicholas Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607-1876* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 198

¹⁸⁴ *Freedom's Journal*, January 18, 1828 and February 15, 1828. There were a total of two articles about "Jameson" although the name is spelled differently in some historical sources. More biographical information was found in the following article: William N. Fenton and Jacob Jameson. "Answers to Governor Cass's Questions by Jacob Jameson, a Seneca, ca. 1821-1825," *Ethnohistory*, 16:2 (Spring, 1969): 113-139. Although in the *Journal*, the name appears as "James Jameson," Fenton concluded that the last name is spelled as Jemison.

Additional biographical information about Jacob appears in a memoir written by his grandmother, Mary Jamison. She was a Scotch-Irish frontierswoman originally from Pennsylvania and became a Seneca captive during the Seven Year's War. Her 1824 memoir has been a topic widely discussed throughout literary scholarship. As a result of Seneca Indians siding with the British during the American Revolution, her land and

property were destroyed and she helped to support her family by working for African Americans who were fugitive slaves in New York; For literary scholarship about Mary Jemison's memoir, refer to the following sources: Michelle Burnham, "'However Extravagant the Pretension': Bivocalism and US Nation-Building in A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 23:3 (2001): 325-47; Susan Walsh, "'With Them Was My Home:' Native American Autobiography and A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison" *American Literature* 64:1 (March 1992): 49-70.

¹⁸⁵ *Freedom's Journal*, January 18, 1828. A surgeon's mate was a medically-trained assistant.

¹⁸⁶ One of the exceptions, of course, was *Journal* editor John Russwurm, who was one of America's first black college graduates, as mentioned in an earlier section. In comparison, there had been hundreds of Native American college graduates by this time. Thousands of dollars were spent by the federal government to support both missionary and education efforts in the "civilizing" mission in the 1820s.

¹⁸⁷ *Freedom's Journal*, February 15, 1828; My assumption is that the prize committee may have assumed he was white, based on the biographical information noted in footnotes that follow about his grandmother being Irish, and so perhaps, Jamison, could have been "passing" as white, or in general, his race was ambiguous.

¹⁸⁸ *Freedom's Journal*, October 12, 1827.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; While not reported, the Osage delegation had also visited France to garner European support since the United States government ceded their lands in the Arkansas Valley region, including giving lands to a band of Cherokees. Indeed, over the course of the early 1800s--prior to the Indian Removal Act of 1830--fifty-million acres of indigenous lands in the nascent country were ceded by the federal government throughout the entire early republic. For coverage of this history, refer to the following; Kathleen Duvall, "Debating Identity, Sovereignty, and Civilization: The Arkansas Valley after the Louisiana Purchase." *Journal of the Early Republic*. 26:1 (Spring 2006): 33; Alice C. Fletcher, "The Osage Indians in France," *American Anthropologist* 2:2 (April - June 1900): 395-404.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*; For further context, see Coward, *Newspaper Indian*, 67-8.

¹⁹¹ *Freedom's Journal*, October 5, 1827; Another article about Canadian Indians (unnamed tribe) appears on January 9, 1829. The article described how Indian corn is divided between bride/groom, comparing these practices to Hebrew culture. The writer notes that "Indian females are naturally modest and silent, color is not dark enough so you can see them blushing" and describes further about how common polygamy and divorce reportedly were within this unnamed tribe.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Freedom's Journal*, March 21, 1828

¹⁹⁴ *Freedom's Journal*, July 27, 1827

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ *Freedom's Journal*, February 22, 1827; Richard Newman, Patrick Rael, and Philip Lapansky, eds. *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790-1860* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 11; They add that in this document, "Forten blasted, even states like Pennsylvania were restricting African Americans' movement and threatening to take away the liberties blacks thought they enjoyed...." and that "Forten's exasperation was exceeded only by his faith in appealing to the governing public on these patriotic grounds."

¹⁹⁷ Bacon, 54.

¹⁹⁸ *Freedom's Journal*, March 7, 1829. His language is clearly gendered in his conception of black rights to only be inclusive of men.

¹⁹⁹ James, 44.

²⁰⁰ Ryan, 28; Thomas McKenney, who was appointed by the new President, Andrew Jackson, and whose term also began in 1829, served as the head of the Office of Indian Affairs and worked with led the Indian Board organization. While McKenney viewed Native Americans as racial equals, the communication from John Eaton, Secretary of War to the Cherokee Indians in 1829 reflected that the federal government could not protect Cherokee Indians if they stayed in Georgia; *Documents and proceedings relating to the formation and progress of a board in the city of New York: for the emigration, preservation, and improvement, of the aborigines of America*, (New York: Vanderpool and Cole, July 22, 1829).

²⁰¹ Konrad Tuchscherer and P. E. H. Hair, "Cherokee and West Africa: Examining the Origins of the Vai Script," in *History in Africa*, 29 (2002): 427-486; Ellen Cushman, *The Cherokee Syllabary: Writing the People's Perseverance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 4, 93. For additional insight, see Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, eds. *Encyclopedia of Africa, Volume 2*. (NY: Oxford University Press), 552; Curtis Austin was from North Carolina who emigrated to Liberia a few years before Russwurm emigrated. Scholars, Konrad Tuchscherer and P. E. H. Hair, have suggested that he had knowledge of the Cherokee syllabary which was originally developed by Sequoyah in 1821 in order to read and write in the Cherokee language. Austin brought his knowledge of the Cherokee syllabary to develop a written Vai syllabary, an indigenous Mande language in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Furthermore, Tuchscherer and Hair have broadly examined the similar type of rhetoric used by some American black

emigrants directed against indigenous Liberians which echoed the types of rhetoric directed against indigenous Americans, such as being "uncivilized savages."

²⁰² It should be noted that from 1830 to 1834, Russwurm served as the editor for the *Liberia Herald* newspaper. It is likely that ideas about Native Americans could have circulated in the Liberian newspaper like the *Freedom's Journal*, or later black-edited newspapers.

²⁰³ Guyatt, *Providence*, 174.

²⁰⁴ Bryant, 16.

²⁰⁵ Joy Bryant, "Race Debates Among Nineteenth-Century Colored Reformers and Churchmen" (PhD Diss., Yale University, 1996), 16

²⁰⁶ Hughes Davis, "Northern Colonizations and Free Blacks, 1823-1837: A Case Study of Leonard Bacon," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17:4 (Winter 1997): 658; Bacon was one of the founders of a benevolent organization in New Haven called The African Improvement Society. His was praised by *Journal* editors for being "the means of bringing into respectability and usefulness [into the black] community too long oppressed and neglected.

²⁰⁷ Both African American and Native American readers of white-edited newspapers would sometimes reprint these articles in newspapers that they edited, such as the *Freedom's Journal*, or the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

²⁰⁸ Leonard Bacon, "The African Colonization Plan" *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 1, 1823 (reprinted from the *Christian Spectator*, October 1823); Also, refer to Brandon Mills, 15 who cites the original source from *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 1, 1823.

²⁰⁹ The full quotation refers to other leaders from history, such as Spartacus, and also Toussaint L'Ouverture, which is also fascinating to consider this global and transnational history he evokes. However, the "African Tecumseh" figure is the only fictional name he cites.

²¹⁰ The "African Tecumseh" name is particularly interesting, considering two contemporary figures from mixed African and Indian ancestries who chose to emigrate out of America: Paul Cuffee, who emigrated to Sierra Leone and died in 1818, and Prince Saunders, who emigrated to Haiti in 1815; Additionally, Tecumseh, the Shawnee leader during the early republic who opposed the United States, had advocated a pan-tribal Indian nationalism in the early 1800s. He had opposed the cession of Indian lands in the newly formed Indiana Territory, and led the Shawnees to be allies of the British during the War of 1812. Generally not considered as aligned, Tecumseh's legacy, like Cuffee, helped foster the expanding consciousness amongst both Indian and black nationalists

during this era; For more context, refer to Daniel Mandell, *Tribe, Race, History: Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780-1880* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 64-65; Mandell mentioned other New Englanders, like William Brown, Edward Gimbee and Alexander Hemenway who each had mixed African and Native American ancestries (especially indigenous grandmothers) who were Native American, and how some maintained memories of their "Native roots" while other did not.

²¹¹ These wars were precipitated by the fact that formerly enslaved African Americans had escaped from the Carolinas and Georgia and developed maroon communities in Florida with Native Americans. Both groups joined forces to fight over the land that was first acquired by the British from the Spanish and then later became part of the United States in 1821. Black writers also discussed updates on Florida. For instance, in the *Freedom's Journal* on February 22, 1828, an article noted that "[a]bout a million and a half of acres of land, within the boundary of Florida are claimed by Georgia as belonging to that state."

²¹² David Gellman and David Quigley, eds. *Jim Crow New York: A Documentary History of Race and Citizenship, 1777-1877* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 124; The name cited for that phrase is Samuel Young of Saratoga County. Other cited delegates at the 1821 New York State Constitution Convention, including Jacob Radcliff of New York City, who noted that "I am not sure how a black, unless born free, may become a citizen; a man born a slave cannot be a citizen: a red man cannot be a citizen; they cannot even be naturalized, for naturalization can only be effected under the laws of the United States, which limit to the whites." (Gellman and Quigley, 126). *National Reformer*, December 1838 (page 58) also posts a memory of the 1821 New York convention, noting that "Rufus King close an argument on behalf of the people of color, with the declaration, that as certainly as the children of any white man are citizens, so certainly of any black man are citizens."

²¹³ Samuel Stanhope Smith, *Lectures on Moral and Political Philosophy*. 2 vols. (Trenton, 1812), II, 176-77; Guyatt, "Ourskirts...", 993 n. 17; See also Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 517; Collin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 105-7; and Bruce Dain, *A Hideous Monster of Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003): 40-49, 65-70.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Gary Nash, *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 157

²¹⁶ Joanna Brooks, "The Early American Public Sphere and the Emergence of a Black Print Counterpublic," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 62:1 (January 2005): 67-92.

²¹⁷ Craig Wilder, *In the Company of Black Men: The African Influence on African American Culture in New York City* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 97; Wilder also includes several other references to Native Americans through his work, including influential minister, Peter Williams, who utilized popular, but fallible, historical beliefs that "Africans were the primary victims of Europe's work, for after the aborigine of the Americans had been destroyed through wars and purges, Europe turned to Africa as the source of its labor." (Wilder, 90).

²¹⁸ Jeremiah Gloucester, "An Oration, Delivered on January 1, 1823 in Bethel Church: On the Abolition of Slave Trade." (Philadelphia: John Young, 1823). Accessed February 6, 2014. <http://antislavery.eserver.org/religious/gloucesteroration/gloucesteroration.html>

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Jenn Williamson, "Summary: Life of William Grimes, the Runaway Slave, Brought Down to the Present Time" Accessed October 22, 2013. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/grimes55/summary.html>

²²¹ William Grimes, *Life of William Grimes, the Runaway Slave, Brought Down to the Present Time* (New York: W. Grimes, 1825), 67; He notes that "I do think there is no inducement for a slave to leave his master, and be set free in the northern states." He adds he "had to work hard [and was] often cheated, insulted, abused and injured; yet a black man, if he will be industrious and honest, he can get along here as well as anyone who is poor."

²²² Grimes, 67-68; Accessed October 22, 2013. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/grimes25/summary.html>

²²³ However, he also may be describing another school, the Brainerd Congregational School, which was located in nearby Hartford. It was also founded to predominantly educate Native American students. Additionally, he may also be referring to Yale's seminary which did include a few black students. For further context, see Craig Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013); In fact, New Haven and other nearby cities in Connecticut had a long history of resisting efforts to educate black students which has been well-documented in the historiography, especially in later years during the 1830s.

²²⁴ John Andrew, "Educating the Heathen: The Foreign Mission School Controversy and American Ideals," *Journal of American Studies* 12:3 (December 1978): 331-342; Yet, Connecticut history of educating blacks really was at the height of racial discrimination in the 1830s against educating blacks with whites. For instance, in 1831, Arthur Tappan, Garrison and S.S. Jocelyn had conceived of a plan to start a manual college for blacks in New Haven, CT- but mayor and others opposed it. For further context, see Benjamin

Quarles, *Black Abolitionists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 107; In 1832, Prudence Crandall admitted a black girl into her school in 1832 and all white students ending removing their white daughters from the school. Additionally, at the National Negro Convention meeting on June 4, 1832 there were discussions of plans of wanting to establish the first Negro college in New Haven. Howard Bell, ed. *Minutes of the proceedings of the national Negro conventions, 1830-1864*, Vol. 1. (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 8; Robert H. Bremner, ed. "Negro and Indian Children," *Children and Youth in America, Volume I: 1600-1865* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970). [http://www.hnet.org/~child/Bremner/Volume_I/33_P2_VII_Negro_and_Indian_Children_\(Intro\).htm](http://www.hnet.org/~child/Bremner/Volume_I/33_P2_VII_Negro_and_Indian_Children_(Intro).htm)

Paul Goodman, *Of One Blood: Abolitionism and the Origins of Racial Equality* (London: University of California Press, 1998), 51-52, 87, 92, 117.

²²⁵ Jane and William Pease, *They Who Would be Free: Blacks' Search for Freedom, 1830-1861* (New York: Antheneum, 1974), 108; Peter Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren*, xiii; Mia Bay, *The White Image in the Black Mind: African American Ideas about White People, 1830-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 32.

²²⁶ Several scholars have considered Walker's *Appeal* to a contemporary Native American intellectual, William Apess, a Pequot Indian writer from Massachusetts. Apess published his autobiography, *Sons of the Forest*, in New York merely three months prior to Walker's *Appeal*'s publication in Massachusetts. The rhetoric used by Apess is strikingly similar to Walker's *Appeal*, but addresses Apess' appeal to Indians. Apess, like other Native American elite figures of his time, used literature and speeches writing to critique white prejudices about Indians.

For further context, see the following works: William Apess, *On Our Own Ground: The Collected Works of William Apess, a Pequot*. Barry O'Connell, ed. (University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), xiii, xxxix; Sandra Gustafson, *Imagining Deliberative Democracy in the Early American Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 146-151; John J. Kucich, "William Apess's Nullifications: Sovereignty, Identity and the Mashpee Revolt" in *Sovereignty, Separatism, and Survivance: Ideological Encounters in the Literature of Native North America*, ed. Benjamin D. Carson (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 1-16. Kucich, a literary and cultural studies scholar, argued that the militant rhetoric in the "Looking Glass" piece by William Apess mirrors the same tone and imagery as Walker's *Appeal*. Kucich adds that Walker's call for black resistance in his *Appeal* attracted the same charges of "riot" that Apess made years later in his publication about the Mashpee Indian revolt in the 1830s; Robert Allen Warrior also references the connections between David Walker and William Apess in his work *The People And the Word: Reading Native Nonfiction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 4, 26, 38; Specifically, he stated that "one early critic [of Apess] speculated that his political activities had made him violent enemies and that he had been murdered, like his African American New England nationalist contemporary, David Walker." However, Warrior did not cite this claim. He adds that "As with [Apess]"

African American contemporaries David Walker and Maria Stewart, the politically and socially engaged aspects of the Christian gospel were difficult to divorce from more personal aspects. Apess, unlike Walker and Stewart, did not come out of a long tradition in which these voices were united in chorus. But when he broke with Methodist Episcopalians, he welcomed the opportunity to work within a structure more open to the ways that politics and spirituality intersected." Finally, Warrior makes the final conjecture trying to speculate why Apess moved to New York from New England sometime in the late 1830s. He notes that "[m]aybe he saw people like David Walker go out from Boston to Philadelphia, New York and Washington and wanted to do the same."

²²⁷ *Freedom's Journal*, March 16, 1827. For instance, in an article printed in the March 16, 1827 edition of the newspaper, a writer notes that Walker hosted a "respectable Meeting of the People of Colour of the city of Boston [about] giving aid and support" to the Journal. *Freedom's Journal*, December 19, 1828.

²²⁸ Marcy Dinius, "Look!! Look!! at This!!!!": The Radical Typography of David Walker's *Appeal*," *PLMA*. 126:1 (January 2011): 55-72.

²²⁹ Walker, 72.

²³⁰ Stephen Hall, *A Faithful Account of the Race: African American Historical Writing in Nineteenth-Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 18.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 16. Hall cites Elizabeth McHenry and notes that "troubling the pages of historians can be viewed as a central metaphor for [black writers] efforts during the era of the early republic."

²³² Walker, 31.

²³³ Walker, 96. Walker was active for several years in Boston and outspoken against colonization plans. He helped to form the Massachusetts General Colored Association in 1826 to oppose colonization.

²³⁴ Some examples include stories such as the Brer Rabbit folkloric tales which were circulated by Blacks and Indians. Jonathan Brennan (Eds.), *When Brer Rabbit Meets Coyote*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

²³⁵ Walker, 71.

²³⁶ Walker, 72.

²³⁷ Scholars have argued that the *Appeal* can be credited as being one of the factors which may have indirectly caused Nat Turner's rebellion of 1831.

²³⁸ David Walker's *Appeal* Summary. Accessed March 2, 2013.
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/walker/bio.html>

²³⁹ Hinks, xv.

²⁴⁰ Worcester's uncle would later be the leading plaintiff in the significant Supreme Court case, *Worcester vs. Georgia* in 1831 which was an important precedent for all indigenous cases pertaining to tribal sovereignty. Berger, Bethany. "Red: Racism and the American Indian." *UCLA Law Review* 56 (2009): 620. However, by 1832 in the *Georgia vs. Cherokee* case, the prior case was appealed, and precedent for tribal sovereignty cases to follow to dictate how the United States would deal with the "Indian problem" which led to furthering indigenous land dispossession and racial ideas about assimilation.

²⁴¹ The source of his historical rumor was a memoir published in 1869 by Samuel May, a white abolitionist and friend of William Lloyd Garrison. In his memoir, May described a conversation in his memoir with his Southern friend, Dr. W.H. Irwin, who lived in Louisiana: "I inquired if he saw or heard of Walker's *Appeal* in the time of it. He replied that he was living in Georgia in 1834 [and] was acquainted with the Rev. Messrs. Worcester and Butler, missionaries to the Cherokees, and knew that they were maltreated and imprisoned in 1829 or 1830 for having one of Walker's pamphlets, as well as for admitting some colored children into their Indian school."

²⁴² Hinks, 128; Hinks argues that there was "no further evidence that [Worcester and Butler had] copies of the *Appeal* and [that] the friend's memories of thirty or so years ago may certainly [may] have lacked some precision.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*; Hinks adds the point that: "They may have received a copy of the *Appeal*, and suggests that they may have gotten it through a network of white missionaries and reformers involved with the Cherokees, especially Methodists, who were associated with Worcester and Butler and who were much more vehement in their opposition to Georgia authorities." Yet, Hinks does not connect this rumor of the *Appeal*'s possible circulation to the Cherokees and to the ideas about Native Americans.

²⁴⁴ Fay Yarbrough, "From Kin to Intruder: Cherokee Legal Attitudes toward People of African Descent in the Nineteenth Century," in *Race and Science: Scientific Challenges to Racism in Modern America*. ed. Paul Farber and Hamilton Cravens (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2009), 34; In one example from the July 13, 1827 edition of the *Journal* under the "Domestic News" listings, one article noted that: "an extract from a letter giving brief account of a journey made through country of Cherokee Indians---how they had houses superior than others, and seemed to have more money than whites, better clothed, and that they were at election of delegates among Cherokees to form a constitution. They were orderly, well behaved and no whiskey allowed." It is not clear where this letter originated, or who the author is. Yet, the article is surprisingly silent about the fact that elite Cherokees became wealthy during this era in part because they enslaved African Americans. In fact, in 1827, Cherokee legislation

granted limited rights to African Americans who had Cherokee ancestry who were part of the nation.

To further understand the context of this article, it is important to note that the Cherokee's constitutional convention occurred on July 4th, 1827, the same date that marked the celebration of America's independence from Britain. It is also likely that the Cherokees chose that date because they were formally establishing their demand for tribal sovereignty. Similarly, during the antebellum era, free blacks and white abolitionists used July 4th to give speeches to highlight the hypocrisy of the celebration of the date.

²⁴⁵ *Freedom's Journal*, November 23, 1827; This particular legal case was about a murder, as the article notes that this was the "first exhibition of [Cherokee's governmental] power was the public execution of an Indian for murder

²⁴⁶ The comments by African American writers about Boudinot's ancestry as "mixed-blood" are part of a much wider discourse on "miscegenation" ideas which were also widely circulated regarding those who were full-blooded or mixed-blooded Indians, and "mulattoes" who were deemed as blacks. For Boudinot and other elite nineteenth-century Cherokees, many of them were racially mixed with European and Native American ancestries. This subject will be further explored in the next chapter, as many other examples of Native Americans who are educated are considered "mixed" or "half bloods," even in some instances when racial mixture was not the case.

²⁴⁷ Juan González and Joseph Torres, *News for All the People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media* (New York, Verso, 2011), 99-100

²⁴⁸ Ibid, 100. Gonzalez and Torres cite Sam Riley's "The Indian's Own Prejudice as Mirrored in the First Native American Newspaper" in *Journalism History*. 6:2 (Summer 1979): 45. One citation noted is that apparently, Boudinot reported about 70,000 African people sold into bondage in Rio de Janeiro in 1826 and 1827, and he noted that they were "placed in a situation as debased to the human mind and infinitely worse as regards [to] physical suffering than the ordinary condition of the brute creation."

²⁴⁹ *Freedom's Journal*, May 9, 1828

²⁵⁰ Walker's *Appeal* image: <http://static.newworldencyclopedia.org/3/3c/Walkerappeal.gif>
Apess' *Sons of Forest* image:
http://openlibrary.org/books/OL6530012M/A_son_of_the_forest

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER 3

²⁵¹ Arica Coleman, *That the Blood Stay Pure: African Americans, Native Americans, and the Predicament of Race and Identity in Virginia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 5;

The original intention of the words regarding the meaning of "African or an Indian sun" is debatable. The digital version of Curran's defense was referenced. Accessed October 1, 2013. <http://www.bartleby.com/268/6/7.html>

Several references to Curran appear in the black press, which will be cited further later. For biographical insight about Curran and his references to his experiences as a member of the Irish Volunteers during the American Revolution and his sympathies he articulated for African Americans and Native Americans, refer to the following works: James Kelly, "John Philpot Curran, 1750–1817" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004). Accessed September 10, 2013.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/6/101006950/>

Kelly adds that "Curran was unable to secure Rowan's acquittal but his nuanced deconstruction of the charge against him was a masterpiece of forensic pleading as well as contextual extenuation for which he was rightly applauded.";

James Roderick O'Flanagan, *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland: From the Earliest Times to the Reign of Queen Victoria*, Vol. 2 (Longmans, Green, 1870), 220-1; Some of his references to "Indians" appear in this source in reference to indigenous Americans appear in other writings by Curran that were collected in the following work: William G. O'Regan, *Memoirs of the legal, literary, and political life of the late the Right Honourable John Philpot Curran* (London: James Harper, 1917), viii, 304. Accessed July 30, 2013.

<https://archive.org/details/memoirsoflegalli00oreg>

Finally, there is reference to how Curran's speech was used historically referring to the abolitionist movement appeared in the *New York Times*, November 20, 1862; One source of evidence for this idea is from a speech that will be described last section of this chapter by Elizabeth Wicks. She refers to Native Americans and hopes that the "Indian no more adore the sun" to refer to those who were not Christians. For the full references of her speech, refer to the following source: Elizabeth Wicks, *Address delivered before the African Female Benevolent Society of Troy on Wednesday, February 12, 1834* (Troy: R. Buckle, 1834), 6.

²⁵² *Colored American*, October 28, 1837.

²⁵³ Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York: Miller, Orton & Co, 1857) (Introduction by James McCune Smith), xxxi; The earliest edition of this narrative was published in 1855, but for referential purposes, I consulted the digital 1857 edition. Accessed September 8, 2013. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/douglass55/douglass55.html>

²⁵⁴ *Colored American*, October 28, 1837. After this line, Ransom Wakes noted that "A man's a man for that" to highlight the connections between race and gender. Black manhood during these years was quintessentially connected to the racial ideas, and that of defining one's status as free and as a citizen."

²⁵⁵ Douglass, xxxi; Accessed September 8, 2013. <https://archive.org/details/mybondageandmyf02douggoog>

²⁵⁶ This expression also appeared in *Frederick Douglass Paper* in two editions: December 24, 1852; November 24, 1854; Douglass, *My Bondage*, xxxi; Granville Gantor, "He Made Us Laugh Some': Frederick Douglass's Humor," in *African American Review*, 37:4 (Winter 2003): 540; Gantor incorrectly credits the origin of this phrase from the famous legal case, *Somerset v. Stewart* from 1772. Based on my research, the phrase is credited to John Philpot Curran's legal defense cited earlier. Gantor correctly notes that the phrases from the speech were cited by Harriet Beecher Stowe; Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1852), 252; However, Stowe chose the very next section of Curran's speech immediately following the reference to "Indian and African sun" as part of the epigraph for the chapter 37 of her work, which noted that, "No matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery, the moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the God sink together in the dust, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation. - Curran."

²⁵⁷ Ganter, 540; *Colored American*, November 16, 1839; This article noted that "the poetic prophecy of Curran is near its fulfillment."; According to Linda Kerber, white abolitionists also quoted Curran as noted in one example of an article from 1858 in the anti-slavery newspaper, *The Pennsylvania Freedmen*. Kerber cited this article to argue that it was a "hobby" of white abolitionists "to defend the cause of the oppressed and the poor, regardless of complexion of which an Indian or an African sun may have burned upon it."; Linda Kerber, "Abolitionist Perception of the Indian," *The Journal of American History* 62:2 (September 1975): 280; Her citation notes that this was reprinted in Mt. Pleasant (Ohio) *Philanthropist*. May 1, 1858. This newspaper was created in 1836 and originally named *The National Enquirer* and the editor was a Quaker named Benjamin Lundy. In 1838, it was renamed *The Pennsylvania Freeman* and the editor was John Greenleaf Whittier.

²⁵⁸ The "African or an Indian" phrase also appears in the black press in the 1850s in the *Provincial Freeman* newspaper on September 15, 1855 and April 25, 1857.

²⁵⁹ Kerber, 279; For additional insight, see Mary Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle Against Indian Removal in the 1830s," *The Journal of American History*. 86:1 (June 1999): 15-40. Hershberger argued that white reformers who were involved in opposing Indian Removal were prompted to "rethink their position on abolition and to reject African colonization in favor of immediatism," as by blacks on these issues have barely been considered.

²⁶⁰ In addition to Mia Bay and George Frederickson, other scholars who have explored the early racial science scholarship include the following works: Ann Fabian, *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America's Unburied Dead* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); Stephen Gould, "American Polygeny and Craniometry before Darwin: Blacks and Indians as Separate, Inferior Species" in *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1981), 62- 104.

²⁶¹ Margaret Abruzzo, *Polemical Pain: Slavery, Cruelty, and the Rise of Humanitarianism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 104; Jayne Ptolemy's "'Our Native soil:' Philadelphian Quakers and Geographies of Race, 1780-1838," (PhD Diss., Yale 2013), 210, n. 18.

²⁶² Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 106.

²⁶³ McHenry, 106.

²⁶⁴ Whipper countered such ideas on "racial names" in the *National Reformer*, a newspaper he edited during its short run from 1838-1839. It was published monthly from September 1838 to December 1839 (except in the summer months from June to August in 1838). The thirty-two page newspaper largely focused on local Philadelphia issues. The mission of this paper was to support the Philadelphia based organization, the American Moral Reform Society which was an organization largely comprised of black abolitionists, along with some white supporters. The naming of this organization was intentional, as Whipper believed that in order to be fully accepted as American, that such racial distinctions for the naming of newspapers and organizations should be considered. Comparatively, *The Colored American*, a four-page weekly newspaper, had a slightly longer run from 1837-1841 and addressed domestic and international issues.

²⁶⁵ *National Reformer*, October 1838 (page 29); Whipper noted the following: "It is full time we had become 'Americanized.' If you do not desire to be termed 'Africans' you must quit legalizing your institutions with that title. We desire to bring the practice into disrepute, by calling your institutions by the names you have chosen to adopt....Some may say the custom has become so interwoven in our institutions, that is impossible to eradicate it. Our advice is, form no more; and if you are dissatisfied with the names of existing ones, apply to the legislatures of the states in which you reside, for an alteration of your charters."

²⁶⁶ Rael, 49.

²⁶⁷ Joy Bryant, "Race Debates Among Nineteenth-Century Colored Reformers and Churchmen" (PhD Diss., Yale University, 1996), 13.

²⁶⁸ *Colored American*, March 15, 1838; Patrick Rael, *Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 109.

²⁶⁹ Rael, 109.

²⁷⁰ *The Colored American*, October 27, 1838.

²⁷¹ *The Colored American*, June 23, 1838. Another article from April 18, 1840 edition of the newspaper notes the following interesting update about the international circulation of

this work: "Dr. Channing's publications on Slavery have found their way to Cuba, and their contents are privately circulated in Spanish manuscripts. Many of the young professional men are abolitionists, and the literature of the island is becoming more and more favorable to the doctrine of human rights."

²⁷² In the original citation by Channing, there is no reference to Quasshi, which may have been a reference to a popular children's story, first printed in 1813 about a "degraded slave" named Quasshi. He is noted as a "dutiful slave," but eventually gets whipped by his slave master because he tries to run away. Once he confronts his slavemaster, instead of killing the slave master, he kills himself. This story parallels Channing's thoughts in Slavery about what he views of as the moral character of blacks. *The Story of Idris: Together with the Story of Quashi; The desperate negro. To which is added, Arachne and Melissa; or, The art of happiness. A The little moralist* (Newburyport: W. & J. Gilman, 1813). This book is actually a collected set of children's stories housed at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

²⁷³ Two articles from 1839, five articles in 1840 and seven articles in 1841.

²⁷⁴ Tiya Miles, "His Kingdom for a Kiss: Indians and Intimacy in the Narrative of John Marrant," in *Haunted by Empire: Race and Colonial Intimacies in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 167-168; For additional context, see Alvin Tillery, "Tocqueville as Critical Race Theorist: Whiteness as Property, Interest Convergence, and the Limits of Jacksonian Democracy," *Political Research Quarterly* 62:4 (December 2009): 639-652; In one passage of the book, de Tocqueville writes about his visit Alabama which he witnesses the relationship between a Creek woman and an enslaved African American woman. He also writes about Indian Removal the "doomed fate" of Indians and ill-fated blacks, and how both races were excluded from society. The four editorials published from January to May 1841 in the *Colored American* specifically critiqued of Chapter 18 of de Tocqueville's work, specifically the third section subtitled, "Situation of the Black Race in the United States: Dangers Entailed for the Whites by Its Presence." The unnamed newspaper writer noted that "the errors of Tocqueville are generally in statement, he is too keen a dialectician often to be betrayed into an unsound deduction." The specific issue that the writer analyzed pertained to Tocqueville's comparisons drawn between Roman slavery and the institution of slavery in the American South, which the writer argued are incomparable.

²⁷⁵ Britt Rusert, "Types of Mankind: Visualizing Kinship in Afro-Native America," *Common-Place* 13:1 (October 2012). Accessed July 19, 2012. <http://www.common-place.org/vol-13/no-01/tales/>; Additionally, for further context, consult Ann Fabian, *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America's Unburied Dead* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

²⁷⁶ De Tocqueville's work was first translated into English by Harvey Reeve in 1835, although published in French in two volumes, first in 1835 and then in 1840.

²⁷⁷ Bay, 44-46.

²⁷⁸ Rusert, Accessed July 19, 2012. <http://www.common-place.org/vol-13/no-01/tales/>

²⁷⁹ James W. C. Pennington, *A Text Book of the Origin and History of the Colored People* (Hartford: L. Skinner, 1841), 42-43. Accessed January 14, 2014. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/egyptomania/searchegypt.php?function=detail&articleid=41&keyword=james%20pennington>

Additionally, see references drawing links between treatment of Africans and Native Americans in Hosea Easton's "A Treatise on the intellectual character, and civil and political condition of the colored people of the U. States : and the prejudice exercised towards them : with a sermon on the duty of the church to them" (1837) cited in Hosea Easton, George Price, and James Stewart, *To Heal the Scourge of Prejudice: The Life and Writings of Hosea Easton* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 84, 96.

²⁸⁰ Pennington, 42-43.

²⁸¹ *Colored American*, January 14, 1838.

²⁸² *The North Star*, April 7, 1848.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Hershberger, 36-7; Nicholas Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607-1877* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 211.

²⁸⁵ *The Liberator*, May 30, 1838.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ *The Colored American*, April 22, 1837.

²⁸⁸ Craig D. Townsend, *Faith in Their Own Color: Black Episcopalians in Antebellum New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 1-30.

²⁸⁹ Maureen Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 153. Some readers may also speculate that this unnamed Indian lecturer could have been either Black Hawk or Keokuk, who were brought with George Caitlin in 1837 to confirm the accuracy of his portraits of Indians that appeared in New York that year which opened what he called the "Indian Galley" in New York. However, there aren't any sources to confirm that they delivered lectures, while Apess was a well-known lecturer during this time.

²⁹⁰ Robert Warrior, *The People and the Word: Reading Native Nonfiction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 23.

²⁹¹ William Apes (or Apess), *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts Relative to the Marshpee Tribe: or, The Pretended Riot Explained* (Boston: Jonathan Howe, 1835). Accessed January 3, 2014.
<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/12486/pg12486.html>

²⁹² Donald Smith, *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 180.

²⁹³ Donald Smith, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) & the Mississauga Indians* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1988), x.

²⁹⁴ Donald Smith, 3-32. If the speaker was either Apess or Jones, we also do not know the subject matter of his lecture.

²⁹⁵ *North Star*, March 16, 1849.

²⁹⁶ The report noted that it was reprinted from the *Morning Star* newspaper. For more information on Douglass delivering a speech at the Tabernacle on May 11, 1849, close the date that Copway delivers his speech, refer to the following source: Robert K. Wallace, *Douglass And Melville: Anchored Together in Neighborly Style* (New Bedford, MA: Spinner Publications Inc., 2005), 6, 35.

²⁹⁷ *North Star*, May 25, 1849.

²⁹⁸ Donald Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*, 164-211; *North Star*, May 25, 1849. The reference in this newspaper reported that "Copway] said that there was no courtship done by the young people; that it was done by the parents before hand, and it often came rather against the grain of the young people. When the day came, the ceremony was performed by the chief, consisting of a lecture to the young couple, and a feast, after which they were considered as man and wife. But among the tribes of the West, there are many very curious ceremonies connected with the courtship and marriage. One way of getting a wife was as follows: When a young Indian fell in love with any of the daughters of the village, he would go and sit down within a few yards of her, keeping a strict silence all the while; in a few moments he would get up and go away, this he repeated six or seven times coming nearer to her every time. At last he comes and sits by her side, if she makes no movement of displeasure then he has hopes. He sits by her several times in this manner, and at last pops the question by putting his hand on her hand, and she accepts him by putting her hand over the two. All this time he takes care not to say a word, and she likewise; but after the question is popped, then the "words of honey" are applied, and they soon become man and wife."

²⁹⁹ Mary Young, "Racism in Red and Black: Indians and Other Free People of Color in Georgia Law, Politics, and Removal Policy," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 73:3 (Fall 1989): 483.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Donald Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*, 190-1. This work includes an extensive biographical sketch about Copway. Despite the fact that Copway critiqued William Crawford's proposal, Copway was already married to an Englishwoman, Elizabeth Howell, he experienced racial discrimination from whites. Copway documented some of these experiences in his 1847 biography, *The Life, History, and Travels of Kah-ge-gah-bowh (George Copway)*. Throughout the 1840s, Copway lectured widely about his fears that the Indian race would be destroyed. In his proposed effort to counter this objective, he wanted the United States to provide permanent land the American northwest for indigenous people from Upper Canada (he called Kahgega).

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Reportedly, whites and blacks left arm in arm while the building burned and faced jeers and torture. Such mob violence directed towards abolitionists was commonplace during these years, including countless number of attacks directed against free black abolitionists in the North, and directed towards white abolitionists, including a mob attack of William Garrison that occurred in Boston in 1835. For further information, see Beverly Tomek, *Pennsylvania Hall: A "Legal Lynching" in the Shadow of the Liberty Bell* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 102

³⁰⁴ Ibid.; Margaret Hope Bacon, *But One Race: The Life of Robert Purvis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 68, 70. Bacon notes that Garrison critiqued the fact that weren't any black speakers on the platform, and highlighted the prejudices inherent in this fact. However, there were blacks in the audience. In particular, blacks in the audience were "pummeled" once the mob attacks occurred at the Hall. The reason for the mob was a combination of being incensed by the call for immediate abolitionism, and fears of amalgamation between whites and blacks.

³⁰⁵ Bacon, 66-73.

³⁰⁶ Gary E. Moulton, *John Ross, Cherokee Chief* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 93.

³⁰⁷ *Colored American*, June 23, 1838; *The Liberator*, March 30, 1838. The reference may be the antislavery book published in London, Samuel Roberts, *The Tocsin: Or, Slavery the Curse of Christendom* (Sheffield, England: J. Blackwell, 1825).

³⁰⁸ The Seminole Wars are defined as "total wars" that included the capture of Native American women. For further context, see Christina Snyder, "Seminoles and African

Americans," *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 213-243.

³⁰⁹ *Colored American*, April 12, 1838.

³¹⁰ Later, Gaines was involved in the southwest military division of the United States in 1836. During the Texas Revolution, there were threats that the Cherokees would interfere with the Texas bid for political independence, which is what this news story may have been highlighting. For brief biographic information, refer to the following: Thomas W. Cutrer, "Edmund Pendleton Gaines." *The Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed September 15, 2013.

<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fga03>

³¹¹ *Colored American*, December 1, 1838.

³¹² Jerry L. Faight, "Evan Jones." *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*. Accessed September 15, 2013.

<http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/J/JO019.html>

³¹³ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Aunt Eliza of Tahlequah" *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 9: 1 (March, 1931): references to Jesse Busyhead. Accessed September 15, 2013.

<http://digital.library.okstate.edu/chronicles/v009/v009p043.html>

³¹⁴ *Colored American*, August 22, 1840.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ *Colored American*, August 3, 1839.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ *Colored American*, February 3, 1838.

³¹⁹ *Colored American*, February 10, 1838.

³²⁰ *Colored American*, December 26, 1840.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² *Colored American*, March 27, 1841.

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ *Colored American*, March 27th, April 3rd, 10th, 17th, and 24th in 1841. His speeches were also later printed in another black newspaper, *Provincial Freeman*, in 1857 which published in Ontario, Canada.

³²⁵ These sentiments echoed the editorial from the *Freedom's Journal* from the prior decade when the editor John Russwurm accounted for the federal funds spent on the Creek Indians instead of the spending funds on enslaved Blacks. *Freedom's Journal*, April 13, 1827.

³²⁶ Robert Purvis, *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens, Threatened with Disfranchisement, to the People of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, Printers, 1838), 9. Thanks to Krystal Appiah, Curator of African American History and Reference Librarian at the Library Company of Philadelphia for introducing me to this particular reference to Indians in this source.

³²⁷ For further political context, see Nicholas Wood, "'A Sacrifice on the Altar of Slavery:' Doughface Politics and Black Disenfranchisement in Pennsylvania, 1837–1838," *Journal of the Early Republic* 31:1 (Spring 2011): 75-106.

³²⁸ John Weldon Scott, *African Americans of Harrisburg* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 7.

³²⁹ All the references that appear in paragraph above this footnote all come from source which includes the references to the memory of the Harris incident gained through talking to his descendants in 1828 from the following source: George Hallenbrooke Morgan, *Annals, Comprising Memoirs, Incidents and Statistics of Harrisburg: From the Period of Its First settlement; For the past, the present and the future* (Harrisburg: Geo. A. Brooks, 1858), 10-11.

³³⁰ This idea is informed by Phil Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

³³¹ One such text that examines this phenomenon is the following work: Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and the U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1982); According to Alan Trachtenberg, while the Native American population certainly had precipitously declined, even by the mid-eighteenth century, the paradigm suggests that it also became a "rationale for the nation's refusal to meet tribes halfway on common ground" particularly in the 1830s and 1840s. Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 9.

³³² The Library Company of Philadelphia, *Annual Report* (1993), 21. This text also mentions Douglass also painted other historical images, such as "Washington Crossing the Delaware" (See page 20). The writers of the *Annual Report* suggest that Emanuel Leutze saw Douglass' painting in 1832, and may have copied his later famous painting of

Washington from Douglass. There is no known familial relationship between Robert Douglass, Jr. and Frederick Douglass.

³³³ Martina Dickerson, a free African American abolitionist in Philadelphia, was the author of one of three known friendship albums known to exist today. For further context, see Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 140; These albums, located in the Library Company of Philadelphia, document "the intimate connections of Philadelphia's black leaders with a larger network of activists and reformers." Library Company of Philadelphia, Press Release, "Rare 19th-Century African American Women's Friendship Albums Online," Accessed September 18, 2013. <http://www.librarycompany.org/about/press/Cassey%20and%20Dickerson%20Press%20Release%206-6-12.pdf>

³³⁴ For further context, see Walter Johnson. *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom*. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2013). Johnson examined the significance of steamboats for the expansion of slavery. This friendship album image, and other references to steamboats made by black and white writers examined later in this chapter. I illuminate the fact that steamboats can be considered as symbolically representing the intersections between the fate of both African Americans and Native Americans during the 1830s and 1840s.

³³⁵ Thanks to Library Company of Philadelphia former reference librarian, Phillip Lapansky, for bringing this source to my attention. Accessed September 18, 2013. <http://gigi.mwa.org/netpub/server.np?find&catalog=catalog&template=detail.np&field=itimid&op=matches&value=22317&site=public>
The original image by John Gadsby Chapman can be viewed online during the digital collection of the American Antiquarian Society. <http://gigi.mwa.org/netpub/server.np?find&catalog=catalog&template=detail.np&field=itimid&op=matches&value=22317&site=public>

³³⁶ Mannitto is the term to describe the Great Spirit of Lennape Indians.

³³⁷ Martina Dickinson, Friendship Album; Goodrich, S. G., ed. *Token Book*, 1838. (Boston: American Stationer, 1839).

³³⁸ *Ibid.*; Douglass dates his entry in 1841.

³³⁹ The Missouri Compromise is discussed in the *National Reformer*, December 1838 edition. The article noted that the "constitution being submitted to congress, the article excluding colored citizens was deemed, by the House of Representatives, a violation of the national compact, and that body refused to receive Missouri into the Union. A compromise was at last agreed to, and Congress admitted Missouri on the express condition that the offensive clause should never authorize any law by which any citizen of any of the states should be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and

immunities to which such citizen is entitled by the constitution of the United States; and that the legislature of Missouri should, by a solemn act, declare their assent to this condition. The legislature passed the act required, and thereupon the state became a member of the Union."

³⁴⁰ One of Ray's influences may have been the popular nineteenth-century play, "Metamora, or the Last of the Wampanoags." Metamora was King Phillip's actual Wampanoag Indian name. This play was performed in 1829 and portrayed King Phillip as a "tragic hero" of the past. Another source of familiarity for Ray knowing about the history of King Phillip may have been the recent publication of a lecture in 1836, *A Eulogy on King Phillip*, by a contemporary Native American intellectual figure, William Apess. The intention of Apess' work was to portray King Phillip in a more heroic image to serve as contemporary inspiration for Indians in the aftermath of the Mashpee Revolt (1833-4), a fight against the state of Massachusetts for Indian sovereignty. It should also be noted that Apess claimed to be of African descent and a descendant of King Phillip. According to a bibliographic entry about Apess' works, the *Eulogy* is described as follows: "to rehabilitate King Philip's reputation and draw attention to the wrongs committed by "pilgrims" upon "Indians" is a dominant theme. At a time when most Americans remembered King Philip as the cruel and treacherous leader of a Native American rebellion, Apess turned the accepted history of the war on its head, calling Philip 'the greatest man that was ever in America.'" Accessed October 7, 2013. <http://www.memorialhall.mass.edu/collection/itempage.jsp?itemid=6003>

³⁴¹ The letter is dated on May 18, 1840, but appeared in the *Colored American*, June 6, 1840 edition.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ *The Colored American*, February 10, 1841. This article was reprinted from an article featured in *The Cleveland Herald* that was originally printed on July 7, 1841.

³⁴⁴ *The Colored American*, July 18, 1840.

³⁴⁵ Benjamin Fagan, "Americans as They Really Are: The *Colored American* and the Illustration of National Identity," *American Periodicals* 21: 2 (September 2011): 112

³⁴⁶ The history that inspired the painting by West is referenced in an article that appeared in the *National Reformer* black-edited newspaper out of Philadelphia. The writer "E.L." wrote a long two-part entry noted as "A letter from a Friend" which was entitled "Universal Liberty" to document his opposition slavery based on biblical grounds. In one section, "Remarks on the Opinion of the Supreme Court on the Rights of Colored Persons in relation to Suffrage," he takes on the issue of disenfranchisement policies in Pennsylvania by analyzing the Constitution, and colonial laws defining "freeman" who had the right of suffrage. He specifically refers to the foundational principles of law from William Penn's 1675 treatise entitled, *England's Present Interest Considered* in the

following passage: "That is liberty where the laws govern the people are parties to the law. That [William Penn's] scheme of policy did not limit his justice to persons of his own color, is manifest from his care to extend it to the Indians. The provision, that disputes which might arise, in relation to property between natives and new settlers, should be adjusted by six of the former and the same number of the later, is an evidence of his liberality towards that class of his fellow men. The measures which he promoted to improve the condition of the negroes in the province, both by word and religious instruction, and by legislative acts, sufficiently prove that he had no disposition to treat them as outcasts of society. In his description of those who were to be accounted freeman, according to the sense in which he used the word, there is no exception on account of color; therefore, we have no authority for supposing that any was intended." While this interpretation of Penn's legal history considering the state's charter in relationship with Indians and blacks appears in the *National Reformer*, the editors of the *Colored American*. The egalitarian analysis of Penn described in the latter newspaper may certainly be one possible interpretation for why the image was reprinted in the former newspaper. Of course, there could have been various interpretations of what this painting of Indians meant to black viewers in the *Colored American* who saw the image. The reprinting of the painting in the black newspaper may have been used to signal the fact that Penn was noted to be someone who was viewed as someone who tried to initiate peaceful negotiate with Native Americans; hence, the sense of hope for African American viewers of such a painting may have been that the negotiations for freedom and anti-discrimination which blacks desired.

For more context, see *The Colored American*, July 18, 1840; *National Reformer*, November 1838; Benjamin Fagan, "Americans as They Really Are: The *Colored American* and the Illustration of National Identity" *American Periodicals*. 21: 2 (September 2011): 112.

³⁴⁷ Robert Tilton, *Pocahantas: The evolution of an American Narrative* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-8.

³⁴⁸ While the identity of "Libertas" is unknown, we also do not know his racial identity. He may be a white agent for *The Colored American*. His letters, starting in 1839, but mostly printed in 1841, included various critiques of the government and demonstrated an ability to gain access to various spaces in Washington, DC where political debates occurred, which would have been highly unlikely for a black person to do in Washington, DC, particularly given the high physical risks of kidnapping and the geographic proximity to slave states. Furthermore, unlike some of the other writings that appear in *The Colored American*, his discussions of blacks does not use any pronouns to indicate that he is racially a member of "the colored people."

³⁴⁹ Another brief reference to this painting appeared in *The Colored American*, July 31, 1841 edition which reprinted this entry from a Mormon newspaper, *Zion's Watchman*. It is a letter to "Brother Sunderland" (La Roy Sunderland) who was an abolitionist and

editor of *Zion's Watchman* from 1835-1842. The reprinted title of the letter is a "Letter from the South."

³⁵⁰ For further context on this history, refer to Camilla Townsend, *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2004).

³⁵¹ John Gadsby Chapman. Baptism of Pocahontas. Oil on canvas 12' x 18' 1839; Placed 1840 Rotunda U.S. Capitol. Accessed October 12, 2013. <http://www.aoc.gov/capitol-hill/historic-rotunda-paintings/baptism-pocahontas>

³⁵² Armstrong Archer, *A Compendium of Slavery as it exists in the United States* (London: J. Haddon, 1844). Accessed July 20, 2013. <https://archive.org/details/compendiumofslav02arch>

³⁵³ Arica Coleman, *That the Blood Stay Pure*, 21-41.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Archer, Title page.

³⁵⁶ Robert Tilton, 95; Antonio Capellano. Preservation of Captain Smith by Pocahontas, 1606. Sandstone 1825 Capitol Rotunda, (above west door); George Watterston. *A Picture of Washington: Giving a Description of all the Public Buildings*. (Washington, DC: William M. Morrison, 1840), 22.

³⁵⁷ Coleman, 21-31; Coleman highlights that there are only two other scholars, other than herself, who have published analysis about Archer's memoir. For more on Armstrong Archer, see Abraham Chapman, *Steal Away: Stories of the Runaway Slaves* (New York: Praeger, 1971), 39-45; Frederic Gleach, "A Traditional Story in the Powhatan Indians Recorded in the Early 19th Century," in *Papers of the Twenty-third Algonquian Conference*. ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1992), 234-43; Coleman analyzes that Chapman chooses to focus on Archer's African ancestry, while Gleach focuses on in Indian ancestry. Coleman asserts that the text should be considered an Afro-Indian narrative, in the same vein as many other similar sources that account for ancestral connections between some African Americans and Native Americans.

³⁵⁸ Archer, 10.

³⁵⁹ Archer cites "Thatcher's Indian Biography" which is a series of historical books published from approximately 1832 to 1844 by Benjamin Bussy Thatcher. He names the other source as "Stith's History" which is the history of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia by William Stith first published in 1747.

³⁶⁰ Armstrong, 11-12

³⁶¹ Erica Dunbar, 105-6; Elizabeth McHenry, 63-4; Forten also used another name, "Ada" as a pseudonym in other newspaper articles.

³⁶² *The Liberator*, March 26, 1831.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, February 12 and March 18, 1852.

³⁶⁶ John Stauffer, *The Works of James McCune Smith* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), xxxi, 90-93; Michael T. Gilmore, "The Literature of the Revolutionary and Early National Periods" in *The Cambridge History of American Literature: Volume One: 1590-1820*. ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 661-75.

³⁶⁷ Four advertisements for Seneca Cough Syrup appear in the *Colored American* newspaper on the following dates: December 16, 1837; December 23, 1837; September 29, 1838; and March 22, 1838.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ I have consulted with Seneca historian, Dr. Alyssa Mt. Pleasant from the University of Buffalo on November 9, 2013 to inquire about this source, and reference librarians at New York Historical Society. At this time, no further information can be provided on context of these advertisements to determine if there is any actual connection to Seneca Indians, or if it Seneca Indians were being symbolically used to market the cough syrup.

³⁷⁰ The "playing Indian" term is a reference to the concept and book title by Philip Deloria's book title, *Playing Indian*, cited earlier. His overall thesis is that throughout American history, Americans have "played Indian" at times to invoke stereotypical thoughts about Native Americans. However, he does not insert how African Americans have done this, and mainly is discussing the binaries of "white/Indian" relationships in his evidence, such as from whites who dressed up wearing Native American regalia to initiate the Boston Tea Party, or later in the twentieth-century regarding the sports mascot controversies pertaining to the use of Native American images.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² *Freedom's Journal*, June 2, 1827.

³⁷³ Ibid.; The advertisement added that she "also [had] a remedy for growing in of the toe nails, for oppression of the lungs, felons, fistulas, and the bite of a mad dog."

³⁷⁴ References to Sara (sometimes noted as Sarah) Green are from the following sources: Frankie Hutton, *Early Black Press* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 75; Juliet E. K. Walker, *The History of Black Business in America: Capitalism, Race, Entrepreneurship, Vol. I to 1865*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 181. Green would later appear again in an advertisement that would be in the later newspaper that Samuel Cornish edited, *The Rights of All*, in 1829.

³⁷⁵ Deloria, *Playing Indian*.

³⁷⁶ *Freedom's Journal*. July 20, 1827.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ *New York Evening Post*, 1832; *New York Tribune*, September 12, 1842; One article in the *Tribune* (February 5, 1859) lists that there was a Dr. Thomas Thorp who had been a physician and chemist for forty years for the Shakers, and that his medications were exclusively created from vegetables, so it is unsure if this may be the reference. However, most references noted in New York newspapers are from Dr. H.C. Thorp. Yet the address doesn't match up for what is noted in the *Freedom's Journal* which lists his offices at 16 Collect St. unless he moved his office later to 130 Greenwich Lane, which is the address that appears most often in the *Tribune*. Additionally, it should be noted that Sarah Green's offices are noted as being located at 21 Collect Street, and so it is coincidental that the offices were nearby.

³⁷⁹ Sharla Fett, *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002): 63, 98. Her work focuses on the antebellum south, and she later notes that "despite the restrictions that slave society places on the ability of African Americans, these discreet visits illuminated the boundaries of neighborhood slave communities that reached beyond individual plantations and incorporated free blacks and Native Americans as well. Sharing these community boundaries, conjure doctors drew on their knowledge to address the social basis of their clients' afflictions."

³⁸⁰ For Jameson and Thorp articles, refer to the digital archives, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Accessed July 2, 2012; <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>
For the Green article, refer to digital Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A Transnational Archive. Accessed July 2, 2012. <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/history/slavery-and-antislavery-a-transnational-archive.aspx>

³⁸¹ Judith Fetterley, "Commentary: Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers and the Politics of Recovery," *American Literary History* 6:3 (Autumn 1994): 608. She adds that rather "to suggest that nineteenth-century white and black women writers emerge from and represent in their works complex combinations of privilege and disadvantage, of acceptance and critique, and that therefore how we construct these writers as

complicit, as resistant, or as some combination of these positions is a *choice* we make on grounds essentially political."

³⁸² Richard Newman, Patrick Rael, and Phillip Lapansky, eds. *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African American Protest Literature, 1790-1860* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 122. Maria Stewart is considered the first woman to deliver a public address to a mixed audience of men and women.

³⁸³ Ibid.; Maria Stewart was part of the Black Boston free black elite. She was married James Stewart at African Meeting House in Boston by Baptist minister, Thomas Paul.

³⁸⁴ Sandra Gustafson, "Prophesying the Multiracial Republic," in *Imagining Deliberative Democracy in the Early American Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011): 125-51.

³⁸⁵ Newman, Rael and Lapansky, 130; Craig Wilder, *In The Company Of Black Men: The African Influence on African American Culture in New York City* (New York: New York University, 2001), 58; Wilder notes that "the roots of Wesleyan antislavery were in the Protestant ethic. It reflected a belief that moral people could demonstrate their spiritual submission to daily labor."

³⁸⁶ See the idea of Puritan republicanism from Maureen Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 135; Gustafson, 251, n. 50.

³⁸⁷ Elizabeth Wicks, *Address delivered before the African Female Benevolent Society of Troy on Wednesday, February 12, 1834* (Troy: R. Buckle, 1834), 6; Thanks to Krystal Appiah, Curator of African American History and Reference Librarian at the Library Company of Philadelphia for introducing me to this source. Her speech was actually an introduction to eulogy of Mrs. Jane Lansing, a white abolitionist who was likely to be one of the only white members of AFBS which served various functions as a mutual aid society, literary and reading society for black women in Troy. Newman, Rael and Lapansky, 114. After the eulogy in the text appeared the annual report for AFBS Troy group.

³⁸⁸ Shirley Yee, *Black Women's Abolitionists: Study In Activism, 1828-1860* (Knoxville: University Tennessee Press, 1992), 78, 172 n. 78; Yee explained the same statement by Wicks and states that many women who "participated in black female charitable societies did so out of a sense of Christian duty, as missionaries for the materially and spiritually poor, regardless of race."

³⁸⁹ Jarena Lee, *Religious experience and journal of Mrs. Jarena Lee, giving an account of her call to preach the gospel* (Philadelphia, Published By and For the Author, 1849), 14-15. Accessed October 25, 2013. <https://archive.org/details/religiousexperio00leegoog>

³⁹⁰ Lee, 31; All the quotes above in this paragraph appear from this page. Lee, 50-51, 59; It must also be noted that Lee also references another brief encounter with a Native American family in Ohio in the 1830s; Carla Peterson, *Doers of the Word: African American Women Speakers and Writers in the North, 1830-1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 86. .

³⁹¹ No specific tribal affiliation appears to be known about Plato. Elleanor Eldridge was born in Warwick, Rhode Island and her alleged father, Robin Eldridge, was of African descent, and her mother Hannah Prophet, was Native American mother. This information is documented in the summary of her work *Memoirs of Elleanor Eldridge* (Providence: B.T. Albro, 1838). <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/eldridge/summary.html> (Accessed November 20, 2013). For further information about Eldridge, see Jennifer D. Brody and Sharon Holland, "An/Other Case of New England Underwriting: Negotiating Race and Property in Memoirs of Elleanor Eldridge," in *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country*. eds. Tiya Miles and Sharon Holland (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 31-56.

Jocelyn Moody, "Frances Whipple, Elleanor Eldridge, and the Politics of Interracial Collaboration," *American Literature* 63:4 (December 2011): 689-717.

³⁹² Ann Plato, *Essays: Including Biographies and Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose and Poetry*, Introduction by Kenny J. Williams. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 60.

³⁹³ Ann Allen Shockley, eds. "Ann Plato" in *Afro-American Women Writers, 1746-1933* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1988), 26-28. Kenny J. Williams, introduction to *Essays*, by Ann Plato, 1988. Williams noted that Plato's "attitude toward Africa appears in an essay entitled "Education" in which she commends those Christian missionaries who were willing to forsake the comforts of home in order to take "a message of love to the burning clime of Africa."

³⁹⁴ Plato, 110.

³⁹⁵ Plato, xlix.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid*, n.b.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER 4

³⁹⁷ The expression for the title's chapter comes from the legal case of John Bolding cited in *Frederick Douglass' Papers*, September 4, 1851 which will be discussed in section two of the chapter.

³⁹⁸ *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, December 1, 1854. Original source cited is the *Southern (S.C.) Patriot* newspaper. This article appears to be widely circulated, and was also reprinted in *The Daily Globe* November, 29, 1854 of Washington, DC and *The Alton Weekly Courier* from Illinois on November 30, 1854. Accessed December 3, 2013. <http://www.newspapers.com/newspage/19777448/>

³⁹⁹ *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, December 1, 1854. The quotes from this paragraph all appear in this source.

⁴⁰⁰ There were actually two governors over the course of Lucy's case noted in the article, namely John Hugh Means during his time in office (1850-1852) and the succeeding governor John Lawrence Manning (1852-1854).

⁴⁰¹ The newspapers reported the link to Horseshoe Bend, which would age Junaluska to be about 80 years old by 1854. He was born around 1775 and died in 1868. Accessed February 9, 2014. <https://archive.org/details/junaluska00mccu> Maude McCulloch, *Junaluska*. (Atlanta, GA: Byrd Printing Co.) 1916. Accessed February 8, 2014; If, in fact, it is the same person as reported in the newspaper, the story about his life was part of a legend that he apparently saved the life of Jackson in war with the Creeks who were aligned with France, and becomes a war hero. However, the legend and oral history notes that Junaluska said by the time of the forced march of 1838 when Jackson broke the peace treaty that "If I had known Jackson would drive us from our homes, I would have killed him that day at Horseshoe." Accessed October 20, 2013. http://www.ashevilleguidebook.com/wnc/cultural-attractions/junaluska_memorial_&_museum.htm

⁴⁰² The report adds that Junaluska notes that the girl "is as much like her mother as her mother's sister's children." However, we can also speculate that this may not prove her racial identity, as she could have potentially been enslaved Black girl who may have been viewed as kin. According to scholars who study Indian captivity practices, one can assume that potentially, this girl may not have been the same girl, since within many indigenous captivity practices, claiming a captive does not always have to be same person, but is sometimes a replacement for a captive who was taken. For one example of context, see Tiya Miles. *House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story: A Cherokee Plantation Story*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010): 59; It must be noted that Junaluska is one of a several Cherokees to relocate to North Carolina from Indian Territory. By 1847, the state legislature granted him citizenship and land near present-day Robbinsville, North Carolina because of his military service decades earlier
McCulloch, *Junaluska*, 16. Accessed December 9, 2013. <https://archive.org/details/junaluska00mccu>

⁴⁰³ *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, December 1, 1854; In the article, he is noted as Dr. R.D. Gibbes, but it is highly likely that it should be R.W. Gibbes based on what is noted on the

article and biographical information. Edgar, Walter. ed. *South Carolina Encyclopedia* (online edition) Accessed June 28, 2012. <http://www.scencyclopedia.org/gibbes.htm> According to one scholar, Gibbes "was also Columbia's foremost authority on science and culture. He was a nationally recognized expert on American paleontology and... [was] an obsessive collector of scientific specimens.'

Brian Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotype," in *American Art* (Summer 1995): 44; Regarding the history of the significance of Harvard professor, Louis Agassiz, he changed his initial idea of the origins of the human species initially as a "single origin or monogenesis approach" but then by about 1850, he believed that "Negroes were a separate species" after visiting Samuel Morton in Philadelphia to see his collection of skulls. Potentially, Gibbes got these skulls for Lucy's case from Morton; Lee Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998): 16.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. December 1, 1854. The article is reprinted from the *Southern (S.C.) Patriot*. The exact age if Lucy is unknown.

⁴⁰⁶ Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998): 144; It should be noted that the slave population of South Carolina had exploded during this time. By 1830, there were approximately 1,500 enslaved African Americans in Columbia, SC, and this population grew to 3,300 by 1860.

⁴⁰⁷ Sojourner Truth, *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth* ed. Olive Gilbert (Boston: The Author, 1850): 81-87 [in chapter entitled "Gleanings"]. Accessed November 10, 2013. <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/truth/1850/1850.html>

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.; Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner: A Life, A Symbol* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), 5-6; Biographer Nell Painter reminds us that Truth was born Isabella Van Wegenen in Ulster County, New York, where the original inhabitants were the Waroneck (Mohawk) Indians prior to Dutch settlers displacing them. However, many Indians remained in this region and oftentimes intermarried with many enslaved Africans. Painter also informed us later that after the Civil War, Truth wanted the government to allot western land for resettlement of refugee freedpeople still unemployed in Washington, DC" and that "her model was the Indian reservation" (Painter, 234).

⁴⁰⁹ Truth, 44-46. All quotations in this paragraph appear from these pages.

⁴¹⁰ Josiah Henson, *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself*. (Boston: A. D. Phelps, 1849):1-2. Accessed November 10, 2013. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/henson49/summary.html>

⁴¹¹ Henson, 35.

⁴¹² Henson, 53-55.

⁴¹³ Henson, 54.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ After he and his family settled in Canada, Henson helped to establish the British American Institute, a manual training school, and there is evidence that the school enrolled Native Americans. The school was founded in 1842 and was located near Dresden, Western District, Canada West, Province of Canada, as part of the Dawn Settlement, a community of fugitive slaves. The school was funded by British abolitionists. The school reportedly included a rope factory, brickyard, sawmill, grain mill, and a blacksmith shop. The institute was a school for all ages designed to provide a general education and teacher training. It was taken over by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1849. The school closed down in 1868. The site of the school is encompassed today by the Uncle Tom's Cabin Historic Site. Accessed November 15, 2013. <http://www.heritagetrust.on.ca/Uncle-Tom-s-Cabin-Historic-Site/About-Uncle-Tom-s-Cabin-Historic-Site.aspx>

In the June 24, 1852 edition of Frederick Douglass' Paper, there appears a letter by black abolitionist William Wells Brown. When he wrote it, he was living with his family in London. He had been there for several years to avoid being captured under the Fugitive Slave Law.

In Wells' letter, he asked Douglass if he knew where the school was located in Canada. He explained that Josiah Henson had collected funds in London for this school. He noted that he believed that "there are not fugitives enough [but] it is to accommodate Indians. Brown adds that "for all who know anything about Canada are aware that the colored people are a scattered state" and he critiques Henson for not hiring black teachers to teach or manage the school, but instead, a man from England was brought to "overlook the new school."

Brown's letter is the only known source in the historical record detailing this information about the school's student body. However, we can imagine that if, in fact, this school included indigenous students, that their admission to the school could be linked to Henson's positive impressions about Indians that he wrote about in his memoir.

⁴¹⁸ John Brown, *A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Now in England*. Louis Alexis Chamerovzow, ed. (London: W. M. Watts, 1854), 93. Accessed November 10, 2013. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/jbrown/jbrown.html>

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.; *Provincial Freeman*, November 10, 1855; One brief article entitled "Annexation to Canada" was printed which noted that "Besides the thistles, and the 40,000 fugitives, and the Indians, and the furrin folks, there's a awful slew of Native Canadians, and their motto is, "Canada for Canadians!" and they mean to die in that faith, so you can hush up cousin Dem; you don't know beans."

⁴²⁰ Henson, 164.

⁴²¹ Henry Goings, *Rambles of a Runaway from Southern Slavery* eds. Calvin Schermerhorn, Michael Plunkett, and Edward Gaynor (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 19-20; Goings' account have not been fully explored in terms of his perceptions of Cherokee slaveholding, particularly since his narrative was recently discovered in 2006 when a rare books collector sold an original copy of his narrative to the University of Virginia. Although Goings' narrative was published in 1869, as opposed to the 1850s as other narratives in this chapter, it similarly documents the earlier decades; hence I incorporated my analysis of his narrative in this chapter.

⁴²² Goings, 19-20.

⁴²³ Ibid., 20 n. 20. Goings traveled nearly 400 miles between his plantation in Tennessee in Humphrey's County to Milledgeville, Georgia. While he does not explicitly mention this, we must remember the fact that the Diamond Hill plantation owned by one of the leading Cherokee slaveholders, James Vann, was located nearly at the half way point in between where Goings was enslaved and where he travelled with his slaveowner in Georgia.

For further information, see both works by Tiya Miles, *Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

Reportedly by 1820, 44 percent of Cherokees in Georgia were slave owners of African Americans. For further context on the history of Cherokee slaveholding, refer to the following works: Fay Yarbrough, *Race and The Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth-Century*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Celia Naylor, *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Theda Perdue, "Cherokee Planters: The Development of Plantation Slavery before Removal," in *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History*. ed. Duane H. King. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 110-28; Daniel Littlefield, *The Cherokee Freedmen: From Emancipation to American Citizenship* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1978).

⁴²⁴ Patrick E. Horn, "Summary" of Solomon Northrup's *12 Years a Slave: Narrative of Solomon Northup, a Citizen of New-York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and*

Rescued in 1853 (Auburn, NY: Derby and Miller, 1853). Accessed October 15, 2013.
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/northup/summary.html>

⁴²⁵ Solomon Northrup, *12 Years a Slave: Narrative of Solomon Northrup, a Citizen of New-York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and Rescued in 1853* (Auburn, NY: Derby and Miller, 1853), 100-1. Accessed October 15, 2013. Accessed November 10, 2013. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/northup/northup.html>

⁴²⁶ Northrup, 100.

⁴²⁷ Northrup, 101.

⁴²⁸ Northrup's narrative is actually used in 1980 as part of the efforts to give federal recognition to indigenous people in Louisiana as a historical evidence to note the leadership structure of these Native Americans he encounters in Indian Creek in 1841. The Bureau of Indian Affairs cites Northrup's narrative as evidence in the case to specifically determine history of the Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe of Louisiana in a memorandum dated December 4, 1980. The document noted that " There is little indication of any leadership structure in the Indian Creek settlement. One possible piece of evidence is a reference to a chief, Cascalla, and second to him, John Baltese, in an Indian village on Indian Creek around 1850 (Northrup 1853). The writer identified this settlement as Chickasaw or Chickopee." The Tribe was federally recognized by 1981. Accessed December 9, 2013.

<http://www.bia.gov/cs/groups/xofa/documents/text/idc-001252.pdf> (see page 14)

However, it incorrectly notes that this encounter was in the 1850s which does not correctly note when these scenes were described in the narrative which was more than likely in 1841.

⁴²⁹ Northrup, 102; During the time he witnessed the dance, it seems that it is either the spring or summer season, because afterwards, he noted that it was autumn when he left the lumber mill.

⁴³⁰ Northrup, 101; The particular dance he describes above appears to be the Gar Fish dance which is still practiced today. It is one of the earliest written testimonies known to exist to describe this dance. <https://www.chickasaw.net/Our-Nation/Culture/Society/Social-Dances.aspx>

Dixie Brewer, Email message to author, December 10, 2013.

According to a contemporary Chicksaw dancer, Dixie Brewer from the Chickasaw Cultural Center in Sulphur, Oklahoma, she claims that the dance seems to be the Gar Fish dance.

⁴³¹ References to Northrup playing the violin appear throughout his text: Northrup, 20, 24-25, 29-30, 79, 181-182, 196, 216-217, 244-5, 286, 307, 314-5, 318.

⁴³² Henson, 216.

⁴³³ Martin Delany, *Blake, or the Huts of America* ed. Floyd Williams (Boston: (Beacon Press, Reprinted 1970). University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Center. Accessed June 10, 2013.

<http://web.archive.org/web/20080708224553/http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/DelBlak.html>

Accessed June 10, 2013.

http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Blake_or_the_Huts_of_America_1859-1861#start_entry

⁴³⁴ Delany, 85-87; Chapter Twenty of his work is entitled "Advent Among the Indians" which includes an extensive dialogue with Chief Culver.

⁴³⁵ Delany, 86.

⁴³⁶ Katy Chiles, "Martin Delany's *Blake; or the Huts of America*" *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Accessed November 1, 2013.

http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Blake_or_the_Huts_of_America_1859-1861#start_entry

Chiles described *Blake* as a "significant cultural document for both its depiction of transatlantic slavery and its characterization of hemispheric, violent revolt as a fitting response to slavery."

⁴³⁷ Celia Naylor, *African Cherokees in Indian Territory*, 3; In the late 1970s, several scholars like Michael Doran suggested that primary evidence is strong that the Indian slaves enjoyed fairly mild conditions of servitude. Michael Doran, "Negro Slaves of the Five Civilized Tribes" in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 68:3 (September 1978): 335-350. Theda Perdue also concluded that there was relative leniency on the part of masters seems to have been characteristic of Cherokee slavery before and after removal. Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979): 98; In a recent work, Troy Smith concludes that "many Indian traditionalists treated their slaves in a manner similar to that with which their ancestors had treated kinship slaves, continuing to do so long after their governments had begun pointing them to racialization." Troy Smith, "Slavery, Race and Nation in Indian Territory, 1830-1866" (PhD diss., University of Illinois-Urbana Champlain, 2011), 143; It seems that there may be a split amongst older scholarship supported this idea that there may have been a more benign Cherokee holding practices, newer scholarship (ie Miles and Naylor) which seems to demonstrate various exceptions to this belief.

⁴³⁸ Miles, *On Diamond Hill*, 93-94.

⁴³⁹ Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York: Miller, Orton, Mulligan, Co, 1855): 80. Accessed January 10, 2014.

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/douglass55/douglass55.html>

⁴⁴⁰ Waldo E. Martin, Jr., *The Mind of Frederick Douglass* (Chapel Hill :University of North Carolina Press, 1985): 4.

⁴⁴¹ David A. Adler, *Frederick Douglass: A Noble Life*. (New York: Holiday House, 2010), 12. Frederick Douglass' mother is reportedly noted to be of Native American ancestry, as suggested in this educational book for juveniles.

⁴⁴² For example, The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes was founded in 1775 in Pennsylvania and presented an early freedom suit case which "affords a certain prophetic irony, the slave in question was an Indian rather than a Negro and the suit was lost." Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press: 1968), 343; See several examples of runaway slave advertisements in colonial newspapers featuring people who deemed as either Native American or having Native American ancestry which are noted in the following text: Graham Hodges, *Pretends to be Free: Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

⁴⁴³ *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, September 4, 1851.

⁴⁴⁴ *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, September 4, 1851; The fact that Bolding's occupation was a tailor was noted in the following source, Samuel May, *The Fugitive Slave Law and Its Victims* (New York, American Anti-Slavery Society, 1856): 19. Accessed November 27, 2013. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13990/13990-h/13990-h.htm>

⁴⁴⁵ The name of all the witnesses are not stated in the newspaper article excepted for one, "Mr. Upton."

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.; All quotes above about this case appear in the same article. In another article about the case, an additional witness noted that Bolding reportedly noted that as a boy, his family told him that he was "the son of a white man" without referencing any claim of Native American ancestry"; Samuel May, 19.

⁴⁴⁷ *The Fugitive Slave Law and Its Victims*. American Anti-Slavery Society, New York, 1856. Accessed November 27, 2013. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13990/13990-h/13990-h.htm>

⁴⁴⁸ The other article reference to Bolding appeared in an article critiquing the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 in *Frederick Douglass' Papers*, October 2, 1851.

⁴⁴⁹ *Frederick Douglass' Papers*, October 30, 1851. Bolding's case was also extensively reported in *The Liberator* in the September 5, 1851 edition. More insight is provided about the actual case, in terms of the courtroom, noting the following: "The alleged slave, John M. Bolding, carried into Bondage Refusal of an Appeal to the United State Judges.

As previously announced by telegraph, the case of the alleged fugitive from South Carolina, John M. Bolding, was brought to a close by the decision of the Commissioner in favor of the plaintiffs or claimants, and the transportation of the alleged fugitive to the South, in charge of the United States officers. The court room was crowded with an interested and quiet audience, and nothing whatever occurred to create a supposition that any violent measures would be taken by those who were opposed to the taking away of the man."

⁴⁵⁰ *The Frederick Douglass' Paper*, December 11, 1851. The actual court records could not be obtained for this case.

⁴⁵¹ *The Frederick Douglass Paper*, June 22, 1855. In the evidence from an article in this edition of the newspaper, we learn that a defendant, Eliza Crawford, from Richmond, Virginia who fought a legal case around the issues of her racial and class status. Eliza was thirty-five years old and she had five children who were also involved in the case. Eliza was reportedly "born of a white woman of Georgia" and had been enslaved between fifteen and twenty years. Reportedly, her "appearance indicates that [her] father was a mixture of African and Indian." While Eliza and her children were all "set at liberty without resistance," the article noted further that there was no further evidence provided to explore Eliza's mother's racial or class status, which would have determined her status. The article actually highlights that she had six children, but one was not involved in the case. We can certainly assume that perhaps this child could have been sold separately from her and enslaved.

⁴⁵² Ariella Gross, *What Black Can't Tell*, 50.

⁴⁵³ *North Star*, September 5, 1850. This article is cited from the *Pittsburgh Journal*. Scholars who have conducted research on this case include Tom Wise and Samuel Black (both unpublished works) who presented their research at the National Park Service Underground Railroad Conference in 2012. They have not been able to determine the name of this formerly enslaved young woman because only an 1855 list of slaves exists today that included the purchase prices and dispositions compiled upon Drennen's death, and she escaped prior to this date. (Email correspondence to author from Tom Wise, December 10, 2013). According to Samuel Black, the Drennen tax records only listed her age and sex not her name (Email correspondence to the author from Samuel Black, November 27, 2013). Black also suggests that "She may have lived among the community in Pittsburgh or migrated north into Canada with the hundreds of other Pittsburghers between 1850 and 1856."

⁴⁵⁴ Black, "Pittsburgh and the Drennen Slave Girl Case of 1850" (paper presented annual meeting for the National Park Service Underground Railroad Conference, Little Rock, AR, June 21, 2013); The Monongahela House was a hotel in Pittsburgh, which had a history of being linked with abolitionist movement because the predominantly black waitstaff had secret passages in the hotel that were part of the Underground Railroad. Regarding the background of Drennen, in addition to being a wealthy slaveowner who

had two plantations in Arkansas, he was also "a government agent as superintendent of the Choctaw Indians and Indian Affairs for the Southwestern region."

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.; This case has not been extensively written about by scholars. Samuel Black, director of the African American programs at the Heinz History Center in Pittsburgh featured the story in an exhibit in 2013 entitled "From Slavery to Freedom." According to genealogical evidence, some people who claim to be her descendants believe that she was a fugitive who ended up living in Canada. The case has been cited in a few sources, including the "Fugitive Slave Laws and Great Escapes" section of the University of Pittsburgh website, "Free At Last: Slavery in Pittsburgh in the 18th and 19th Centuries." The website adds that given the largely black waitstaff in the hotel "in a region known for its fierce abolitionist zeal, much of the Black staff used the hotel's airy corridors to conduct secret antislavery activity. Accessed November 27, 2013.

http://www.library.pitt.edu/freeatlast/fugitive_laws.html

A similar case linking the Monongahela House to another fugitive slave case of Daniel Lockhart of Virginia who escaped and took refuge in Pittsburgh in 1847. Reportedly, "his owner, Joseph Logan, followed him to the city with two friends and tricked Lockhart into coming to their hotel room at the Monongahela House, where they hoped to recapture the fugitive slave."

Accessed November 27, 2013.

<http://www.post-gazette.com/lifestyle/2013/01/17/Let-s-Learn-From-the-Past-The-Monongahela-House/stories/201301170360>

⁴⁵⁶ Daniel Littlefield, ed. *The Life of Okah Tubee*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), viii. There are various titles for Okah Tubee's story and this is the 1852 title.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., vii-ix. New scholarship to explore Tubee's narrative is forthcoming by the following scholar: Angela Pulley Hudson, *Real Native Genius: Okah Tubbee, Laah Ceil, and Antebellum Indianness* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, forthcoming). According to Pulley, "it is possible that Tubee's father was Choctaw [but] it is highly improbable that his father was *the* Mushultubbee, since it stands to reason that a leader of such stature and prominence would have complained, petitioned or at least alerted someone that his cherished young son had been kidnapped from him." (Unpublished portion of manuscript in the author's possession, from Chapter 1, "An Odd Miscellaneous Population," 5)

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., x

⁴⁵⁹ Source of this image found on this website. Accessed September 17, 2013.

http://connellodonovan.com/black_white_marriage.html

⁴⁶⁰ Littlefield, vii-xliv; Littlefield explains the various publications of Tubee's story, and utilized the 1852 version, although it was first published in 1848.

⁴⁶¹ Jonathan Brennan. ed., *When Brer Rabbit Meets Coyote: African-Native American Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), xi-xii

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 1982), 87.

⁴⁶⁴ Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); 48; Mia Bay. *The White Image in the Black Mind: African American Ideas about White People, 1830-1925*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000): 70. Garnet seems to be claiming that the superiority of blacks is due to their strength and stamina that led them to live throughout the day of slavery. Additionally, gender and class are both being articulated in his statement by the fact of looking at his audience. He refers to the races in masculine terms when in fact the speech is being delivered to a female organization. By looking at the history of benevolent organizations, one will discover that they helped to form class identities as unions of working and middle class people.

⁴⁶⁵ One theme explored in Chapter 3 was the trope of steamboats to compare to ideas about Native Americans as being part of the past. One similar article appeared in the December 13, 1856 edition of the *Provincial Freeman* about Canada West which noted that "here the aborigine of America - "the poor Indian " - may be seen paddling along his canoe. The Joseph C. Morrison steamer, fitted up in royal style, makes the circuit of the Lake every day. Proceeding further north to Collingwood, which lies at the Georgian Bay, you may sail into the immense Lake Huron, and then pass on to the still more expansive Lakes Michigan and Superior, the largest fresh-water bodies in the world. At the South end of Michigan is Chicago, which for progress is as remarkable as Toronto."

⁴⁶⁶ Bay, 70, 239 n. 92; I cite Douglass' speech is "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered" from the *Frederick Douglass Papers* July 1854 speech delivered in Hudson, Ohio at Western Reserve College delivered to the Philozetian and Phi Delta Societies; The quotation also appears in Phillip D. Foner, ed., *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 5 vols. (New York: International Publishers New World, 1975): Vol. 2, 308.

⁴⁶⁷ Martin Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States and Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party* (1852); Black Classic Press, reprint (1993); Project Gutenberg. Accessed October 28, 2013. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17154/17154-h/17154-h.htm>

⁴⁶⁸ *Frederick Douglass' Papers*, September 25, 1851.

⁴⁶⁹ *Frederick Douglass' Papers*, October 13, 1854; The article was entitled 'Vagaries of Fashion' and described various cultural beliefs about indigenous people in comparison, specifically adding that "the Flat Head Indian, with his forehead compressed till it looked like that of an idiot; and the African Negro, with his bushy hair full of butter, and stuck

out on every side, so that it resembled a huge mop;" Another article to use the "sinking" trope was in the *Provincial Freeman* in the April 26, 1856 edition. The article describe ancient Peru and noted that "he was defeated; the sun of Peruvian fortune, which for a few years had lingered on the horizon, sank in a sea of blood, and the ill-fated Indians fell under the grinding yoke of the pitiless goths."

⁴⁷⁰ *Provincial Freeman*, May 6, 1854; For more information, see Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner, and Margaret Hope Bacon, eds. *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848-1880* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 111; According to Lapsansky-Werner and Bacon, Jackson was a stage coach driver in the 1850s in Canada "who moved to Chatham, Canada West by 1855. He was a member of the Provincial Union Association, which promoted black self-help, and the Vigilance Committee, and he worked with W. H. Day and Harriet Tubman to aid fugitive slaves. Jackson may have collaborated with John Brown when the later was in Chatham in 1858 to plan the raid on Harpers Ferry." *Black Abolitionist Papers*, 2: 395n.

⁴⁷¹ *Provincial Freeman*, October 14, 1854.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ *Frederick Douglass Papers*, June 2, 1854.

⁴⁷⁵ *North Star*, May 18, 1849. The location today, the Whitney Mansion, was named one of the U.S. National Register of Historic Places in 1974.

http://www.livingplaces.com/NY/Niagara_County/Niagara_Falls_City/Whitney_Mansion.html

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.; A similar article describing diseases as a factor for Native American deaths appeared in the February 24, 1854 edition of the *Frederick Douglass Papers*. The article noted that "we learn that hydrophobia prevails to an alarming extent on the Indian reservation at Cattaraugus Creek. Several of the family of Bluesky, one of the chiefs of the tribe have died within a few days from eating the flesh of a cow which was bitten by a rabid dog, and Bluesky himself is thought to be beyond medical aid." The article was reprinted from the *Buffalo Rough Notes*.

⁴⁷⁷ *Provincial Freeman*, November 24, 1855.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.; Additionally the story continues as follows: "on his breast was a plate of copper, on which were engraved numerous hieroglyphics, the meaning of which can hardly be imagined. But there they are, a record of the past. Could these hieroglyphics be read, they might perhaps, unveil some of the mystery that hangs like a dark cloud over the history of the red man. an arrow of considerable strength, and curious construction was also found

with him, and especially invite the attention of antiquaries." This article reflects the long-held belief about Native Americans being one of the lost tribes of Israel seems to have been conjoined with ideas of the time about ancient Egyptians.

⁴⁷⁹ *North Star*, November 16, 1849; This character was first explained in another *North Star* article on October 12, 1849 noting that the story originally appeared in the "*Sartain's Magazine*" and the full title of this publication was *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art* written by Caroline Matilda Kirkland and John Sartain. For more information, see Heidi M. Schultz "Sartain's Magazine: 1849-1851" in *American Periodicals* Vol. 6, (1996): 92-134.

⁴⁸⁰ *Provincial Freeman*, October 28, 1854; The *Frederick Douglass Papers* would also sometimes feature article about indigenous affairs in Canada. One example is from the December 15, 1854 edition of the paper which included an article about "Viscount Buryson, Earl of Albermale [who] received the appointent of Civil Secretary & Superintendent- General of Indian Affairs of Canada."

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸² *Provincial Freeman*, March 8, 1856; Reprinted from the *Kent Advertiser*, which was a weekly newspaper in Chatham Canada that operated from 1851-1855; hence we can assume that the *Provincial Freeman* editors may have been citing an article that had appeared before this newsletter ended circulation. The article described "Petwageeshick, the Chief" as a "head man [who] was foremost among, the Indians in the time of trouble, to lead his warriors to the field, that his father, in the war of 1812, rendered faithful service to the crown, and that on a late occasion, he was ready to volunteer to the Crimea."

⁴⁸³ Another article about a sermon given in Nova Scotia, Canada from the June 24, 1854 edition of the *Provincial Freeman* is entitled "A FAST OF THE LORD'S CHOICE. which noted the following "A Sermon: Preached in the Evangelical Union Church of Pictou, N.S." which noted that "in our treatment of the native tribes of conquered territory. What has been our treatment of the original proprietors of the land in which we live? We have robbed them of their wide domain; wasted their hunting grounds; destroyed their means of living, and quenched their council fires. And what return have we made them? Have we left them a remnant of land as a suitable reservation upon which to pitch their camp? What have we done towards their education and moral culture? Has their relation to our civilization tended to elevate them? Alas, poor Indian! his spirit is broken. That native dignity which he is said to have possessed when he roamed in the largest liberty, in undisputed possession of his unbroken forests, where is it? We have communicated to him our diseases; given him our vices without our virtues; devoured him with our fire-waters; and - ""unkindest cut of all"" - by a recent Act of Parliament doomed him to a political death. We have excluded him from the enjoyment of those privileges which we cordially extend to people of other countries, who may domesticate themselves in our midst. Even the poor negro - a fugitive

from southern slavery - in all his ignorance, and degradation - is made welcome to the enjoyment of all the rights and immunities of a British subject, on complying with those conditions enjoined upon all other aliens and foreigners. But - Oh! shame, where is thy blush! The Indian - the true native of the soil - because he is an Indian, however intelligent, wealthy or wise, he may become, - and only the Indian, is denied the right of suffrage."

⁴⁸⁴ *Provincial Freeman*, March 25, 1854; This specific letter is printed in this newspaper, as opposed to the Frederick Douglass. However, an article did appear in the June 23, 1854 edition of *Frederick Douglass' Paper* to document Gerrit Smith's position on homesteading.

⁴⁸⁵ *Provincial Freeman*, March 25, 1854.

⁴⁸⁶ The full context of his letter is as follows: Our National Legislature joins our State Legislatures in holding out to the free colored people the hard alternative of returning under the yoke of slavery, or of being shut out from our broad continent. And, then, the excuse for this treatment is no less unreasonable and insulting than the treatment is cruel and murderous. It is, that the free colored people are too ignorant, and lazy, and worthless, to deserve any better choice than slavery or death. - And this is the excuse of those, who shut out the colored people from schools; and drive them into negro-pens; and banish them from society; and mark them as physical and moral lepers, to be everywhere shunned, and loathed, and hated! That our free colored brethren should in these circumstances be no more discouraged and dejected; no more self-despairing, and self-despising; no lower in intelligence, and morality, and thrift, is to me amazing. That the mass of them should, notwithstanding the depressing, crushing influences upon them, be still rising and bettering their condition; and that there should be rapidly multiplying instances among them of the acquisition of wealth, and of distinction in writing, and oratory, and general scholarship, is more than I had supposed to be possible."

⁴⁸⁷ Gerald Wolff, "The Slavocracy and the Homestead Problem of 1854" in *Agricultural History* 40:2 (April 1966): 102.

⁴⁸⁸ As Tekla Johnson aptly asserts, black abolitionists saw the Kansas-Nebraska Act as "complementing an already problematic federal statute for African Americans." Tekla Johnson, "Frederick Douglass and the Kansas-Nebraska Act: From Reformer to Revolutionary," in *The Nebraska-Kansas Act of 1854*. eds. John R. Wunder, Joann M. Ross (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008): 10.

⁴⁸⁹ Barbara Krauthamer, *Black Slaves: Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation and Citizenship in the Native American South*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013): 78.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁴⁹¹ Krauthamer, 97.

⁴⁹² Ibid.; Krauthamer also cites the *Douglass Monthly*.

⁴⁹³ *Provincial Freeman*, June 24, 1854.

⁴⁹⁴ Kansas Historical Society, "Shawnee Indian Mission" Accessed December 7, 2013.
<http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/shawnee-indian-mission/11913>

⁴⁹⁵ *Provincial Freeman*, October 28, 1854.

⁴⁹⁶ *Frederick Douglass' Papers*, October 27, 1854; Reprinted from the from the *Cor. Evening Post Newspaper*.

⁴⁹⁷ *Frederick Douglass' Papers*, December 22, 1854

⁴⁹⁸ *Provincial Freeman*, March 10, 1855

⁴⁹⁹ *Frederick Douglass' Papers*, March 2, 1855

⁵⁰⁰ *Provincial Freeman*, July 25, 1857; The full article is as follows: " HUNDRED SOLDIERS AND TEAMSTERS KILLED BY THE INDIANS . - St. Louis, July, 7. - The St. Joseph's Journal of the 2nd instant, publishes a report brought by a French trader that 100 troops and 500 teamsters under command of Col. Sumner, were attacked by a large body of Cheyennes and Arapahoe Indians , 200 miles west of Fort Kearey. All were slain. The report is confirmed by a trader arriving from Pacific City Iowa, and also by an emigrant train from Salt Lake."

⁵⁰¹ Many scholars have written extensively about the history of Southern race law that segregated African Americans and Native Americans, including the following: A. Leon Higginbotham. *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process: The Colonial Period*. (NY: Oxford University Press, 1980); Paul Finkelman, "The Color of Law" in *Northwestern University Law Review*. 87 (Spring 1993): 937-91; Finkleman focuses on the historical differences in laws established for African Americans and Native Americans; Andrew Kull. *The Color-Blind Constitution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

ENDNOTES FOR CONCLUSION CHAPTER

⁵⁰² *The Weekly Anglo-African*, January 21, 1860; This newspaper was one of several antebellum African American newspapers published in New York. The article in the *Weekly Anglo-African* newspaper does not list the name of the organization hosting the debate. Wilson is noted as the chairman, which is why I deducted that it is a meeting for the Committee of Thirteen which formed to oppose the American Colonization

Society and help fugitive slaves. One noted debater, Junius Morel is also a member of this organization. He was also a contributing writer in the *North Star*. For one article, refer to *The North Star*, October 24, 1850. The other possibility for the organization is that it could be the American League of Colored Laborers (ALCL), the first known African American labor organization; Leslie Harris identified Wilson as a member of ALCL and who also wrote for the *North Star* (under the pseudonym *Ethiop*) and frequently wrote in the *Frederick Douglass' Papers*; For more information, see Leslie Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 2003), 243, n. 50, 332; I deduced that it is the Committee of Thirteen by reading secondary sources, including the following works: Craig Steven Wilder, *In The Company Of Black Men: The African Influence on African American in New York City* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 316, 325; Derrick Spire, "Imagining a State of Fellow Citizens: Early African American Politics of Publicity in the Black State" in *Early African American Print Culture*. eds. Lara Langer Cohen and Jordan Alexander Stein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press/Library Company of Philadelphia, 2012), 274-289;

Finally, the naming and part of the organizational mission of The Committee of Thirteen may have drawn inspiration from the Senate "Committee of Thirteen" which was a group of white political figures who represented various political parties and "geographical divisions of the country" who debated about the sectional crisis. For further context, see CE Knox, "The Possibilities of Compromise in the Senate Committee of Thirteen and the Responsibility for Failure," in *Journal of Negro History*. 17:4 (October, 1932): 437-8; Carroll C. Arnold, "The Senate Committee of Thirteen: December 6–31, 1860," in *Antislavery and Disunion, 1858-1861: Studies in the Rhetoric of Compromise and Conflict* ed. J Jeffery Auer (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 310-330.

⁵⁰³ Biographical information for Sampson and Cardoza can be found in the following sources: Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction* Revised Edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 40, 188; Foner noted that Sampson was born free in Wilmington, North Carolina and was a "mulatto" who moved to North before the Civil War; He graduated from Comer's College in Boston in 1856, and then taught in a school in Jamaica, Long Island; Cardoza was also a mulatto, born of a wealthy Jewish father, and free African American mother in Charleston, South Carolina; He studied at Collegiate Institute in Newburgh, New York, and began teaching in New York in 1861.

⁵⁰⁴ *The Weekly Anglo-African*, January 21, 1860.

⁵⁰⁵ Thank you to Larry Weimer, archivist at the Brooklyn Historical Society, for helping to confirm the identity of Isaac Hunter. Additional material can be found in the following work: John Hope Franklin, *The Free Negro in the North Carolina, 1790-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), 29, 45-6, 142; Hunter is noted to

have secured his freedom in New York after purchasing his freedom from his master in Raleigh, NC because of money secured as a boot and shoemaker; Another reference for Hunter appears in the following work: Lunsford Land, *The Narrative of Lunsford Lane, Formerly of Raleigh, NC Embracing an Account of His Early Life, the Redemption by Purchase of Himself and Family From Slavery, and His Banishment from the Place of His Birth for the Crime of Wearing a Colored Skin. Published by Himself* (Boston: J.G. Torrey, 1842), 32. Accessed February 20, 2012.

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/lanelunsford/lane.html>

⁵⁰⁶ *The Weekly Anglo-African*. January 21, 1860.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.; Regarding the significance of the Dismal Swamp, several historians have discussed this history, including the following work: Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 121

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.; For Wilson's biographical information, see Robert Swan, "Synoptic History of Black Public Schools in Brooklyn," in *The Black Contribution to the Development of Brooklyn* ed. Charlene Clay Van Derzee (New York: New Muse Community, 1977), 63-71.

⁵⁰⁹ We may speculate whether the two "pro-Indian" debaters, Sampson and Cardoza, who were noted as "mulatto" could have had some Native American ancestry, although there is no published biographical evidence to support this claim. However, the term "mulatto" often referred to people who had mixed racial ancestry between the various combinations of African, European and/or Native American ancestries.

⁵¹⁰ Joanne Pope Melish, "The Condition Debate and Racial Discourse in the Antebellum North," *Journal of Early Republic* 19:4 (Winter 1999): 652. n. 3.

⁵¹¹ Patrick Rael, *Black Identity & Black Protest in the Antebellum North* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 2002), 111; Rael described the founding of this newspaper in 1859 by Thomas Hamilton as part of a movement to oppose colonization efforts during this era and creating new racial naming process with such ideas as Afric-American, Negro-Saxon, and he chose "Anglo-African" as the title of the newspaper, although none of the terms "never were adopted by many Americans, black or whites." Rael added that "blacks failed to embrace [these new racial terms and they] were esoteric phrases rarely invoked in daily use." .

⁵¹² Michelle Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 17.

The term "Anglo-African" does appear in African American rhetoric in some instances. Mitchell refers to one example of Thomas Cox, a member of the American Colonization

Society. In 1891, he identified himself as being part of the "Anglo-African race." The term "Anglo-African" while not widely used, seemed to invoke the transatlantic paradigm of double consciousness felt by African Americans who were linked to Africa and the Americas.

⁵¹³ The Dakota Indians include various factions, the Eastern Dakota (Santee), the Western Dakota (the Tetons), and the Yankton. Some of the Dakotas lived in the Upper Mississippi area above present day Detroit, MI. This tribe was split into east and west factions during the War of 1812 because some sided with the British, while the other side fought on the Americans. The quote in the newspaper about the Dakotas appears may reference the faction of Dakotas who were former British allies in the War of 1812. For more information, refer to the following works: Kenneth Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862: Minnesota's Other Civil War*, 2nd edition (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001); Hank H Cox, *Lincoln and the Sioux Uprising of 1862* (Nashville: Cumberland House Publishing, 2005).

⁵¹⁴ *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, February 12 and March 18, 1852; John Stauffer, *The Works of James McCune Smith*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), xxxi, 90-93; Michael T. Gilmore, "The Literature of the Revolutionary and Early National Periods" in *The Cambridge History of American Literature* Vol. 1. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁵¹⁵ Some examples cited in Chapter Three about Curran's phrase include the following references: *Colored American*, October 28, 1837; Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*. (New York: Miller, Orton & Co, 1857), xxxi; For further context, consult the digital version of Curran's defense. Accessed October 1, 2013.
<http://www.bartleby.com/268/6/7.html>

⁵¹⁶ *The North Star*, October 24, 1850.

⁵¹⁷ These 1850s news articles were analyzed in Chapter Four.

⁵¹⁸ For further reference, see Howard Holman Bell, ed. Minutes of the proceedings of the national Negro conventions, 1830-1864, (New York, Arno Press, 1969); Richard Allen "Address to the Free People of Colour of these United States" Accessed March 7, 2014.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part3/3h512t.html>

⁵¹⁹ For example, James McCune Smith was born in 1813, and the *Freedom's Journal* circulated from 1827-1829 which would have meant he was a teenager during this time.

⁵²⁰ For further context, see Anna Mae Duane, "'Like a Motherless Child': Racial Education at the New York African Free School and in *My Bondage and My Freedom*," *American Literature* 82:3 (September, 2010): 461-488; Later, I will later highlight briefly the

curriculum at the African Free School regarding the adaptation of Olaudah Equiano's narrative.

⁵²¹ Ivy Wilson, "The Brief Wondrous Life of the Anglo-African Magazine; or, Early African American Editorial Practice and Its Afterlives," in *Publishing Blackness: Textual Constructions of Race since 1850*. eds. Greg Hutchinson and John K. Young (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 23.

⁵²² Ibid.; For further context, see William J. Wilson, "Afric-American Picture Gallery-First Paper," in *Anglo-African Magazine*, ed. William Loren Katz (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1968): 52-55.

⁵²³ One example is from *Colored American*, November 11, 1837; There are dozens of articles that Smith contributed to this newspaper, along with his contributions to other black-edited newspapers, namely *Frederick Douglass' Paper* and the *Anglo-African Magazine*. For a comprehensive listing of Smith's writings, refer to Stauffer, *The Works of James McCune Smith*, xli, 74-174.

⁵²⁴ Charles Andrews, *History of the African Schools* (New York: Mahlon Day, 1830), 103. Andrews notes that in the African School "on Mulberry Street contain[ed] 450 books, and the female school on Williams Street had 200 books"; *The Life and Adventures of Olaudah Equiano; or, Gustavus Vassa, the African: From an account written by himself*. Abridged by A. Mott. (New York: Samuel Wood & Sons, 1829); For one analysis of this edition, refer to the following work: E.D. Lamore, "Autoadaptation and Abigail Mott's 1829 Abridged Version of Olaudah Equiano's Narrative" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Juan, Puerto Rico, Nov 15, 2012). Accessed January 2, 2014.
http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p559580_index.html

⁵²⁵ Andrews, *History of the African Schools*, 34-6.

⁵²⁶ Eighteenth-century black writings that included representations of Native Americans were analyzed in Chapter One.

⁵²⁷ *The Weekly Anglo-African*, January 21, 1860.

⁵²⁸ David Stephen Heidler, et. al. eds. *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social, and Military History*, "Battle of Shiloh" (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2000); In prior decades, the Dakota tribe was split into east and west factions during the War of 1812 because some sided with the British, while the other side fought on the Americans. One faction included the Sioux Dakota Indians who ceded parts of Minnesota to the United States government in 1851. However, they were soon threatened due to white

encroachment and sought support from the United States; hence this explains the reference in the 1860 debates.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.; At trial, many Dakotas accused of killing Americans were sentenced to death, marking what would become the largest one-day execution in American history.

⁵³⁰ Louis Masur, *The Civil War: A Concise History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), ix. While Lincoln's presidency has been long debated and has been widely written about, for some of this historiography about Lincoln, Gabor S. Boritt, ed. *The Historian's Lincoln: Pseudohistory, Psychohistory, and History* (Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1988).

⁵³¹ Similarly, while there were more enslaved and free blacks fought on Union lines, there were also a small number of blacks who fought for the Confederacy, which the debaters could not have ever envisioned.

⁵³² Nicholas Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607-1877* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 208.

⁵³³ Some examples include the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876 in the Montana Territory, and the Nez Perce Wars of 1877 that occurred in the Pacific Northwest, resulting in the killing of thousands of indigenous people trying to protect their land and rights.

For further context, see the following works: Elliott West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story: The Nez Perce Story* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Jodi Byrd. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Jodi Byrd, "'Living My Native Life Deadly:' Red Lake, Ward Churchill, and the Discourses of Competing Genocides," *The American Indian Quarterly* 31:2 (Spring 2007): 310-332.

⁵³⁴ Michelle Kuhl, "We Have Seen the Fate of the Indian, Western Influences on African American Leadership in the Shadow of the Plains Wars," *American Nineteenth Century History* 12:1 (March 2011): 42.

⁵³⁵ Albery A. Whitman, "Rape of Florida" (St. Louis. Mo: Nixon-Jones, 1884). Accessed September 17, 2013.

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/amverse/BAE7427.0001.001?view=toc>

⁵³⁶ Anna J. Cooper, *A Voice From the South* (Xenia, Ohio: The Aldine Printing House, 1892). Accessed August 17, 2013. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/cooper/cooper.html>

⁵³⁷ Cooper, 117.

⁵³⁸ Donal F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 72-73; The decision to enroll Native American students was motivated by the need to continue funding the school. General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute, soon realized that many Virginians, "enjoyed fancying that the blood of Pocahontas ran in their veins, would prove much more sympathetic to the cause of educating Indians." According to Lindsey, Armstrong realized that whites would be "more likely to accept an African-American school that also had Native Americans enrolled." Lindsey concluded that "the Indian experiment created opportunities for sectional reconciliation. Both Northern and Southern philanthropists could be tapped for donations and political support with Indians on board." For additional context, see the following works that deal with this history of Native Americans at Hampton University: Joseph Willard Tingey, "Indians and Blacks together: An experiment in Biracial Education at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923" (MA Thesis, Columbia University, 1978); Abraham Makofsky, "Experience of Native Americans at a Black College: Indian Students at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 17:3 (Fall 1989): 31-46; Lee D. Baker, *Anthropology and the Racial Politics of Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010): 40-1, 46, 49.

⁵³⁹ Lindsey, 72-3.

⁵⁴⁰ Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1901) 98. Accessed March 7, 2014.
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/washington/washing.html>

⁵⁴¹ Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Digital Databases:

Accessible Archives <http://www.accessible-archives.com/>
 Black Abolitionist Papers, 1830-1865 <http://www.proquest.com/products-services/Black-Abolitionist-Papers-25.html>
 Chronicling America <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>
 Documenting the American South <http://docsouth.unc.edu/>
 Project Gutenberg <http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/>
 Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A Transnational Archive <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/history/slavery-and-antislavery-a-transnational-archive.aspx>

Newspapers:

Colored American
Connecticut Gazette
Colored American/ Weekly Advocate
Frederick Douglass Papers
The Liberator
National Reformer
Negro History Bulletin
New York Evening Post
New York Tribune
The North Star
The Pennsylvania Gazette
The Provincial Freeman
Springfield Daily Republican
The Token
The Weekly Anglo-African

Apess, William. Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts Relative to the Marshpee Tribe: or, The Pretended Riot Explained. Boston: Jonathan Howe, 1835. Accessed Electronically.
<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/12486/pg12486.html>

Archer, Armstrong. A Compendium of Slavery as it exists in the United States of America. London: J. Haddon, 1844. Accessed Electronically.
<https://archive.org/details/compendiumofslav02arch>

Bibb, Henry. *The Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, An American Slave, Written by Himself* (1849; 1850). Accessed Electronically.
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/bibb/menu.html>

John Brown, *A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Now in England*. Louis Alexis Chamerovzow, ed. London: W. M. Watts, 1854. Accessed Electronically. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/jbrown/jbrown.html>

Cooper, Anna J. *A Voice From the South*. Xenia, Ohio: The Aldine Printing House, 1892. Accessed Electronically. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/cooper/cooper.html>

Dickerson, Martina. *Friendship Album, 1840-1843*. Library Company of Philadelphia. Print Department.

Cuguano, Ottobah. *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery, with an introduction by Paul Edwards*. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1969 (Originally published in 1787).

Delany, Martin. *Blake, or the Huts of America*. Floyd Williams, ed. Boston: Beacon Press, Reprinted 1970. University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Center. Accessed Electronically.
<http://web.archive.org/web/20080708224553/http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/DelBlak.html>

---. *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States and Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party*. (1852); Black Classic Press, Reprint, 1993. Accessed Electronically.
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17154/17154-h/17154-h.htm>

Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845) Accessed Electronically. <https://archive.org/details/mybondageandmyf02douggoog>

Douglass, Frederick. *My Bondage and My Freedom*. New York: Miller, Orton & Co, 1855. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/douglass55/douglass55.html>

Eldridge, Elleanor. *Memoirs of Elleanor Eldridge*. Providence: B.T. Albro, 1841. Accessed Electronically
http://openlibrary.org/books/OL7240511M/Memoirs_of_Elleanor_Eldridge

Equiano, Olaudah. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, Or Gustavus Vassa, The African Written By Himself*. London. 1789. Accessed Electronically.
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15399/15399-h/15399-h.htm>

Goings, Henry. *Rambles of a Runaway from Southern Slavery*. Calvin Schermerhorn, Michael Plunkett, and Edward Gaynor eds. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012 (Originally published in 1869).

Henson, Josiah. *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself*. Boston: A. D. Phelps, 1849. Accessed Electronically. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/henson49/summary.html>

Holland, Josiah Gilbert. *History of Western Massachusetts*. Springfield: S. Bowles and Company, 1855.

Gilman, W. & J. *The Story of Idris: Together with the Story of Quashi; The desperate negro. To which is added, Arachne and Melissa; or, The art of happiness. A The little moralist*. (Newburyport: W. & J. Gilman, 1813).

Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. New York: M.L. and W.A Davis. 1785.

Lane, Lunsford. *The Narrative of Lunsford Lane, Formerly of Raleigh, NC Embracing an Account of His Early Life, the Redemption by Purchase of Himself and Family From Slavery, and His Banishment from the Place of His Birth for the Crime of Wearing a Colored Skin*. Published by Himself. Accessed Electronically. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/lanelunsford/lane.html>

Lee, Jarena. *Religious experience and journal of Mrs. Jarena Lee, Giving an account of her call to Preach the Gospel*. Philadelphia, Pub. for the author, 1849. Accessed electronically. <https://archive.org/details/religiousexperi00leegoog>

Marrant, John. *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black (Now Going to Preach the Gospel in Nova Scotia*. Fourth edition (London: Gilbert and Plummer, 1785):7-12. Accessed Electronically http://archive.org/stream/cihm_20674#page/n11/mode/2up

May, Samuel. *The Fugitive Slave Law and Its Victims*. New York, American Anti-Slavery Society, 1856. Accessed Electronically. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13990/13990-h/13990-h.htm>

McCulloch, Maude. *Junaluska*. Atlanta, GA: Byrd Printing Co. 1916. Accessed Electronically. <https://archive.org/details/junaluska00mccu>

Morgan, George Hallenbrooke. *Annals, Comprising Memoirs, Incidents and Statistics of Harrisburg: From the Period of Its First settlement; For the past, the present and the future*. Harrisburg: Geo. A. Brooks, 1858.

Northrup, Solomon. 12 Years a Slave: Narrative of Solomon Northup, a Citizen of New-York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and Rescued in 1853. Auburn, NY: Derby and Miller, 1853. Accessed Electronically.
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/northup/northup.html>

Pennington, James W. C. A Text Book of the Origin and History of the Colored People. Hartford: L. Skinner, 1841. 42-43. Accessed Electronically.
<http://chnm.gmu.edu/egyptomania/searchegypt.php?function=detail&articleid=41&keyword=james%20pennington>

Plato, Ann. Essays: Including Biographies and Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose and Poetry. Introduction by Kenny J. Williams. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. (Original publication 1841).

Purvis, Robert. Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens, Threatened with Disfranchisement, to the People of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, Printers, 1838.

Sheldon, George. History of Deerfield. Deerfield, MA: 1895.

Stewart, Maria. "African Rights and Liberty" Delivered at the African Masonic Hall on February 27, 1833; published in the Liberator. April 27, 1833. republished in The Rhetoric of Struggle: Public Address by African American Women. ed. Robbie Jean Walker. New York: Garland Publishing, 1992.

Sheldon, George. History of Deerfield. Deerfield, MA: Greenfield, Mass., Press of E.A. Hall & Co, 1895. Accessed Electronically.
<https://archive.org/details/historyofdeerfie02shel>

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. Uncle Tom's Cabin. Boston: John P. Jewett, 1852.

Truth, Sojourner. The Narrative of Sojourner Truth. Olive Gilbert, ed. Appendix by Theodore D. Weld. Boston: The Author, 1850. Accessed Electronically.
<http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/truth/1850/1850.html>

Tubee, Okah. The Life of Okah Tubbee, Alias, William Chubee, Son of the Head Chief, Mosholeh Tubbee, of the Choctaw Nation of Indians. Littlefield, Daniel, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988 (Original publication, 1848).

Walker, David. An Appeal in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America (Boston, 1829; 1830) Accessed Electronically.
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/walker/menu.html>

Washington, Booker T. *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1901. Accessed Electronically.
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/washington/washing.html>

Whitman, Albery A. "Rape of Florida" St. Louis. Mo: Nixon-Jones, 1884. Accessed Electronically. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/amverse/BAE7427.0001.001?view=toc>

Wicks, Elizabeth. Address delivered before the African Female Benevolent Society of Troy on Wednesday, February 12, 1834. Troy: R. Buckle, 1834.

SECONDARY REFERENCES

Abruzzo, Margaret. *Polemical Pain: Slavery, Cruelty, and the Rise of Humanitarianism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.

Adams, Catherine and Elizabeth Pleck. *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England*. NY: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Adler, David A. *Frederick Douglass: A Noble Life*. NY: Holiday House, 2010.

Alexander, Leslie. *African or American: Black Identity and Political Activism in New York City, 1784-1861*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008.

Ali, Omar. *In the Balance of Power: Independent Black Politics and Third-Party Movements in the United States*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008.

Almeida, Joselyn. *Reimagining the Transatlantic, 1780-1890*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2011.

Andrews, Edward. *Native Apostles: Black and Indian Missionaries in the British Atlantic World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Andrews, William. "The First Fifty Years of the Slave Narrative, 1760 1810," *The Art of Slave Narrative*. John Sekora and Darwin T. Turner, eds. Macomb: Western Illinois U, 1982. 6-24.

Aptheker, Herbert. *Abolitionism*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989.

Bacon, Jacqueline. *Freedom's Journal: The First African American Newspaper*. Lantham, MD: Lexington Books. 2007.

Bacon, Margaret Hope. *But One Race: The Life of Robert Purvis*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007.

Baker, Lee D. *Anthropology and the Racial Politics of Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Basker, James, ed. *Amazing Grace: An Anthology of Poems about Slavery, 1660-1810*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Bay, Mia. *The White Image in the Black Mind: African American Ideas about White People, 1830-1925*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Bell, Howard Holman, ed. *Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Negro Conventions, 1830-1864*. New York: Arno Press, 1969.

Berkhofer, Robert. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Knopf, 1978.

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Berry, Mary Frances and John Blassingame. *Long Memory: Black Experience in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Bethel, Elizabeth Rauh. *The Roots of African-American Identity: Memory and History in Free Antebellum Communities*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Blackhawk, Ned. *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Bolster, W. Jeffery. *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Bradburn, David. *The Citizenship Revolution: Politics and the Creation of the American Union 1774-1804*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009.

Brennan, Jonathan ed. *When Brer Rabbit Meets Coyote: African-Native American Literature*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Brooks, James, ed. *Confounding the Colorline: The Indian-Black Experience in North America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.

Brooks, Joanna. *American Lazarus: Religion and the Rise of African-American and Native American Literatures*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

---. *The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan: Literature and Leadership in Eighteenth-Century Native America*. NY: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Byrd, Jodi. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

Calloway, Colin. *The Indian History of an American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth*. Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2010.

---. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Carretta, Vincent and Philip Gould, eds. *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic*. Lexington, KY: The University of Kentucky Press, 2001.

Chapman, Abraham. *Steal Away: Stories of the Runaway Slaves*. New York: Praeger, 1971.

Cohen, Lara Langer and Jordan Alexander Stein, eds. *Early African American Print Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press/The Library Company of Philadelphia, 2012.

Conn, Steven. *History's Shadows: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth-Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Costanzo, Angelo. "Briton Hammon" in *African American Lives*, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Evelyn Higginbotham, eds. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Coward, John. *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820-90*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Cumfters, Cynthia. *Separate peoples, One Land: The Minds of Cherokees, Blacks and Whites on the Tennessee Frontier*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Dain, Brian. *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Deloria, Philip. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Demos, John. *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America*. NY: Alfred Knopf/ Random House, Inc, 1994.

Dippie, Brian. *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and the U.S. Indian Policy*. Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1982.

Dunbar, Erica Armstrong. *Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Easton, Hosea, George Price, and James Stewart. *To Heal the Scourge of Prejudice: The Life and Writings of Hosea Easton*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.

Fabian, Ann. *The Skull Collectors*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Fett, Sharla. *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Foner, Eric. *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction*. Revised Edition. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.

Foner, Phillip D. ed., *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass, Vol. II*. New York: International Publishers, 1950.

Foster, Frances Smith. *Written By Herself: Literary Production by African American Women, 1746-1892*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Franklin, John Hope. *The Free Negro in the North Carolina, 1790-1860*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943.

Forbes, Jack. *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Fredrickson, George, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914*. New York: Harper & Row, 1987.

Gustafson, Sandra. *Imagining Deliberative Democracy in the Early American Republic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Gallay, Allan. *The Indian Slave Trade: the Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

--- ed. *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*. University of Nebraska Press. 2010.

Gates, Henry Louis and Evelyn Higginbotham, eds. *African American Lives*. NY: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Gates, Henry Louis and Anthony Appiah, eds. *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*. New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999.

Gerzina, Gretchen Holbrook. *Mr. and Mrs. Prince: How an Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Family Moved Out of Slavery and Into Legend*. NY: Amistad Books/HarperCollins, 2008.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Glaude, Eddie. *Exodus: Religion, Race and Nation in Early Nineteenth-Century Black America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

González, Juan and Joseph Torres. *News for all the people: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media*. New York : Verso, 2011.

Goodman, Paul. *Of One Blood: Abolitionism and the Origins of Racial Equality*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1998.

Gross, Ariella. *What Blood Can't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Guyatt , Nicholas. *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607-1877*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Hall, Stephen. *A Faithful Account of the African American Historical Writing in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

Halliburton, Rudi. *Red Over Black: Black Slavery Among Cherokee Indians*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1977.

Harper, Donna Akiba. *Not So Simple: The "Simple" Stories by Langston Hughes*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995.

Harris, Jessica. *High on the Hog: A Culinary Journey from Africa to America*. NY: Bloomsbury, 2012.

Harris, Leslie. *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Harris, Sharon M.. *Executing Race: Early American Women's Narratives of Race, Society, and The Law*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005.

Higginbotham, A. Leon. *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process: The Colonial Period*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Hinks, Peter. *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.

Hodges, Graham. *Pretends to be Free: Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Horsman, Reginald. *Race and the Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Horton, James and Lois. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Hurston, Zora. *Mules and Men*. Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2008 First edition, 1935.

---. *Dust Tracks on a Road*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984; 1942 first publication.

Hudson, Angela Pulley. *Real Native Genius: Okah Tubbee, Laah Ceil, and Antebellum Indianness*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Forthcoming.

Hughes, Langston. *Best of Simple*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1961.

Jeffrey, Julie Roy. *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Katz, Bernard and Jonathon Katz. *Black Woman: A Fictionalized Biography of Lucy Terry Prince*. New York: Pantheon Book, 1973.

Katz, William Lloren. *Black Indians*. New York: Atheneum, 1986.

Konkle, Maureen. *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Krauthamer, Barbara. *Black Slaves: Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation and Citizenship in the Native American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.

Jones, Martha. *All Bound Up Together: The Woman Question in African American Public Culture, 1830-1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Jordan, Winthrop. *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968.

King, Duane H. ed. *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979.

Kull, Andrew. *The Color-Blind Constitution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Lapsansky-Werner, Emma J. and Margaret Hope Bacon, eds. *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848-1880*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005.

Lapp, Rudolph. *Blacks in Gold Rush California*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Lepore, Jill. *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.

Lindsey, Donal. *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Littlefield, Daniel. *The Cherokee Freedmen: From Emancipation to American Citizenship*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Lowery, Malinda. *Lumbee Indians in Jim Crow South: Race, Identity & The Making of a Nation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Maffly-Kipp, Laurie. *Settling Down the Sacred Past: African American Race Histories*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Malone, Christopher. *Between Freedom and Bondage: Race, Party and Voting Rights in the Antebellum North*. NY: Routledge, 2008.

Mandell, David. *Tribe, Race and History: Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780-1880*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.

Martin, Waldo E. *The Mind of Frederick Douglass*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Masur, Louis. *The Civil War: A Concise History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

McHenry, Elizabeth. *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Melish, Joanne Pope. *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780-1860*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Meyer, Carter and Diana Royers, eds. *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures*. University of Arizona Press, 2001.

Miles, Tiya. *Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

---. *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Miles, Tiya and Sharon Holland, eds., *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African American Diaspora in Indian Country*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Miekle, Laura. *Moving Encounters: Sympathy and the Indian Question in Antebellum Literature*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008.

Minges, Patrick. *Black Indian Slave Narratives*. Winston-Salem, NC: John Blair Publisher, 2004.

Mitchell, Michelle. *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Morgan, Phillip. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Moses, Wilson. *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Moulton, Gary E. *John Ross, Cherokee Chief*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978.

Mulroy, Kevin. *Freedom on the Border: The Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila and Texas*. Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1993.

Namias, June. *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Nash, Gary. *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

---. *Red, Black, and White: Peoples of Early America*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1974. First edition.

Naylor, Celia. *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Newman, Richard. *Freedom's Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church and the Black Founding Fathers*. NY: New York University Press, 2008.

Newman, Richard, Patrick Rael, and Phillip Lapansky, eds. *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African American Protest Literature, 1790-1860*. NY: Routledge, 2001.

Occom, Samson. *The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan: Leadership and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Native America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Painter, Nell Irvin. *Sojourner: A Life, A Symbol*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996

Pease, Jane and William. *They Who Would be Free: Blacks' Search for Freedom, 1830-1861*. New York: Antheneum, 1974.

Peterson, Carla. *Doers of the Word: African American Women Speakers and Writers in the North, 1830-1880*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Price, George and James Brewer Stewart, eds., *To Heal the Scourge of Prejudice: The Life and Writings of Hosea Easton*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.

Perdue, Theda. *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979.

Quarles, Benjamin. *Black Abolitionists*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Rael, Patrick. *Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

---. *African-American Activism before the Civil War: The Freedom Struggle in the Antebellum North*. ed. Patrick Rael. New York: Routledge. 2008.

Richardson, Marilyn ed. Maria. W. Stewart, *America's First Black Woman Political Writer, Essays and Speeches*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Ripley, C. Peter. Ed. *Abolitionist Papers, Vol. III, 1830-46*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

Rogin, Michael. *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian*. New York: Knopf, 1975.

Round, Philip. *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Saunt, Claudio. *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

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

Smith, Donald. *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

---. *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) & the Mississauga Indians*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Snyder, Christina. *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Stanton, William. *Leopold's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815-59*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Stauffer, John. *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.

---. *The Works of James McCune Smith*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Sterling, Dorothy. *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth-Century*. New York: Norton, 1984.

Stuckey, Sterling. *The Ideological Origins of Black Nationalism*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1972.

Sturms, Circe. *Blood Politics: Race, Culture and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Tayac, Gabrielle, ed. *IndiVisible: African-Native Lives in the Americas*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2009.

Tomek, Beverly. *Pennsylvania Hall: A "Legal Lynching" in the Shadow of the Liberty Bell*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Thornton, John. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*. NY: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Tilton, Robert. *Pocahontas: The evolution of an American Narrative*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Townsend, Camilla. *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.

Trachtenberg, Alan. *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*. NY: Hill and Wang, 2004.

Vaughn, Alden. *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Wagner, Jean. *Black Poets of the United States: From Paul Laurence Dunbar to Langston Hughes*. Urbana: University of Illinois/Illini Books edition, 1973.

Walvin, James. *An African's Life: The Life and Times of Olaudah Equiano, 1745-1797*. London: Cassell Press, 1998.

Warrior, Robert. *The People and the Word: Reading Native Nonfiction*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Wickett, Murray. *Contested Territory: Whites, Native Americans, and African Americans in Oklahoma, 1865-1907*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000.

Wilder, Craig Steven. *In The Company Of Black Men: The African Influence on African American in New York City*. New York: New York University Press, 2001.

Wong, Edlie. *Neither Fugitive Nor Free: Atlantic Slavery, Freedom Suits and the Legal Culture of Travel*. New York: New York University Press, 2009.

Yarbrough, Fay. *Race and The Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth-Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Yee, Shirley. *Black Women's Abolitionists: Study In Activism, 1828-1860*. Knoxville: University Tennessee Press, 1992.

Zafar, Rafia. *We Wear the Masks: African Americans Write American Literature*. NY: Columbia University Press, 1997.

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Akers, Charles. "Our Modern Egyptians: Phillis Wheatley and the Whig Campaign Against Slavery in Revolutionary Boston." *Journal of Negro History*. 60:3. July, 1975. 397-410.

Bay, Mia. "Remembering Racism: Rereading the Black Image in the White Mind," *Reviews in American History*. 27:4. 1999. 644-656.

--- "See Your Declaration Americans!!! Abolitionism, Americanism, and the Revolutionary Tradition in Free Black Politics." in *Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal*. eds. Michael Kazin & Joseph McCartin. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. 25-52.

Black, Samuel. "Pittsburgh and the Drennen Slave Girl Case of 1850," Conference Paper at the National Park Service, Network to Freedom Conference in Little Rock, Arkansas on June 21, 2013.

Brody, Jennifer B. and Sharon Holland, "An/Other Case of New England Underwriting, Negotiating Race and Property in Memoirs of Elleanor Elridge" in *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country* (2006) edited by Tiya Miles and Sharon Holland. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006. 31-56.

Brooks, Joanna and John Saillant, eds. "Face Zion Forward:" *First Writers of the Black Atlantic, 1785-1798*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002.

Brooks, Joanna. "The Unfortunates: What the Life Spans of Early Black Books Tells Us about Book History" in *Early African American Print Culture*. Lara Langer Cohen and Jordan Alexander Stein, eds. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press/The Library Company of Philadelphia, 2012.

Campbell, John. "The Seminoles, the "Bloodhound War," and Abolitionism, 1796-1865," *The Journal of Southern History*, 72:2. May 2006. 259-300.

Chiles, Katy. "Martin Delany's *Blake; or the Huts of America*" *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Accessed Electronically.
http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Blake_or_the_Huts_of_America_1859-1861#start_entry

Crouch, Christiana. "The Black City: Detroit and the Northeast Borderlands through African Eyes in the Era of "Pontiac's War" Conference paper (University of Pennsylvania, The War Called Pontiac's conference Philadelphia, April 4-5, 2013, McNeil Center for Early American History.

Delombard, Jeannine Marie. "Apprehending Early African American Literary History" in *Early African American Print Culture*. Lara Langer Cohen and Jordan Alexander Stein, eds. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press/The Library Company of Philadelphia, 2012. 93-106.

Doran, Michael. "Negro Slaves of the Five Civilized Tribes" in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 68: 3. September 1978. 335-350.

Duane, Anna Mae. "Like a Motherless Child": Racial Education at the New York African Free School and in *My Bondage and My Freedom*." in *American Literature*. 82:3. September, 2010. 461-488.

Fagan, Benjamin. "Americans as They Really Are: The Colored American and the Illustration of National Identity" *American Periodicals*. 21: 2. September 2011. 97-119.

Fenton, William N. and Jacob Jameson. "Answers to Governor Cass's Questions by Jacob Jameson, a Seneca, ca. 1821-1825," *Ethnohistory*, 16:2 (Spring, 1969): 113-139.

Fetterley, Judith. "Commentary: Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers and the Politics of Recovery" in *American Literary History*. 6:3. Autumn 1994. 600-611.

Field, Emily. "'Excepting Himself:' Olaudah Equiano, Native Americans and the Civilizing Mission" *MELUS*. 34:4 Winter 2009. 15-36.

Fields, Barbara, "Ideology of Race in American History" in *Region, Race and Reconstruction: Essays in Honors of C. Vann Woodward*. Edited by J. Morgan Kousser and James McPherson, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. 143-177.

Finkelman, Paul. "The Color of Law" in *Northwestern University Law Review*. 87. Spring 1993. 937-991.

Gantor, Granville. "'He Made Us Laugh Some': Frederick Douglass's Humor" in *African American Review*, 37:4 Winter 2003. 535-552.

Gilmore, Michael T. "The Literature of the Revolutionary and Early National Periods." in *The Cambridge History of American Literature: Volume One: 1590-1820*. Sacvan Bercovitch, ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. 661-75.

Gleach, Frederic. "A Traditional Story in the Powhatan Indians Recorded in the Early 19th Century," in *Papers of the Twenty-third Algonquian Conference*. William Cowan, ed. Ottawa: Carleton University, 1992. 234-43.

Gonzales, Angela, Judy Kertesz and Gabrielle Tuyac. "Eugenics as Indian Removal: Sociohistorical Processes and the De(con)struction of American Indians in the Southeast," *The Public Historian*. 29:3 Summer 2007. 53-67.

Green, Rayna "The Pocahontas Perplex" *Massachusetts Review*: 16. 1975. 698-714.

Hart, William. "Black 'Go Betweens' and the Mutability of 'Race,' Status and Identity on New York's Pre-Revolutionary Frontier" in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*. Andrew Clayton and Fredrika Teute, eds. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. 88-113.

Hershberger, Mary. "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle Against Indian Removal in the 1830s." *The Journal of American History*. 86:1 (June 1999): 15-40.

Hill, Richard, Sr. "Rotihnahon:tsi and Rotinonhsón:ni: Historic Relationships Between African Americans and the Confederacy of the Six Nations" in *indivisible: African-Native American Lives in the Americas*. Gabrielle Tayac, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian in association with the National Museum of African American History and Culture and the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 2010. 104-6.

Hinks, Peter. "John Marrant and the Meaning of Early Black Freemasonry" in *William and Mary Quarterly*. 64:1. 105-116.

Huggins, Nathan. "The Deforming Mirror of Truth: Slavery and the Master Narrative of American History" *Radical History Review*. 49. Winter 1991. 25-48.

Jones, Rhett, "Black Over Red: The Image of Native Americans in Black History." *Umoja*, 1:2 Summer 1977. 13-29

Katz, Bernard. "A Second Version of Lucy Terry's Early Ballad" in *Negro History Bulletin*. 29:8 1966. 183-4.

Kerber, Linda. "Abolitionist Perception of the Indian" *The Journal of American History* 62:2 September 1975. 271-295.

Krauthamer, Barbara. "African Americans and Native Americans" in *Origins: Schomburg Studies on the Black Experience*. Howard Dodson and Colin Palmer, eds. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, 2008. 91-134.

Johnson, James Hugo. "Documentary Evidence of the Relations of Negroes and Indians," *Journal of Negro History*. 14. 1929. 21-43.

Johnson, Tekla. "Frederick Douglass and the Kansas-Nebraska Act: From Reformer to Revolutionary" in *The Nebraska-Kansas Act of 1854*. John R. Wunder, Joann M. Ross, eds. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. 113-128.

Johnson, Walter. "Inconsistency, Contradiction, and Complete Confusion: The Everyday Life of the Law of Slavery," in *Law and Social Inquiry*, 22:2. Spring 1997. 405-33.

Lovett, Laura. "African and Cherokee by Choice: Race and Resistance Under Legalized Segregation" *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 22. Winter 1998. 203-229.

Kuhl, Michelle. "We Have Seen the Fate of the Indian, Western Influences on African American Leadership in the Shadow of the Plains Wars." *American Nineteenth Century History*. 12: 1 March 2011. 25-48.

Makofsky, Abraham. "Experience of Native Americans at a Black College: Indian Students at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923" *Journal of Ethnic Studies*. 17:3. Fall 1989. 31-46.

Miles, Tiya. "His Kingdom for a Kiss: Indians and Intimacy in the Narrative of John Marrant," in *Haunted by Empire: Race and Colonial Intimacies in North American History*, Ann Laura Stoler, ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006): 163-188.

McLoughlin, William and Walter Conser. "The First Man was Red: Cherokee Responses to the Debate Over Indian Origins, 1760-1860" *American Quarterly* 41: 2. June 1989. 243-264.

Melish, Joanne Pope. "The Condition Debate and Racial Discourse in the Antebellum North" *Journal of Early Republic*. 19:4. Winter 1999. 651-672.

Minges, Patrick. "Beneath the Underdog: Race, Religion and the Trail of Tears" in *American Indian Quarterly*. 25:3. Summer 2001. 453-479.

Minges, Patrick. "'all my Slaves, whether Negroes, Indians, Mustees, Or Molattoes.' Towards a Thick Description of 'Slave Religion'" in *The American Religious Experience*. Digital Journal, Accessed Electronically. <http://are.as.wvu.edu/minges.htm>

Montgomery, Benilde. "Recapturing John Marrant" in Frank Shuffelton. *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Moody, Jocelyn. "Frances Whipple, Eleanor Eldridge, and the Politics of Interracial Collaboration" in *American Literature*. 63:4. December 2011. 689-717.

Nielsen, Donald M. "The Mashpee Indian Revolt of 1833" *The New England Quarterly*. 58: 3 September, 1985. 400-420.

Porter, Kenneth Wiggins "Relations Between Negroes and Indians Within the Present Limits of the United States" *the Journal of Negro History*. 17. 1932. 287-293

---. "Notes Supplementary to Relations between Negroes and Indians." *Journal of Negro History*. 18:3. 1933. 282-321.

Rael, Patrick. "Free Black Activism in the North." *The History Teacher*, 39:2. Feb. 2006. 215-253

Rezek, Joseph. "The Orations on the Abolition of the Slave Trade and the Uses of Print in the Early Black Atlantic" in *Early American Literature*. 45:3. November 2010. 655-682.

Rusert, Britt. "Types of Mankind :Visualizing Kinship in Afro-Native America" in *Common-Place*. 13:1 October 2012. Accessed Electronically. <http://www.common-place.org/vol-13/no-01/tales/>

Schultz, Heidi M. "Sartain's Magazine: 1849-1851" in *American Periodicals Vol. 6*. 1996. 92-134

Sekora, John. "Red, White, and Black: Indian Captivities, Colonial Printers, and the Early African-American Narrative" in *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*. Frank Shuffelton, ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Shockley, Ann Allen. "Ann Plato" in *Afro-American Women Writers, 1746–1933*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1988. 26–28.

Shoemaker, Nancy, "How the Indians Got to Be Red" *The American Historical Review*. 102: 3. June 1997. 625-644.

Stauffer, John. "Advent Amongst the Indians: The Revolutionary Ethos of Gerrit Smith, James McCune Smith, Frederick Douglass, and John Brown" in *Antislavery Violence: Sectional, Racial, and Cultural Conflict in Antebellum America*. John R. McKivigan and Stanley Harrold, eds. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999. 136-173.

Stevens, Scott Manning. "Other Homes, Other Fronts: Native America During the Civil War" Paper presented at Princeton University on March 29, 2012 (in author's possession).

Stewart, James Brewer. "The Emergence of Racial Modernity and the Rise of the White North, 1790-1840." *Journal of the Early Republic*. 18:2. Summer, 1998. 181-217

---. "Assessing Abolitionism: So What's New." *Reviews in American History* 27:3. 1999. 397-405.

Swan, Robert. "Synoptic History of Black Public Schools in Brooklyn" in *The Black Contribution to the Development of Brooklyn* edited by Charlene Clay Van Derzee. New York: New Muse Community, 1977. 63-71.

Tillery, Alvin. "Tocqueville as Critical Race Theorist: Whiteness as Property, Interest Convergence, and the Limits of Jacksonian Democracy," in *Political Research Quarterly*. 62:4. December 2009. 639-652.

Wallis, Brian. "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotype" in *American Art*. Summer 1995. 38-61.

Ward, Julie. "The Master's Tools:" Abolitionist Arguments of Equiano and Cugoana" in *Subjection and Bondage: Critical Essays on Slavery and Social Philosophy*. ed. Tommy L. Lott. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 79-98.

Weaver, Jace. "The Red Atlantic: Transoceanic Cultural Exchanges" in *The American Indian Quarterly* 35: 3. Summer 2011. 418-463.

Weyler, Karen A., "Race Redemption, and Captivity in A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black and Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings and Surprising Deliverance of Briton Hammon, A Negro Man" in *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic*. 39-53.

West, Elliot "Reconstructing Race" in *Western Historical Quarterly*. 34:1. Spring 2003. 6-26.

Wilson, Ivy. "The Brief Wondrous Life of the Anglo-African Magazine; or, Early African American Editorial Practice and Its Afterlives" in *Publishing Blackness: Textual Constructions of Race since 1850*. Greg Hutchinson and John K. Young, eds. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013. 18-38.

Wilson, William J. "Afric-American Picture Gallery- First Paper." In *Anglo-African Magazine*, ed. William Loren Katz. New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1968. 52-55.

Wolff, Gerald "The Slavocracy and the Homestead Problem of 1854" in *Agricultural History*, 40:2 April 1966. 101-112.

Woodson, Carter G. "Relations of Negroes and Indians in Massachusetts" in *The Journal of Negro History*. 5:1. January 1920. 45-57.

---. "Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing Records of the Negro" *Journal of Negro History*. 10. October 1925. 598-606

Zeugner, John. "A Note on Martin Delany's Blake, and Black Militancy" *Phylon*. 32:1. 1960. 99-105.

THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

Bryant, Joy. "Race Debates Among Nineteenth-Century Colored Reformers and Churchmen" PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 1996.

Field, Kendra "'African American Migration From the Deep South to Indian Territory, 1870-1920.'" PhD Dissertation, New York University, Department of History, 2010.

Hughes, Sakina Mariam "Under One Big Tent: American Indians, African Americans and the Circus World of Nineteenth-Century America," PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Michigan State University. 2012.

Joy, Natalie. "Hydra's Head: Fighting Slavery and Indian Removal in Antebellum America" PhD Dissertation, UCLA, 2008.

Krauthamer, Barbara. "Blacks on the Borders: African Americans' Transitions From Slavery to Freedom in Texas and The Indian Territory, 1836-1907." PhD Dissertation, Princeton University. 2000.

Montesano, Philip. "Some Aspects of the Free Negro Question in San Francisco, 1849-1870" MA Thesis, University of San Francisco, 1967.

Ptolemy, Jayne. "'Our Native soil': Philadelphian Quakers and Geographies of Race, 1780-1838," PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 2013.

Schreier, Jesse. "Different Shades of Freedom: Indians, African Americans, and Race in the Choctaw Nation, 1800-1907" PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, Department of History, 2008.

Smith, Troy. "Slavery, Race and Nation in Indian Territory, 1830-1866" PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois-Urbana Champlain, 2011.

Spires, Derek. "Black Theories of Citizenship in the Early United States, 1793-1860" PhD Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, August 2012.

Tingey, Joseph Willard. "Indians and Blacks together: An experiment in Biracial Education at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923. " MA Thesis, Columbia University, 1978.