Triangulating Race: The Native Presence in Early African American Literature

By

Kate Steinnagel Stutz

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Cherene Sherrard-Johnson, Professor, English
David Zimmerman, Professor, English
Monique Allewaert, Associate Professor, English
Stephen Kantrowitz, Professor, History
Brigitte Fielder, Assistant Professor, Comparative Literature and Folklore Studies

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Introduction

"Next to the case of the black race within our bosom, that of the red on our borders is the problem most baffling to the policy of our country." (James Madison, 1826)

In Alice Walker's *Meridian*, Meridian remembers as a young child going into her father's shed in the backyard, which contained various artifacts of Native American life, like old maps, photographs, and books. The language used to describe the scene places Native Americans in the past, frozen in time. The map which shows the "ancient settlements of Indians" is described as "old," "yellowed," and "cracked" (53). The photographs on the walls portray the Indians as "starved," "glassy-eyed" and "doomed" (53). Meridian's father's shed is a museum, displaying the life of a people that no longer exist; even their photographs capture their death rather than their life. This association with death is carried into the land, as her father owns a plot that was formerly a Cherokee burial mound called the Sacred Serpent. This land, which is nourished by the "iron and calcium from [Cherokee] bones," enables Meridian to spiritually commune with the dead that haunt the mound, giving her a "tangible connection" to the past (59).[1] For Meridian and her father, the Cherokee function as a connection to a specific history, indigeneity, and spirituality—things that African Americans supposedly lost during the rupture of the middle passage. I cite *Meridian* not to single out Alice Walker, but to illustrate a larger discourse in African American literature wherein the native presence enables characters to claim an indigenous belonging to land and nature that was lost when they were forcibly removed from their native land.

Many studies of American literature have focused on the representation of oppressed groups, how literature contributes to the creation and perpetuation of these images, and what purposes they serve in the creation of white American identity.[2] While these studies seek to

expose the mechanisms of racialization in literature, they perpetuate the white/non-white binary. My dissertation disrupts this binary by considering racialization as a triangulation of African American, Native American, and Euro-American identities. As my epigraph suggests, whiteness triangulates between insider and outsider status: the intimacy of the black presence and the foreignness of native presence.[3] This framework is also recognizable through its mirror image, which situates African Americans as exiles and Native Americans as indigenous. African American writers usurp this triangulation in order to claim their rights as citizens even as they critique the mechanisms by which citizenship is determined. My dissertation applies the conceptual framework of triangulation to the field of Afro-Native studies in order to complicate the idealized notion of cross-racial solidarity that is similarly predicated on the white/non-white binary. The native presence in early African American writing enables African Americans triangulate their identities in order to circumvent the binarism of race in America.[4]

Triangulating Race

The presence of the native in early African American literature reveals that the African American literary tradition was not exclusively fueled by the never-ending opposition of black and white, but through the triangulation of Euro-American, African American, and Native American identities. This triangulation enables African Americans to dislodge the fixed binary and produce a concept of race that relies on the movement of mutually constitutive relationships. This relational notion of race manifests in the literature as ambivalence; authors and characters vacillate between defining themselves against Native Americans in order to achieve individual or collective belonging to aligning themselves with Native Americans in order to oppose white hegemony. Through the twin movements of disavowal and identification, African American writers explore less entrenched notions of racial difference.

The concept of triangulation has been studied most within the context of Asian American identity formation. Sociologist Clare Jean Kim uses the term to consider how Asian American identity is triangulated vis-à-vis African American and white identities. She argues that this racialization occurs on two axes: superiority/inferiority and insider/foreigner. While Asian Americans are relatively superior to African Americans, they are considered foreigners and therefore unsuitable as citizens. In this way, she graphs the racial positions as mutually constitutive of one another.[5] In *Race for Citizenship*, Helen Heran Jun builds off this analysis to consider racialization within the context of narrative production. Specifically, she argues that African Americans have employed orientalist discourses of Asian difference in order to constitute their own humanity and citizenship.

How does the racial triangle change, then, when considering Euro-Americans, African Americans, and Native Americans? Shu-Mei Shih calls for scholarship on Native American triangulation in her introduction to a 2008 special issue of *PMLA* on comparative racialization, arguing that this angle has not been considered enough in the field of ethnic studies (1351). My dissertation seeks to remedy this gap by considering how African Americans triangulated their identities in comparison to Native Americans. As my dissertation reveals, racial positions before W.E.B. Du Bois' declaration and demarcation of the color line ran along more than one axis. White American identity itself was generated in relationship to African Americans and Native Americans; European immigrants became American by existing in an environment alongside comparatively more "savage" people. I argue that African American authors triangulate their identities via these two axes: indigeneity/exile and savagery/civilization.[6] The native presence in African American literature enables African American writers to shift their allegiance between these axes. At times, they mark Native Americans as savage exiles, thereby enabling them to

"become indigenous" to American civilization through close contact with Euro-Americans; in other words, they assimilate by usurping the position typically occupied by Native Americans in the racial triangle.[7] At other times, they align themselves more closely with Native Americans in order to critique the mechanisms by which civilization and national belonging are determined. This shifting matrix dislodges the white/non-white binary and reveals how African Americans have used Native Americans in order to negotiate the terms by which race and national belonging are determined.

This racial triangle also differs from Kim's initial formulation because her racial matrix relies on the on the fixity and historical permanence of each position; as she states, both white and black referents are required to maintain Asian Americans in their "equilibrated position" and that this triangulation has only undergone "cosmetic changes" since its inception in the mid-nineteenth century (107). In her effort to illustrate the lasting utility of her framework, Kim disconnects racial positioning from historical context. In contrast, my dissertation examines how African American writers use the racial triangle specifically to disrupt the equilibrium and change their racial position. This means that within any given work, racial characterization is ambivalent and often contradictory, causing the points on the axes to shift; for example, sometimes Frederick Douglass characterizes Native Americans as savages incapable of assimilation into American civilization, whereas elsewhere he draws on the kindness of the Indian in order to portray white slaveholders as savages.[8] I also attend to the centrality of historical context in the processes of racialization. I do not position the axes of indigenous/exile or savage/capacity for civilization as absolute states, nor do I seek to morally condemn these comparisons; rather, my dissertation considers how African Americans triangulated their identities for specific rhetorical and political purposes and in specific historical contexts. By

recognizing that race in American has always been a triangulation, we can consider how early representations of the native in African American literature mark moments of self-definition amidst larger hegemonic mechanisms that police racial differentiation and national belonging.

The Matrix of Afro-Native Studies

There is an already robust and growing field that examines the interconnections between African Americans and Native Americans: what I call Afro-Native studies. Most scholarship in the field of Afro-Native studies takes three main approaches: literature by or about mixed race people, comparative studies of African American and Native American literatures, and historical studies of the intersections between the two groups. My dissertation intervenes in this field by translating the recent revisionist history of nineteenth century Afro-Native relations into literary studies in order to examine how the native presence in early African American literature enabled authors and characters to change the context of their racialization. Thus, I answer Nancy Kang's call for studying not only the historical, but the literary relationships between the two groups (27). This approach adds depth to this growing field by using historical specificity to complicate the idealized notion of cross-racial solidarity. It also expands our understanding of the African American literary tradition by considering how African American authors used the native to mediate racialization, national belonging, and collective identity.

The first approach studies literature that features or was written by mixed race people. This mission, however, tends to conflate cultural and racial identity without considering that these terms have been defined differently over time. For example, in Jonathan Brennan's collection, *When Brer Rabbit Meets Coyote*, attempts to craft a coherent Afro-Native literary

tradition and recover the history of mixed race authors. The collection includes scholarship on folklore, captivity and slave narratives, and modern American literature. According to Brennan, common features, such as African-Native American subjectivity, situational identities, hybrid literary forms, and a state of rootlessness, constitute this coherent tradition (2). Similarly, Keely Byars-Nichols' book, *The Black Indian in American Literature*, studies the appearance of Afro-Native characters in the works of Toni Morrison, Leslie Marmon Silko, and John Marrant, among others. Byars-Nichols positions her work as an extension of scant literary scholarship that explores how fictional characters "negotiate, redefine, construct, and often obscure the lines between" African Americans and Native Americans (3). She argues that this focus enables her to examine the conflation of racial and cultural identities (7). However, this conflation problematically appears both her work and Brennan's; both include John Marrant, who they position as "polyethnic," and the character of Clinton in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead*, who is Afro-Native.[9] While both Brennan's and Byars-Nichols' studies provide a crucial intervention by revealing the presence of Afro-Native characters and writers in American literature, this parallelism obscures the historical specificity of both examples; race in the eighteenth century operated as an external, environmental force; ethnicity was not a term attached to racial identity until the twentieth century. Considering Marrant and Clinton as analogous characters obfuscates this historical distinction.

The second approach to the field is comparative and argues that African American and Native American literatures share similar concerns, techniques, and aesthetics. In privileging solidarity between the two groups, the scholarship tends to perpetuate the race binary between white and non-white and glosses over the more complicated historical relationships. For example, in *Black Looks*, bell hooks argues that a "sacred bond" of "metaphysical kinship" exists

between African Americans and Native Americans (183). Although she mentions the history of Indian slaveholding, she ultimately renders it "less harsh" than Euro-American slavery (192). In *Cultural Sites of Critical Insight,* Angela Cotten and Christa Acampora likewise seek common ground, arguing that African American and Native American literary traditions are similar due to the "joint experiences of cultural dislocation and dispossession, enslavement, and exploitation" (5). In Cotten and Acampora's collection, Barbara Tracy's essay reads Walker's *Meridian* as signifying on Cherokee tradition without considering the problematic way that Cherokee history and spirituality acts as a surrogate for Meridian and her father. Tracy's later dissertation on African American and Native American literature likewise highlights the shared traditions of call and response, blues, and signifying between the two literatures. As Tracy describes it: "This is a fusion of shared traditions with differences that demonstrate the blending of voices and culture between two peoples who have been improvising together for a long time" (i). Like the previous approach, this comparative framework obscures the historical specificity inherent in the racialization of both Africans Americans and Native Americans. This is further compounded by their choice of authors, who are almost exclusively from the twentieth century: Alice Walker, Toni Morrison, Sherman Alexie, and Leslie Marmon Silko. By limiting their examination to such writers, these scholars bypass the more contentious history between the two groups, such as Indian slaveholding, enrollment debates, African American participation in the Indian wars, and African American emigration to Indian territories like Kansas and Oklahoma.[10]

The third approach in Afro-Native studies examines the historical points of convergence between African Americans and specific Native American nations. Earlier histories examine both the camaraderie between escaped slaves and Seminoles as well as slavery in Indian territory, such as within the Cherokee and Creek nations.[11] Like bell hooks' analysis, they

emphasize camaraderie between the two groups. For example, Theda Perdue's earlier work purports that aboriginal culture made Native Americans more lenient masters, because they practiced subsistence farming which required fewer slaves (*Slavery and the Evolution* 144). Historian Michael Doran also supports this position, stating that "full bloods were fairly indulgent masters" (340). Within the last ten years, a renewed interest in Afro-Native history has revised the histories written in the 1970s and 1980s. These recent histories have challenged the idealized communion between African Americans and Native Americans by providing a more complicated picture of Indian slavery. For example, in *Ties that Bind*, Tiya Miles examines the development of Cherokee laws restricting African slaves, as well as the presence of runaways and rebellions within the Cherokee nation. Other histories have examined the doubly marginalized position of Cherokee Freedmen and biracial Afro-Natives, emphasizing struggles for national belonging and self-definition.[12] This shift within historical studies of African American/Native American experiences has not translated into the field of literary studies. Much like the earlier historical studies, the existing criticism idealizes a near mythical connection between the two groups supposedly forged through the shared experience of marginalization and perceived similarities in form and tradition.

Triangulating Race applies the conceptual framework of triangulation to revisionist histories of Afro-Native relations in order to attend to what Sui-Mei Shih refers to as the "chronotype of racialization:" the specificities of time and place in the construction of race (1354). As such, I consider how African American writers both reflect and revise contemporaneous scientific, and later social scientific, notions of racial difference in order to exercise control over processes of racialization. I begin with mid-eighteenth century natural science research that located human difference in environmental factors, continue to polygenetic

research in the mid-nineteenth century, and close at the precipice of the "cultural" turn in anthropology initiated by Franz Boas. While one can certainly examine racialization through other disciplinary angles, I believe that the intersection of scientific and narrative discourse is particularly fruitful, because narrative forwards a radical subjectivity in opposition to the supposed objectivity of scientific racialization. The act of literary self-creation enables the author to re-map their location and/or the location of their characters on the matrix of racial positions. Even more importantly, the confluence of science, narrative, and history have real political stakes in current discussions of tribal enrollment, genetic ancestry, and DNA databanking.

My dissertation examines three historical junctures when the interdependent nature of African American and Native American racialization becomes most apparent: captivity narratives in the eighteenth century, the twin projects of Indian removal and African American emigration in the mid-nineteenth century, and the reconfiguration of the native as a result of U.S. imperialism at the turn of the twentieth century. I have selected texts in which the native figure is used to mediate African American racialization. It is not my goal to provide an exhaustive list of African American works that include Native Americans; at the same time, the comparatively large number of texts I consider supports my argument that the native is both a recurrent and constitutive presence in the African American literary tradition. Some of the writers under consideration, like John Marrant, Frederick Douglass, and Pauline Hopkins, have already been integrated into the African American literary canon, but many of the writers I consider are understudied. While certain scholars have considered how individual authors specifically engage with Native Americans, there is currently no study which considers them as collection.[13] Studying these texts jointly expands our understanding of African American literature by

demonstrating that racialized identities were constructed not through a binary of black and white, but through a triangulation of identities.

Chapter Summaries

The first chapter uses eighteenth century environmental explanations of human difference to revise scholarship on the African American captivity narrative. Current criticism positions African American captivity narratives solely as a precursor to the slave narrative, thus reducing them to a metaphor for the slave experience. Doing so obfuscates the significance of native captivity. Lucy Terry's "Bars Fight" (1746), Briton Hammon's *Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings* (1760), and John Marrant's *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings* (1785) do more than simply use captivity as a metaphor. Rather, they use the experience of captivity and its resultant triangulation of identities (Euro-American, African American, and American Indian) to change the environmental context in which their race is constructed, thereby enabling them to access localized belonging.

Chapter two considers the variety of ways African Americans used the figure of the native to define themselves collectively and individually during the 1850s. In the first section, I argue that Frederick Douglass, James McCune Smith, and Martin Delany strategically use American ethnology generally, and the Native American specifically, to define their respective visions for African Americans' collective identity in relation to the United States: namely, full integration, multiculturalism, and separatism. In the second section, I examine Josiah Henson's 1858 edition of his narrative in order to explore how the native enables Henson to position the institution of slavery as a savage assault on the family. The final section reads two autobiographies in which African Americans pass for American Indian: Okah Tubbee's *A Sketch of the Life* (1852) and James Beckwourth's *Life and Adventures* (1856). In contrast to the first

section, Tubbee and Beckwourth privilege individual self-definition over collective identity and struggle. By centering their identities in native kinship, they challenge normative definitions of racial ontology and genealogy.

Chapter three considers how African Americans at the turn of the century explored the region as a space that could foster more nuanced, hybrid identity. In two examples, Albery Allson Whitman's epic poem *The Rape of Florida* (1884) and Pauline Hopkins' *Winona* (1905), joint Afro-Native communities, in Florida and Kansas respectively, cultivate identities rooted in a shared culture rather than genealogy. Through their representation of cross-racial solidarity, these two texts mark a significant shift in racial triangulation and they more closely resemble the collectivity in modern African American literature. In contrast, Nat Love's *Life and Adventures* (1907) forwards the west as a region where African Americans can transcend race in opposition to greater national threats: namely hostile Native Americans and Mexicans. Despite these differences, in each text national movements overtake the region, foreclosing cultural specificity for national homogeneity; for Whitman, it is the Seminole Wars, for Hopkins, the expansion of slavery into the west, and for Nat Love, the advent of the continental railroad. In this way, I argue that Whitman, Hopkins, and Love contextualize U.S. imperialism at the turn of the century by examining its historical antecedents at home.

Triangulating Race expands the scope of the African American literary canon by revealing that the native has been a foundational and recurrent figure in African American literature which enables writers to circumvent the binarism of race in America.

Chapter One:
Surprizing Captivities and Communities of Belonging

In 1746, a young servant named Lucy Terry composed what is considered to be the earliest known piece of African American writing. Her poem, "Bars Fight," recounts an Indian raid that took place in the town of Deerfield, Massachusetts, where she lived. The fact that the African American canon begins with Indian captivity is no coincidence. In this chapter, I argue that the native was a crucial point of comparison in early African American writing that enabled writers to redefine their belonging to both local and national communities. I explore how Lucy Terry, Briton Hammon, and John Marrant use the intersecting eighteenth century discourses of Indian captivity and degeneration in order to lay claim to indigeneity, or a belonging to a specific community from which they were previously excluded. Contextualizing the captivity narrative within eighteenth century notions of human difference allows us to consider how African Americans writers formed an identity that could transform based on different environmental contexts.[14] By including native figures, these authors dismantle the savage-civilized dichotomy and view race as a triangular relationship between Indians, Africans, and white colonists.[15] This triangulation changes the context in which their race is interpreted and therefore enables them to claim different communities of association.

Reading these writers together forces us to consider the often uncomfortable ways early African American writers reproduced racial difference. As Sandra Gustafson identifies in her introduction to the 2006 roundtable in *Early American Literature* entitled "Historicizing Race in Early American Studies," one of the challenges of thinking about race in this period is "the discrepant and yet intertwined histories of Native American and African American literatures and histories" (309). Part of the work of "historicizing race" in the eighteenth century means acknowledging that African Americans often sought to establish their indigeneity in opposition

to Native Americans. People of color in early America did not always operate out of a "collective identification" that led them to "reclaim" racial categories, as Joanna Brooks argues in her roundtable contribution to the same issue (315). Rather, some African American writers approached the racial triangle more ambivalently, both allying themselves with and differentiating themselves from Native Americans. This chapter extends the project Brooks outlines in her essay: to join scholarship in ethnic studies and early American literature by examining works that represent the full scope of racialization within early America, including both moments of cross-racial solidarity and racial othering.

Revising the Captivity Narrative

Since most captivity narratives were written by white women, the scholarship of the genre has not represented this triangular relationship; instead, it has heavily skewed towards binary relationships: red/white, male/female, Christian/savage. Early critical engagements with the captivity narrative genre mainly discuss captivity as a symbol for the Puritan religious experience and as propaganda during the French and Indian wars (Pearce, "The Significances" 6). Thus, captivity narratives were read as documents which maintained hegemonic structures of race, class, gender, and religion in Puritan New England. In the mid-1990s, however, literary critics like June Namias, Gary Ebersole, and Christopher Castiglia began to examine how the experience of captivity allowed the captives to cross cultural boundaries even as the genre reified those boundaries. As Ebersole puts it, captivity was the ultimate "boundary situation" that troubled a number of binary distinctions (7). Castiglia calls this situation a moment of "culture crossing," wherein white women are released from "ontological determination" and instead "articulate 'hybrid' subjectivities that destabilize white culture's fiction of fixed and pure

identity" (7). Because Castiglia and others focus on narratives primarily written by white women,[16] their discussion of race is bidirectional even as the narratives themselves seek to dismantle binaries. Studying African American experiences with captivity enables us to consider race as a complex triangulation rather than a bidirectional relationship between white and Indian.

Captivity narratives written by African Americans are rarely examined as a distinct genre; rather, they are usually understood in relation with other genres like the slave narrative and the spiritual autobiography.[17] By reading the African American captivity narrative as a precursor to the slave narrative, scholars perpetuate the black-white axis by only examining captivity as an allegory for a master-slave relationship. This misses the triangulation of identity present in African American captivity narratives and the crucial importance of the native as a point of comparison. Lucy Terry, Briton Hammon, and John Marrant use the experience of captivity to disrupt the concept of degeneration debated amongst eighteenth century naturalists. Theorists of degeneration like Georges-Louis Leclerc, Cornelius de Pauw, and Guillaume Raynal argue that the climate and society have produced near-irrevocable differences in Africans and Native Americans. The authors I consider use this focus on climate and society to forward a definition of race that is context-dependent and thus is adaptable to the changing surroundings

My chapter builds on previous studies of the captivity narrative by considering how the inclusion of African Americans disrupts the racial plane by shifting the signifiers of savagery and civilization. Because race was not understood to be internal, one's race and civilization could only be understood by comparison to others'; what was considered "civilized" could only be determined in relation to what was "savage." The change in environment that occurs as a result of captivity allows the captive to change the comparative context in which his/her race is determined. African Americans captivity narratives employ the comparative nature of eighteenth

century degeneration theory to triangulate their racial identities, rather than perpetuate the racial binarism of the standard captivity narrative.

Degeneration Theory and African American Captivity

Considering African American captivity narratives within the context of degeneration theory is particularly fruitful, because it attends to the ways in which narrative generally and the captivity narrative specifically were central to discourses of human difference. The writers in this chapter use narrative narratives of captivity in order manipulate degeneration theory in their favor by showing how the new environment of captivity produces a change in their position in the racial triangle from one of extreme difference to one of association. Europeans thinkers saw young America as a testing ground for environmental theories of race; if racial difference was attributed to external factors such as climate, food, and societal structures, would colonists transform in their new environment? As Lee Dugatkin has observed, natural historians like Georges-Louis Leclerc relied on travel narratives to answer these questions (18); narrative thus fueled and provided data for armchair scientists' speculations regarding degeneration. The possibility of American degeneration was a key point of contestation between European and American intellectuals. European theorists of degeneration used literature as a benchmark for civilization itself; Guillaume Raynal famously declared that "one should not be surprised that America has yet to produce a good poet" (VI, 376), and Cornelius de Pauw similarly stated that although creoles were educated, they had yet to produce a single book (Supplement I, 351).[18] Samuel Stanhope Smith felt that one genre of writing was especially useful in studying degeneration: the captivity narrative. The captive's degeneration into savage society serves as proof of the importance of climate and society in forming human difference (59).

For Europeans, the most defining aspect of the American experience was the presence of both Native Americans and enslaved Africans. Many naturalists wondered how living among uncivilized people in an uncultivated environment would affect transplanted Europeans. As such, early racial theory in America relied on a triangulation between civilized Europeans and uncivilized Native Americans and Africans, with white colonists ambiguously located in between. The theory of American degeneration was introduced by French naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc in *Histoire naturelle*, a thirty-six volume work he wrote between 1749 and 1788. In it, Leclerc argues that compared to Europe, the new world environment is hostile to the development of animals; for example, he states that domestic animals introduced into America are smaller than they are in Europe (XV 444). Leclerc attributes some of these changes to climate, food, and way of life (XV 455-456). By extension, Native Americans are feeble, passive in the face of nature, and impotent.[19] Native Americas were not the only people affected by climate. Leclerc's firm belief in monogenesis led him to argue that Africans were originally white people who had degenerated due to climate; this process could also be reversed, with white people becoming brown (Curran 111). While Leclerc chronicles the degenerative effects of the American environment, he does not speculate on what will happen to transplanted Europeans; he is only willing to consider its effects on European animals introduced to the new environment. He considered the transformative aspects of climate and society to be bidirectional and in his way, his system of classification was more horizontal.

Cornelius de Pauw and Guillaume Thomas Raynal both apply Leclerc's degeneration theory to all people living in America, eventually concluding that the degenerative effects of poor climate and society have rendered near-permanent physical changes in Native American and African populations. de Pauw's *Philosophical Researches on the Americans* (1768) argues

that creoles would degenerate because of America's putrescent environment.[20] He characterizes Native Americans as lazy and incapable of progress and states that creoles "have less genius, less capacity for knowledge, than Europeans" (Qtd. in Commager 100). While de Pauw affirms a correlation between climate and skin color, he emphasizes the internal changes that climate produces; for instance, he attributes Africans' darker skin color to the sperm, which he believes is tainted and can be solved by structured race mixing (Curran 127). de Pauw's analysis suggests that Native Americans and Africans have degenerated so far that their racial differences are beyond environmental redemption (128). Raynal's *Histoire des deux Indes,* first published in 1770 and expanded thereafter, also argues that Europeans may degrade in the American environment (VI 167). In the new world, creoles are "not as sturdy in their work, or as smart in conflict as the Europeans" (VI 376); the English in American have "visibly degenerated" (Qtd. in Commager 15). Although Raynal's *Historie* focuses on the Indies, he devotes an entire section to Africa. His approach differs from Leclerc's in that he is not convinced that climate could have so great an effect; he locates color in the anatomy—between layers of skin—and therefore places less significance on climate. Difference on such an elemental level leaves Raynal to conclude that "the *negres* are a different species of men" (Qtd. in Curran 193). While degeneration theory focuses on the external causes for human difference, its main European proponents theorized that these external causes wrought internal and lasting changes, presaging the turn to anatomical racial difference during the nineteenth century.

Thomas Jefferson and Samuel Stanhope Smith were the two American academics who most extensively responded to fears of American degeneration. In Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), a long section is dedicated to countering Leclerc's degeneration theory. Jefferson critiques Leclerc's sources and data collection methods with regards to natural life. He

also strongly critiques both Leclerc's and de Pauw's view of Native Americans, which he describes as littered with lies.[21] Jefferson defends Indians as brave and affectionate, with active minds, and he believes that "we shall probably find that they are formed in mind as well as in body, on the same module with the 'Homo sapien Europæus'" (66). While Native Americans and Euro Americans are the same species, he positions Africans as less advanced even though he believes Africans have been given more advantages such as being "liberally educated" by living in "countries where the arts and sciences are cultivated" (149). He defends Native Americans' rhetorical prowess and American artistic ingenuity, he famously states that there are no black poets, even amongst the educated (147). He thus transfers the European negative assessment of Native Americans to African Americans. Native Americans are deemed capable of civilization while Africans remain squarely outside it. In fact, Jefferson surmises that when studying the "races of black and of red men," blacks are inferior to whites and therefore it's possible that they may be a different variety or a different species altogether (153). In an attempt to rebuff accusations of degeneracy from writers like Leclerc, de Pauw, and Raynal, Jefferson "redefine[s] the mental binary of European over American as white over black" (Parrish 307).

Samuel Stanhope Smith desired to prove that the American environment was beneficial and therefore his environmentalism required him to remain open to racial transformation for Native Americans and African Americans. Smith addressed the American Philosophical Society in 1787 and subsequently published it under the title *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species*.[22] In it, he lays out his argument for the way climate and society produces human variety, both in terms of external signs such as hair and invisible determinants such as intellectual capacity. He argues against the degeneration principle, stating that immigrants from Europe wouldn't degenerate because of both the

favorable climate and their already advanced stage of civilization.[23] In order to measure the true nature of this change, Smith compares Americans against Africans and Native Americans. For example, he defends America's civilizing environment by comparing domestic slaves and field slaves; field slaves are poorly fed and clothed, living far from "the society and example of their superiors," while domestic slaves have advanced farther towards "civilized society" (56-57).[24] In another example, Smith tells the story of a young Native American who was brought east to be educated, placing him in the same state of society and same climate; this results in the student transforming to appear more similar to Anglo-Americans (61). In this way, Africans and Native Americans provide the poles between which Smith is able to argue for the strength of American climate and society. While Smith did see darker skin as evidence of degeneration, he nevertheless held firm as a monogeneticist and found human nature to be less corruptible than Jefferson.

Both Jefferson and Smith used African Americans and Native Americans to define American climate and culture as civilized. Racial difference hinged on a triangular relationship between these groups, and colonists felt they needed to distinguish themselves in order to prove they were on par with European civilization. Since race and civilization were defined in relationship with others, Native Americans and transported Africans became epitome of the first stage of civilization and served as a point of origin by which all other societies were categorized. Reading captivity narratives written by African Americans reveals the mechanisms by which this racial triangle operated. African American captivity narratives are not merely incidental; they enable African American captives to shift the interpretation of their identities by placing them in a different environment.

In this chapter, I examine Lucy Terry's "Bars Fight" (1746), Briton Hammon's *A Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man* (1760), and John Marrant's *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant* (1785) in the context of both African American captivity and degeneration theory. Each author uses the experience of Indian captivity in order to seek belonging in a new community. Lucy Terry uses her poem to become an insider in her Deerfield community at a time when many New England towns were trying to eliminate their free black populations. Terry accomplishes this by memorializing a collective experience in which natives are the greater outsiders. Unlike Terry, who seeks comparison with those who belong, Briton Hammon defines himself via his captivities in communities where he clearly doesn't belong. Hammon uses the contextual understanding of race to climb from the bottom to the top as he moves from Indians, to the Spanish, and finally to the English. Marrant's narrative marks an important departure from both Terry and Hammon, who define their identities *against* more negative portrayals of natives. Instead, Marrant shifts from his family to a new community by portraying his home community as more savage than the Cherokee whom he successfully converts. In this way, Marrant's narrative forecasts how African American writers in the nineteenth century portrayed Native Americans as more humane than savage slaveholders.[25] By reading these early narratives within the context of my dissertation, it becomes apparent that native figures not only served as a rhetorical touch point, but were actually generative in the African American literary canon.

"Bars Fight"

Lucy Terry's 1746 ballad about an Indian raid in Deerfield, Massachusetts is considered to be the earliest published piece of African American writing.[26] While many anthologies of

African American literature include Terry's "Bars Fight," there has been little in the way of scholarly analysis. I believe that part of this is due to Terry's reproduction of themes that consumed Euro-American consciousness—Indian savagery, tomahawks, and captivity—rather than themes that might suggest a nascent African American consciousness. Terry uses Indian captivity in order to change her relationship to the community in which she resides. She positions natives as outsiders in order to redraw the lines of belonging to include herself as an insider. Terry triangulates Native Americans, colonists, and herself as an African American to ally herself with Deerfield; instead of positioning African Americans and Native Americans as ultimate points of difference in comparison to the colonists, Terry positions Indians as the greater outsiders, even as she critiques the practices by which that status is granted.[27] The mechanisms by which Terry seeks belonging differ from Hammon and Marrant. While the latter authors pursue an individual identity through writing autobiographies, Terry's project is communal; she desires to blend in with her surrounding community, not highlight her own individuality. Thus, she chooses a much more communal form: an oral ballad that did not appear in print until decades after Terry first performed it. By acting as a storyteller, Terry is able to both remove focus from the particularity of her racialized body and also memorialize a communal event.

The scholars who discuss Terry's sole existing work focus on the poem's subversive nature. Gay Gibson Cima calls the poem as "an everyday practice of resistance" (73), and Sharon Harris reads the poem as a satirization of the captivity narrative genre (*Executing Race* 151). While I don't deny the validity of these readings, emphasizing the resistant nature of the poem misses the crucial ambivalence with which Terry approaches her subject. The poem serves to both solidify her membership in a white-dominated community and provide her the distance necessary to critique the mechanisms of belonging. More specifically, Terry's representation of

a French-Indian raid allows her to move from stranger to insider during a period when free blacks were being pushed out of New England communities. At the same time, her focus on Eunice Allen, who was injured during the raid, and Samuel Allen, who was taken captive, critiques the community in which she desires to belong. This ambivalence, common amongst other authors in this study, allows Terry to assume multiple positions rather than be hemmed in by race.

Terry first attempts to become part of the Deerfield community by assuming the position of historian and storyteller. Terry's choice of form coincides with this, as one scholar of the ballad defines the form as a "communal song" where the "I" is extrinsic (Newman 3). By telling the community's story, rather than her own individual story, Terry lays claim to communal belonging. More specifically, Terry accomplishes this by superimposing the Indian raid of 1746 over the more well-known raid of 1704. In the latter raid, a French and Indian coalition attacked Deerfield and took over one hundred residents captive. Of those captives, two achieved notoriety: Reverend John Williams and his daughter, Eunice. The reverend and his daughter took divergent paths which represent the varied responses to captivity. Reverend Williams was released and wrote about his ordeal in *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* (1707), which quickly became one of the most famous captivity narratives ever published. Eunice, on the other hand, chose to remain in French Canada, converted to Catholicism, married a Mohawk man, and started a family. Thanks in part to *The Redeemed Captive* and the fascination surrounding Eunice's "indianization," the 1704 raid became part of local lore. Terry capitalizes on this storyline already memorialized within the community.[28] By telling the story of the later raid, Terry signals her participation in a community-defining event, knowing that her ballad of the later raid would be read through the lens of local history. This participation helps to position her

as a member of the community. By connecting the two raids, Terry also highlights the specific anxiety surrounding Indian captivity: not the feared tomahawk, but the acculturation possible when one lives among the Indians for an extended period of time.

Terry also positions herself as an insider by giving the poem a communal focus. One way she accomplishes this is through her use of pronouns. She only uses "I" once, and it is not in reference to herself, but rather what the purpose of her poem is: "The Indians did in ambush lay, / Some very valiant men to slay, / The names of whom I'll not leave out." This suggests that she did not personally experience the raid. Even more importantly, however, it emphasizes her identity as a member of the community. In discussing Samuel Allen's death, she states: "His face no more shalt *we* behold" (emphasis added). Thus she portrays it as a communal loss rather an individual loss.[29] She assumes a familiarity with her subjects by recording not just what happened to them, but also their intentions. For example, we're told that Eteazer Hawks *would* have fought, if he had seen the attack coming. She also states that Eunice Allen had "hoped" to save herself by running away. In this way, she emphasizes the sense of collectivity that was crucial to the captivity narrative genre.

Terry establishes herself as a member of the Deerfield community by positioning others as outsiders—namely the Indians. She accomplishes this by employing cultural stereotypes and removing the attackers as actors in the scene. For example, she places them outside the bounds of humanity by calling them "awful creatures," echoing Mary Rowlandson's moniker for her captors. Terry also uses the widely recognized emblem of native violence, the tomahawk, to further differentiate the settlers from the Indians. Eunice's near-scalping reproduces an image common in the cultural imagination at the time: that of a defenseless white woman being set upon and scalped by Indians.[30] Terry further differentiates the Indians from the settlers by

removing them as actors in the poem; she repeatedly uses the passive voice to describe actions done to the settlers. Although the Indians are the apparent aggressors, she does not afford them any action; the settlers are the subjects of the poem. For example, Eteazer Hawks "was killed outright" and Oliver Amsden "was slain." This language affords more heroic action to the settlers and effectively erases the Indians altogether. Thus, through using the passive voice and relying on the cultural scripts of savagery, Terry positions the Indians as paradigmatic outsiders. She, in comparison, can be considered a community member despite her race.

Even as Terry uses the figure of the native to gain membership in the Deerfield community, her poem offers some subtle critiques of the community. Her ambivalence allows her to occupy multiple positions and see the raid from multiple viewpoints. Terry's most significant critique is of the place of women within the community; she portrays Eunice Allen as being trapped by whiteness and womanhood. Although every other character receives one or two lines within the poem, Eunice Allen occupies six. Terry's choice to gloss over Samuel Allen's "heroic fight" in favor of his daughter's seemingly less heroic flight breaks with the tradition of frontier narratives. This seems to suggest that Terry views Eunice's struggle as worthy of remembrance, perhaps even more so than her father Samuel's fight to the death. Despite the significance she grants Eunice in the poem, the language Terry uses affords Eunice limited action. As mentioned before, in the majority of the poem, the settlers are made the subjects of every statement while the Indians disappear through the use of the passive voice. This changes in Eunice's section, however; instead, things act upon Eunice: awful creatures and petticoats. Eunice initially attempts to take action: "Eunice Allen see the Indians coming, / And hopes to save herself by running." Eunice's section is the only one to take place in the present tense, giving it immediacy. Despite this, there is a sense of inevitability in what happens to her:

"And had not her petticoats stopped her, / The awful creatures had not catched her." The repeated construction of "had not" seeks to imagine a different reality, even as the original listeners would have already known the actual outcome. Eunice's actions, then, do not affect the outcome. Her section quickly moves from her proactive stance to "save herself" into a sense of futility.

Interestingly, Terry does not provide Eunice's full story. I think Terry makes this choice because she wants to emphasize the limited choices for women in the Deerfield community. As Deerfield historian George Sheldon records, Eunice survived the attack and lived to be eighty-five, although she never fully recovered (*History of Deerfield* 547). Gay Gibson Cima argues that Terry leaves this out of her narrative because it goes against her effort to unite Euro-Americans and African Americans against a common enemy: Native Americans (77). I read Terry's omission as furthering her subtle critique of Deerfield. Eunice is unable to escape the culturally defined role of white womanhood and is therefore transformed from an individual into a stereotype. As part of the larger cultural script of frontier living, the *threat* of violence done to white women was more important than the reality or aftermath of the violence itself. Thus, the image is of the moment of attack, not its outcome. As mentioned before, Deerfield residents would have associated Eunice Allen with Eunice Williams, who was taken captive forty years earlier. For Eunice Williams, captivity enabled her to escape and ultimately upturn cultural expectations, as she chose to remain in her French-Mohawk community. Eunice Allen, on the other hand, is unable to escape this cultural script and thus, quite literally, becomes "tripped" up in it.

Just as Terry portrays women as trapped within the Deerfield community, she quietly mocks the men. Stories of Indian raids were supposed to highlight the bravery of Euro-

American men, who protect their family and property at all costs. However, Terry parallels Eunice's reaction with that of Eteazer Hawks and John Sadler in order to challenge this view. While Eunice did "see the Indians coming," Eteazer Hawks was killed "before he did the Indians see." Although it was a man's job to protect the community, Eunice is aware of what is happening before Hawks is. Terry also compares Eunice's attempt to flee with John Sadler, who "fled across the water, / And thus escaped the dreadful slaughter." Although the poem doesn't provide this context, Sadler was one of the soldiers sent to guard the settlers as they worked the fields on the day of the raid (Harris, *Executing Race* 175). Terry's initial audience would have known this and recognized the irony that Eunice had to "save herself" while her protector fled. In this way, Terry opposes the stories of Eunice and Eteazer Hawks in order to disrupt gender binaries.

Terry challenges the captivity narrative genre as a whole by ending her poem with a moment of captivity rather than a scene of restoration. While the others were attacked or killed outright, the raiders took Samuel Allen Jr. captive: "Young Samuel Allen, Oh lack-a-day! / Was taken and carried to Canada." Throughout most of the poem, Terry positions herself as an observer of events. She describes what happens to everyone else in a straightforward, matter-of-fact way. Here, however, "oh lack-a-day" interrupts the telling and suggests that Terry, known for her oral prowess, is unable to find the words to describe the experience of being kidnapped and taken to a foreign country. In this moment, she breaks through as a speaker, expressing her own emotion and her recognition that she cannot adequately describe it. As other scholars have noted, it is possible that Terry is drawing a connection between her own experience as a slave and the experience of captivity.[31] She thus critiques any culture that kidnaps children and breaks up families (Cima 77). While captivity narratives typically end with the restoration of the

captive and the rebalance of power, in Terry's poem, the balance is never restored. Sharon Harris reads this poetic decision as initiating a "significant tradition of resistance in African American literature" ("Lucy Terry" 110). This choice is even more interesting when we consider that when Samuel Allen was eventually recovered by his uncle, he did not want to return and would not speak English.[32] Whether Terry knew about this final outcome or not, it provides an interesting parallel to Eunice Williams' story, where the loss of language indicates a loss of community ties and affinity. Both Eunice Williams and Samuel Allen's refusal to return to the Deerfield community serves as evidence of the degeneration theory: that changes in community can cause changes in racial identity.

The ambivalence towards the community expressed in Terry's poem can be explained by the equally ambivalent position of African Americans in colonial New England. Slavery in New England was different than in the southern colonies, because the slaves often lived in the same house as their masters and worked alongside them in daily tasks. In this sense, slaves were seen as both part of and outside of the family. Joanne Pope Melish explains that the family "provided a site that was in some ways ideal for making difference compatible while keeping it different" (28). Slaves were considered part of the community only through their connection to the family that enslaved them. Free African Americans, on the other hand, were considered "strangers" under the law, meaning they were deemed unqualified for legal settlement in the towns where they lived. Since legal settlement was a designation used to determine the distribution of the town's social welfare, strangers could be "warned out" of a town and sent back to their town of legal settlement, especially if there was concern over their ability to support themselves (Melish 190). As more African Americans achieved freedom in New England at the turn of the eighteenth century, the system of warning out became a way for towns to control their free black

populations (190).[33] Ruth Herndon explains that "warning out… enabled officials to draw a circle around those who 'belonged' to the community in such a way that people of color fell outside" (20, *Unwelcome Americans*). Without slavery governing the context of their relationship to the community, African Americans were considered strangers—a people that didn't belong. With this history in mind, we can read Terry's poem as an attempt to redraw these lines of belonging by positioning Indians as the strangers.

Legal settlement and warning out practices explain the tenacity with which Lucy and Abijah Prince fought to retain their land. When Terry married her husband in 1756, he was one of the only black landholders in the area. Over their lifetime, Abijah and Lucy fought to retain all three of their land plots: Northfield, Massachusetts, Guildford, Vermont, and Sunderland, Vermont. Within the context of warning out practices during the time, it became all the more important for the Princes, as free blacks, to defend their land ownership. They advocated at town meetings, sustained attacks from neighbors, sued, and petitioned the courts for protection. Terry took on the role of advocate after Abijah sustained an injury that would plague him the rest of his life. She went to the Vermont State Council in 1785 to defend their land and family in Guilford, arguing that neighbors were "greatly oppressing" them. The Council ordered the town of Guilford to provide protection to the family (Gerzina 155). A few months after the order of protection was issued, a hired mob broke into their Guilford home and severely beat their servant (158). The fight for their land in Sunderland was all the more important, for Lucy was under threat of being warned out. Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina conjectures that Sunderland fought her claims because if she was a legitimate proprietor, they would have to pay to support her and her infirm daughter, Drucilla.[34]

In later years, the town would erase the Princes' various battles for community belonging and remember Lucy fondly. Her obituary, published in 1821 in the *Vermont Gazette,* highlights her role in the community as a skilled conversationalist and a respected church member. For example, they state she was a "remarkable woman" with an "assemblage of qualities rarely to be found among her sex," and that "she was much respected among her acquaintance, who treated her with a degree of deference" (Qtd. Harris, *Executing Race* 183). The obituary only mentions Abijah's status as a landowner once, saying that he lost his land due to "inattention" (Qtd. Harris 183). While during her life Lucy Terry had to fight for her rights as a member of her community, historians would re-write her as a colorful fixture in town, well-known and well-respected.

The limits of Terry's oral form become apparent in light of the publication history of "Bars Fight." Her critique of the Deerfield community is silenced when placed within the larger tradition of Deerfield historians who desired to preserve the town's history through collecting oral histories, conducting genealogical research, and preserving historic buildings. In *Pastkeepers in a Small Place,* Michael Batinski explores this tradition which started with the 1704 Indian raid and continued through the end of the nineteenth century.[35] According to Batinski, the town of Deerfield created and fostered its own collective identity by drawing on literary traditions, storytelling, and communal memory (26). Anthropologist Margaret Bruchac argues crafting such a "triumphal historical narrative" required erasing the history of conflict with the Pocamtuck Indians (148). Terry's poem first appeared in print in an 1854 *Springfield Republican* article on the history of Deerfield, placing it within the larger context of historical preservation and commemoration.[36] In this context, Terry's more ambivalent attitude towards the Deerfield community has been transformed into a "commemoration" of the settlers and

incorporated into the dominant history that was crafted by the white descendants of the town's early residents. As Bruchac explains, "The production of history became, in this way, a method of crafting white cultural heritage by claiming the past as the collective property of non-Native settlers and their descendants" (33).

In this sense, Terry's ballad accomplished what she hoped it would in positioning her as a member of the Deerfield community. While "Bars Fight" relies on certain stereotypes of the settler-Indian experience, Terry does so in order to re-draw the boundaries of belonging in colonial New England. For Terry, the poem served a communal function, as it was originally an oral piece, most likely delivered at place where townspeople would gather to hear her stories. The poem thus establishes her status as a citizen of Deerfield through her role as local historian and storyteller. By portraying those who are even greater outsiders, Terry is able to move from being a "stranger" to an established and valued community member. The ballad exhibits a critical ambivalence that would, in later years, be ignored by historians wishing to depict Deerfield's history as the victory over Native Americans. Despite this, "Bars Fight" establishes a tactic that African Americans writers continue to adopt into the nineteenth century—using native figures to both argue for African Americans' belonging and critique the very mechanisms by which belonging is determined.

"A True Englishman"

While Lucy Terry accesses community belonging by eschewing individual difference in order to portray the greater differences between natives and Deerfield residents, Briton Hammon accesses belonging by highlighting where he *doesn't* belong. For Hammon, the land represents captivity and a more fixed identity, while the sea provides a mobile environment that allows him

to "trade up" his identity. Through his successive captivities and escapes, Hammon climbs up the great chain of being, going from Indians to the Spanish and finally to the English. In this sense, Paul Gilroy's theorization of the black Atlantic as a space where identities "are always unfinished, always being remade" holds true (xi). With each change in environment, Hammon is able to destabilize markers of human difference.

Scholars have placed Hammon's narratives in a number of generic contexts, such as the spiritual autobiography, the sea adventure, the impressment narrative, the Indian captivity narrative, and as a forerunner of the slave narrative. This speaks to the way in which Hammon's narrative both reprises and revises popular forms in the eighteenth century. Both William Andrews and Karen Weyler read Hammon within a religious context; Weyler argues that Hammon asserts Protestant Christian identity in order to define difference in terms of religion rather than skin color. I believe this reading overemphasizes the importance of Christianity in Hammon's narrative. When compared to other narratives such as Mary Rowlandson's *Sovereignty and Goodness of God* and John Marrant's *Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, Hammon's narrative seems peculiarly bereft of Christian references. His narrative is only bookended with proclamations of God's goodness, and the syntax changes in these sections suggest they were included by the editor and not Hammon himself. Other scholars, such as Frances Smith Foster, who are invested in establishing the African American literary tradition, position *Uncommon Sufferings* as a precursor to the slave narrative.[37] The assumption behind this reading is that Indian captivity and American slavery are interchangeable, or at the very least, comparable experiences. I believe that reading Hammon in this way reduces the complexity of his various identity negotiations to a simple dichotomy of captor and captive. Reading Hammon's narrative

as a captivity narrative attends to his triangulation of African American, Euro-American, and Native American identities, as well as between African American, Spanish, and English.

My reading of *Uncommon Sufferings* builds on Karen Weyler's by considering how Hammon uses his successive captivities to craft what Weyler terms a more "fungible" identity (88). While Weyler argues that Hammon accesses this through discourses of culture and religion, my reading examines not only the discourse itself but also the narrative mechanisms that Hammon employs to initiate the shift: namely eighteenth century environmentalism and degeneration theory. In this context, it is not the identity itself that is mobile or flexible, but the environment which crafts it. I thus argue that Hammon's successive captivities and escapes enable him to change the environmental context in which his identity is determined. Importantly, his time amongst the Indians and the Spanish do not degenerate his identity as some contemporary theorists projected; rather, by positioning himself as comparatively more civilized than his captors, he is able to move up the great chain and reach the pinnacle as a "true Englishman."

The collective nature of seafaring created an environment where race was less determinant than on shore. As a result, many African Americans seaman saw seafaring, even under impressment, as an escape (Bolster 31). Hammon's narrative explores environmental conceptions of race within the mobile context of seafaring. The ship, just like land, can be considered a unique environment capable of transforming identity. According to Denver Brunsman, ships were considered locatable places; as "wooden worlds," they were sovereign territory in their own right (6). The mobile environment of the ship serves as a transitory space dependent on comparison for its placedness; it is defined by the fixed land that surrounds it. As Hammon illustrates in his narrative, he has more freedom to transform his identity when he has

access to a number of environmental contexts. For him, this includes Massachusetts, Jamaica, Florida, Cuba, and England. His captivities, then, literally transport him from one identity to another.

Reading Hammon's narrative within the context of eighteenth century environmentalism also challenges our understanding of the black Atlantic. As a seaman, Hammon's Atlantic is a complex negotiation between forced and voluntary movement. Jeffrey Bolster has argued that black seamen often experienced more freedom on the sea than on land; at the same time, ships would always signify the dislocation of slave experience. In other ways, Hammon's narrative does not easily fit the transnational framework forwarded by scholars of the Atlantic. Gilroy states that the black Atlantic represents a "desire to transcend structures of the nation state and the constraints of ethnicity and national particularity" (19). Bolster similarly identifies a transnational impetus when he argues that black seamen were crucial to the creation of a transnational black consciousness (21). Scholars writing on Hammon do not position his narrative in this way; for example, Rafia Zafar argues that Hammon's narrative is "colorless" because he deemphasizes racial particularity (56). I argue that Hammon reproduces and employs the structures that Gilroy's black Atlantic "transcends" in order to reposition his own identity. Instead of being on the lowest scale of civilization as an African, the Atlantic brings him into contact with other groups he can compare his own stage of civilization to. Hammon uses the structure of human difference in the eighteenth century in order to access English identity.

Hammon's first captivity among the Indians positions him as comparatively more civilized than his captors. According to Ronald Meek, eighteenth century theories of race depended on the American Indian as a base point of comparison in determining the civilization of other groups (41). Since Indians were considered to be emblematic of man in the state of

nature, Hammon's outsider status while in captivity among them positions him at a higher stage of development. In other words, he positions Indian captors as the ultimate site of difference rather than Africans. While transporting logwood, his ship becomes stranded off the coast of Florida. He and his shipmates believe they're saved when they see the English flag flying from approaching canoes; they soon realize, however, that they are Indian and not English (5). The Indians are revealed as poor mimics of English identity who do not bear up under closer scrutiny. Hammon highlights their distance from civilization when he calls them "barbarous and inhuman Savages" and "Devils" (6).[38] Both "savagery" and "barbarism" were terms used to differentiate stage of civilization, signaling his awareness of the hierarchy. In this way, he uses the native similarly to others during this period: as a point of differentiation. Contrary to degeneration theory, his captivity enhances rather than threatens his civilized status.

Despite this othering, Hammon displays ambivalence through his recognition that his fear was somewhat unjustified. He states that "they were better to me than my Fears" and "us'd me pretty well" (7); indeed, to highlight this he states that he was "soon unbound" (7). How does he explain this kind treatment after the death of his shipmates? "the Providence of God order'd it otherways" (7).[39] Hammon's use of "order'd" has multiple resonances. It recalls the Captain's orders to him and the rest of the crew when they run aground and the Indians' orders to him as a captive; indeed, the word appears five times in two short pages. In these two examples, the ordering is authoritative and marks a power differential; Hammon is below the captain and under his authority. This former resonance highlights the alternative definition of order: to classify according to a pre-existing schema. Both the ship's captain and the Indians classify Hammon as expendable; he is worth less than the wood his captain refuses to dump overboard and only what the Indians can gain for his ransom. Despite this, Hammon tells us that God has "order'd it

otherways," trumping the authorities who ordered him according to worldly systems of classification. This rhetorical move embodies his approach; he acknowledges racial classification only so far as it allows him to reorder his position.

Hammon's second captivity in Havana allows him to define himself against another group racially differentiated from the English: Catholic Spain. After living in Havana for a year, he encounters a Spanish press gang who throw him in a dungeon for refusing to serve aboard a Spanish ship (8). He portrays this captivity as more brutal than his Indian one, pointing out that he was "confin'd" in prison for four years while the Indians "unbound" him (8). Hammon also parallels his two captivities through the opposing authorities of God and man; he once again explains his release from prison by saying "Providence so order'd it" (8). Just as his Indian captivity differentiates him from savagery and the state of nature, Hammon's captivity among the Spanish allows him to distinguish himself from the barbarity and opulence of Catholic Spain. For example, he describes how he was ordered to carry the Catholic Bishop around in a velvet chair as he performed rites for profit (10). Like his comparison with the Indians, the contrasting picture between himself and the Spanish relies on English notions of the racial order. In the eighteenth century, Britain positioned Spain as its racial other through the Black Legend: the portrayal of Spain as barbarous, decadent, authoritarian, and cruel in conquests of native populations. As Ana Hontanilla explains, English writing from this period "produced the image of a decadent and backward Spanish" at the very moment England sought to expand its empire. As such, Spain was "excluded from ideas of civilization and Enlightenment" (125).[40] Hammon leverages his captivity by the Spanish in order to highlight his superiority, moving him closer to association with the English.

Hammon's refusal to fight for the Spanish solidifies his loyalty to the English and their colonies by assuaging any fears of a black-Spanish collusion, which were running rampant in New England during the mid-eighteenth century. The New York Conspiracy of 1741, which took place during the War of Jenkins' Ear, provides important context for Hammon's narrative.[41] The conspiracy was supposedly a collusion between slaves, poor whites, and Spanish seamen to revolt and set fires in New York City.[42] Tensions were already heightened due to the war, and many colonists feared that their slaves would be lured to help Spain invade America in exchange for the promise of freedom.[43] As Andy Doolen puts it, the War of Jenkins' Ear "turned the loyal slave into a fierce, foreign soldier" (29). By choosing to be held in a dungeon for four years over serving on a Spanish ship, Hammon solidifies his dedication to English interests. He uses his years among the Spanish to illustrate that the environment has not turned him into a "Spanish negro" as the Spanish seamen were referred to; it has, paradoxically, moved him closer to being English.

Hammon's escape on the English navy ship marks the final step in his shifting identity: becoming English. He renders the Indians and Spanish less civilized by paralleling his escapes. When escaping from the Indians aboard the Spanish schooner, he describes how they "came after" him and claimed him as their prisoner (7). While the governor refuses their request, he does agree to pay for Hammon's release; the Spanish still classify him as a commodity by acquiring his freedom through a monetary transaction. In his second major escape from the Spanish abroad an English ship, Hammon relates how the Spanish come "alongside" the navy ship and demand his return (11). The word "alongside" recalls the Indian attack, when the canoes come "alongside" the sloop (5). Hammon's word choice highlights the comparative relationship he draws between the Indians and the Spanish, and between the Spanish and the

English. When compared alongside the Indians and the Spanish, the English are deemed the most civilized. The English captain refuses the Spanish request, saying he would not "deliver up any Englishmen under English Colours" (11). The captain's recognition of him as English certifies his final transformation. Unlike the Indians, who are poor mimics of Englishness despite flying the flag, Hammon successfully transforms, and the flag confirms it as truth rather than mimicry.

Hammon shows his commitment to the English crown through his willing impressment in the English navy, as opposed to his refusal under Spanish impressment. After he escapes Cuba, he is "turned over," meaning he was impressed on to an English ship (11). Impressment was hotly debated in America and England, with many likening it to slavery. Because so many seamen were impressed, merchants had to staff their ships with African Americans and Native Americans (Brunsman 116).[44] The Boston Knowles Riot, the largest impressment riot in American soil, occurred in Boston only a few weeks before Hammon set sail on his initial voyage.[45] In the town meeting held afterwards, city leaders blamed the riot on foreign seamen, black slaves, and "other Persons of mean & vile condition" (Brunsman 363).[46] Like the New York Conspiracy, then, the riots stoked fears of a foreigner-slave conspiracy. By highlighting his willingness to serve in the English navy, Hammon shows the readers he is an obedient and grateful servant.[47] Rather than depicting his English impressment as another captivity, he uses it to access English identity.

Hammon's equation of land with captivity continues even after he "becomes" English. For example, he describes how he "was put" into a hospital in Greenwich to recover from injuries sustained in battle and "was confin'd" when later taken sick in London (12). These bodily ailments constitute further captivities for Hammon, suggesting that even while in

England, he cannot escape confinement. The final ship he voluntarily sails on is bound for Boston, and he miraculously is reunited with his master, General Winslow. Hammon ends his narrative here. Hammon's silence regarding his return to Boston speaks volumes, as in the rest of his narrative his experiences on land have always been described as captivity; this ending leaves the reader to assume what waited for him was further captivity.[48] Hammon's progress up the chain of being turns out to be a false one. Rather than a consistent trajectory upward, his experience becomes a cycle of captivity and freedom; each freedom he attains is only temporary.

Hammon's position as a sailor is key to his ability to differentially define his identity, which is forged in the transnational crosscurrents of the Atlantic. He leverages colonial anxieties surrounding slaves, Indians, and the Spanish, in order to recreate his identity as an Englishman. One can read his narrative as a succession of forced and voluntary movement. For Hammon, land signifies captivity, whereas the sea signifies freedom. He uses degeneration theory's focus on climate and society to transform his associations with each subsequent captivity. By linking a mobile environment with a mobile identity, Hammon forecasts later African American writers who see migration and movement as ways to uproot definitions of race and belonging.

Marrant's Regeneration

Both Lucy Terry and Briton Hammon take advantage of eighteenth century degeneration theory to form an identity contingent on the climate and society that surrounds them; through the experience of captivity, both authors triangulate identity in order to fashion themselves as comparatively more civilized than the Indians. This comparison enables them to lay claim to indigeneity in a community that previously excluded them. John Marrant reverses this by portraying his transience as a form of captivity, while his belonging to an otherworldly Christian

community provides a more stable, lasting identity. *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant* draws on the dichotomous theology preached by New Light evangelists like George Whitefield: one is either regenerated or a stranger to God.[49] In *American Lazarus*, Joanna Brooks likewise meditates on the theme of regeneration through the figure of Lazarus, who embodies how African American and Native American communities "regenerated" in the face of the "crushing legacies of slavery and colonization" (3). This section builds on Brooks' broad analysis to consider the theology of regeneration within the specific context of captivity and degeneration theory. In doing so, we can see how Marrant uses this theology to remake the terms of degeneration and regeneration in the eighteenth century. By basing belonging on Christian faith, Marrant positions natives as potential converts rather than savage points of negation.

While writers in the mid-eighteenth century like Leclerc concerned themselves with the environment's ability to raise or lower one's stage in the great chain of being, a British evangelist named George Whitefield forwarded a new possibility: regeneration through conversion. Whitefield made six trips to America during his career and quickly became one of the most popular New Light preachers.[50] His focus on experiential faith challenged the traditional emphasis on intellectual and sacramental conversion. As Eileen Elrod explains, "competing hierarchies of authority were displaced or challenged" through Whitefield's message and manner of preaching (4). His teaching influenced many eighteenth century black writers, including Phillis Wheatley, Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, Olaudah Equiano, David George, John Jea, and John Marrant.[51] I argue that this is because Whitefield's formulation of regeneration or new birth troubled the correlation between outward appearance and innate character: a distinction that would empower African Americans to regenerate their identities and join a larger Christian

community. In *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, Marrant appropriates Whitefield's theology of new birth in order to transform his familial association in favor of an otherworldly belonging. Marrant subverts the captivity narrative by depicting his time with the Cherokee as a regeneration rather than a degeneration. This experience later inspires the proto-nationalist theology he develops while in the black Canadian settlement of Birchtown.

In Marrant's narrative, changes in environment produce an unstable identity, leaving him without an anchor. He describes his family's various migrations as "removes," echoing Mary Rowlandson's use of the term to structure her narrative. His family's instability causes him to recognize that community affiliation is temporary; as he supposes God to say to him, "here we have no continuing city" (205). On earth, there is no stable, permanent environment to which he can belong. As Marrant explains, this causes him to be "as unstable as water" (206). His family's transience becomes a form of captivity, leaving him without a firm foundation.

Marrant portrays his conversion experience as freedom from this captivity; it enables him to transition from instability to relational belonging. He contrasts his identity before and after his conversion to highlight the change his new birth has wrought. When his family moves to Charleston, he initially intends to apprentice into a trade but becomes a musician instead. He describes the moment he was first introduced to music: "as I was walking one day, I passed by a school, and heard music and dancing, which took my fancy very much, and I felt a strong inclination to learn music" (205). While he gains notoriety around town, he describes his success in terms of alienation and negation; he is both a "stranger to want" and "a slave to every vice" (206). This all changes when Marrant is out for another walk one night and passes a large meeting house with filled with people ready to hear Whitefield preach (206). His friend induces him to go in and disturb the meeting by playing his French horn. Agreeing, Hammon walks in

and is about to blow when Whitefield shouts: “PREPARE TO MEET THY GOD, O ISRAEL” (206). With this, he is struck senseless and is unable to speak. Marrant parallels his musicianship and his conversion in order to highlight their very different results. While his time as a musician destabilizes him, his conversion places him firmly into a relationship with God, as Whitefield declares that he will “meet God” and that Christ has “gotten him” at last (207). Marrant’s conversion frees him from his enslavement to sin and he is able new belonging through his relationship with God.

Marrant’s conversion experience coincides with Whitefield’s conceptualization of “new birth,” which privileges inward change over outward appearance. Whitefield believed that true conversion would change a person at their core; for him, new birth was not a metaphor. In his most famous sermon on the topic, “On Regeneration,” Whitefield argues that new birth is the “most fundamental doctrine” in Christianity, but it is rarely preached.[52] Regeneration should cause a complete break with the previous self and produce identifiable changes in a person’s life. He contrasts those who have experienced an “inward change” with those who only exhibit an “outward profession” of Christianity. Those who exhibit “a bare performance of outward duties,” such as taking communion and fasting, are worse than those with no belief at all. In this way, Whitefield defines belonging based on simple dichotomy; the only significant human difference is that between the regenerated and unregenerated. Marrant parallels the story of his coming to music with his story of coming to God in order to highlight the great change that occurs. When he enters the meeting house, he mistakes the scene as an opportunity for performance in front of an audience. Just before he disrupts Whitefield’s sermon, he is called out and transformed. Marrant’s conversion renders his musicianship a mere “outward

performance" and he is left unable to speak and eventually stops playing music. His conversion enables him to regenerate and transform his communal belonging through new birth.

Marrant uses this new birth to level the hierarchies of difference which place both Africans and Indians as savage points of difference. Whitefield's central distinction between the regenerated and the unregenerated produces a certain equality. For Whitefield, the external is a poor metric of a person's true character; people can go through the outward performances without any correspondence to their inward hearts. This disjunction between outward appearance and inner truth means that inner change functions as an equitable measure for all, regardless of "denomination, age, degree, or quality" ("On Regeneration"). Whitefield directed this egalitarian message to southern slaveholders in a letter he published in 1740: "Blacks are just as much, and no more, conceived and born in sin, as white men are; and both, if born and bred up here, I am persuaded are naturally capable of the same improvement."[53] This line suggests Whitefield's knowledge of the rhetoric surrounding African Americans and degeneration; because both blacks and whites are born and bred in the same environment and society, they are capable of the same "improvements;" however, unlike the environmentalism born out of the Enlightenment, Whitefield's improvement depends on religious conversion rather than secular society.[54] As Thomas Kidd notes, "Whitefield's preaching could have unpredictable social consequences" and "several of his disciples veered towards revolutionary egalitarianism" (217). In this way, his approach differs from Terry and Hammon, who both appropriate the hierarchy to position themselves as more civilized in comparison to Indians.

Marrant further entrenches his new belonging by perpetuating the dichotomy between believers and strangers in the context of captivity. He portrays his family as his captors, thus transforming the captivity narrative trope of a Christian held captive by heathens. Marrant's

sister believes he is "crazy and mad" and he is persecuted by his mother and neighbors (208). He becomes so desperate that he declares that it would be "better for [him] to die than to live among such people" (209). Here again, he echoes Rowlandson's declaration that she would choose to die rather than be taken captive (139). In this way, his family and the Charleston community are depicted as "others" who hold him captive and try his resolve to "cleave to the Lord" (208). Marrant continues to invert the captivity narrative by positioning the civilization of Charleston as a "wilderness" riddled with unbelievers.

As a result of his deteriorating family situation, Marrant increasingly seeks the outdoors as a place of refuge, where he describes having "clearer views into the spiritual things of God" (208). The environment of captivity then further entrenches his new relationship with God and strengthens his resolve to rely on God and God alone. Marrant sees the wilderness as a free space that is not determined by his unchristian family. This depiction of the outside world differs significantly from Rowlandson's narrative, where she charts her descent into the wilderness as increasingly frightening and dangerous; with each remove she is farther away from her family and Christian community. Marrant, however, willingly goes "over the fence" dividing Charleston and the wilderness (209).[55] While the wilderness is not free from suffering for Marrant, he recognizes it as a place where he is in closer communion with God.[56]

Marrant's journey into the wilderness initiates a shift in his communal belonging, which he highlights by comparing the Cherokee village and Charleston. While wandering in the wilderness, he meets a Cherokee hunter who takes him back to his village. Just as he went over the fence, here he steps into the entrance of a different nation (212). Marrant is careful to distinguish that what he finds is not the absence of civilization; the Cherokee village has fortifications, guards, laws, and customs. Unable to explain his purpose there, he is thrown into

a dungeon to await execution. After his executioner tells him of the torture he will endure, he goes immediately to prayer, eventually praying "in their tongue" (213). This, Marrant explains, "wonderfully affected the people" and the executioner converts and vows to protect him until he sees the king (213). The executioner's response to his prayer is the opposite of his family's response; they only scoff at him when he prays and make him feel as if he had "not a friend to assist" him (208). This pattern of threat, prayer, and conversion repeats when he meets the king and his daughter. When the king threatens to have him "chopped into pieces," Marrant prays to God until the king is "awakened" and "set at liberty," producing "a great change" in the people (215). This transformation turns them from savages to Christians; the threat of violence is gone and they treat him like a "prince" (215). The Cherokee thus show themselves to have softer hearts that are more attuned to the workings of God than those Marrant knew in Charleston. By converting the Cherokee, he goes from being an outsider in the community to being treated like a son of the king; this new communal belonging based on common faith transcends all other differences. In this way, regeneration not only changes one's relationship with God, but one's communal relations on earth. As Jerome Mahaffey argues, Whitefield's "new birth shaped peoples' understanding of identity as a member of a family. Nationality and religious heritage faded in importance in the genuine Christian community" (50). The Cherokee and Marrant become of one family due to their status as new creations; their belonging to the body of Christ gains precedence over racial difference.

Marrant signals belonging in this new community by adopting Cherokee dress and language. Although his appearance has changed, it is nothing compared to the change that occurred following his spiritual conversion; he is still the same person who desires to tell others about God. In this way, he challenges the fear that captivity leads to degeneration, because his

change in environment has not fundamentally changed his status as a child of God. In the Cherokee village, Marrant "had assumed the habit of the country" and could speak the language "in the highest stile" (215). On his return journey home, he meets his uncle, a classmate, and his mother, but no one recognizes him dressed as a Cherokee with animal skins and a tomahawk (217). Scholars have differing interpretations of his transformation. Keely Byars-Nichols argues it's an example of what Philip Deloria has termed "playing Indian:" an othering or exoticization of the native (24). Belinde Montgomery cites it as an example of a nascent "polyethnic American identity" (105). Others have likened Marrant's return to the legends of Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, or Natty Bumppo;[57] in Richard Slotkin's words, "the solitary Indian-like hunter of the deep woods" (21). These readings rely on concepts of race and performance that were not contemporary. As Katy Chiles argues, Marrant's transformation should not be read as a moment of passing, which relies on identity as a performance: an outward appearance that masks a biological truth (109). Instead, Chiles positions Marrant's narrative at the nexus of eighteenth century environmentalism and Cherokee adoption practices. My reading extends Chiles' focus on racial transformation by forwarding an initial tactic Marrant employs: racial transformation through spiritual regeneration. His clothing does not, as Montgomery argues, signal his "new birth" (110); Marrant's new birth occurred at the moment of his conversion, before he ever met the Cherokee. His mode of dress, then, is not proof of his degeneration, but proof of his ability to usher others towards regeneration. Spiritual rebirth is more significant and lasting than the transformation of outward appearance.

On his return to Charleston, Marrant drives home the hypocrisy for which Whitefield reserved most of his condemnation. He depicts the Cherokee as comparatively more civilized than the savage slaveholder by paralleling religious instruction among the Cherokee and local

slaves.[58] The Cherokee are open to Marrant's instruction and ask him questions to learn more until "the king's house became God's house" (215). When he returns to Charleston to work as a free carpenter on a plantation, he starts providing the slave children with religious instruction. The mistress learns of his lessons and becomes enraged because she fears knowledge of Christianity will ruin her slaves. As punishment, the children are tied up, stripped naked, and "so savagely" flogged that "the blood ran down their backs and sides to the floor" (219). Although the master grants that they "had Souls to be saved," this knowledge does not produce repentance or change. Whitefield specifically calls out this hypocrisy in his letter to slaveholders. He accuses them of not taking care of their slaves' souls because they are too afraid to offer their slaves religious instruction ("Letter" 183). Whitefield stops short of advocating equality, however; he claims distinction between a civilized slave and a Christianized slave, the latter being under Biblical mandate to obey their masters. We see no such caveat in Marrant. The torture perpetrated by the slave owners despite their knowledge of Christian teaching makes them savages. The parallel between the Cherokee and the slaveholders allows Marrant to define himself against slaveholders, rather than against natives, as is seen in both Terry and Hammon.[59]

Marrant's experience with the Cherokee motivated him to try to create a similar space in Canada for black Loyalists, and he relocated with others to Birchtown in 1785. There, he established a congregation under the auspices of the Huntingdon Connection and was the only black preacher in the area with full pastoral authority (Brooks, *American Lazarus* 93). Brooks cites the Birchtown community as one of the earliest examples of black nationalism ("John Marrant's Journal" 4). Marrant believed he was a prophet sent to shepherd black Christians in their unique covenanted relationship with God ("*Face Zion*" 26). As John Saillant describes it, his theology "emphasized the providential restoration to Africa of a holy black community,

bound by affection and the covenant of grace" (7). He passed away a year before he could see his vision to fruition; many of the Birchtown residents relocated to Sierra Leone under the direction of other black evangelists: David George, Boston King, and Moses Wilkinson. Marrant employs Whitefield's theology of regeneration in order to highlight that conversion, not the climate or society, produces permanent changes. His time with the Cherokee precipitates regeneration, not degeneration; the sovereignty of the Cherokee town, free from racial prejudice and Christian hypocrisy, ultimately inspires his move to Birchtown and provides the basis for his proto-nationalism.

Conclusion

Reading Terry, Hammon, and Marrant together allows us to see how race in eighteenth century America was dependent on a triangulation of white, Indian, and African American identities. The experience of captivity operated differently for African Americans than it did for Euro-Americans. While for Euro-Americans, captivity is represented as a troubling descent into savagery, captivity affords African Americans additional points of comparison, destabilizing the racial triangle. This contingency manifests in the ambivalent depictions of natives; Terry, Hammon, and Marrant represent native figures as both similar and different to themselves. This allows them to seek new communities of belonging, whether that is in a New England town, as an Englishman, or in an otherworldly Christian community. For Terry and Hammon, this is an individual project, as they desire to blend into a community already in existence. Marrant's mission, which he initiates in *The Lord's Wonderful Dealings* and continues in Birchtown, is more communal, as he develops a theology rooted in the transnational black community. In this way, his collective narrative project prefigures how writers in the nineteenth century used the native in order to define a collective African American identity.

Chapter Two:

Ethnologically Considered: African American Collective Identity in the 1850s

Martin Delany highlights the fractured and contradictory experience of being black in America when, in *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (1852), he describes African Americans as a "*broken people*" (221, emphasis in original). The project of many mid-century African American writers was to redefine collective social and civic identity outside the context of slavery. As John Ernest reminds us, a "conceptually coherent community" amongst African Americans didn't simply exist during this period; it had to be created (5). What Ernest describes as the "convenient fiction" of collective identity was defined by a complex interplay between common characteristics determined by the dominant Euro-American culture and those that African Americans used to define themselves.

This chapter answers John Ernest's call to examine how African Americans established and enacted collective identity in the crucial decade leading up to the Civil War. More specifically, I argue that African Americans usurped American ethnology's juxtaposition between African Americans and Native Americans in order to define their collective civic and/or social identities. Ethnology is a particularly fruitful frame for examining the triangulation of racial identity because it was the main arena for comparative race studies during the mid-nineteenth century. Early studies of American ethnology have examined how the development of racial theories in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reinforced a belief in African American and American Indian inferiority.[60] More recent scholarship has highlighted how African American thinkers developed their own ethnological theories, revealing a key point of resistance to white hegemony.[61] To my knowledge, no study has examined how African American ethnology uses the native as both a site of constitutive difference and cross-racial

affinity, enabling African American writers to define the limits of African American collectivity.

This chapter builds on these studies by considering the ways African Americans employed mid-century ethnological principles to form, reform, and perform collective identities. In the first section, I examine how three major African American intellectuals, James McCune Smith, Frederick Douglass, and Martin Delany, use ethnology's comparison between African Americans and Native Americans to define their respective visions for African American collectivity in relationship to the United States: namely integration, assimilation, and separatism. The second section explores how slave narrator Josiah Henson uses ethnology's focus on biological race to reinstate the significance of the biological family as the fundamental building block of civilization. Based on this, slavery is a savage system because its valorization of extra-consanguineous kinship damages the biological, nuclear family unit. Henson's freedom is thus charted as a movement from savagery to civilization in the form of the all-black Canadian community, Dawn. In the final section, I consider two authors who bypass the genealogical imperative inherent in ethnology and African American identity by claiming Indian identity through elective kinship: Okah Tubbee and James Beckwourth. Their successful adoptions into their tribes threaten the conception of race as genealogical and thus challenge race science without reifying the categories they seek to dismantle. Considering these works together reveals that Native Americans were crucial figures in mediating African American collectivity, citizenship, and kinship in the 1850s. Furthermore, these works enable us to see the complex and often contradictory ways African Americans sought to define themselves as a people.

19th Century Ethnology

Whether advocating for polygenesis or monogenesis, mid-century American ethnology presented race as a near-permanent difference. While proponents of monogenesis believed that

the environment differentiated races from their common origin, most mid-century monogeneticists argued that the environment had produced physical changes so great that they were irreversible (Stocking 47). The most well-known American proponent of this approach was Samuel Stanhope Smith, who first published *Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species* in 1787, with reprintings into the 19th century. Smith argued that humans were one species, but that physical and social environments produced different races; changes in environment could therefore produce a visible change in race.[62] Because of this, a people's progressive state of society could "improve" their features and manners (Smith 72).[63] Polygenesis attributed racial difference to the fact that the races constituted different species. Both of these approaches were conducive to a pro-slavery argument because if Africans were a species set apart for labor, they thrived when they served in their "natural" role as slaves.[64] The leading monogeneticist of the 1850s, John Bachman, fought Morton's separate origins thesis, but this did not lead him towards equality; Bachman links African Americans back to Ham, stating that they are "still everywhere 'the servants of the servants'" (292).

Polygenesists also argued that Africans were uniquely suited for slavery. The authors of *Types of Mankind* do so by contrasting Native Americans and African Americans: "While the contact of the white man seems fatal to the Red Indian, whose tribes fall away before the onward march of the frontier-man like snow in the spring (threatening ultimate extinction), the Negro thrives under the shadow of his white master, falls readily into the position assigned him, and exists and multiplies in increased physical well-being" (*Types of Mankind* xxxii-xxxiii). Here, the authors differentiate the "Red Indian" and the "Negro" by highlighting the diverging result of contact. For the former, cohabitation and assimilation are not possible and so the "frontier-man" drives out Indian life. African Americans, however, can multiply and flourish when in their

appropriately servile role. Thus, while they see the races as distinct species, they believe that African Americans thrive under the white custodianship of the master-slave relationship. *Types of Mankind* does not completely jettison the significance of environment, then, as is commonly believed. Their comparison shows that biological identity must work in concert with physical environment for the species to survive.

African American intellectuals James McCune Smith, Frederick Douglass, and Martin Delany usurp the comparative framework outlined in *Types of Mankind* to define African American collective social, civic, and racial identity in their own terms. These men contributed to a larger tradition of African American ethnology, which proliferated during the 1850s in response to polygenesis.[65] They each triangulate Native Americans and Euro-Americans in order to define African American collective identity and national belonging. For example, James McCune Smith developed his own ethnologic environmentalism and used the figure of the native to envision an interracial society where African Americans could participate equally in civic life. Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany employ strategic essentialism, in which they use ethnology's belief in racial difference to form a collective African American identity and define their future role as citizens.[66] Frederick Douglass uses Native Americans to assert African Americans' greater capacity for citizenship, which he hopes will lead to African American assimilation into Euro-American culture. On the opposite end, Martin Delany uses Native American sovereignty to support his emigrationism; because Africans and Europeans were fundamentally different races, African Americans could only reach their full potential as a race if they moved to an environment where they were in the majority. Despite their very different approaches to collective identity, these three prominent thinkers each use Native Americans as points of comparison. In this section, I explore how African American ethnology used the native

as a constitutive point of difference from which to create and deploy its own definitions of citizenship and national belonging.

James McCune Smith developed his vision for a racially integrated society by considering Native Americans as equal participants. During his tenure as a columnist for *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, he adopted the pen name "Communipaw," taken from the interracial community of blacks, Indians, and Dutch made famous by Washington Irving. While John Stauffer argues that Communipaw signals Smith's identification with Indian savagery, I argue that it embodies Smith's vision for an integrated community bound together by what he calls "human brotherhood" (92).[67] In his article explaining the meaning of Communipaw, Smith states that his interlocutor, Ethiop, who prizes racial purity, should "learn to look at your complexion as a thing in which your descendants will pass away" because "it is quite too late in the day to get up an association for the propagation of the pure African or Irish, or any other breed" (92).[68] In other words, Smith disregards any claims to racial purity because people are already mixed. Smith thus encourages his readers to base association on similarities rather than differences by highlighting the "always already of cultural and racial hybridity in the United States" (Peterson 512).

Smith forwards Nicaragua as an example of Communipaw: a real integrated community of whites, Indians, and blacks which proves that peaceful coexistence between the races is possible (84).[69] He lauds the town of Subtiaba specifically, which maintained the native practice of communal landholding: "for under the ancient Indian organization, *the right to live* was recognized as a fundamental principle" ("Nicaragua II," emphasis in original). He uses this example to prove to "American Colonizationism" that the races can peacefully co-exist without prejudice (85). [70] If this can be achieved in Nicaragua, why not then in the United States? For

Smith, Communipaw represents an integrated community based on the recognition of a common American identity. Rather than advocating for African Americans' integration into American civilization, Smith's Subtiaba values the equal contribution of various cultural practices to form a new, common cultural identity. He uses the Native American resonances to represent his hope of what America could be.

Smith's vision for a racially integrated society informs his environmental ethnology; he believes sharing a common environment will eventually erase any differences between the races and allow civilization to progress. As the first African American to earn a medical degree, he uses his scientific training to develop this approach.[71] In his two most well-known essays, "On the Fourteenth Query of Thomas Jefferson's Notes on Virginia" and "Civilization: Its Dependence on Physical Characteristics," Smith argues that climate and environment produce differences in mental and physical traits. Because these differences are environmental in origin, he believes that over time, amalgamation and adaptation to the climate will produce more homogeneity in the American population: "The dark races of the tropics gain in physical development when transported to a temperate climate…This Afric-American race are not only far superior, in physical symmetry and development, to pure Africans now found on the coast, but actually equal in these respects [to] the white race of Old Dominion" (250).[72] Smith connects physical development with civilization, noting the etymology of the latter word: "coming together" (247). According to Smith, "the more men mingle, the greater in their advancement" towards civilization; in contrast, self-imposed barriers between people produce "barriers against civilization" (247). Following his argument, the more time that "Afric-Americans" remain in America, the more they have in common with white America. In order for the nation to continue to progress, it has to break down the self-imposed barriers between groups

to provide everyone with American citizenship. Smith's future hope, then, is not for African American integration into American civilization, nor is it a black nation to which African Americans could emigrate; it for an interracial nation where both African Americans and Native Americans contribute to civilization's progress. Smith's approach is unique in that he does not compare African Americans against Native Americans; rather, he advocates that no one possesses a greater claim to national belonging because they are all mixed. He believes that over time, the points on the triangle will continue to move closer together as cultures mix and merge.

Rather than developing his own scientific theories, Frederick Douglass engages with ethnology's intersection with social theory. His belief in universal humanity is the bedrock of his ethnology; a monogenetic approach allows him to connect scientific and civic identities through the discourse of universal human rights. In "Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered," Douglass argues that the polygenetic argument is simply a front to justify slavery and perpetuate the belief that Africans are not capable of civilization.[73] In response to this research, he forwards a monogenetic argument for common humanity based on a shared physical and intellectual characteristics. He uses this focus on a common humanity to bolster his own integrationist stance. In a speech titled "The Races" (1861), Douglass argues for African Americans' full integration into American civic life: "Admit that the negro is a man and you admit that the principle of freedom contained in the declaration of American Independence apply to him" (215). Despite a common humanity, Douglass does not categorically deny that racial differences exist. For example, he compares slaves to uneducated Irishmen in physical features and demeanor.[74] Given the right environment and a proper education, however, these differences would disappear. Thus, in order for African Americans to successfully integrate and to erase the problem of race, Americans need to provide them with opportunities to advance.

For Douglass, a common humanity does not equal universal fitness for citizenship. He employs strategic essentialism in order to argue for African Americans' unique capabilities for citizenship in contrast to Native Americans, whom he sees as wholly unqualified as citizens. While Smith sees Native Americans as part of America's diverse fabric, Douglass sees them as incapable of assimilation: "The history of the negro race proves them to be wonderfully adapted to all countries, all climates, and all conditions…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 ("Claims of the Negro" 36). This is strikingly similar to the argument made in *Types of Mankind* cited earlier—that the "Red Indian" dies in the face of the "onward march of the frontier-man," while "the Negro thrives" (xxxii).[75] Douglass believes that African Americans are more capable of assimilation because they have more in common with Euro-Americans than Indians do: "[The African American] incorporates himself naturally with your civilization. More unlike you than the Indian in form and in features, but incomparably more like you in all the elements that go to make up civilized man than the Indian" ("We Are Here" 129-130). Thus, he argues that American ethnology is overly focused on non-essential external features (form and features) and not enough on essential elements that make good citizens.

In contrast to African American capacity for incorporation into American civilization, Douglass characterizes the Indian response to "the advance of civilization" as resistant, because they obstinately hold onto their own culture. It baffles him that Americans hold Indians in "romantic reverence" and engage in "hero worship" while African Americans experience such extreme prejudice ("We Are Here" 130). As Waldo Martin argues, Douglass' focus on obtaining citizenship for African Americans also limited his critique, as he encouraged African Americans to embrace Euro-American hegemony (242). This causes Douglass to criticize any group that

does not assimilate, like American Indians. By employing the stereotype of the dying Indian, Douglass is able to argue for African Americans' rightful place as American citizens.[76] Although at other times Douglass is highly critical of ethnological research, he uses it here to emphasize African Americans' ability to assimilate. Douglass triangulates African American identity through the savage/civilized dichotomy; because African Americans are more civilized than Native Americans, they more closely approximate Euro-Americans and are thus more worthy of citizenship.

While Douglass uses the native to argue for African Americans' assimilation, Delany uses the figure of the native to argue that African Americans are capable of civilization, but should seek it apart from the damaging presence of Euro-Americans. In the late 1830s, Delany visited the post-removal Choctaw and Chickasaw in their new territories.[77] Biographer Dorothy Sterling suggests that Delany was struck by how these nations maintained their cultural institutions despite forced removal, whereas African Americans "were scattered across the continent, their culture lost, their language forgotten, without a voice in their own destiny" (73). Unlike Douglass, who sees Native American cultural independence as evidence that they're ill-suited for civilization, Delany sees it as evidence of self-determination which informs his belief that African Americans should develop as a distinct people. Delany's visit can be seen as the inspiration for his support of emigration; he searches for a place where African Americans can reclaim their own cultural and political institutions. By seeing characteristics in Native American culture that Delany wants to emulate, he sees African Americans and Native Americans as more similar, which enables him to highlight greater differences from Euro-American culture and society.

Delany uses ethnological theories of racial difference to justify his separatism. This is evident in two of his major works: *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People in the United States* (1852, *Condition*) and "The Political Destiny of the Colored Race on the American Continent" (1854, "Political Destiny").[78] In *Condition*, Delany employs strategic essentialism in order to argue for the value of African American labor in the production of American civilization. He argues that the African race is known to be industrious and "physically superior either to the European or American races," and that they were therefore "selected in preference to any other race of men, to do the labor of the New World (*Condition* 56).[79] He goes on to argue that African labor cleared forests, planted fields, and built "houses, villages, towns, and cities" in place of "the unskillful and ill-constructed wigwam (66). In contrast, enslaved Native Americans were "wholly unaccustomed to labor, and therefore sunk under the insupportable weight" (20). Like Douglass, Delany employs the myth of the vanishing Indian to illustrate African American suitability for civilization. This comparison illustrates that African Americans have contributed more to the growth of American civilization. As Stephen Knadler explains, Delany used Lockean theories of property to "argue that African Americans' labor conferred on them an ownership in the property of citizenship" (48). Despite their contribution to American civilization, the Fugitive Slave Law convinces Delany that Americans will not allow African Americans to become citizens: "Our descent, by the laws of the country, stamps us with inferiority" (158). In this way, he sets up an irresolvable contradiction: African Americans' valuable labor produces civilization, but white Americans refuse to allow African Americans citizenship.

Delany uses this contradiction to bolster his emigrationist stance. He sets African Americans apart as a "nation within a nation" and evaluates other locations they could inhabit as

a separate people: Liberia, Canada, and Central and South America (221). He considers Central and South American to be the "ultimate destination and the future home of the colored race" because they would be a majority rather than a minority (178). Delany even goes so far as to state that God ordained that part of the world for "the colored races" (183). In this way, he positions emigration as a reactive solution to racism in the United States.

In "Political Destiny," Delany changes his justification for emigration by claiming that biological differences between the races make peaceful and equitable cohabitation between whites and blacks impossible:[80] "The truth is, we are not identical with the Anglo-Saxon, or any other race of the Caucasian or pure white type of the human family, and the sooner we know and acknowledge this truth the better for ourselves and posterity" (251).[81] Africans must maintain their "original identity" in order to prosper, and they can only do so by emigrating to a location where people of color constitute "the ruling element of the body politic" (250; 247). Unlike Smith and Douglass, Delany considers sharing an environment with whites to be detrimental rather than beneficial. While Douglass sees integration as producing progress, Delany believes that integration causes African Americans to lose sight of their "original identity." Thus, he draws on American ethnology's insistence on original difference to foster a collective and distinct African American identity and justify emigration. His time visiting the Choctaw further convinces him that oppressed people can only retain their original identities if they live apart from Euro-Americans. Delany's approach hinges in both identification with and differentiation from Native Americans. While he sees African Americans as active participants in the creation of American civilization, this does not lead to indigeneity or national belonging; rather, it prepares African Americans to establish their own civilization in exile.

Whether forwarding monogenesis or polygenesis, American ethnologists during the 1840s and 1850s used new scientific research to justify Euro-American domination over other races. More specifically, they contrast Native American extinction with African American progress in order to argue that slavery enabled African Americans to thrive. In response, African Americans like James McCune Smith, Frederick Douglass, and Martin Delany develop their own ethnology in order to refute polygenesis. They used the figure of the Native American as a point of comparison from which to develop their own strategies of racial collectivity: an early brand of multiculturalism for Smith, integrationism for Douglass, and separatism for Delany. All three men used the native to both define the boundaries of African American identity and to envision an ideal society where they would be full citizens.

Up from Savagery

Martin Delany and Frederick Douglass did not always define African Americans against American Indians. When it was rhetorically expedient, they acknowledged a common experience based on a common oppressor. For example, Delany's *Blake* (1859) features a famous scene when the titular character visits the Choctaw seeking support for his revolution. Earlier in *Condition*, he acknowledges the shared history of oppression that African Americans and Native Americans share: "whatever he may think of our race, according to the manner in which he has been instructed to look upon it, by our mutual oppressor the American nation; we admire his, for the many deeds of noble daring, for which the short history of his liberty-loving people are replete" (*Condition* 62). Douglass argues that slavery must be inhumane because it drives the fugitive slave to the Dismal Swamp, where he "finds more of the milk of human kindness in the bosom of the savage Indian, than in the heart of his Christian master"

("Inhumanity of Slavery" 334).[82] Here, Douglass flips the savage/civilized dichotomy to portray allegedly "Christian" slave owners as more savage than Indians.

Josiah Henson, who wrote an autobiography entitled *Truth Stranger Than Fiction: Father Henson's Story of His Own Life* (1858), similarly identifies with native figures in order to argue that slavery produces savagery by damaging the bonds of sympathy which tie humans together. Henson reverses the discourse of savagism and civilization to argue that slavery creates savages rather than citizens out of slaves and masters both.[83] While this reversal is common in slave narratives and abolitionist writings, Henson is unique in illustrating an encounter with Native Americans in order to mediate the appellation of civilization. The Native American tribe he encounters on his way to freedom is positioned as being more humane and civilized than the savage slaveholders. [84] This triangulation removes him as the signifier for savagery and positions him as the producer of civilization through his leadership of an all-black Canadian township called Dawn. Here, he realizes his goal of building a community based on sympathy and mutual reliance. Henson attributes the success of Dawn to African Americans' ability to produce civilization by reforming bonds of sympathy and kinship. In this way, he forwards a vision of collective African American identity based in a literal community of émigrés.

Henson's narrative was published during a period when the south sought to portray slavery as a fundamentally benevolent and paternalistic system. Proslavery writers like Thomas Dew, William Harper, and John Calhoun use ethnological research to defend slavery as a "positive good," because it brings Africans out of their savage state and places them under the tutelage of a more civilized society. They also reason that leaving menial labor to a more degraded race allows whites to pursue a life of culture and civilization, thereby improving humanity as a whole. In Dew's *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature* (1832), he

states that slavery propels progress by "taming" the "wild beast of the forest" and making him "fit for labor, and for the task of rearing and providing for a family" (328). William Harper's *Memoir on Slavery* (1837) expands Dew's proposition by arguing that slavery is the principal cause of civilization itself (3). According to Harper, Africans' natural temperament and intellectual capacity make them particularly suited to labor and servitude (5). Statesman John Calhoun is perhaps most widely known for his articulation of the positive good theory, which he gave in 1837 in response to abolitionist petitions sent to the Senate:

> Never before has the black race of Central Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually. It came among us in a low, degraded, and savage condition, and in the course of a few generations it has grown up under the fostering care of our institutions, reviled as they have been, to its present comparatively civilized condition (2).

Like Dew, Calhoun contrasts the status of the blacks in Africa to their state in America, where, thanks to slavery, they are "comparatively civilized." For Calhoun, this civilized status is only conferred by comparison; it is not an absolute state. In the same way, proslavery writers contrasted savagism with civilization in order to justify slavery as a "fostering" institution, schooling African savages in the art of American civilization.

Rather than fight racist ethnology on broad ideological terms, as Smith, Douglass, and Delany do, Henson zeroes in on a key contradiction in the collusion of proslavery writers and America's leading ethnologists: the positive good theory implicitly relies on an environmental understanding of progress; slaves only advance because they share an environment with white slaveholders. This subsequently hinges on the premise that blacks *are* capable of improvement; their identities are not static or fixed as polygenetic theory would have one believe. Henson uses this key contradiction to turn the tables; in his narrative, the environment of the plantation is damaging and causes civilized, Christian people to *regress*. This allows him to question the

hegemonic definition of civilization itself; what would civilization look like for former slaves? Henson's narrative explores this question, and nearly half of his narrative recounts his time as a leader of Dawn. Broadly speaking, Dawn and other similar settlements were experiments in African American civilization; they served as proof that African Americans could thrive and progress outside of the peculiar institution. If Dawn succeeded, it would prove that African American community based on mutual reliance was the environment necessary for racial uplift.

Henson highlights slavery's savagery by illustrating how the system erodes familial and communal sympathy. When Henson is a young boy, he is sold away from his family and falls ill. He describes lying on the ground for days without anyone offering assistance: "Of course nobody cared for me. The slaves were brutalized by this degradation, and had no sympathy for me" (13). Henson's use of "degradation" echoes Calhoun's use of the term to describe Africans before slavery. Unlike Calhoun, who believes that Africans were initially "degraded," but improved due to slavery, Henson argues that the opposite trajectory occurs; this lack of sympathy renders the slaves "brutes." Later, he explains that "affections, which are as strong in the African as in the European, were to be cruelly disregarded" (59). The ethnological research of the period asserted that slaves lacked familial affection as justification for the breakup of families. For example, Louisiana lawyer George Sawyer states that no "cares, anxieties, and tender regards" exist between African parents and their children, further explaining that "they often cherish a morbid insensibility to all ties of family and kindred that is truly derogatory to human nature" (222). Henson argues that these affections exist naturally in both the African and the European, but the system of slavery had eroded these bonds.[85]

Henson illustrates the result of these eroded familial bonds by paralleling his father's brutalization with his own. At the beginning of his narrative, Henson witnesses his father

defending his mother, who is being assaulted by the overseer: "Furious at the sight, he sprung upon him like a tiger. In a moment, the overseer was down, and, mastered by rage, my father would have killed him but for the entreaties of my mother" (3). Henson highlights how this experience transformed his father, who was before the incident a "good-humored and light-hearted man," but afterwards became "sullen, morose, and dogged" (7). The use of animal imagery (tiger and dogged) further highlights his father's degradation, for he no longer possesses "the milk of human kindness" (7). His father's inability to protect the marital bond adds to his brutalization; because Henson positions biological family as the building block of civilization, his father's inability to protect his family causes him to regress rather than progress from a savage to a civilized human being.

Henson parallels his father's experience with his own when he realizes that his master is taking him down river to sell him away from his wife and children. Like his father, he is tempted to resort to violence as he vows to "fight like a tiger" in order to protect and reconstitute his family (61). While on the boat taking him south to be sold, he contemplates killing his master and the other passengers. Henson describes his transformation from "a lively, and…a pleasant tempered fellow, into a savage, morose, dangerous slave" (88). While this description recalls his father's transformation, Henson ultimately makes a different choice. As he wields the axe, he realizes that if he kills his master, he will lose his "self-improvement" (90); it is his own improvement (not that which slavery supposedly produces) that stays his hand.[86] Henson shows that the animalization of slaves is not the result of a species difference, as polygeneticists argue; rather, the system of slavery causes men to regress.

After this pivotal scene, Henson's narrative charts his development into a husband, father, and community leader. He decides to run away to the north with his family. At the root

of this decision is his desire to control his family: "Once to get away, with my wife and children, to some spot where I could feel they were indeed *mine*—where no grasping master could stand between me and them, as an arbiter of their destiny" (60, emphasis in original). While Henson and his family's passage through the wilderness towards Canada is fraught with terror and deprivation, it is also restorative. It is the first time when Henson is able to serve as a provider for his own family and therefore he details his efforts to find food and water for them. Their joint hardship on the journey is what transforms them into a nuclear family, with Henson at its head. Henson's progression towards civilization thus requires ownership of his biological family. In this way, Henson's narrative trajectory mirrors the arc that scholars identify in Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; blood is the central determinant of family and slavery is a threat because it substitutes the imaginary family of plantation patriarchy for the nuclear family (Riss 530). Like George in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Henson positions himself as the only rightful owner of his family.

Henson's transformation is further solidified when he and his family encounter Indians during their escape through the wilderness. Initially, Henson states that the Indians ran from him out of fear, perhaps thinking he was the devil (118). Henson follows the group and soon comes upon their camp, where he meets the chief: "Saluting us civilly, he soon discovered 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" (119). This is the first time in the narrative that Henson is recognized as a human being and not an animal or piece of property. Thus, this scene marks Henson's transformation from slave to human. It is striking that the scene certifying Henson's transformation from savagery to humanity occurs after he claims ownership over his family; it suggests that the biological family is a prerequisite to recognizable humanity. The Native

American group further proves their humanity by responding to their needs with sympathy and generosity: "they supplied our wants, fed us bountifully, and gave us a comfortable wigwam for our night's rest" (119). The generosity they exhibit contrasts with Henson's experience in slavery, where he had to steal in order to keep his fellow slaves from starving (22). The Indians, who are supposed to be America's emblematic savages, salute them "civilly," showing more civility and sympathy than the savage slaveholder (119). Henson's choice of setting for this scene, the wilderness, completes the reversal, as the first moment of civility takes place in the literal absence of civilization. This representation of natives differs from those of Douglass and Delany, which rely on using the native to prove African Americans' greater capacity for civilization.[87] Instead, Henson portrays a scene of mutual recognition based on common bonds of sympathy and humanity which are restored after he becomes the "arbiter" of his family's destiny.

Henson uses his experience as a leader of the colony in Dawn, Canada to prove that African Americans, and former slaves in particular, are capable of civilization and can produce it apart from whites.[88] A necessary part of Henson's development is his responsibility not only to his family but also to the construction of civilization. He helps found the colony because he feels an obligation to help others succeed after they obtain freedom. It became his "great object to awaken them to a sense of the advantages which were within their grasp" and thus he began to look for land that they could "colonize" and be their "own masters" (139-141).[89] Henson's desire to "colonize" land outside the United States mirrors Delany's drive to seek a space where African Americans could constitute a ruling majority. He states that land ownership and education are "two great means of the elevation of [their] oppressed and degraded race to a participation in the blessings, as they have hitherto been permitted to share only the miseries and

vices, of civilization" (172). For Henson, this is only possible outside of the United States; therefore, he states that the condition and prospects for African Americans are better in Canada than they are in the North (211). Like Douglass, Henson believes that African Americans are capable of being productive members of civilization when they are given the freedom and opportunity to improve themselves. Despite the ongoing debt and internal fighting, Henson deems the settlement a success because it models African Americans' capacity to live a civilized life outside of slavery.

Henson reverses the discourse of savagism and civilization articulated in the theory that slavery was a "positive good." His narrative serves as evidence of what many African American ethnologists argued during this time period—that any racial differences that existed were due to environment. By placing African Americans in freedom, providing them with education and the opportunity for ownership, they are able to progress. More importantly, this progress occurs within the context of a larger community. The inhabitants of Dawn form a collective identity through mutual aid and uplift. Henson's community, then, is not based on strategic essentialism but rather on a shared sense of responsibility to others. By characterizing his family's encounter with Native Americans as civilized, he triangulates slaveholders as savage.

Going Native

While the previous writers were committed to fostering collective civic identities for African Americans, Okah Tubbee and James Beckwourth explore non-genealogical forms of kinship as the basis for individual identity. Okah Tubbee, who published his narrative, *A Sketch of the Life of Okah Tubbee* in 1848, and Beckwourth, who published *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* in 1856, provide some of the earliest examples of intentional passing

among African Americans, which was not seen until the turn of the century.[90] Unlike traditional passing narratives from the twentieth century, where the passer separates from their biological family in order to enter anonymous individuality, both Tubbee and Beckwourth separate themselves from their families and are adopted into specific tribes. Their adoption represents a native notions of kinship based on action and consent rather than blood. Despite the similarities between Tubbee and Beckwourth's mode of passing, their projects ultimately differ. Tubbee's narrative functions as an authorizing document meant to prove that his adopted identity is his innate biological identity. He relies on a definition of identity forwarded by ethnological research: that race is biologically determinant. The contradiction between native kin and blood kin is never resolved and in trying to establish both forms of kinship, Tubbee's achieves neither. Beckwourth projects a more strategic identity which shifts based on context; his native kinship is strategic in that it is based on convenience and self-interest. His narrative is littered with statements of insecurity, indeterminacy, and contradictions regarding his identity and allegiances. The reader is never sure whether he self-identifies with his Crow kin or if he sees it as performance in order to further his fur trade. He never acknowledges his African American heritage and instead aligns his identity with white fur trappers. Because he never claims to be descended from the Crow as Tubbee does with the Choctaw, his adoption threatens the conception of race as genealogical. In this way, his narrative challenges mid-century race science without reifying its categories.

The mechanism of the pass in these autobiographies differs from traditional passing narratives because of the centrality of familial recognition. In Amy Robinson's study of passing literature, she identifies three players in passing literature who form a triangulation of performance: the passer, the in-group member, and the dupe, who is a member of the group into

which the passer enters. Using Jessie Fauset's *Plum Bun* as an example, Robinson argues that the pass is successful when recognized by the in-group member. The recognition and subsequent silence of the in-group member renders the pass successful and produces the dupe, who is only able to interpret race based on external visual cues. What is left unexplored in Robinson's analysis of *Plum Bun* is the centrality of specific *familial* recognition. In Fauset's novel, Angela's pass is authenticated by Virginia's recognition of Angela and Angela's refusal to recognize Virginia as her sister. It is not just in-group recognition, then, but a familial recognition. Angela's passage into her new community is facilitated by her rejection of her family member. Tubbee and Beckwourth disrupt this triangulation, because they pass into their new communities when their families' *mis*recognize them as natives and their new native communities recognize them as kin. In both narratives, the person "duped" by the pass is actually a member of the in-group, specifically a family member. Their passing therefore initiates a shift in kinship ties from one community to another rather than a move into undifferentiated individualism. Native notions of kinship do not distinguish between adoption and birth; native adoption is based on the substitution of the adoptee for someone in the tribe who had passed away (Jerng 20). This model was especially threatening because it disrupts genealogical identity. Thus, at the moment when ethnologists ascribed racial identity to biological descent, Tubbee and Beckwourth use native kinship to challenge racial genealogy and transform their identities. It is not hard to understand why they would make such a decision. The sectional conflict of the 1850s erased any real differences between free and enslaved African Americans, as evidenced by the Compromise of 1850 and the *Dred Scott* decision (1857). While Native identity was no less fraught with complications, it did offer both Tubbee and Beckwourth greater mobility.

Okah Tubbee published the first edition of his narrative in 1848. Ostensibly it was dictated by Tubbee to his wife Laah Ceil and edited by Reverend Lewis Allen.[91] This early edition only included Tubbee's time in Natchez and informational essays written by Allen on Indian character and the history of the Choctaws. An expanded version appeared later that year under the title *A Sketch of the Life of Okah Tubbee*. In this edition, Tubbee recounts how he came to learn of his Indian heritage, as well as his life in New Orleans and his career as a musical performer.[92] He explains that he is actually the lost son of Choctaw chief Moshulatubbee who was kidnapped by traders and sold into slavery.[93] His narrative follows the trajectory of a slave narrative, marking his transition from a slave to a free man.

Given the history of Natchez, it is quite possible that Tubbee had Choctaw ancestry. Natchez was multicultural town, and Choctaws worked alongside enslaved or free African Americans as seasonal laborers; many African Americans also served a\s interpreters (Usner 86). The mixed population of free African Americans, Choctaw slaves, and American slaves created opportunities for enslaved African Americans to claim greater freedoms (Usner 87). However, as the free African American population in Natchez grew, greater restrictions were placed on their freedom.[94] In 1831, a law was passed forcing the removal of free blacks between the ages of sixteen and fifty unless they could provide a certificate proving their character (Snydor 769). These restrictions help to explain why Tubbee would reject claims of his African American identity and adopt Choctaw identity; even if he was freed by his mother/owner, his African American heritage would limit his freedoms.

Tubbee rejects the couple who claim to be his parents early on in his narrative. This rupture enables him to circumvent the racial genealogy of the slave family which would render his slave status as "natural" based on his biological parentage. For example, Tubbee inverts the

traditional slave narrative by claiming that his earliest recollection was not the recognition of his status as a slave, but rather his status as free. He tells the reader early on about his Choctaw father, who he remembers as a "kind father" with "dark red skin" who taught him how to read the stars; he contrasts this figure with his new father who was white and kidnapped him, bringing him to Natchez (15-16). Tubbee likewise separates himself from the woman who claims to be his mother, whom he terms his "unnatural mother" throughout his narrative (18). This allows him to disassociate from his slave identity, as such identity was passed down from a mother to her children; for Tubbee, only biological motherhood is natural. By framing his parentage in this way, he is able to position his Choctaw identity as natural in the sense that it is part of his innate nature and cannot be changed due to circumstances. In other words, Tubbee distinguishes his societal and biologically racial identities; his identity as a slave is circumstantial rather than biological.

Tubbee reinforces this distinction by claiming Choctaw identity through his possession of innate characteristics that were considered stereotypically Indian. For example, he fights with neighborhood boys who call him names because he "could not and would not submit to such gross insults:" a characteristic he ascribes to "the red man" (16). His unnatural mother makes comments throughout the narrative that hint at his true identity. Tubbee significantly notes the first time she calls him "an outlandish savage," suggesting it's an appellation used frequently after this moment (19). Tubbee's proclivity to run outdoors to think also prompts his unnatural mother to explain that "this was the way Indians and all wild savages lived, and could not be tamed" (20). Because of this, she says that "white people could not make as much service of them, as they could of the blacks, for they would not work for them" (20). She thus repeats the commonly held belief that Indians were no longer held as slaves because they did not work as

hard as African Americans. This statement mirrors those made by Douglass and Delany; however, both men use this argument to define a unique African American identity, while Tubbee uses it to certify his Indian identity. After this interlude, his mother concludes that '"what is bred in the bone will be bred in the marrow'" (21). This saying highlights the role that biology and internality played in the determination of racial difference during this time period. Race may not be readable on the surface, but it is anatomically present. These moments littered throughout Tubbee's narrative thus substantiate his true Choctaw identity.

The truth present within Tubbee's bones and marrow comes leaping forth when he meets a group of Indians for the first time. His body reacts to their presence on its own accord; his heart "leaped with joy" and a "choking" pain "seized" him (26). He believes that he is "their child" and spontaneously erupts into Choctaw: "I addressed them in a language to me unknown before; it was neither English, Spanish, or French" (26).[95] Here, language serves as further proof of Tubbee's identity, and his ability to speak Choctaw suggests that even language is innate rather than learned. This view of language was reflected in the study of philology during the 1820s and 1830s. As Sean Harvey argues, language became a marker of absolute difference that predated biological race science and fueled English-only education as a method of civilizing American Indians. Importantly, Tubbee associates his sudden language acquisition to biological kinship; he believes he is their child. Language becomes further evidence of his biological identity spontaneously revealing itself.

Tubbee ties this biological kinship to knowledge of his history in a chapter entitled "Enticement of the Colored Woman," which marks his turning point from black slave to Choctaw brave. Tubbee shifts his identity through the creation of a history with the Choctaw. Unlike with traditional passing narratives, which hinge on the erasure of the passer's familial

history, Tubbee's passing depends on the creation and/or reclamation of a new familial history. When Tubbee meets Sally Kelly, a black woman living in Natchez, she tells him that her master and his "father" stole him from the Chief Bill Chubbee and enslaved him. In order to keep his true identity a secret, his "unnatural mother" was promised freedom if she said she gave birth to him. Sally explains that '"the white man's blood possesses no more freedom'" than his, "'yet they have made no distinction between [him] and the negro slave'" (37). It is significant that Sally, who is described as a "very black woman," tells Tubbee of his true parentage (37). As an African American and a slave, she is a member of Tubbee's old "in-group;" her recognition of him as Choctaw enables him to successfully pass from a black slave without a history or natural relations to a free Choctaw with a traceable historical lineage.

Tubbee's transformation into a Choctaw is complete when a member of the tribe recognizes him as kin. The history that Sally Kelly provides is corroborated by Puch-Che-Nubbee, a friend of his father's and a Choctaw leader. Puch-Chee-Nubbee sees him and invites him to his camp, where he confers with other leaders in Choctaw. He asks Tubbee to show his right foot for inspection, and Puch-Chee-Nubbee confirms Tubbee's identity based on the scar on his foot: '"Me know him. His father good Choctaw chief; Me see that…Me see him fall'" (55). This moment of recognition transforms Tubbee's history and lineage, as well as the interpretation of his body. Within the context of slavery, scars were used to identify fugitive slaves and thus signified not only their individuality, but also their enslavement (Putzi 104). His unnatural mother's violence and the scars it produces on Tubbee's back signify his status as a slave. Earlier in the narrative, Tubbee shows his scars to a camp of Choctaws, who respond with "indignation" and "anger" (27). Thus, his scars enable him to form a communal bond through sympathy. The parallel scene with Puch-Chee-Nubbee further changes the meaning of scars by

identifying a scar Tubbee obtained before he was enslaved. This mark serves as confirmation of his new identity and race.[96] Puch-Chee-Nubbee authenticates Tubbee's pass as successful through reading his body and recognizing him as kin. While the scars from his mother create separation between Tubbee and his family, the scars from his childhood bring him closer to the Choctaw community.

Regardless of whether or not Okah Tubbee's father was actually a Choctaw, he uses American ethnology's focus on innate and natural racial difference in order to claim Choctaw identity. His display of "Indian" characteristics and recognition by a Choctaw leader authenticate his identity and allow him to pass into a new community. He is thus able to move from kinlessness, possessing only an "unnatural" mother and father, to kinship. Tubbee's reliance on markers of absolute difference diverges from African American ethnology, which forwards an environmental explanation of racial difference. By relying on a biological definition of race, Tubbee can change his identity through origins rather than by challenging the system of slavery as the other authors in this chapter do.

Like Okah Tubbee, James Beckwourth passes as Indian by reconfiguring kinship bonds and creating a history for himself within the Crow Nation. *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* was first published in 1856, with a second printing in 1858.[97] James Beckwourth was born in Virginia in 1798, but his family eventually relocated to St. Louis. His narrative chronicles his time as a fur trapper with two major companies, as a member of the Crow Nation, and as a scout in the Seminole Wars.[98] The major difference between Tubbee and Beckwourth is that Tubbee uses his narrative to certify a biological construction of Choctaw identity. Beckwourth, on the other hand, exhibits ambivalence regarding his identity; indeed, his narrative is crafted to perpetuate his racial indeterminacy. Beckwourth uses his narrative to disrupt stable

identity categories in favor of a highly contextual and liminal identity based on native kinship, and carefully crafts his image through blurring the lines between fact and fiction.

These inconsistencies have caused many scholars to cast doubt on the veracity of Beckwourth's narrative. As biographer Elinor Wilson explains: "Probably no other man has been so brutally and repeatedly damned as a liar" (5).[99] Scholars have also questioned his authenticity and true identity.[100] For example, Francis Parkman refers to him as a "mongrel of French, American and negro blood" (178). Another contemporary writer identifies him as half black and half French (Garrard 236). Because Beckwourth does not identify himself as black, critics today have assumed that he jettisons his African American identity in order to become white. Although Laura Browder recognizes the "slipperiness of racial and ethnic identity," she still asserts that Beckwourth "chose to write himself into whiteness" (113).[101] By asking *what* Beckwourth is, I believe others have missed asking *why*: why would he allow his identity to remain so suspect? He certainly wants to escape the limits of blackness, but I don't think his goal is to "become white." Rather, Beckwourth seems to define his identity as a performance dependent on context and audience. He establishes this indeterminacy through structuring his narrative around what Richard Slotkin has termed a cycle of immersion and emergence (*Regeneration* 304). In this cycle, the frontiersman returns to his community as a stronger leader who uses his knowledge of the wilderness to help his community thrive. Beckwourth's emergences are significantly less resolute, as he soon realizes his affinity lies somewhere between St. Louis and the Rocky Mountains. In this way, Beckwourth can be seen as an unredeemed captive, whose racial indeterminacy highlights contemporary anxieties regarding the mutability of race (Jerng 7).[102] Beckwourth's ambivalence towards both American and Crow societies suggests that he sees identity as more than blood or nature. This ambivalent approach

allows Beckwourth to trouble static, embodied definitions of identity seen in Tubbee in order to enact an environmentally dependent identity, as he adapts to his identification to the surrounding community.

At the same time American ethnology was studying race as a biological fact, contemporary writers ascribed a transformability of personhood to mountain men based on the harsh environment. George Ruxton, a British explorer, ascribes the transformation of mountain men to the environment rather than to biological difference: "The trappers of the Rocky Mountains belong to a genus more approximating to the primitive savage than perhaps any other class of civilized man. Their lives being spent in the remote wilderness of mountains…their habits and character assume a most singular cast of simplicity mingled with ferocity" (241). He also notes that some call the mountain men "White Indians" (242). While Ruxton speaks of them as a "genus," he states that this is an "assumed" difference; in other words, it is brought on by the rough-and-tumble Rocky Mountains and not a biological difference. Rufus Sage, a journalist and mountain man in his own right, describes mountaineers as "a kind of *sui genus*, an oddity in both dress, language, and appearance, from the rest of mankind…His skin, from the constant exposure, assumes a hue almost as dark as that of the Aborigine, and his features and physical structure attain a rough and hardy cast" (38; 1858). Both authors portray mountain men as degenerating from their position as civilized men. They even constitute a new genus and are able to change their race as they become "dark." Here, characteristics identified by ethnologists as evidence of absolute racial difference (facial features and physical structure) become acquired characteristics caused by environment. Thus, mountain men were figures that challenged contemporary formulations of race science. Beckwourth builds on the indeterminacy of

mountain men throughout his narrative, as he separates himself from the racially delimiting society of St. Louis to the freedom of the west.

Like Tubbee, Beckwourth distances himself from social positions that racialize him as African American, like his apprenticeship. In 1812, he apprentices himself to a blacksmith named George Casner. When he turns nineteen and thinks he's "already quite a man," he gets in a heated argument with Casner over a woman (18). The argument turns physical and eventually Beckwourth is dismissed. In this scene, Beckwourth asserts his independence from any social system that would control or limit his freedom. Although he does not explain how or why he entered into an apprenticeship, historian Karin Zipf argues that during the 19th century, apprenticeships were increasingly used as a method of social control. The state used involuntary apprenticeship to take children away from families they considered "objectionable:" households run by single mothers, mixed race families, or free blacks. Towards the middle of the 19th century, race increasingly became a determining factor in apprenticeship code. Thus, as Zipf argues, "apprenticeship evolved in the shadow of slavery as another form of forced labor" (8).[103] As an apprentice, he does not own the fruits of his labor, much like a slave. It is possible, then, that his apprenticeship "raced" him in some way.[104] Seen through this lens, I argue that this scene enables Beckwourth to escape his raced labor and enter into manhood.[105] This also separates him from his family, whom he leaves to become a mountain man, a form of labor that renders him racially indeterminate.

It is also likely that Beckwourth desired to leave St. Louis due to the growing restrictions placed on the city's free and enslaved populations. The city was booming when Beckwourth arrived with his family; between 1810 and 1820, the city's population tripled. New migrants brought their slaves with them, increasing the city's slave population to fifteen percent (Aron

173; 174). The severe labor shortage in the area meant that many slaves were hired out by their masters to generate additional income (175). The growth and increased mobility of the city's slave population instigated city lawmakers to pass other restrictions. Ordinances passed between 1808 and 1818 restricted drinking, public gatherings, and mixing with free blacks and whites (Foley 254). As a result, the city's free black population declined by sixty percent between 1810 and 1820 (Aron 177). This is the same period in which Beckwourth leaves his apprenticeship and St. Louis. His departure indicates a desire to leave behind the markers of his racialization for what he hopes will be greater freedom in the west.

While Beckwourth saw the apprenticeship as social control, his constructed identity as a "mountain man" enables him to evade static identity categories, as he oscillates between east and west, civilization and savagery, American and Indian. With each successive trip west, Beckwourth's stance towards his native communities transitions from oppositional, to mutually reliant, and finally to adoption and integration into the community. On his first trip west, Beckwourth takes an oppositional stance to native populations. He recounts his first battle with Indians, three of whom he says he scalped (74). Scalping was seen as quintessential Indian savagery, and non-Indians who scalped their enemies were seen as being corrupted by Indian savagery themselves. As he learns the importance of reciprocal relationships in the fur trapping industry, his oppositional stance begins to shift. Some tribes aligned with specific fur trapping companies by serving as trappers or allowing others to trap and trade on their land. Beckwourth states that "the Indians soon became very friendly to [him]" and he was "indebted to them" for showing him the best hunting grounds (22). Beckwourth responds to their "friendliness" with purely monetary interests, as he describes himself as being "indebted" to them. Initially, Beckwourth positions the Indians as enemies, but realizes that to succeed in his job he needs to

use the Indians as trading partners. This initial trip suggests that Beckwourth is more closely aligned with white trappers than with local native populations.

During Beckwourth's second immersion, the racial triangle shifts as he turns from an oppositional relationship to native kinship through his marriage to a Blackfoot chief's daughter. Beckwourth explains that he returns to the west again so he can earn enough money to support his future wife, Eliza: "The thousand dollars I was to receive looked large in my eyes; and that, added to what I already possessed, would better prepare me for a matrimonial voyage" (90-91). During their sentimental parting she tells him she doesn't care about the money, but he goes anyway, promising a speedy return (92). He successfully establishes a trading post among the Blackfeet, who had previously prevented their people from trading with the company.[106] According to Beckwourth, he "rose to be a great man among them" and the chief offers him a daughter in marriage. He accepts, but only because he is motivated by money: "Considering this an alliance that would guarantee my life as well as enlarge my trade, I accepted his offer" (114).[107] Thus, the trip west that would have enabled him to marry Eliza ends with his marriage to a Blackfoot woman. His failed engagement to Eliza and his first marriage to an Indian initiate the change in kinship relations. It also provides the first example of how monetary and relational motivations intertwine throughout Beckwourth's career.

Beckwourth displays ambivalence about his transfer of allegiances, as he finds the behavior of the Blackfeet repugnant even as he defends his life among them; the Blackfeet are no longer a stable site of negation, causing him to vacillate between Euro-American and Native American identification. For example, the Blackfoot warriors bring the scalps of white man back to camp. While Beckwourth says that "the sight of them made [his] blood boil with rage," he does nothing about it besides forbidding his wife from going to the scalp dance because the

scalps "belonged to [his] people" (114). He still clearly identifies with whites, as he calls them "his people," yet he chooses not to act. When his wife disobeys him, he hits her with the side of his battle axe and he assumes she is dead. The chief then offers Beckwourth another daughter (118-119). To Beckwourth's surprise, his first wife survives the blow and he finds himself with multiple wives. Rather than show remorse, he defends his situation: "It is a universal adage, 'When you are among the Romans, do as the Romans do.'…My body was among the Indians, but my mind was far away from them and their bloody deeds" (120). Beckwourth's ambivalence manifests as a mind-body split. He is not yet a "Roman," but he imitates their behaviors. The fact that his body is amongst the Indians suggests that he associates them with the baser elements of human existence, whereas his mind resides with civilization. Beckwourth thus appeals to an environmental, contextualized notion of identity; while in a savage environment, he conforms to savage behavior.

Beckwourth's full immersion occurs later in the chapter when he is adopted by the Crow tribe. Like with Tubbee, Beckwourth's passing is rendered successful through being recognized as kin in his new community. One of the men in his company tells the tribe that Beckwourth was actually a Crow taken by the Cheyenne as a child and sold to the whites. Upon this assertion, all the women present during the Cheyenne raid gather to inspect him:

> I believe never was mortal gazed at with such intense and sustained interest as I was on that occasion. Arms and legs were critically scrutinized. My face next passed the ordeal; then my neck, back, breast, and all parts of my body, even down to my feet, which did not escape the examination of these anxious matrons, in their endeavors to discover some mark or peculiarity whereby to recognize their brave son (146).

Here, Beckwourth provides an iteration of the slave market scene and an anatomical catalogue typical in American ethnology. On the auction block, slaves are not whole, integrated humans, but the sum of their body parts being "examined." While the slave market was often the scene of

familial separation, here it is a scene of familial reunion; as such, this scene enables Beckwourth to "move out of a black identity" (Browder 118). The women's expectation that an inspection of his body would reveal his true identity also evokes the study of anatomical parts in polygenesis.[108] Beckwourth disables the correlation between anatomy and race, as he is eventually "recognized" as a Crow by a mole over his left eye. Like Tubbee, Beckwourth inverts the mark's association with racial difference and leverages it for acceptance in his new community. The lost son is recognized and reclaimed through a mark on the body. Rather than his mole signifying a biologically-based identity, it signifies identity based on kinship.

It is significant that it is the Crow mothers that gather to inspect Beckwourth. He only mentions his father in his narrative, not his mother; thus, his Crow mother is the only mother he identifies with. As he explains: "No power on earth could have shaken their faith in my positive identity with the lost son. Nature seemed to prompt the old woman to recognize me as her missing child, and all my new relatives placed implicit faith in the genuineness of her discovery" (149). His recognition by his new community renders the passing successful and shifts how his body is read and interpreted. He, like Tubbee, uses conceptions of natural and unnatural mothering in order to shift his identity. By claiming that his recognition was a natural impulse, his adoption into the Crow is just as natural as a mother-son relationship based on birth. However, while Tubbee uses ethnology's explication of race as biological and genealogical in order to prove his true Choctaw identity, Beckwourth displays adoptive kinship, thus challenging Tubbee's formulation that natural motherhood is necessarily biological.

The shift in Beckwourth's kinship ties is also represented through his supposed death as a mountaineer and resurrection as a Crow. Shortly after Beckwourth is adopted by the Crow tribe, he says that one of the company men saw him in the hands of the Indians and assumed him dead

thereafter. The company performed a funeral eulogy, remembered all his exploits, and mourned him (151). Beckwourth remarks on the irony of this: "The faithful fellows little thought that, while they were lamenting my untimely fall, I was being hugged and kissed to death by a whole lodge full of near and dear Crow relatives" (152). Beckwourth's death at the hands of savages then becomes "death" by an overflow of affection. While his life as an employee of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company ends, his life as a Crow leader begins. This death and resurrection motif is seen through other frontier literature as well. Slotkin uses Boone's narrative as an exemplar, stating that Boone's return to his family after his supposed death initiates his transformation into a hero and a chief (*Regeneration* 303). Similarly, Beckwourth's supposed death allows him to be reincarnated as a Crow Indian.[109]

Beckwourth's kinship with the Crow is strengthened through marriage and leading the tribe in battle. In his first war-party, he fights against the Blackfeet, his former tribe. After their success in battle, he explains: "We then painted our faces black (their mode of announcing victory), and rode back to the village, bearing eleven scalps" (154). This is the first time that he uses the "we" pronoun to refer to Indians, indicating the shift in his identification. Beckwourth's success in battle is celebrated in the tribe, and he participates in the victory dance, thus incorporating him into a band (155). Following this scene, he refers to the Crow village as "home" for the first time (155). Thus, he begins to identify more as a Crow than a white fur trapper. While he seems to be more settled, his identity is not completely stable. His victory dance is more a performance of a role than a sign of complete transformation. The scene is ironic because Beckwourth himself appears in blackface; he is an ambiguous figure, passing as Crow, who is performing in blackface. I am not attempting to conflate Crow cultural practice with this mode of racial performance, but I do think he provocatively encourages the reader to

consider how race is constructed through performance rather than through biology. By wearing blackface, he calls attention to how race science fueled racial performance.

Beckwourth's growing immersion in the Crow tribe is paralleled by his growing disconnection with his St. Louis community, namely his sister's misrecognition of him and the loss of his first love, Eliza. He decides to return home after fourteen years away because he realizes he has "conformed [his] superior habits to their ruthlessness and untutored ways" and has nothing to show for his efforts (371). When he finally reaches St. Louis, he goes immediately to his sister's house, but she does not recognize him: "I must have been a curious looking object for an affectionate sister to recognize…My long hair, as black as the raven's wing, descended to my hips, and I presented more the appearance of a Crow than a civilized being" (380).[110] His family's misrecognition contrasts with his recognition by the Crow. In St. Louis, he is looked at as an object of study, the savage other, in opposition to a "civilized being." This scene thus authenticates his passing into native kinship, as his sister serves as the "dupe" in Robinson's triangulation of the pass. By living with the Crow and sharing their environment, he has become one of them, unrecognizable to his blood relations. This suggests that for Beckwourth, ties formed through native kinship are equally, if not more, influential than biological ties.

Beckwourth describes this disconnection by stating that he feels like a "wanderer upon the earth," disconnected from family, friends, and his intended: "I did not know whether it was disappointment at so much death, mutation, and estrangement, or whether I bore the disease immediately in my own heart, but I was disappointed in my return home; the anticipations I had formed were not realized" (382). He has "no tie to hold" him in St. Louis and decides to return to his "Indian home" (383). Beckwourth's description of himself as a "wanderer" suggests his

liminal identity. He neither feels fully at home in St. Louis or with the Crow. Rather than simply having his body among the Crow and his heart in "civilization," he confronts the possibility that he has become "diseased" by his time in the west (382).

Beckwourth acknowledges his "in-betweenness" through his direct addresses to the reader. In these moments, he acknowledges his identity as performance through recognition of his audience; these asides show that he is deeply aware of his own shifts in identity. Initially, Beckwourth justifies his decision to remain in the West through solely monetary terms: "civilized man can accustom himself to any mode of life when pelf is the governing principle" (120). Later, his justification switches from being purely monetary to relational. He once again defends himself against charges he anticipates the reader making. Although he says that he "often resoled to leave these wild children of the forest and return to civilized life," he defends his decision to stay by arguing that the tribe relied on him as a leader: "another scene of strife would occur, and the Enemy of Horses was always the first sought for by the tribe" (198). He goes from being a "civilized man" in the first example to "Enemy of Horses" in the second, which indicates his gradual transformation. The third time he addresses the reader, he is no longer apologetic of the role he played: "Many of my readers will doubtless wonder how a man who had been reared in civilized life could ever participate in such scenes of carnage and rapine." He goes on to say: "If I chose to become an Indian while living among them, it concerned no person but myself" (232). He argues that he actually saved life and property because he directed Crow aggression towards more hostile tribes. Thus, he no longer feels the need to explain or justify his decision to live as an Indian. Through these examples, we can see how Beckwourth negotiates various the trope of the man transformed by the wilderness.

Ultimately, Beckwourth grows "tired of savage life" and leaves the Crow permanently (403). Unlike Okah Tubbee, he never fully identifies with his tribe. Rather, he conforms his identity to his environmental context. Like Daniel Boone, he applies the knowledge and skills he has learned in the wilderness to find success in American society. He thus frames his time with the Crow as uniquely enabling him to succeed where other men might fail. After his third return to St. Louis, General Gaines approaches him in order to raise a troop of mountaineers to fight the Seminoles in Florida. Although many men had failed in the past, Beckwourth succeeds. His commander, Major Bryant, attributes this to his time out west: '"A man…who has fought the Indians in the Rocky Mountains the number of years that you have, will find no difficulty here in Florida'" (407). Beckwourth is so successful that when he tells Colonel Bryant that wants to resign, Bryant replies: '"every body who undertakes it gets killed, while you never see any Indians. What are we to do?'" (418). The reason for Beckwourth's success is unexplained; however, when he does deliver the messages to Colonel Jesup, he is mistaken as a Seminole by three different people (408-409).[111] It is possible that Beckwourth is successful not because he is an experienced Indian fighter, but because he successfully blends in with his surroundings; in the west, his indeterminate identity operates in his favor.

Beckwourth's narrative is the story of his becoming an individual—a self-made man. Unlike Okah Tubbee, who bases his native identity on biological descendent, Beckwourth maintains an indeterminate identity through his narrative. He passes successfully by being misrecognized as native by his sister and recognized as kin by the Crow tribe. He is able to fit in as both a fighting Indian and an Indian fighter and because of this, he does not fully feel at home in either. In this sense, his individual identity challenges racial determinism and forecasts the

focus on mixed race identity at the end of the nineteenth century. His identity is never fixed; he is always becoming, always transforming.

Conclusion

American ethnologists reaffirmed existing prejudices by positioning both Native Americans and African Americans as inferior beings. Whether advocating monogenesis or polygenesis, ethnologists viewed racial differences as indisputable and quantifiable. African American writers provided some of the most probing critiques of polygenesis and triangulated Euro-Americans and Native Americans in order to define African American collective identity and national belonging. James McCune Smith used his medical training to respond with a scientific approach, forwarding his own theory of environmentalism; he believed that eventually, a shared environment would diminish racial differences amongst those living in the United States. Frederick Douglass positioned Native Americans as savage and unassimilable in order to claim African Americans' greater capacity for civilization. Martin Delany, on the other hand, viewed native self-determination and separatism as motivation for his emigrationism. Josiah Henson reverses the triangulation of Native American association with savagery and African American association with civilization in order to portray slavery as a system which produces savages. His hope for civilization lies with the nuclear family, land ownership, and education, all of which culminate in the all-black township of Dawn. In each of these texts, Native Americans serve as a generative point of comparison which enabled African American thinkers to imagine a future collective trajectory for African Americans. At the same time, their use of Native Americans as a point of difference reveals the ways in which citizenship and national belonging compel racial outsiders to craft narratives of belonging which necessarily constitute the exclusion of others.

Okah Tubbee and James Beckwourth manipulate the biological basis for racial identity by claiming kinship with Native American communities. Tubbee's narrative is meant to authenticate his claim that he is the son of a Choctaw chief. He relies on a biological definition of identity and separates civic and racial identities; although he is a slave, he is not black. Beckwourth's identity is less absolute, and his allegiances shift over the course of his narrative. He is able to pass as Crow by being recognized as kin by the women of the tribe. For both authors, native kinship allows them to escape restricted racial identities and the increasingly limited options for free African Americans in their towns. In this way, they use native kinship to circumvent the biological kinship that constitutes slavery.

Beckwourth perpetuates his racial indeterminacy by positioning himself as a mountain man. Based on contemporary descriptions, it clear that they were considered shape shifters: people who could assimilate easily into their surroundings. As such, they revealed anxieties concerning the mutability of race and the fear that in the age of American progress, white Americans could actually *regress* through contact with inferior races. Beckwourth eschews biological kinship for native kinship as he becomes an Indian in the Rocky Mountains and an Indian fighter in Florida. His narrative therefore explores the impact of environment and locality on a person's identity, foreshadowing the African American exploration of the region as a contact zone of cultural hybridity rather than racial fixity.

Chapter Three:

The Region and Cultural Identity

In this chapter, I explore how African American writers at the turn of the century challenge social Darwinism's teleological model of race history by producing counter-narratives that utilize the historical and cultural specificity of the region to change the identity of its inhabitants. More specifically, I argue that Albery Allson Whitman's *The Rape of Florida* (1884), Pauline Hopkins' *Winona* (1902), and Nat Love's *The Life and Adventures of Nat Love* (1907) challenge both social Darwinism's and Boasian anthropology's use of artifacts as vessels of culture by framing culture as the product of hybrid contact zones, not of closed systems of meaning. Instead of seeing their works as examples of pure, authentic African American experience, Whitman, Hopkins, and Love chronicle moments of convergence and divergence between African Americans and American Indians in order to present the region as a hybrid space of cultural production. Although different in form, each of these texts locates a culturally hybrid figure within a border region: Florida/Georgia, Kansas/Missouri, and the American west respectively. These marginal spaces operate as contact zones that resist stagist categorization because they present culture that is always already hybrid; one cannot line cultures up on an evolutionary scale as discreet entities.[112] In other words, the region maps identities locally and historically, rather than through race or evolution. In this sense, they foreshadow Franz Boas' refutation of social Darwinism by emphasizing how context, or what Boas termed "surroundings," produce cultural rather than racial differences.

The openness that the region offers is only temporary, however. In all three texts, the region's specificity is foreclosed by an act of national aggression; for Whitman, it is the Seminole Wars and subsequent removal; for Hopkins, it is the expansion of slavery into the west;

and for Love, it is the transcontinental railroad which renders the cowboy obsolete. I argue that these stories of the local being overtaken by a national project critique concurrent U.S. imperialism as a force which imposes generic national customs and identities. In this way, Whitman, Hopkins, and Love show how oppression of marginalized groups at home provide a blueprint for the United States' treatment of marginalized groups abroad. This rhetorical move signals a shift towards a global solidarity among people of color based on the joint experience of oppression. While Love's narrative maintains an oppositional stance towards Native Americans that is present in texts like in *The Life and Adventures of James Beckwourth*, Whitman and Hopkins forward a vision of cross-racial solidarity by linking the joint experiences Indian removal and African American emigration.

The authors in this chapter expand Boas' notion of surroundings through their examination of the region, which they portray as a hybrid space; it is always in flux and often claimed across racial lines. According to Boas, surroundings were key to understanding cultural production: "We have to study each ethnological specimen individually in its history and in its medium, and this is the important meaning of the 'geographical province'…By regarding a single specimen outside of its surroundings, outside of other inventions o the people to whom it belongs…we cannot understand its meaning" ("Occurrence 485). Examining Whitman, Hopkins, and Love within the context of specific geographical, historical, and cultural surroundings expands the critical engagement with African American regionalism beyond those authors who provide "authentic" cultural material. The scholarly picture of regionalism's ethnographic approach relies on stories that feature an outsider who observes the region's unique culture and people from a studied difference.[113] Amy Kaplan exemplifies this view when she likens regionalism to "anthropological fieldwork" and "literary tourism" (252). Other critics,

such as Jonathan Daigle and Michael Elliott, consider how realism was uniquely positioned to test sociological theories like social Darwinism and Boasian culture. In this way, both Daigle and Elliott consider realism and the emerging social sciences as mutually constitutive.[114] By positioning regionalism as a mode of anthropology, critics risk turning literature into a cultural artifact in the same way contemporary proponents of local color like Hamlin Garland do. By this, I mean that they look to literature to serve as an authentic cultural production unique to a specific people group. Furthermore, Daigle and Elliott's engagement with African American writers is limited to those who are seen as providing this authentic cultural material, especially dialect literature: namely, Charles Chesnutt and Paul Laurence Dunbar. Limiting the scope of African American regionalism to Chesnutt and Dunbar explains why critics have assumed that African American engagement with the genre has been limited because African American writers did not see regionalism as a genre that could challenge societal norms (Fetterly and Pryse 282). Indeed, Michael Elliott argues that Dunbar's dialect poetry and regionalist fiction "was always in peril of devolving into an evocation of the plantation culture" (74).[115] Considering Whitman, Hopkins, and Love in the context of regionalism expands our understanding of the genre by considering the region as a hybrid contact zone rather than a cultural vessel.

The Cultural Turn

On August 25, 1893, Albery Allson Whitman stood before a crowd to read his poem, "The Freedman's Triumphant Song," on Colored American Day at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition. African Americans were largely shut out from fair planning and exhibition in the White City. The exposition was America's debut on the world stage and highlighted American progress since Columbus' discovery 400 years earlier. The exclusion of

African American exhibitions at the exposition placed them outside of the nation's progress and civilization; they were a people who had not advanced enough to warrant notice. To appease the African American community, fair organizers suggested a Colored Jubilee Day which would exhibit artifacts of slave culture like a cake walk and a watermelon eating contest.[116] Frederick Douglass saw the day as an important concession and worked with others to highlight African American progress after emancipation. Douglass opened Colored American Day by giving a rousing speech which was printed verbatim in many newspapers. He was joined on stage by Whitman and an up-and-coming poet named Paul Laurence Dunbar, as well as a handful of dramatists and musicians.[117]

The World's Columbian Exhibition embodied the intersections between race, stagist history, and U.S. imperialism endemic at the turn of the century. The director of the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology, Otis T. Mason, proclaimed: "Indeed, it would not be too much to say that the World's Columbian Exposition was one vast anthropological revelation. Not all mankind were there, but either in persons or pictures their representatives were" (Qtd. in Rydell 55). To emphasize this narrative of progress, fair exhibits were organized by evolutionary stage, tracing teleological development from savagism to civilization. They illustrated a grand narrative of white racial progress in contrast to the stunted development of other races. This distinction was mainly achieved through the contrast between the White City and the Midway Plaisance. The White City displayed America's advanced progress in technology, agriculture, and fine arts, while the Midway provided visitors with a view of "primitive" groups such as North American Indians and Dahomey villages. These exhibits, informed by Darwinist theory, depicted artifacts and actual people as permanently occupying a

fixed stage of development. While Darwinist theory presented a common origin, the point of convergence was so far in the past as to make it moot.[118]

Local color fiction and regionalism more broadly engaged with social theory by positioning literature as a cultural artifact. At the Columbian Exposition's Literary Congress, Hamlin Garland delivered an address entitled "Local Color in Fiction." As he explains in an earlier article on the same subject, the study of literature is an evolutionary project, wherein "embryonic changes just begin to manifest themselves" ("The Future of Fiction" 515). Garland argues that it is the duty and lifeblood of the local color artist to represent these changes. According to him, local color "*could not have been written in any other place or by any one else than a native*" (*Crumbling Idols* 64, emphasis in original). Local color fiction represents cultural difference through dialect, folk stories, and a fascination with rural life. It is no coincidence, then, that Garland would use the language of evolution to describe the purpose and future of literature. The evolutionary anthropology that structured the Midway informs Garland's positioning of local fiction as a cultural artifact. He specifically puts this burden on African Americans, whose contributions to the literature of the South are reduced to "musical speech" and "strange and pleading" songs ("The Future of Fiction" 520). When considering African Americans as authors in their own right, he speaks in the future tense and imagines they will be imitative before they are able to "utter the sombre [sic] and darkly florid genius for emotional utterance which characterizes them" (521). It is strange prophecy considering that one month later, African American artists would gather for Colored American Day to tout their cultural production, which included classically trained musicians, skilled orators, and "imitative" (i.e. non-dialect) poetry rather than what Garland would consider genuine artifacts of the African American experience, such as a cake walk or slave song.

Franz Boas participated in the Columbian Exposition as well, working as Chief Assistant of the Department of Ethnology under the direction of Frederic Ward Putnam, who designed exhibits for the Anthropology Building and the Midway.[119] Although historian Steven Conn marks the Exposition as the moment when Boas first started to question the public anthropology of museums, seven years earlier Boas engaged in a lively journal debate regarding museum display with Smithsonian curator and future Columbian Exposition organizer Otis T. Mason (97). Here, Boas' developing theory of culture emerges in his objection to Mason's belief that human culture was the same everywhere and thus artifacts from different groups should be studied side by side to illustrate development through the stages of savagism, barbarism, and civilization. Boas argues that Mason's approach ignores the fact that "unlike causes produce like effects" ("The Occurrence" 485). In contrast, Boas believes items should be examined in their proper historical "surroundings" in order to truly understand their meaning (485). He believes that "civilization is not something absolute, but that it is relative" and thus artifacts should be studied within the context of a particular culture ("Museums" 589). Boas applies this critique directly to conceptions of race in an address he delivered to the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1894: "Human Faculty as Determined by Race." He critiques comparative anthropology's conception of racial purity by citing examples of cultural appropriation and racial mixing. Successful development of a people, he argues, depends more on "favorable conditions" than on inherent superiority (226).

Boas' focus on culture and "surroundings" was a natural extension of African American ethnology's privileging of environment as the main determinant of identity. Although Boas' ideas did not gain traction until the publication of his seminal book, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, in 1911, African Americans engaged with Boas' developing cultural relativism early on.[120]

While early environmental explanations of racial difference positioned the environment as the active force, the cultural turn considered how various groups came together to influence their surroundings. In other words, early environmentalism considered the environment's effect on people in a large scale, while the region was more local and historically specific in its focus. While Boas saw definitions of culture and civilization as relative, he treated culture as a singular entity, with cultural artifacts "seemingly unchanged from an unnamed moment prior to this history" (Elliott 25). In other words, Boas' understanding of culture was more static, not accounting for exchange or contact between groups privileging cultural purity instead of exchange or contact between groups.

In contrast to Boas' view of culture as an internally coherent system, Whitman, Hopkins, and Love portray the region as an alternative environment in which culture is not the product of pure or authentic experience, but is a hybrid space where various cultures meet and intersect. These three authors present alternatives to the region of the southern plantation and as such, expand our critical understanding of African American's use of regionalist techniques to trouble national boundaries and challenge national hegemony.

The Rape of Florida as Regional Epic

Albery Allson Whitman's *The Rape of Florida* uses the form of the epic to recast the Seminole Wars as an act of imperial aggression. Set on the border between slaveholding Georgia and Spanish Florida, Whitman explores how these two very different regional settings transform an unnamed runaway slave into a man who fights alongside the Seminoles. By featuring a black slave who is adopted into the Seminole community, Whitman crafts the region as a space defined by cultural rather than racial hybridity. In other words, the black slave is

adopted into the tribe without any blood ties; culturally he becomes Seminole regardless of whether or not he possesses Seminole ancestry. The freedom that Spanish Florida affords is foreclosed by the forced removal of the Seminoles and black Seminoles. By representing this history, Whitman portrays the violence endemic in national progress at a time when the United States was straining forward, confident that it occupied "the vanguard of progress" (Daigle 11). While the traditional epic presents the nation's conquest as linear, Whitman's epic is marked by circularity, both in terms of its form (the Spenzerian stanza) and its vacillation between the battle and a love story. In this way, Whitman's regional epic becomes a counter-narrative to the narrative of racial progress present in social Darwinism and later exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition in which Whitman participated.

Whitman's reading on Colored American Day marked a turning point in his career, as it was his last moment of public recognition before falling out of favor and into obscurity after his death in 1901.[121] It is worth questioning how such a prolific poet could lapse into obscurity. To give a sense of his absence, none of his work is included in any of the major anthologies of African American literature. Before James Hays' 2000 dissertation on Whitman and Ivy Wilson's collection of Whitman's work in 2009, the last original criticism published on Whitman was in Joan Sherman's *Invisible Poets* in 1974. One explanation for Whitman's fall from favor is his chosen form. Whitman's major works are long narrative epics that adhere to strict form and meter. By contrast, Paul Lawrence Dunbar and the other Whitman (Walt) ushered in new poetic standards—Dunbar's dialect poetry and Whitman's free verse— that made A.A. Whitman's poetry irrelevant if not obsolete.[122] In the first wave of recovery of African American writing, Whitman was discounted for "aping" Euro-American form and voice without much originality, inspiration, or clear invocation of African American culture. Thus, scholars

measured African American literature by the same metric that Hamlin Garland did at the end of the nineteenth century; they expected culturally specific work rather than mere "imitation."

In contrast to this portrait, Whitman was a well-respected poet in his own lifetime, and *The Rape of Florida* (1884), republished as *Twasinta's Seminoles* in 1885, received positive reviews. One critic claims Whitman as the first African American poet (*The Freedman* 8/8/1891). Another reviewer writes: "the most eminent critics and scholars of our time, unite in declaring him to be a poet of the very first rank. While he has sung for his own race, yet all races have heard his singing, and recognized the poet." The author goes on to say that Whitman will "go down in history as one of the greatest American poets" (*The Freedman*, 8/8/1891). *The Rape of Florida* broadly tells the story of Seminole and black Seminoles in Florida living in harmony with each other and nature around them.[123] This reverie is broken by an invasion of U.S. troops, anxious for land and the opportunity to destroy the free black community that threatened the slaveholding states bordering Florida.[124] Within this broad frame, the epic follows the love story between Ewald, a young woman of African American, Indian, and Spanish descent and Atlassa, a Seminole warrior. Ewald is the daughter of the Seminole chief, Palmecho, who is captured under a flag of truce by the U.S. government, and in the end, he and the remnants of his community are exiled to Mexico.

Whitman positions his epic as a counter-narrative the nation's teleological history. He states that his mission as a poet is to provide a truer representation of historical events (7). In his view, there is not just one history; there is the history of the winners, which is distinct from the truth, and the history of the losers, which is rarely heard. His solution to this discrepancy is not to author a new, corrective history, but to write an epic, where valiant deeds and nations are honored and remembered. While history can be forgotten or forged, Whitman believes that men

will remember and listen to "Posey," chronicler of legend and good deeds (18). If "the muse of history" would "rend the veil," then the hidden history would come to light and nations that "perished" in the face of civilization would be able to "record their struggles and their heroes' deeds" (26). Whitman recognizes that there are competing histories rather than only one dominant narrative. His use of Posey and the "muse of history" to counter the United States' triumphalist narrative suggests that he sees this latter narrative as a fiction itself, and therefore one that can only be counteracted with another form of fiction. His poem's focus on the history of a specific region becomes a way to disrupt the dominant narrative of stagist progress during this period. Rather than seeing the Seminole Wars as the necessary and inevitable triumph of civilization over less civilized peoples, the circularity of Whitman's counter history questions whether the nation has actually achieved progress.

In telling this history, Whitman inverts the traditional epic by depicting the story of the losers, rather than that of the victors who conquer an empire. The traditional epic usually takes place during a "heroic age" and features an epic hero who must go on some sort of quest. The epic is the narrative the nation tells about itself, and thus serves the interests of the nation and empire (Monteiro 123). In contrast to this, David Quint discusses the alternative tradition of the epic of the defeated which is characterized by its romance. Quint states that the loser's romance epic is characterized by circularity and digression, not a linear teleology (9). Rather than presenting a progressive narrative driven by the inevitability of conquest and victory, the romance epic switches between stories of love and battle, providing a "generic conflict which embodies the ideological conflict" between the conquerors and the conquered (Quint 181).[125] Through Whitman's choice of form, he states his view of history: the past is never truly past and a war between the region and the nation parallels the United States' imperialism abroad. In this

way, *The Rape of Florida* disrupts the narrative of teleological progress the United States was telling about itself at the turn of the century. Standing on stage at Colored American Day, I imagine that Whitman recognized the violence inherent in the ordering of the Midway and the White City.

While *The Rape of Florida* challenges the traditional epic in many ways, Whitman was still attempting to achieve what many of his contemporaries were: to pen the first truly national epic. As John McWilliams has argued, the nineteenth century saw a renewed interest in epic poetry: "A civilization steeped in Homer, Virgil, and Milton, which reverenced the epic and had won a civil war for political independence, inevitably began to define itself in epic terms" (20).[126] Because of this, the epic became the new poetic prestige form of the nineteenth century (Phillips 211). As a poet, Whitman was clearly determined to enter this national movement; for example, he attempted to communicate with well-known poets of his day with varying levels of success.[127] His use of Spenserian stanza also lent a certain clout to his project. In the poem's dedication, he says that very few "great poets" have attempted the form besides Spenser and Byron (6). In his defense, he says "some negro is sure to do everything that any one else has ever done" and thus he "simply venture[s] in" (6). Whitman's endeavor leads fellow poet George McClellan to denounce Whitman's "expressible egotism" for "styling himself as the William Cullen Bryant of the Negro race" (Qtd. in Sherman 115-16). McClellan's reaction against Whitman's entreats for support indicates how transgressive Whitman's choice of form was. For McClellan, the simple idea of a black poet necessarily involved "styling" or performance rather than actual talent. Whitman's choice of form and his attempt to participate in what he calls a "poetical revolution" transgresses the scope of "authentic" African American poetry as a cultural artifact (5).

Whitman locates his epic on the border between Georgia and Spanish Florida and remaps national space by returning to a time when the national border was less definitive. This regional space is significant because it serves as a contact zone where different cultures meet and transform in the process.[128] The border between Georgia and Florida is a historically contentious one, as control over Florida passed between Spain, Britain, and the United States over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The poem's references to Spain, such as the Seminoles raising the Spanish flag, allude to this prior history (40). Whitman highlights the region's marginality by focusing on two sites of resistance to American domination: the Suwannee River and the Great Wahoo. The poem opens with a slave singing by the Suwannee, a river that runs along the border between Georgia and Florida. Much like the Ohio River in fugitive slave narratives, this poem's river crossing marks slave and free territory and thus inspires thoughts of freedom in the slave.[129] The Suwannee was one of the most populous black Seminole settlements, and its proximity to Georgia made it especially threatening to the slaveholding order (Mulroy *Seminole* 17-18).[130] In this way, the Suwannee region challenges the national order which supports slavery by inspiring freedom. Another site of resistance is the Great Wahoo, the Florida swamp into which the slave escapes: "The sable slave, from Georgia's utmost bounds, / escapes for life into the Great Wahoo" (11). Whitman again characterizes it as a marginal space by describing its location as Georgia's extremity.[131] The swamp provides a foil for the order and control of the plantation; in the swamp, cultivated land becomes a wilderness and clear master-slave identities become more fluid. Monique Allewaert argues that in the plantation zone, swamps challenged "imperial ventures," "stymied colonial armies," and "sheltered diasporic Africans" (343). The swamp provided protection for the black Seminoles and their Seminole allies. Whitman's region is located at the edge of the nation and thus

obscures any firm line of national or cultural association. In this sense, it poses a challenge to the nation's imperialist desires.

The marginality of the Florida region allows Whitman to illustrate the role that surroundings play in the development of identity. While national space renders African American identity racially, the region allows for a more flexible, hybrid cultural identity. He charts this by following the transformation of an unnamed slave that he introduces at the beginning of the poem. The poem's first canto opens with the slave singing on a plantation in Georgia. Nature seems to call him towards freedom: "When nature seemed to join his mournful singing" and a whisper from heaven calls him to "fly and be free!" (10-11). On the plantation, this beckoning call is crushed by backbreaking labor: "The drowsy dawn from many a low-built shed, / beheld his kindred driving to their task; / late evening saw them turn with weary tread / and painful faces back (10). The slave's limited identity on the plantation is paralleled by his physical encasement—the plantation is a "tilled profusion…begirt with fences" (12). While nature teaches the slave about freedom, the plantation manipulates nature into an engine of wealth and power—free growing hills become enclosed and endlessly "tilled" in pursuit of riches. The region of the plantation is thus rendered unnatural, curtailing the freedom of nature and humanity.

In contrast to this picture of a Georgia plantation, Florida is a land of freedom, what the narrator calls an "Eden-home" where "nature teach[es] us primal bliss" (14). Whitman draws a clear connection between how the free region in Florida changes the slave's identity. In Florida, "man knew not the pangs of slavish toil"; instead, the land is only cultivated for sustenance (13). Once in Seminole territory, the narrator starts to refer him as an "exile" rather than a slave (9).[132] In the context of Seminole culture, the slave is not anonymous and unnamed, but is considered a

brother, "their own flesh and blood" (19). In this way, being in community with the Seminole restores the slave's manhood to a "noble birth" (19). In Georgia, his identity is limited to that of a slave, but Florida restores his manhood through kinship and community. Significantly, the slave's identity is based not on permanent stage or race, but on adopted culture; in this way, regional culture and context are malleable and more determinant of identity than the slave's blackness. Unlike Tubbee and Beckwourth, who must claim genealogical kinship to access Native American identity, the slave bypasses this step by adopting Seminole culture. Rather than inspecting his body for clues, they simply accept him as a brother, thus shifting his identity.

The specificity and freedom of this region is threatened by a national project: the Seminole Wars. Whitman portrays this as an act of imperial aggression by depicting the Seminoles and black Seminoles as Florida's rightful inhabitants. For example, they are described multiple times as being "Tampa's sons" or "Florida's sons," showing that they belong to the land and the land belongs to them (78-79). Significantly, the exiles are considered indigenous to Florida itself, as they fight side by side to protect the land. As a result, the exiles "rise to all that manhood's worth," suggesting that like Beckwourth, violence signals the rebirth of the black figure into a hybrid Afro-Native identity (19).[133] Whitman emphasizes the militancy of the region's cross-racial alliance by narrating the battle with a common enemy: the United States government. The army is referred to as intruders, oppressors, and tyrants. The narrator scolds the nation for its "proud" and "boastful" war policy, which was motivated by an unquenchable desire for land. (67, 71). Historically, this cross-racial coalition was the main reason for the Seminole Wars. The United States quickly recognized that Seminoles and black Seminoles had joint interests, and that any successful attempt to remove the Seminoles had to take this into account. What was seen by the United States as a war to protect national interests

in the plantation economy is re-characterized as treachery and greed in *The Rape of Florida*. Thus, the members of the Seminole-black community are not savage aggressors who attack harmless settlements on the frontier; they are simply defending their homes, wives, and children against the U.S. army (39). Whitman disrupts the mode of racial triangulation by positioning indigeneity and exile as joint rather than oppositional experiences. This cross-racial alliance allows them to portray the United States as the outsider.

The narrated forced removal to Mexico allows Whitman to equate Native American and African American oppression as well as critique the United States' growing imperialism during his lifetime. He spends an inordinate amount of time describing the group's painful defeat and forced separation from their homeland. However, when they reach Mexico, they realize they will be given more freedoms; indeed, another natural border, the Rio Grande, is used to highlight this: "they were safe beyond the Rio Grande's tide" (86).[134] Historically, the Seminole were not removed to Mexico, but to a territory shared with the Creeks. Naming Mexico as the destination of their removal enables Whitman to draw connections between forced removal of Indian tribes and various emigration plans to remove African Americans.[135] Linking the two groups based on their joint oppression fosters the solidarity presented in *The Rape of Florida*. The colonization of their homeland in Florida also critiques contemporary imperialist projects. Although Whitman does not reference this in his poem, two laws that passed shortly before his poem was published provide important context: the Indian Appropriations Act of 1871 and the Civil Rights Cases of 1883. The former ruled that Indian tribes were no longer independent nations and therefore the United States would no longer create treaties with them; instead, they were viewed as "wards" of the federal government. In the latter, the Supreme Court ruled that the previous Civil Rights Act of 1875, which provided all people with equal treatment in public spaces, was unconstitutional.

In these cases, both Native Americans and African Americans lost any position they held as citizens. By connecting the events of 1884 to the Seminole Wars in the early nineteenth century, Whitman critiques the nation's determination of rights and identity contrary to the region's cultural and historical specificity.

Migration and Cultural Identity

Pauline Hopkins' *Winona* conceptualizes identity as cultural rather than biological by following the main characters, Winona and Judah, through three separate regions: New York, Missouri, and Kansas. Each new regional space transforms the identities of her characters. By focusing on a border space between Missouri and Kansas which was at the time not yet part of the nation, Hopkins, like Whitman, challenges the nation's geographic coherence. The freedom of this region is rendered temporary, however, and the novel ends with the characters' emigration to England. By narrating the nation's conquest of the region in the 1850s, she by analogy critiques the United States' annexation of the Philippines—a story which she covered in the *Colored American Magazine* alongside the serial publication of *Winona*. It also explains why Hopkins would return to the subject of slavery in 1902, especially considering that *Winona* is her only novel that solely takes place in an antebellum setting. I argue that Hopkins wants to draw direct connections between the sociopolitical position of African Americans during slavery and the concurrent obstacles they face in the early twentieth century, like systemic white supremacist violence and Jim Crow laws.

Winona was published in *Colored American Magazine* between May 1902 and October 1902. It follows the story of the titular character, a quadroon raised Seneca, and Judah, her half-brother. Winona and Judah are raised by their father, White Eagle, in New York. When their

father is killed, Winona and Judah are kidnapped and sold into slavery. With the help of Warren Maxwell, an English lawyer who befriends them, they escape to Kansas where they join John Brown and participate in the events of Bloody Kansas. At the end, it is revealed that White Eagle was not Indian, but a wealthy Englishman. As his only heir, Winona inherits his fortune. Winona and Judah then move to England before the Civil War; Winona marries Warren and becomes the darling of the London elite and Judah is knighted.

Winona opens in an unnamed island community on Lake Erie during the "early 50's" (287). Like Whitman's Florida, the region is on the edge of national space, defined only by what surrounds it: "Crossing the Niagara river in a direct line, the Canadian shore lies not more than eight miles from Buffalo, New York," on the "American and Canadian borders" (287). While *The Rape of Florida*'s opening setting is a plantation, Hopkins' opening region is characterized by its diversity and freedom. We are told that the community has "Anglo-Saxons, Indians, and Negroes" and that "the free Negro was seen mingling with other settlers upon the streets, by their presence adding still more to the cosmopolitan character of the shifting panorama" (287-288). The community affords a multiplicity of identities and thus moves beyond the white-non-white binary; indeed, the narrator challenges the reader to "find the dividing line supposed to be a natural barrier between whites and the dark-skinned race" (287). Here, Hopkins employs the racial triangle not to differentiate the races but rather to show that such distinctions don't exist in her prelapsarian community.

In this setting, Winona and Judah embody their culturally "native" roots. Although neither is Indian by blood, they culturally identify with the Seneca who have raised them. For example, Winona shares a stories that she learns from Nokomis, who Judah describes as '"a silly old Indian squaw'" (292). Likewise, when we first meet Judah, we are told that he "might have

been mistaken for an Indian at first glance" because he wears moccasins and the dress of a "young brave," but his crisp hair identifies him as Negro (289). The trope of the African American mistaken for native due to dress is similarly seen in John Marrant and James Beckwourth; however, while in Marrant and Beckwourth the scene signals a rupture in genealogical origins, here it is simply used to emphasize Judah's cultural indigeneity. Hopkins characterization of Winona and Judah coincides with her belief that identity is formed and read in a regional context, and cannot be solely based on physical characteristics. In this New York community, the fixity of racial identity is overruled by their cultural identity, because the region affords cosmopolitan mixing; in this sense, their identity is based on regional culture and not genealogy.[136]

Despite this idealized view of the island, the region's "cosmopolitan character" is foreclosed by two national events: the Fugitive Slave Act and the Seneca's forced removal from New York. Once White Eagle dies, the previous owner of Winona and Judah's mother comes north to claim the children. Mr. Maybee, the well-meaning innkeeper, explains that Thomson and Colonel Titus were able to kidnap the children '"under the new act for the rendition of fugitive slaves jes' passed by Congress"' (314): the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. This act very literally removed the option for African Americans to be defined regionally, because regardless of whether or not they were free or a slave, they were at risk of being kidnapped. In this sense, the national project of slavery overwhelms the region, and their national identity takes precedence over their regional identity. While in their small island community, they were considered hybrid figures; a national law makes only one identity available to them: that of a slave. As Mr. Maybee muses, '"neither of them two forlorn critters realizes what 'bein' a nigger' means; they have no idee of thar true position in this unfrien'ly world'" (310). In other

words, their identity shifts radically, and Mr. Maybee recognizes that the children are unprepared for their new societal position. The racial triangle collapses and Winona and Judah are thrust into a racial binary between black and white, slave and free.

Hopkins also links Winona and Judah's forced removal with that of the Seneca. In doing so, she highlights similarities between the Native and African American experiences in the United States. She acknowledges the history of removal, stating that since 1842, the Seneca were continually pushed further West to make room for white settlers (287). This coincides with the Seneca's history; in the late 1830s, the Ogden Land Company, which held the option to buy the Seneca's Buffalo Creek Reservation, began to pressure the Seneca to leave the area due to Buffalo's rising importance as a city. In the 1838 Treaty of Buffalo Creek, the Seneca purportedly agreed to sell their lands and move to Missouri (present day Kansas) within five years (Rosen 36-37). The location of Hopkins' fictitious island coincides with the Buffalo Creek area, and the dates match what Hopkins provides. She thus presents Winona and Judah's kidnapping as a forced removal, as both the Seneca and the protagonists are sent to the Missouri-Kansas area. Rather than focusing on the differences between African Americans and American Indians, Hopkins presents similarities with the hope of fostering cross-racial solidarity.[137]

After an installment break, Winona and Judah arrive in a new region: Colonel Titus' plantation in Missouri. The plantation's precise setting (Kansas City, Missouri State) and date (1856) refers to the border conflict between Kansas and Missouri, directly contrasting with the island's unmappable location.[138] The narrator introduces the reader to the plantation by describing the natural scenery; like the island, the plantation is complete with a stream and a rich array of flora and fauna: the "rambling frame house" is on a "pleasant plain" with a "murmuring stream" (315). The house is "surrounded with piazzas" and "picturesque" stables covered with

roses and honeysuckle (315). This picturesque image of plantation life, however, is more structured and manufactured when compared to the wilderness of the island; there is a "high, strong fence that enclosed four acres of cleared ground" (315). We also see that Colonel Titus' plantation is designed for surveillance. The house's porch "overlooked the blooming fields" and "commanded a view of the working force," which made it Colonel Titus' "favorite resting place," allowing them to gaze upon the "dusky toilers" who tilled the land (317).[139] The contrast between the plantation house and the fields produces the dividing line of race that Hopkins challenges the reader to find in New York, as the geography of the plantation imposes more hierarchical order.

While the setting in New York fostered freedom, the plantation's hierarchical order forces Winona and Judah into more narrow identities and they are no longer seen as culturally hybrid characters. As a slave, Winona is not able to wander and collect mushrooms for her father as she did on the island, but instead must bring mint julep to her master and tend to her young mistress (313). It is also hinted that she is sexually harassed or abused: "In the life she had led as a slave, this poor child had learned things from which the doting mother guards the tender maidenhood of her treasure with rigid care" (356). With her changed position in the social order, she considers a marriage to her English protector, Warren, impossible: "Fate had fixed impassable chasms of race and caste between them" (405). Judah also changes in this new region. In one scene, he is whipped severely for successfully breaking a horse that no one else could. According to Colonel Titus, the purpose of this is to teach him his place: '"You've got to learn to say 'massa'" (328). We are told by the narrator that since this incident, Judah had "learned his place" (328), echoing Mr. Maybee's earlier comment that he did not understand the full meaning of slavery. Judah is eventually made overseer and thus experiences so much cruelty

that “it had driven smiles forever from his face” and “his nature seemed changed” (320). Quite literally, the brutality of slavery beats out the wild freedom Winona and Judah experience in New York as culturally native figures. The region of the plantation roots their identities in race rather than in culture, thus limiting their self-determination.

The importance of the plantation’s location on the border is realized when Warren helps Winona and Judah escape to John Brown’s camp in Kansas.[140] In this frontier space, Winona and Judah’s identities shift one again. No one is represented as “native”; they are all migrants to the area, which coincides with the history of Kansas.[141] This freedom of identity exists in a contested, liminal space—one which they must battle to maintain. While the local space of John Brown’s camp allows them to regain their self-determination, it is different than their New York island. The historical battles between free-soilers and border ruffians show that Winona and Judah do not have the luxury of being disconnected from time. Like Whitman’s Florida, the relative freedom they experience in Kansas is seen as a threat and is thus subject to violent incursion. Hopkins illustrates this by having John Brown’s camp on the defensive against outsiders coming in from Missouri to destroy their commune. Its marginality provides the potential for freedom but also places it in danger of attack.

Despite the contested nature of John Brown’s camp, Winona and Judah take up revised identities in order to help in battle. Winona regains the freedom she lost during slavery and becomes more of an active participant in the conflict. She recognizes the significant effect that this region has on her identity: “to Winona all the land had changed [and] seemed to whisper, ‘Peace and rest…Be not cast down’” (375). John Brown’s camp allows more freedom of identity, and while she is there, she has “not a thought of racial or social barriers” (376). The border region erases the racial barriers present in the national space of slavery and destabilizes

the racial hierarchy. Judah also grows into a new identity: that of a warrior. While at the camp, Judah's skills are noted by "Captain" Brown, who appoints him as a special aid and scout to the camp (376). After he saves them twice from discovery, "his name was heralded with that of Brown as a brave and fearless man bold to recklessness" (376). On the frontier, Judah regains the fiery independence that had been beaten out of him on the plantation. In this way, their participation in Bloody Kansas conflict is what enables them to enter into a more hybrid identity.

With the constant battles in Kansas and the Civil War looming, Winona and Judah migrate to England with Warren, where they experience a classic reversal of their fortunes. Winona inherits her father's large fortune, marries Warren, and is "worshipped" as "the last beautiful representative of an ancient family" (435). Judah's military prowess garners him knighthood and marriage into one of England's best families. Too good to be true, most say; but it appears that Winona and Judah's only chance to maintain their hybrid identities is to leave the United States, much in the same way that the Seminoles and black Seminoles must do in *Rape of Florida*. Thus, Winona and Judah never return to the United States and appear to have no allegiance to the struggle for African American freedom in the Civil War. When placed within the larger context of African American emigration and Native American removal, it doesn't seem as strange to see the protagonists leave.

Hopkins encourages us to read beyond the ending by introducing a new narrative frame at the end of the novel. After a narrative break marked by five consecutive asterisks, we are introduced to a new scene. Aunt Vinnie, the cook for Maybee's hotel, is sitting in the center of a circle of neighbors who "never tired of hearing her tell the story of Winona's strange fortunes" (436). Aunt Vinnie completes Winona's story with a "short sermon" on the state of her race, declaring: '"Glory to God, we's boun' to be free. Dar's dat gal, she's got black blood nuff in her

to put her on de block in this forsaken country, but over dar she's a lady with de top crus' of de crus'. Somethin's gwin happen'" (436). Aunt Vinnie highlights that Winona's racial identity does not bar her from cultural or civic belonging in England. It isn't clear when Aunt Vinnie is speaking, but it seems from her comments that it is before emancipation. She closes with a song: '"Ole Satan's mad, an' I am glad, / Send de angles down. / He missed the soul he thought he had, / O, send dem angels down. / Dis is de year of Jubilee, / Send dem angels down. / De Lord has come to set us free, / O, send dem angels down'" (437).[142] By ending with Aunt Vinnie, Hopkins reframes the entire novel as a piece of regionalist fiction. Aunt Vinnie becomes an Uncle Julius or Uncle Remus, telling the tale in dialect to a group of listeners. In these other examples, the storyteller's trickster tales enable the trickster to temporarily subvert power structures. This reframing of Winona's story highlights its activist purpose. Aunt Vinnie directs her ending towards the future, a coming hope: '"we's bound to be free'" with the hope that this will be the "year of Jubilee" (436). She wants her listeners not to simply wish for a life that mirrors Winona's "strange fortunes" but to be part of change in the future. In this sense, Aunt Vinnie serves as a connection between past and future.

Aunt Vinnie's story also mimics Hopkins project: both use the past in order to comment on current race relations. I argue that Hopkins wants to draw direct connections between the sociopolitical position of African Americans during slavery and concurrent U.S. imperialism, specifically in the Philippines.[143] As editor of the *Colored American Magazine*, Hopkins covered the Philippine-American War until it officially ended in 1902, thus engaging in vigorous debate over the United States becoming a colonial power;[144] many of these articles appeared next to *Winona* during its serialization. As Lois Brown explains, *Colored American Magazine* often featured travelogues from the Philippines and photographs of the black regiments, both of which

were used to protest the hypocrisy of American freedom in the face of reduced civil rights at home (262). *Colored American Magazine*'s focus on racial oppression globally, especially in the Philippines, eventually contributed to Hopkins being pushed out of her position as editor.[145] Her publication of *Winona* alongside stories of American imperialism suggests that she understood the connection between race relations at home and expansion overseas.

Hopkins' novel challenges the fixity of the region by structuring it around a series of migrations. While she shows the potential of the region to provide African Americans with more freedom, it is a freedom that is only temporary. Thus, her novel chronicles the struggle of her African American characters to be defined regionally (as on the island) in the face of national determinations of their identity solely as black slaves. Hopkins seeks to challenge this overarching binary by disrupting the correlation between biology and identity. She challenges this biological approach to identity in *Winona*, where Winona and Judah are "native" by culture and thus do not fit into the neat identity categories adopted by Colonel Titus. However, like in *The Rape of Florida*, the United States holds no space for such complex identities, and the solution for both writers is to move their characters to other countries.

Who is native?

Hopkins continues to interrogate native identity and the ethnographic endeavor in the final installment of her series on "The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century," published in *The Voice of the Negro* in 1905. Here, she more strongly connects U.S. imperialism abroad to its antecedents at home, such as the Fugitive Slave Act and Indian removal. In the essay, "The North American Indian—Conclusion," Hopkins revises an earlier article published in *The American Anthropologist* on American Indians. Reading her essay within the context of this

previous article reveals how she constructs native identity globally as a construct of imperialism, i.e. the foreigner and the native. If read on its own, the essay seems to reproduce white western imperialist discourse, as scholars like Kevin Gaines and Lois Brown have argued. However, reading her essay in light of her source reveals that she strategically uses ethnographic research to foster cross-racial solidarity in the face of "Anglo-Saxon" oppression.

In her other essays from the same series, Hopkins cites secondary the sources she uses.[146] In her essay on the North American Indian, however, Hopkins quotes but does not provide a reference for her source, "Who are the American Indians?" by anthropologist Henry Wetherbee Henshaw (1889). Henshaw, mostly known for his work as an ornithologist, was recruited by John Wesley Powell to conduct research on Indians in the west and southwest for the Bureau of American Ethnology.[147] Although Henshaw had no background in ethnology, Powell believed that his biological approach to study and classification would be useful (Nelson 415). Henshaw's article in *The American Anthropologist* approaches the study of American Indians from a social Darwinist model, connecting their development with specific racial markers. For example, he presents hypotheses on the origin of Native Americans, ultimately concluding that "they are evidences of nothing but a common humanity" (202). Common humanity does not produce equality, however; Henshaw immediately follows this claim with a section on how scientists classify race: color of skin, eyes, and hair; structural differences in hair; and size and shape of skull (202). He connects these differences with "culture status": "for it may be said, in a general way, that all civilized peoples are light colored and nearly all barbaric and savage peoples are dark colored" (203).

In Hopkins' quotation of this paragraph, however, she italicizes "common humanity," emphasizing what she sees as the most important point to take away. In place of Henshaw's

information on modes of racial classification, she tersely states that "the color of skin, texture of hair, the development of the cranium and even language, are not infallible indications of race origin" (329). Race cannot be determined or reduced to biology; she argues that "the status of culture is the only true test" of identity (330). Hopkins privileging of culture in response to Darwinist theories of development signals the shift towards Boasian notions of cultural specificity. By basing identity on culture, Hopkins dismantles the social Darwinist hierarchical stages that categorize Africans as savage.

The remaining page of Hopkins' article is solely her own, and she sets out to encourage solidarity for people of color. She says that "the presumption of superiority by the Anglo-Saxon race is insolently arrogant" and that "the ultimate desire of the Anglo-Saxon is complete subjugation of all dark races to themselves" (329). She plays on what she considers to be white "dread fear" of minority advancement by citing a statistician's estimate that there are ten million "mixed races" in North America, and adds this to numbers in Africa, Europe, and the East. From this, it seems that she sees hybridity as the future of identity, eventually overtaking whiteness in numbers. Thus, she closes her article saying that '"all men were created equal' and that '*all men'* are not *white* men" (330, emphasis in original). In this way, she turns the tables on stagist narratives by using the color line to her advantage. For Hopkins, the solution to Anglo-Saxon dominance is for the "darker races" to develop a collective.

Hopkins challenges visual determinants of race through the photographs she includes in her essay. In other essays in the series, Hopkins provides pictures of scenery as well as local notables from the region. Her essay on the "North American Indian," however, includes photographs of native Africans. Hopkins never explains the inclusion of these photographs or references them in her article, but they suggest the parallel experiences of native groups. By

interchanging Native Americans with native Africans, Hopkins positions campaigns against both groups as acts of imperial aggression. For example, one photograph poses nameless African villagers wearing native garb with the caption: "Group of Natives, showing the mode of wearing the ntama."[148] This photograph was originally published in Richard Austin Freeman's *Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman* (1898) with the same caption. Freeman includes the photograph in order to preserve their existence before they "pass away" due to abolition of native rule (xvii). His anxiety at losing the "pure" culture motivates him to catalogue and record it.[149] In the tradition of early anthropology, the observer exists outside the photograph itself, and thus what the viewer sees is supposedly unmediated. As Susan Schneider explains, photography became a "mode of inquiry that erased the scientist from the equation and produced the scientific seer as a pure vessel for transmission of truth" (226). In this way the photograph is meant to serve as evidence of their existence.

However, certain elements of the photograph negate this purpose. The posed nature of it, as opposed a more candid shot of village life, calls more attention to the photographer than to his subjects. Those who crane their faces upward to make them visible provide tacit evidence that the subjects knew what to do in front of a camera. And while the viewer's eye is drawn to the center of the composition because of the contrast between dark skin and light fabric, a man wearing a Euro-American cap, perhaps military, is visible on the right. The constructed nature of the photograph and its disassociation from Hopkins' surrounding text argue that, in fact, photography is not a "pure vessel" for scientific truth, and that the correlation between appearance and identity is tenuous.[150] In this way, Hopkins challenges the use of photography to both preserve and catalogue racial difference.

The photographs make clear that Hopkins is interrogating who is or can be considered "native." By including these photographs, Hopkins challenges racist classification based on physical features just as she does with her revisions to Henshaw's article. In Hopkins' summation of the research, "sociological conditions have more to do with developing civilization than racial descent" (329). Thus, nativeness is determined by the space and society that surrounds it—not by a static definition of a "race" of people. In this way, we can see the article as an anthropological re-writing of *Winona*, where nativeness likewise determined by culture not by genealogy. Hopkins' larger series in *The Voice of the Negro* serves as a response to her critics; she will not be silenced and continues to connect racial oppression at home and abroad.

Cultural Cowboy

The Life and Adventures of Nat Love was published in 1907 by Wayside Press in Los Angeles.[151] Like *The Rape of Florida* and *Winona*, it focuses on the role of a particular region (the west) in constructing culturally hybrid identities. Despite this similarity, Love's autobiography leaves the reader in a very different place than the other texts. Instead of using the native presence to forward a vision of hybridity, Love uses the native presence to reinforce his identity as a cowboy. Portraying himself as a cowboy enables him to access the type of martial manhood displayed by men like Theodore Roosevelt.[152] American Indians provide a common enemy to fight against, and his autobiography charts his progression from slave to famous cowboy; from Love's perspective, his race is ancillary to this development. The west as a region enables this transformation to take place, and Love portrays it as a place of freedom and self-fashioning. In this way, Love's frontier is similar to Frederick Jackson Turner's in that it offers the opportunity for "perennial rebirth." For Love, however, the west does not offer an

essentialized rebirth; instead, it allows him to shift his identity according to his surroundings and needs. In this sense, Love is like a chameleon; his identity is based more on performance than essence. When the freedom of the west is foreclosed by a national project, the transcontinental railroad, Love is forced to turn to a more racially proscribed role of a Pullman porter.

As in *The Rape of Florida*, Love begins his story on the plantation and specifically draws on the slave narrative tradition. In the preface, he states that his narrative is truthful and that in his case, "facts will prove stranger than fiction" (1). Like many slave narratives, Love begins with his birth on a Tennessee plantation in June 1854; he says he does not know the exact date because "no count was kept of such trival [sic] matters as the birth of a slave baby" (7). Love's opening reveals his knowledge of the slave narrative tradition and racializes his narrative from the very beginning. Love's identity is rooted in slavery and the plantation space does not allow for self-fashioning. Although he describes his master as "kind and indulgent" (7), it does not change the fact of enslavement in Love's mind: "We had as task masters, in many instances, perfect devils in human form, men who delighted in torturing the black human beings, over whom chance and the accident of birth had placed them" (12-13).

Like Whitman and Hopkins, Love contrasts the plantation space with a frontier space that affords more freedom. In the West, his identity is forged by bravery and skill, not by skin color. Love chronicles the transition from the plantation to the West, saying that life on the frontier was "free and wild and contained the elements of danger which my nature craved and which began to manifest itself when I was a pugnacious youngster on the old plantation…I gloried in the danger, and the wild and free life of the plains, the new country I was continually traversing, and the many new scenes and incidents continually arising in the life of a rough rider" (45). He also contrasts the plantation and the west in terms of ownership and belonging to land. While slaves

put their labor into the land, it does not produce ownership or a sense of belonging. In the west, however, this changes: "Mounted on my favorite horse…my trusty guns in my belt and the broad plains stretching away for miles and miles, every foot of which I was familiar with, I felt I could defy the world" (70). By knowing the region through his labor as a cowboy, Love feels a sense of ownership, defying the alienation produced on the plantation.[153]

For Love, the shift in region from the plantation to the west produces a shift in his identity, which is subsequently validated by others. He follows the convention of the western by showing his transition from being a stranger in the west (a tenderfoot) to a skilled cowboy. When Love arrives in Kansas, he impresses a ranch outfit by controlling an unruly horse. He describes how surprised they all were, because they had taken him as a "tenderfoot" who was still a stranger to the west and its ways (41). Like the slave who is welcomed into the Seminole community in *The Rape of Florida*, the ranch outfit's acceptance of Love initiates his transformation. Importantly, it is his skill (not is color) that gains him entrance, reinforcing the belief in a colorblind frontier. Love highlights his shift in identity by charting his nicknames; each new nickname marks a further removal from his former identity as a slave. At the beginning of his narrative, Love's name is tied to his slave condition, as his last name comes from his master, Robert Love (7). When he joins his first outfit, the men decide to call him Red River Dick, indicating that he had become a member of their group (41). Later on when he wins a roping contest in record time, he says that the "assembled crowd" named him Deadwood Dick, "champion roper of the western cattle country" (93). Importantly, both titles were given to him by others, which indicates respect from the larger community; thus, his transformation was not simply self-professed. Love highlights: "To see me now you would not recognize the bronze hardened dare devil cow boy, the slave boy who a few years ago hunted rabbits in his shirt tail on

the old plantation in Tennessee, or the tenderfoot who shrank shaking all over at the sight of a band of painted Indians" (70). The region of the west enables him to shift his identity away from slavery and towards an identity based on his skill as a cowboy.

Love also facilitates his identity as an insider through his interactions with American Indians. Unlike Whitman and Hopkins, who use the native presence to enable a hybrid identity for their characters, Love uses an essentialized notion of the native as a foil for his cowboy identity. For example, immediately after joining his first team, they engage in battle with band of Indians. Love tells us these were the first Indians he had ever seen, and likens them to "demons," with a "blood curdling yell" (42). His team "routs" them but with heavy losses to their property. Despite the fact that they had to finish the journey on foot, Love describes the satisfaction of knowing they had "made several good Indians out of bad ones," repeating frontier adage that the only good Indian was a dead Indian (42). As in Richard Slotkin's formulation, participating in violence against the Indians enables Love to move into a less racially determinate identity, because the Indians take the place as the racial other.

Love's transformation from slave to cowboy is rendered a performance once he is captured and held captive by Native Americans. Love's time with them recasts the previous battle scene as an act and shows Love's understanding that identity is enacted through cultural performance, not biology. While out alone, Love is beset by a large party of "painted savages" (98). He makes a valiant effort to defend himself, but his ammunition finally gives out and he is taken captive. At the camp, Love's wounds are carefully tended to. He attributes his survival to the tribe's admiration of his bravery, his "fighting powers," and also his identity as a "colored man"; he states that a large percentage of the tribe was "half breeds" with a large amount of "colored blood" (99). Thus, Love does not efface his African American identity as Beckwourth

does; instead, it is instrumental to his ability to survive in captivity. Echoing Beckwouth's adoption, Love is eventually adopted into the tribe and promised to the chief's daughter. He describes participating in their dances and learning their ways (101). This scene highlights his ability to perform identity. While several scholars have noted how Love persistently separates himself from his identity as a black man, none of them have considered this strange story within the context of his larger narrative.[154] I argue that Love includes this scene to highlight his ability to perform identity and adapt to new situations and new communities. He is able to gain entrance into culture of the "wild and woolly west," just as he is into this Indian tribe. And here, it is not his identity as a cowboy that protects him, but his identity as "colored." While this captivity scene is similar to Beckwourth's, Love draws on a notion of identity based on context rather than kinship. In both Beckwourth and Tubbee's narratives, the time among the Indians fundamentally changes their identities. For Love, on the other hand, identity remains a contextual performance.

Like Whitman and Hopkins' regions, Love's west is foreclosed by a national project: the transcontinental railroad. At first, Love fights "the march of progress" (130). As he leads his herd alongside railroad tracks, he sees an engine coming and tries to rope it: "I put my spurs to my horse and when near enough I let fly my lariat. The rope settled gracefully around the smoke stack…but the engine set both myself and my horse in the ditch" (123). While this story is obviously supposed to be humorous, it also contains some tragic poignancy. It is almost a refashioning of the John Henry legend, where the labor of a black man competes against the power of machinery; however, in Love's case, the machine wins and foreshadows the irrelevancy of the cowboy. At the end of his narrative, Love again reflects back: "Life today on the cattle range is almost another epoch…the cowboy is almost a being of the past" (162). Just

as American Indians were considered as an embodiment of the past, he suggests the cowboy dies this cultural death as well. Love describes that the march of civilization brought industry and towns; "to us wild cowboys of the range…the new order of things did not appeal…it was with genuine regret that I left the long horn Texas cattle and the wild mustangs of the range, but the life had in a great measure lost its attractions" (130). As is seen in Whitman and Hopkins, the freedom the region provides is foreclosed by a national project. He can choose to move from the region he came to love (as in Whitman and Hopkins), or he can join in the national project of Manifest Destiny; Love chooses the latter.

While Love's narrative does not specifically engage with international issues as Whitman and Hopkins do, his mourning of the passage of the cowboy life echoes the parallels scholars have drawn between the closing of the frontier and the search for new frontiers abroad. Amy Kaplan uses Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis to connect both continental and global expansion, specifically positioning the Spanish American War as exporting Indian hating to new frontiers (17). Both Kaplan and Gail Bederman argue the connection between continental and global imperialism enabled the image of the cowboy to persist after the close of the frontier. [155] As Bederman explains, Theodore Roosevelt built his career on his portrayal of the manly cowboy persona (178). In this way, Love's performance of the cowboy identity in 1907 can be interpreted as a way for him to access martial manhood at a time when African Americans were segregated into their own regiments and disregarded for their service to the nation.[156] While Love employs Roosevelt's manly cowboy image to transform his identity, ultimately their projects differ. As Bederman explains, Roosevelt applies social Darwinism to frame the winning of the west as an essential race battle between civilization and savagery (178). African Americans and Indians had no place in Roosevelt's America: "The inferior 'negroes' could live

peacefully with the superior whites for generations, unlike the Indians, who picked fights with the white man and thus could be killed off" (Bederman 180). Love, however, sees identity as a performance rather than as a fixed stage of development; it is based on cultural context rather than on genealogy. In reading identity this way, he makes space for himself on the frontier as a cowboy.

In the end of his narrative, Love becomes a Pullman porter, and he is able to once again transform himself to his surroundings; the wild cowboy becomes a proper porter serving the nation's wealthy. He describes a rough start to his new position and says he had to develop the knack for pleasing people (134). In some ways, Love's role as a porter mirrors his role as a cowboy—he is still highly mobile and able to "appreciate the grandeur of our mountains and rivers, valley and plain, canyon and gorge" (145). However, his position as a Pullman porter is racially defined; in this way, what looks like progress in his narrative is really a cycle, as he returns to a place not far from where he started.[157] To maintain their regionally defined hybrid identities, Whitman's and Hopkins' characters must leave the nation. Love chooses to embrace the nation rather than turn from it, and thus returns to a racialized occupation.

Photographic Self-Fashioning

Perhaps the most artful way Love performs his various identities is through the photographic portraits he includes. As we have already seen in Hopkins, photographs can challenge commonly held stereotypes; in Love's case, the photographs challenge the image of the cowboy. Wild West shows, dime novels, and novels like Owen Wister's *The Virginian*, all helped to establish the archetypal white cowboy. As a whole, Love's autobiography and accompanying photos make the presence of the black cowboy visible in the history of the

west.[158] The photographs serve as proof of his ability to shift his identity and elide simple race-based categories. The first image opposite the title page features Nat Love with his wife and daughter.[159] All three are posed in front of a fake backdrop—one can see the faint form of painted columns and gardens in the background. They are ornately dressed and look confidently ahead. Love is in a three-piece suit and tie, with closely cropped hair. The following title page claims he is "DEADWOOD DICK," and the subtitle highlights his identity as a cowboy: "A true history of slavery days, life on the great cattle ranges and on the plains of the 'wild and woolly' west, based on facts, and personal experiences of the author." Like the photographs in Hopkins' article, image and text combine to challenge assumptions; one can hardly believe that the man in the photo is Deadwood Dick. Love thus indicates at the very beginning that for him, identity is more performance than essence.

The next photograph Love includes features another fake backdrop with a curtain running down the left side with a decorated pot of flowering bushes.[160] Love stands cockily to one side holding his lariat, with saddle and gun at his feet. Instead of three-piece suit, Love wears chaps, a belt encrusted with bullets and a light colored cowboy hat, which sets off his comparatively darker skin and shoulder-length black hair. Not surprisingly, this photo is placed after he earns his moniker Deadwood Dick; the caption reads "The roping contest at Deadwood, S.D." Once again, text and image confuse rather than confirm. The caption leads the reader to believe that the photo was taken while Love was in Deadwood. Thus, the image seems to certify Love's pinnacle achievement: his transformation into a true cowboy. But the studio backdrop calls attention to itself and Love's performance. Indeed, another image of Love in front of the same backdrop, with the same pose, follows twenty pages later—the only difference being that Love holds his shotgun rather than his lariat.

Love chronicles his final transformation into a Pullman porter through a last set of photographs taken at the beginning, middle, and end of his career. The middle photograph shows him with a mustache in his Pullman uniform holding a brush. He is again posed behind a false backdrop.[161] The caption of the photograph calls attention to his performance. Rather than truly desiring to serve his passengers, he learns to please his passengers to gain tips, saying that he is "out for the money."

These images call attention to Love's performance even as they serve as evidence of the truth of his narrative. As Kenneth Speirs argues, the photos demonstrate "Love's awareness of the representational power of the visual—its central role in the creation and shaping of identity" (308). They highlight his ability to mold himself into different identities; thus, Love's identity is based more on performance than essence. Indeed, the fake backdrops recall a setting for a play, and Love's different outfits act as costumes that enable him to embody the role. I disagree, however, with Speirs' claim that Love makes race invisible. Love never masks his racial identity, as he self-identifies as a "colored cowboy"; his racial identity just becomes less important than his identity as a cowboy. Thus, Love's photographs can also be read as participating in this project; he portrays himself as a slave turned man and western soldier.

As Whitman does in the *Rape of Florida*, Love contrasts the plantation with the frontier to show the possibility for greater freedom. The freedom of the frontier allows him to transform from a slave into a cowboy. Love's usage of the cowboy image as a method of self-transformation would have been well-worn territory at the time he published his narrative. The notion of a "free" west was as much of a construction as the cowboy image he so carefully crafts. Love initiates these transformations through the performance of cowboy identity—performance via acts of violence, naming, and self-fashioning. Indeed, Love relies on his readers to recognize

the cliché he presents in order to call attention to his own self-construction. In this way, he challenges overly simple associations between identity and appearance as Hopkins does in her essay on the North American Indian and through *Winona*. However, Love's decision to become a participant in the foreclosure of the region fundamentally differs from Whitman's and Hopkins' approaches. For Love, the more viable solution is adaptation.

Conclusion

Albery Whitman, Pauline Hopkins, and Nat Love all place their stories in border regions which face violent change and battles for control: for Whitman, it is the Seminole Wars for control over Florida; for Hopkins, it is Bloody Kansas and for Love, it includes battles with Indians, white desperadoes, and Mexicans. These liminal regions challenge the nation's limited definition of African American identity at the turn of the century. More specifically, Whitman, Hopkins, and Love achieve this by employing a definition of identity based on local context or Boasian "surroundings" rather than social Darwinism. This leads Whitman and Hopkins to forward an Afro-Native hybridity based on the linked oppressions of Indian removal and African American emigration. Love, on the other hand, uses the region of the west to highlight encounters with racial others (Mexicans and Indians) in order to perform his masculine identity as a cowboy.

All three authors, writing from the position of hindsight, understand that the regional space is temporary. Once the region comes under attack by nationalizing forces, it can't remain as a viable option. Thus, Whitman and Hopkins' characters leave the country in hopes of finding a nation more open to hybridity. Love enters back into the nation from the region at the closing of the frontier through his racialized service as a Pullman porter. It is significant that all three

authors look to the past, especially when the nation was looking forward towards progress at the turn of the century. By turning to the region at a time of heightened nationalism and imperialism, Whitman, Hopkins, and Love show that being part of the national body actually forecloses possibilities rather than opens them. The conflicts represented in their stories also calls to light comparisons with the contemporary experience of African Americans. While the nation was preaching progress, African Americans were experiencing greater violence in the "nadir." By considering how Whitman, Hopkins, and Love use the regional past to comment on current U.S. imperialist projects, our understanding of African American regionalism extends beyond the plantation and towards a more flexible definition of African American cultural production.

Conclusion

Questions of blood, race, and kinship still lie at the nexus of African American and Native American relationships. Currently, the leaders of some Native American nations, like the Cherokee and the Seminole, have sought to limit tribal citizenship to those with Indian "blood" thereby excluding their former slaves. While many tribal members have opposed measures to exclude freedmen, others see the issue as one of sovereignty, arguing that the tribe has the right to determine its own citizenship without interference from the federal government.[162] For Native American nations, kinship necessarily evokes concerns of native political collectivity and access to a limited set of resources. The federal case to determine Cherokee freedmen's citizenship, *Cherokee Nation v. Raymond Nash*, has been tied up in the courts for over twelve years. In May 2014, Judge Thomas Hogan promised that a published opinion on the case would be forthcoming; that opinion has yet to be released. Similarly, the Seminole nation amended its constitution to require one-eighth Seminole Indian blood for membership in 2000, thereby excluding the black Seminoles who have been recognized as members since 1866.

At the current moment, when several tribes are seeking to overturn treaties made with the U.S. government after the Civil War regarding freedmen's rights, understanding the how Africans Americans and Native Americans have been defined against each other historically is crucial. This context reminds us how national practices of exclusion have overdetermined how these groups portray each other in writings from this period. By considering these works collectively as an archive, we are able to track African American engagement with narratives of racialization in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This racialization moved from a triangulation of Euro-Americans, African Americans, and Native Americans to a racial binary of white and non-white. Native Americans disappeared as a referent in American racialization

through the appropriation of Native American cultures into white American identity. As Philip Deloria argues, playing Indian has been used since the Boston Tea Party to construct a unique American identity, separate from the British; as "red" disappeared as a visible category, the white/black binary was consolidated. Within this framework, the exclusion of Africans and Indians enabled the consolidation of white American identity.

Some African American writers responded to this exclusion by including Native American figures in their writing. The native presence in this literature enables African Americans to triangulate racialization in order to produce a concept of race that relies on the movement of mutually constitutive relationships. In the literature, this manifests as ambivalence; authors and characters vacillate between defining themselves with Native Americans in order to achieve individual or collective belonging to aligning themselves with Native Americans in order to oppose white hegemony. African Americans triangulate their identities via two axes: indigeneity/exile and savagery/civilization. At times, they position Native Americans as savage exiles in order to "become indigenous" to a local or national community; this is most clearly seen in Lucy Terry's "Bars Fight" and some of Frederick Douglass' writings from the 1850s in which he argues for African American assimilation. At other times, writers align themselves more closely with Native Americans in order to counter white hegemony, such as in Josiah Henson's *The Life* and Albery Allson Whitman's *The Rape of Florida*. This shifting matrix dislodges the white/non-white binary in order to negotiate the terms by which race and national belonging are determined.

Rather than being a comparative study itself, *Triangulating Race* focuses on how African Americans have usurped the scientific, social, and historical mechanisms of comparative racialization. Understanding the historical context of interracial relationships is crucial in order

to avoid essentializing race. Therefore, my project answers Nancy Kang's call for studying not only the historical, but the literary relationships between the two groups (27). More scholarship from within literary studies is necessary to continue to flesh out how narrative produces and reflects processes of racialization. Archival research will be central to recovering additional writings, specifically within regions that historians have identified as contact zones between the two groups; Leslie Bow's *'Partly Colored'* on the Lumbee Indians and the Chinese in the deep south, and Edlie Wong's article on James Williams' *Life and Adventures* (1873), which examines Chinese exclusion, Indian removal, and African American westward migration in California, are two examples of scholarship which undertakes this important work. More specifically, I believe a wealth of material has yet to be uncovered in African American newspapers published in Kansas and Oklahoma during the exoduster movement, such as *The Leavenworth Advocate* (Leavenworth, 1888-1891) and *The American Citizen* (Topeka, 1888-1889).

While the Cherokee and Seminole nations have sought to restrict membership based strictly on traceable genealogy, many African Americans have sought DNA testing to establish and validate their ancestry, expanding their kinship networks.[163] Henry Louis Gates has popularized this method through his two successful PBS series: *African American Lives* and *Finding Your Roots*. In the former series, Gates uses oral history, genealogy, and DNA analysis to trace the lineage of eight prominent African Americans. The series' website casts its overarching vision: "For some Americans, the essential question -- "Where do I come from?" -- cannot be answered; their history has been lost or stolen. But through genealogical research and groundbreaking DNA analysis, AFRICAN AMERICAN LIVES not only provides a transformational discovery for several prominent African Americans, but also serves as an

example for all Americans of the empowerment derived from knowing their heritage." Gates even goes as far as to state that this research can "reverse the Middle Passage." A short year after the series' premiered in 2006, Gates partnered with commercial DNA company Family Tree DNA to create AfricanDNA, a genetics testing company that provides percentages of African, European, and Native American origins. Some of his show's participants, like Oprah Winfrey and Chris Tucker, feel that their family's oral histories are corroborated in discovering a certain percentage of "Native American" DNA.

Gates' series promises that transformation and empowerment come from knowing your genetic ancestry, but as is demonstrated in the case of the Cherokee and Seminole freedmen, a biological basis for citizenship produces the opposite effect. While Gates positions genetic ancestry as a direct refutation of racism's historical coupling with science, critics have not welcomed the advent of genetic testing with the same idealism. Some have questioned whether or not this increased focus on "Indian blood" will lead to genetic testing to determine Indian citizenship. Kimberly TallBear's research on genetic testing companies identifies fifteen companies which claim to test for "Native American DNA markers" ("Native American" 235). In 2005, for example, the Meskwaki Nation in Iowa began using DNA testing to prove citizenship (Kaplan, "Ancestry"). Dr. Rick Kittles, geneticist and owner of a commercial DNA testing company, AfricanAncestry, approached Descendants of the Freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes to offer his services in order to prove their native roots. Some of those tested, including Marilyn Vann, have gone on to sue their tribes for citizenship (Koerner). This privileging of genetic makeup as the key determinant of identity is uncomfortably resonant of nineteenth century understandings of race as biological. Emphasizing biological aspects of identity diminishes other forms of collectivity, such as interracial solidarity and cultural affinity.

The archive collected for my dissertation does not lend itself to a study in such collectivities; oftentimes, it appears that the texts are simply recycling stereotypes of the savage already present in American culture. Traditionally, ethnic studies relies on the belief that the common experience of oppression should necessarily lead to cross-racial coalitions. We must be careful, however, that we do not reproduce what Shih terms racialization's "logic of analogy (2). The moments of conflict have played an equally formative role in racialization as do the moments of cooperation. With this in mind, ethnic studies must move forward to examine not only moments of cross-racial solidarity, but also moments of conflict between racialized groups. As Daniel Kim argues, these "interracial antagonisms…speak to the question of why such coalitions seem to emerge with such infrequency and difficulty (xix). Understanding the historical circumstances of Afro-Native racializiation is crucial in order to explain current tensions between African American and Native American communities. The contemporary return to a biological understanding of identity in the form of genetic ancestry has yielded very different responses. While African Americans are testing their genetic makeup to broaden their ancestral ties, some Native American nations are using the same tests to severely limit tribal citizenship, often excluding African Americans who claim ties based on intermarriage, culture, and/or descent from a former tribal slave. Acknowledging that the comparative racialization between the two groups has a long and complicated history can help promote understanding on both sides, which is necessary for building a stronger coalition.

Patricia Williams questions the epistemological significance of DNA testing, asserting that "the fabulous nature of what is imagined can be liberating, invigorating- but it is a fable. If we read the story into eternity of our bloodlines, if we biologize our history, we will forever be less than we can be" ("Emotional Truth"). In our current climate, when scientific truth is

singularly overvalued, it is imperative to recognize that DNA testing is not raising new questions about race and identity; rather, it is recycling questions that have been asked by scientists since the nineteenth century: can race be biologically determined? Lest this question drown out all others, we must remember that other truths exist in the form of stories—stories that are passed down within our family that tell us of our past, and stories like that of James Beckwourth, which speak to a kinship that does not require blood to be of value.

Appendix

Figure 1, from: Kim, “The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans”

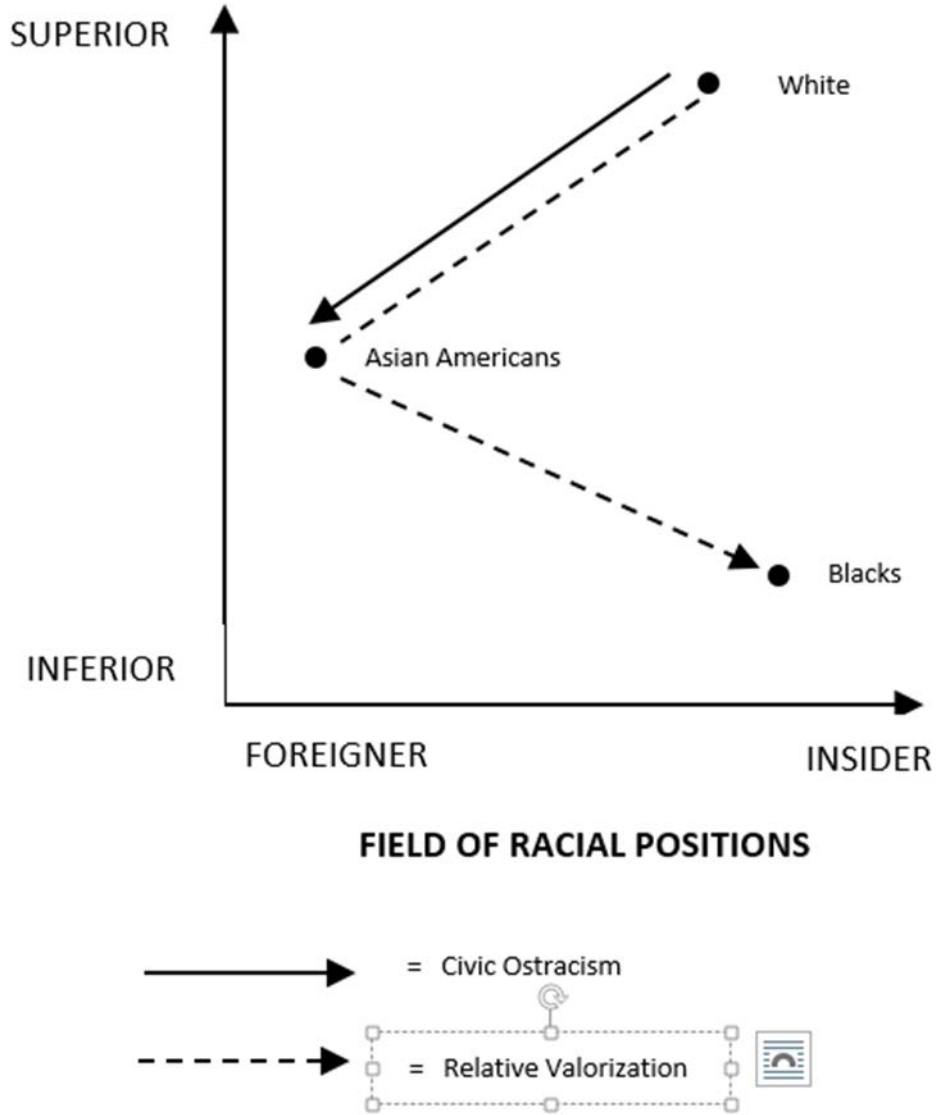

Figure 2. “Group of Natives, showing the mode of wearing the ntama.”

Figure 3. “Nat Love, Better Known as Deadwood Dick, and His Family”

Figure 4. “The Roping Contest at Deadwood, S.D.”

Figure 5. “This is Where I Shine. Now I am Out for the Money.”

Notes

[1] Renee Bergland's *The National Uncanny* examines the trope of spectral Indians in American literature as a commentary on the dispossession Indian land and the land's subsequent possession by Indian ghosts.

[2] Some of the most prominent studies of this kind are Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization*; Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian;* Brown, *The Negro in American Fiction*; and Frederickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*.

[3] Leslie Bow's study on "interstitial populations" in the Jim Crow South likewise compares Native American and Asian American foreignness, arguing that both groups were "living at a remove from American society" (3).

[4] I use the term "native" intentionally, because with a few exceptions, most of the works I study here do not represent fully developed or culturally specific Native American characters. John Marrant, Okah Tubbee, James Beckwourth, and Albery Allson Whitman all include interactions with specific Native American nations: the Cherokee, Choctaw, Blackfoot, and Seminole nations respectively. Whitman's *The Rape of Florida* is the only text which includes named Native American characters who are central to the story; like the others listed, Whitman's portrayal of Native life lapses into typology and romanticization.

[5] See Appendix for an image of her field of racial positions.

[6] These by no means are the only axes in which African Americans triangulate their identities. In this context, indigeneity refers to natural belonging to a specific location, whereas exile refers to someone who has been removed from one's native land. Most authors I study do not see civilization as a process rather than an absolute state. They thus argue that African Americans have a greater *capacity* for civilization than Native Americans, especially outside of the institution of slavery. Savagery is underdefined in the works of study, thus it is mostly defined as the absence of civilization.

[7] Native Americans were often seen as more assimilable than African Americans. For example, the "five civilized tribes" were granted their status by adopting an agricultural lifestyle, Christianity, and slavery.

[8] See Chapter 2.

[9] This is Belinde Montgomery's term to describe Marrant's change in identity (105). Her essay is included in Brennan's collection and Byars-Nichols also cites her use of this phrase.

[10] One notable exception would be Edward Jones' *The Known World* (2003), which includes African American slave owners and Native American slave patrollers. Criticism of Jones' novel is conspicuously absent in this scholarship.

[11] Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans*; Halliburton, *Red Over Black*; Katz, *Black Indians*; Littlefield, *Africans and Seminoles* and *The Cherokee Freedmen*; Mulroy, *The Seminole Freedmen*; Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*; Porter, *The Black Seminoles*.

[12] Garroutte *Real Indians*; Naylor 2008, *African Cherokees in Indian Territory*; Perdue, *'Mixed Blood' Indians*; Sturm, *Blood Politics*, Yarbrough, *Race and the Cherokee Nation*; Zellar *African Creeks*.

[13] Some excellent examples of this: Tiya Miles, "His Kingdom for a Kiss;" Emily Donaldson Field, "Excepting Himself."

[14] Both Karen Weyler and Tiya Miles contextualize Briton Hammon and John Marrant's narratives within the context of eighteenth century taxonomies of difference. Weyler argues that Hammon distinguishes himself from Indian captors based on culture and not race (92). Miles contends that Marrant "flips the script" of standard captivity narratives by "refusing to accept the subordination" inherent in European taxonomies like those developed by Thomas Jefferson and Alexis de Tocqueville ("His Kingdom"165). However, neither scholar develops this connection in depth.

[15] Recently scholars have sought to dismantle these binaries by taking a comparative approach to Native American and African American cultural production in the eighteenth century. Such examples include Joanna Brooks, Andy Doolen, and Katy Chiles. None of them specifically examine the figure of the native in African American captivity narratives.

[16] Such as Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Dustan, and Sarah Wakefield.

[17] In Michelle Burnham's study of the captivity narrative, she identifies Hammon's narrative as a slave narrative rather than a captivity narrative (9). Rafia Zafar links Hammon's narrative to both the conversion narrative and the slave narrative (42). For other scholars who see the captivity narrative as an analogue to the slave narrative, see: William Andrews, *To Tell a Free Story*; Annette Kolodny, *The Land Before Her*; Yolanda Pierce, "Redeeming Bondage;" Gordon Sayre, "Slave Narrative and Captivity Narrative;" John Sekora, "Briton Hammon;" and Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence*.

[18] Thomas Jefferson countered these two damning assessments by discussing Native Americans' eloquent oratory, arguing that America's revolution, not its degenerate state, had kept its people from producing great art (188; 191). Jefferson also states that blacks have no poetry, to which Benjamin Banneker famously responded by including the poetry of Phillis Wheatley in his almanac (267). Therefore it would seem that Jefferson still holds literature as a metric of civilization as Raynal and de Pauw do; he just does not agree with their specific assessments of American artistry.

[19] "In the savage, the organs of generation are small and feeble. He has no hair, no beard, no ardour for the female. Though nimbler than the European, because more accustomed to running, his strength is not so great. His sensations are less acute; and yet he is more timid and cowardly. He has no vivacity, no activity of mind" (Leclerc (XV 446-47).

[20] "The Europeans who pass into America degenerate, as do the animals: a proof that the climate is unfavorable to the improvement of either man or animal" (II, 68-69).

[21] Jefferson states that Leclerc's depiction of Indians are "just as true as the fables of Aesop" (62) and that it's "scarcely possible to find one truth" in de Pauw's volumes (Qtd. in Dugatkin 58).

[22] Smith's essay was one of the only American writings to receive a positive reception in Europe and was reprinted in both Edinburgh and London (Dain 43).

[23] "Americans will never resemble the native Indians. Their civilization will prevent so great a degeneracy" (Smith 97).

[24] Interestingly, this leads Smith to argue for greater equality: "The great difference between the domestic and field slaves, gives reason to believe that, if they were perfectly free, enjoyed property, and were admitted to a liberal participation of the society…they would change their African particularities much faster" (59).

[25] See Chapter 2.

[26] The 1746 raid was part of King George's War, considered third of the four French and Indian Wars. That year saw a sharp rise in raids along the English frontier, and in response, the Massachusetts government increased the number of troops (Calloway 150). The raid took place a few days after French and Abenaki allies captured Fort Massachusetts, which was a key defensive point for exposed towns like Deerfield (144). Members of the raiding party then traveled east to Deerfield in order to obtain more captives.

[27] Sharon Harris also positions Lucy Terry's poem within the context of eighteenth century natural science, specifically Linnaeus, Leclerc, Blumenbach, and Kant (*Executing Race* 173). My analysis goes a step further to consider how the Indian figures in her poem enabled her to write against binary structures in both the captivity narrative and the slave narrative.

[28] When Terry lived in Deerfield, Eunice made highly publicized visits with her Indian family in tow, requiring a translator to speak with her former Deerfield clan. Terry's husband also served with Elijah Williams (John Williams' son) during the Revolutionary War.

[29] In this sense, she takes a very different approach from other captivity narratives in that she is not concerned with the development of the individual through an encounter with the "other."

[30] *The Death of Jane McCrea* by John Vanderlyn (1804) is probably the most famous example of image.

[31] Many captivity narratives described the experience of captivity as one of slavery. Conversely, many future slave narratives would interpret their experience through the genre of the captivity narrative.

[32] According to Dr. Stephen Williams, who wrote a history of Deerfield and interviewed Eunice Allen, "threats and force were finally employed to make [Samuel Allen] consent to quit them, and he asserted to the day of his death, that the Indian mode of life was the happiest" (123).

[33] According to a study done on Rhode Island's warning out practices, 5% of transients were designated as people of color in the 1750s. This number rose to 22% in the 1790s and 50% by 1800. See Herndon, "Women of 'No Particular Home'" 272.

[34] The town of Sunderland supported Druscilla until her death in 1854 (Sheldon 57).

[35] Epaphrus Hoyt, *Antiquarian Researches* (1824); Stephen West Williams, *A Biographical Memoir* (1836); Elihu Hoyt, *A Brief Sketch* (1833), Pliny Arms, "Deerfield History" (1840); and J.G. Holland, *The History of Western Massachusetts* (1855), and George Sheldon, *History of Deerfield* (1895).

[36] The article, written by J.G. Holland, was part of a larger series on the history of western Massachusetts. These articles were collected and published into a book in 1855 entitled *The History of Western Massachusetts*.

[37] Foster does recognize, however, that Hammon's narrative is not a slave narrative in the formal sense (185).

[38] As Karen Weyler has noted, Hammon does not use race to distinguish himself from Indians, but rather uses the discourses of human development and Christianity (*Empowering* 88).

[39] Karen Weyler suggests that Hammon was spared because he was black and thus able to be sold for profit (92).

[40] The legend also had racial overtones; the Spanish were believed to be a mongrel, "blackened" race because they had mixed with native and Arabian populations. Interestingly, Hammon leaves this resonance out, likely because he wants to deemphasize the importance of color in determining associations.

[41] War of Jenkins' Ear was a war between England and Spain over trade routes in the West Indies. For more information, see Carr, *Seeds of Discontent* 143-158.

[42] During the trials of the accused conspirators, the Spanish seamen were referred to as "Spanish negroes," indicating both their compromised racial identity and their affiliation with their slave accomplices. See Andy Doolen's *Fugitive Empires* for a detailed account of the trials.

[43] African Americans often cited Spain as an example of a society which afforded greater freedoms to its slaves. Desrochers connects this to a slave petition given to the Massachusetts legislature. In 1773, when Hammon likely resided in Massachusetts, a group of slaves argued for their freedom by drawing on the perceived leniency of Spanish slaveholders: "Even the Spaniards, who have not those sublime ideas of freedom that English men have, are conscious that they have no right to all the service of their fellow-men, we mean the Africans, whom they have purchased with their money."

[44] The mobility of African American sailors stoked fears that they would instigate rebellions in Caribbean slave societies. Jamaica refused to allow the British Navy to impress its men because of such fears (Brunsman 119).

[45] The riot occurred because an emissary of the British crown had tried to impress a number of Boston seamen; in response, the city rioted for three days until the men impressed were released.

[46] For more on the culture of impressment, see Daniel Ennis and Denver Brunsman. Brunsman states that the riot was "largest disturbance against British imperial authority in the mainland American colonies in the generation before the Stamp Act crisis" ("Knowles" 325).

[47] This also reframes Hammon's refusal to be impressed into Spanish service. Although Brunsman states that the Spanish naval manning system was relatively benign compared to British impressment, Hammon shows that it is not the impressment system he rebels against, but rather the prospect of serving the Spanish crown (48).

[48] There has been some scholarly disagreement as to whether Hammon was a slave or free servant. Vincent Carretta has suggested that Hammon was free, whereas W. Jeffrey Bolster states he was a slave. Either way, Hammon sees the environment on the shore as being confining.

[49] Like most scholars writing on Marrant, I use the fourth edition published in August of 1785 because, as his title page suggests, it was "enlarged" to include material excised in previous editions. Potkay and Burr suspect that William Aldridge refused to sell this edition because he disapproved of the additional material (73).

[50] Whitefield arrived in America for his first major preaching tour in 1739. He was so popular that works by him or about him caused the total number of printed texts produced in America to double between 1738 and 1741 (Kidd 47).

[51] Many have also written about Whitefield's impact on Samson Occom whose mentor, Eleazar Wheelock, frequently corresponded with Whitefield. See Brooks, *American Lazarus* and Kidd, *The Great Awakening*.

[52]*On Regeneration* (1740) was an American reprint of Whitefield's first published sermon, *The Nature and Necessity of Our New Birth in Christ Jesus*, circulated before his arrival in the colonies. Belinde Montgomery cites this sermon as one of the many reference points for Marrant's Christianity (109).

[53] "Letter to the Inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina" was initially published in the *Philadelphia Gazette* and then was collected with other letters and published under *Three Letters from the Reverend Mr. G. Whitefield*.

[54] Although Whitefield believed in equality before God, he did not necessarily connect this to social and civic equality; he owned a South Carolina plantation with slaves and supported legalizing slavery in Georgia.

[55] This perception of the wilderness is congruent with other African American writers who see natural spaces as offering greater freedom. See Dixon, *Ride Out the Wilderness*.

[56] Other scholars have also connected this to Christ's experience in the wilderness (Montgomery 108).

[57] Tiya Miles, "His Kingdom for a Kiss" (183); Belinde Montgomery, "Recapturing John Marrant" (110).

[58] Marrant's use of the native in order to critique American slavery is a tactic used by slave narrators after him. See chapter two.

[59] I disagree with Byars-Nichols when she states that Marrant forms his civilized self in opposition to Indian savagery (24). I believe when we compare Marrant's narrative to Hammon's, it becomes clear that Marrant defines civilization based on the presence of Christianity; thus, it is the slaveholders who he positions as savage.

[60] William Stanton, *Leopard's Spots;* Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black*; George Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*; Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*; Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization*; Robert Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian*.

[61] Mia Bay, *White Image in the Black Mind*; Bruce Dain, *Hideous Monster of the Mind*; Britt Rusert, "Delany's Comet: Fugitive Science and the Speculative Imaginary of Emancipation."

[62] The most famous example of this is Henry Moss, who began turning white after arriving in Philadelphia in 1796. He was examined by several physicians and endured a battery of scientific tests. For more information, see Chiles, *Transformable Race*; Yokota, *Unbecoming British*.

[63] Monogenesis continued into the 19th century mainly as a reaction against polygenesis' non-Biblical account of creation. John Bachman's *The Doctrine of Unity of the Human Race Examined on the Principles of Science* (1850) and J.L. Cabell's *The Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind* (1859) based racial differences on environmental factors but argued such factors had produced irreversible differences.

[64] George Fredrickson argues that polygenesis advocates like Samuel Morton and George Gliddon were aware that their research was being used in defense of slavery, as both men lectured extensively in the south (77).

[65] Earlier examples of African American ethnology exist, though they tend to approach the question of racial difference historically and Biblically, rather than scientifically. Two such examples are Robert Benjamin Lewis' *Light and Truth* (1836) and Hosea Easton's *Treatise on the Intellectual Character, and Civil and Political Condition of the Colored People of the United States* (1837). See Mia Bay's *White Image in the Black Mind* and John Ernest's *Liberation Historiography*.

[66] As Bruce Dain points out, "even African Americans writing on science and race in the antebellum years, if rejecting polygenesis, subsumed individuals into biological group categories" (199).

[67] In *Black Hearts of Men*, Stauffer argues that abolitionists like Smith and Douglass use the figure of the Indian to advocate for savagery as a method of overthrowing slavery. Although I agree that "attacking the dichotomy separating civilization from savagery represented an important breakthrough among antebellum reformers," Stauffer's reading relies on a heroic portrayal of Indians (186). I believe that the vacillation between identifying *with* Indians and identifying *against* them indicates a greater desire to define a collective African American identity.

[68] As Carla Peterson explains, Smith's Communipaw was engaged in a lively debate with two other writers, Ethiop (William Wilson) and Cosmopolite (Philip Bell) between 1852 and 1855 (511). Wilson chose the name Ethiop in order to highlight his strong association with his African heritage, while Bell's Cosmopolite advocated for a raceless universality.

[69] Smith reviewed Ephraim George Squier's *Nicaragua: Its People, Scenery, Monuments, and the Proposed Interoceanic Canal* (1852) in two articles published in *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. Squier served as the U.S. diplomat in Nicaragua from 1849 to 1851.

[70] Smith also opposed Martin Delany and Henry Highland Garnet's joint emigration venture, the African Civilization Society. He accuses it of being no better than the American Colonization Society, concluding that "the free blacks of the United States are wanted in the United States (*Weekly Anglo-African*, Jan 12 1861). Thus, Smith turns to Nicaragua not as a place for African Americans to settle, but rather as proof that a similar community could exist in the United States.

[71] This approach differs from that of other African American thinkers, who rely on historical or scriptural arguments.

[72] A common name for Virginia.

[73] He delivered this speech at Western Reserve College in 1854. In *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass,* he explains that he was nervous about speaking in front of a college audience. In preparation for the speech, he reviewed works by R. G. Latham, Morton, Nott, and Gliddon (375). Douglass later described the speech as "a very defective production" (374).

[74] "The open, uneducated mouth—the long, gaunt arm—the badly formed foot and ankle—the shuffling gait—the retreating forehead and vacant expression—and, their petty quarrels and fights—all reminded me of the plantation, and my own cruelly abused people" ("The Races" 30).

[75] This charge would later be leveled against African Americans in what scholars have termed "the black disappearance hypothesis," which held that blacks' natural inferiority would lead to their eventual extinction. See Susan Mizruchi, *Science of Sacrifice* and Khalil Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness*.

[76] The belief in the ultimate extinction of the native population was common throughout the nineteenth century. In 1854, Josiah Nott wrote that the Indian "is not a creature susceptible of civilization; and all contact of him with the white race is death...he is now gradually disappearing, to give place to a higher order of beings" ("Indian" 147-148).

[77] This obviously inspired Henry's visit to the Choctaw nation in *Blake*.

[78] *Principia of Ethnology* (1879) represents Delany's most detailed explication of his ethnology, which relies on Biblical historiography. I have chosen not to include it here, because it responds to Reconstruction's failure rather than the national climate in the 1850s. For analysis, see Mia Bay, 95-97 and Carolyn Sorisio, 235-238.

[79] Knadler explains Delany's focus on labor by exploring how activities of citizenship were increasingly defined by the capitalist marketplace; "the democratic citizen was synonymous with the wage earner" (43).

[80] Delany's speech was the keynote address for the National Emigration Convention of Colored People held in Cleveland in 1854.

[81] This approach caused friction with Douglass, who accused him of going "about the same length in favor of blacks, as the whites have in favor of the doctrine of white superiority" (Qtd. in Bay 66).

[82] Stowe would later explore such maroon communities in *Dred* (1856).

[83] Henson published the first edition of his narrative in 1849 in Boston under *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself*. His narrative gained popularity after Harriet Beecher Stowe recounted his life in *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852. An expanded version of his narrative with an introduction by Stowe was published in Cleveland in 1858: *Truth Stranger Than Fiction: Father Henson's Story of His Own Life*. I use the 1858 version because it includes a fuller treatment of the Dawn settlement. This edition was subsequently published in London, Glasgow, Norway, Wales, Amsterdam, Germany, Sweden, and Paris under the title *Uncle Tom's Story of*

His Life: An Autobiography of the Rev. Josiah Henson. This worldwide reach led Robin Winks to declare him "one of the best known figures in Nineteenth Century American literature" (v).

[84] Henry Bibb's *The Narrative of the Life of Henry Bibb* (1849), is another slave narrative to read within this framework, as he was owned by a Cherokee master for short time and deemed him "the most reasonable, and humane slaveholder" he ever belonged to (152). I choose to discuss Henson's narrative here because of his focus on the creation of African American civilization; indeed, over half of his "slave narrative" focuses on his time as a freedman with the Dawn community. Henson's narrative thus departs from Douglass and Delany, who present Native Americans as uncivilized in order to highlight African Americans' capacity for civilization. Henson's literary encounter produces a common humanity.

[85] Henson's argument that slavery erodes the bonds of sympathy and kinship also refutes proslavery writers like George Fitzhugh who argued that slavery was a fundamentally benevolent system built on patriarchal ideals, where women, children, and slaves were all under the charitable care of a white man, who was the family's natural leader. See Arthur Riss, "Racial Essentialism and Family Values in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*."

[86] Here, Henson reverses Douglass' famous scene with Covey, where violent confrontation establishes his manhood; instead, Henson valorizes restraint as a form of self-determination.

[87] As cited earlier, Douglass does the figure of the Indian to highlight the savagery of slavery: "finds more of the milk of human kindness in the bosom of the savage Indian, than in the heart of his Christian master" ("Inhumanity of Slavery" 334). However, Douglass merely uses the figure of the "savage Indian" as a foil for the "Christian master." In contrast, Henson narrates a moment of contact between individuals which affirms the humanity of both parties.

[88] Dawn originated as a joint venture between Josiah Henson and Hiram Wilson, a white anti-slavery activist, to form a school called the British-American Institute. The two met while Henson was living in Colchester and attempting to organize other former slaves in the area to purchase the settlement. The settlement boasted two churches, a number of schools, and several industrial ventures—namely a sawmill, brickyard, and rope factory. At its peak, the community consisted of 500 black inhabitants who owned approximately 1500 acres of land. The Institute suffered under poor leadership and debt, eventually closing in 1868. Without the Institute, the settlement suffered (Hepburn 44).

[89] William Andrews attributes the success of Henson's narrative to his modeling of the Protestant work ethic (112).

[90] Much of early passing literature features an unintentional passer who is a product of slavery's entangled family trees and unacknowledged relations—Frances Harper's *Iola Leroy* (1892), Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1893-1894), and Pauline Hopkins' *Hagar's Daughter* (1901-1902) are three such examples. One notable exception would be William and Ellen Craft's *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom*, published after both Tubbee and Beckwourth's narratives in 1860.

[91] Ceil was part Delaware and part Mohawk. Daniel Littlefield suggests that Tubbee and Allen may have met while they were both in Washington or Baltimore (xxiv).

[92] For a probing analysis on Tubbee's performances, especially within the context of museum culture, see Gilmore, *The Genuine Article* 67-97.

[93] It has been difficult for historians to corroborate Tubbee's version of his life events. Daniel Littlefield's introduction to Tubbee's narrative provides the most extensive historical analysis of Tubbee's life. Throughout his life, he used various aliases; he was born Warner McCrary but was also known as William McCrary, William Chubbee, William McChubby, and Okah Tubbee. It is unclear why he chose the name Okah Tubbee. Littlefield suggests that it comes from William Simms' 1845 short story, "Okatibbe, or the Choctaw Sampson" after the main character who is Choctaw. This association, as well as Tubbee's claim that he is the lost son of Choctaw chief Moshulatubbee, would serve as evidence of his Indian identity.

[94] The free black population in Natchez was the largest in the state; over half of Mississippi's free black population resided in Natchez (Littlefield ix).

[95] This is similar to the scene in John Marrant's narrative where he begins praying in the Cherokee language after only a short time in the wilderness with a Cherokee hunter. While in Marrant's scene has Christian overtones that recall the Pentecost, here Tubbee's intertext is scientific.

[96] Later African American authors also use the trope of the identifying mark. In Frances Harper's *Iola Leroy* (1892), the mark aids in family reunion after the Civil War. Thus it reconstitutes African American family ties. In Pauline Hopkins' *Of One Blood* (1902-1903), Reuel and Dianthe's twin birthmarks serve as evidence that they are brother and sister. Sutton Griggs's *Unfettered* (1902) features Dorlan Warthell, who learns that the mark he bears identifies him as a long-lost prince. Tubbee's narrative prefigures *Unfettered* in using the mark as evidence of a lost familial history.

[97] Beckwourth recorded his narrative through an amanuensis, Thomas Bonner, who was a justice of the peace that Beckwourth met in California. It was evidently popular, as a British edition was published in 1856 and a French edition in 1860. I use the version first published in 1856.

[98] Beckworth worked for both the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and the American Fur Company.

[99] Hiram Chittenden, an early historian of the west, claims that "the whole work is replete with fable" (680). Delmont Oswald is a little more charitable to Beckwourth when he states: "The main faults of Beckwourth's work are the result of a poor memory for dates and recklessness with statistics, his desire for self-glorification which led to his stretching the truth and making himself the hero of adventures which happened to others, and just plain lying for the sake of a good story" (xi).

[100] Noreen Groover Lape, Laura Browder, and Blake Allmendinger all state that Beckwourth's mother was a slave and his father the owner (25; 113; 1). The only evidence for this appears to come from the 1892 British edition of Beckwourth's narrative, where editor Charles Leland identifies Beckwourth's parentage this way (9).

[101] Allmendinger also claims that Beckwourth passes as white in his narrative (8).

[102] Jerng uses Mary Jemison and John Tanner as examples. Mary Jemison was captured in 1755 by the Shawnee in Pennsylvania. She was later adopted by the Seneca and chose to remain with them. James Seaver interviewed her and published *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* in 1824. John Tanner was also captured by the Shawnee in 1790 in present-day Kentucky. He was raised by the Ojibwa and worked as an interpreter. He published his story, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John*

Tanner, in 1830.

[103] This was true of Beckwourth's home state as well. In 1835, Missouri required that all free blacks and mulattoes between seven and twenty-one be apprenticed (Zipf 29).

[104] One of Beckwourth's biographers, Gordon Dodds, makes a similar connection, stating that his apprenticeship indicates he was seen as a free African American (85).

[105] Beckwourth's physical retaliation against his master serves a purpose similar to Frederick Douglass' battle with Covey.

[106] Many St. Louis traders wanted to establish trade with the Blackfeet, but the Blackfeet refused to trade with Americans. In 1823, they killed traders from the Missouri Fur Company and stole $15,000 worth of skins. (Hyde 318). A month earlier, William Ashley (Beckwourth's future boss) and his Missouri Fur Company were attacked by the Arikara and thirteen men died; the engagement made national headlines (Hyde 264). Thus, Beckwourth's success among the Blackfeet is evidence of his greater ability to succeed where others have failed.

[107] Having Indian wives was not unusual for mountain men; William Swagerty's study of fur trappers estimates that nearly forty percent had Indian wives (164). The American Fur Company specifically imbedded fur traders into Blackfoot society in order to use their kinship to negotiate successfully with the tribe (Hyde 320).

[108] As Samuel Otter observes, the "scene of bodily and especially cranial contemplation, in which the observer stands before another and seeks access" is a "primary ethnological scene" (101-102). I am not arguing that the Crow women were aware of this resonance, but rather that Beckwourth's description encourages this comparison.

[109] Beckwourth's narrative arc differs from Boone's, however, because Boone eventually returns to his community of origin; he is never able to fully "reemerge."

[110] This scene of misrecognition echoes Marrant's return home in which his sister misrecognizes him as Cherokee.

[111] This is also suggests Beckwourth's mixed race status, as the Seminoles were considered to be the most racially mixed tribe due to the alliance between the Seminole and African American maroons.

[112] By stagist I mean a developmental model of human history characteristic of social Darwinism whereby people groups were separated by their stages of development: savagery, barbarism, and civilization. Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society* (1877) exemplifies this model.

[113] Richard Brodhead, *Culture of Letters*; Richard Sundquist, "Realism and Regionalism."

[114] Brad Evans also makes this link, explaining that the disciplinary distinctions between anthropology and English were slim during this period (17).

[115] Recently, critics have included Sutton Griggs in their discussion of African American engagement with the region. While I believe Griggs provides a crucial alternative to the focus Dunbar and Chesnutt, his project differs fundamentally from the authors in this chapter, because while *Imperio and Imperium*

likewise critiques U.S. imperialism, it ignores the parallel struggle of American Indians. See Levander, "Sutton Griggs and the Borderlands of Empire."

[116] This set off a firestorm of protest, and Ida B. Wells and other journalists called on African Americans to boycott the fair. Wells published a pamphlet in response: *The Reason Why the Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition*.

[117] Colored American Day participants included: Bishop Henry Turner of the A.M.E. Church; Delseria Plato, mezzo contralto; Sidney Woodward and J. Arthur Freeman, tenors; Harry Thacker Burleigh, baritone and a teacher at the National Conservatory of Music in New York; Joseph Douglass, violinist and grandson of Frederick Douglass; and Maurice Arnold Strothotte, accompanist. Dunbar recited his poem, "The Colored American," and Will Marion Cook presented an act from his opera *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

[118] Because of this, George Stocking defines social Darwinism as a synthesis of both nineteenth century monogenesis and polygenesis (47).

[119] Putnam was a former student of Louis Agassiz who developed a national reputation for museum work as head of Harvard's Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology (Rydell 57).

[120] As Mia Bay argues, African Americans were the first to engage with Boas' revision of culture (187). Both Bay and Vernon Williams specifically site Boas' influence on W.E.B. Du Bois. The two men first met when Boas delivered the commencement address at Atlanta University in 1906.

[121] Whitman was born on May 30, 1851 to a small plantation in Munsfordville, Kentucky. His parents died a year apart from each other, and Whitman became an orphan at the age of 13, working as a slave until emancipation. He eventually landed in Ohio where he worked at a machine shop and on the railroad, and received seven months of formal education in the public school system. Whitman then taught in Ohio and Kentucky, near his birthplace. Sometime after 1870, Whitman enrolled in Wilberforce University and was mentored by Bishop Daniel Alexander Payne. While it appears he was only enrolled for six months, by 1877 Whitman had become a financial agent for Wilberforce and pastor of a church in Springfield, Ohio. Eventually he married a woman named Caddie, with whom he had three daughters: Essie, Mable, and Alberta Whitman. He went on to lead churches in Ohio, Kansas, Texas, and finally Georgia.

[122] It is telling that two of Whitman's final poems ("Tobe's Poem" and "Uncle Saul's Resolve") were written in dialect, suggesting a last attempt at making his work relevant to the popular audience.

[123] Kevin Mulroy identifies a variety of terms used to describe the Africans living near the Seminoles, including Seminole freemen, Afro-Seminoles, black Indians, and Seminole maroons. Mulroy believes the most accurate term is "maroon" because they were fugitive slaves or their descendants, living in a community that held similarities with other maroon societies (*Freedom* 1). I have chosen black Seminoles because many of Africans in Florida were actually held as slaves by the Seminole, even though Seminole slavery afforded more independence than Southern slavery or slavery amongst other Indian nations. Including the term "Seminole" also emphasizes the specificity of their experience and recognizes their close association with the Seminole Indians significantly impacted the construction of their identity.

[124] The source of Whitman's knowledge of the Seminole Wars is unclear. One possible source is Joshua Giddings' *The Exiles of Florida*, published in 1858. The 300-page treatise was based off of Giddings' congressional speeches given while he represented Ohio in the House of Representatives.

[125] Interestingly, in two of the epics Quint identifies as romance epics, *La Araucana* (1569-1589) and *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* (1610), the losers are native peoples conquered by an imperial power—in these cases, by Spanish conquistadors.

[126] To illustrate this, McWilliams cites William Munford's and William Cullen Bryant's translations of *The Iliad* (1846 and 1870, respectively), Bryant's translation of *The Odyssey* (1871), and Christopher Pearse Cranch's translation of *The Aeneid* (1872) (20).

[127] Whitman wrote a number of letters to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, whose approval he tenaciously sought; he even sent a copy of *Not a Man and Yet a Man* "as a tribute of respect" calling him "Chief of American Poets" (Qtd. in Sherman 113). Whitman also sought support from William Cullen Bryant, whose own failure to produce an epic was a source of disappointment amongst literary critics (Hays 4; McWilliams 96).

[128] I borrow this term from Mary Louise Pratt, including her emphasis on contact, which foregrounds "the interactive, improvisational dimensions of imperial encounters" where "subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other" (8).

[129] Although it's unclear when *Rape of Florida* takes place, as Whitman collapses events from all three Seminole Wars, it's possible that he conceives Florida as free because of Spain's lax slave policy before the United States acquired it in 1819. During the battles between Britain and Spain, the Spanish crown promised that any escaped slaves that made it to Florida would be considered free (Mulroy *Freedom* 8-10).

[130] The Battle of Suwannee against Andrew Jackson also occurred here in 1818 (Porter *Negro* 221-236). Jackson's goal was to destroy the black Seminole communities along the river that were luring slaves to freedom. (Mulroy *Freedom* 16).

[131] By many accounts, the Great Wahoo was a swamp settled by black Seminoles. The Florida swamp's terrain made it more difficult for the U.S. government to remove the Seminoles from Florida. The Dade Massacre was an example of this. Major Frances Dade led U.S. troops along the Wahoo Swamp where they were ambushed by Africans and Seminoles; Dade and 95 other soldiers were killed, marking the start of the Second Seminole War. For more on Seminole use of swamplands, see Nelson, *Trembling Earth* 40-70.

[132] Although Giddings refers to the Seminoles themselves as "exiles," Whitman makes a distinction between the Seminoles and the black maroons whom he terms exiles.

[133] The military alliance between the Seminoles and black Seminoles is historically accurate. The significance of black Seminole involvement in resisting removal led Colonel Jesup to adjust his policies: "This, you may be assured is a negro and not an Indian war; and if it be not speedily put down, the south will feel the effects of it before the end of the next season." He also described that the "negroes…exercised an almost controlling influence" over the Seminoles (Qtd in Mulroy, *Freedom* 29).

Because of this, Jesup focused on dividing the alliance between Seminoles and black Seminoles. This historical context sheds light on Beckwourth's participation in the Seminole Wars and his role in delivering messages to Jesup.

[134] The black Seminoles, who were removed with the Seminoles to Indian territory as slaves, were constantly being raided by neighboring tribes. The Seminoles were also dissatisfied with their forced association with the Creeks, who had a different culture, different slaveholding practices, and greatly outnumbered the Seminoles. As a result, a group of Seminoles and black Seminoles escaped into Mexico in 1850. The Mexican government granted them land, food, and supplies in exchange for protecting the Mexican border from attacks from other tribes like the Comanche and Apache. It is estimated that at its height, the Mexican community reached 700. Seminole petitions for their own reservation land went unheeded until 1856. For more information, see Mulroy *Freedom* 61-89.

[135] Many African Americans sought to form colonies in Central and South America, including Martin Delany and James McCune Smith. Whitman later hatched his own emigration scheme. African American newspapers reported that Whitman had detailed his plan to form a colony for mulattoes in Central America; an article in the *National Reflector* specifies Guatemala and Yucatan as possible sites (2/8/1896). Apparently his plan was to wait until revolution unsettled Central America to migrate and intermarry with the locals, thereby giving "quadroons" and "octoroons" control over the government. Whitman's plan was not unique. Colonization was on ongoing debate within the A.M.E. Church, and as a minister, Whitman would have been familiar with arguments in support of and against colonization (Bailey 82-108; Little 66-76).

[136] I distinguish this from Colleen O'Brien's argument that *Winona* is based on a monogenicist claim to common humanity (250). Rather, I argue that Hopkins depicts Winona and Judah's hometown as producing a local culture, similar to a Boasian sense of "surroundings," which focuses on the historical and geographic specificity of the region.

[137] This also somewhat contradicts other critics' perceptions on Hopkins' usage of American Indians in *Winona*. Brown lists all of the happenings of American Indian land rights issues that Hopkins neglects to mention, implying that she was poorly informed (371). Ammons also argues that the Native American in Hopkins' novel is *not* native, but nativeness and "stock Indianness" (215). While I agree with Ammons to an extent, Hopkins was obviously more aware of New York Indian land issues than she acknowledges.

[138] Jeremy Neely argues that the border between Missouri and Kansas was one of the most contested geographical boundaries in the United States during the nineteenth century (3).

[139] This description of Colonel Titus' plantation coincides with John Vlach's description of plantation geography, where the plantation house was at the center of the estate and often on a hill, affording an unobstructed and commanding view (231).

[140] As Jeremy Neely points out, many Missouri slaveholders were concerned that if Kansas filled with anti-slavery activists, it would encourage more runaways (43).

[141] Because a vote would determine whether Kansas became a free or slave state, free-soil settlers were sent from the Northeast via emigration societies, and thousands of pro-slavery Missourians flooded into Kansas the day of the vote to swing it, which they successfully did (Morrison 150-160).

[142] This song is quoted nearly verbatim from William Wells Brown's *My Southern Home*, published in 1880 (155-156.)

[143] While John Gruesser and Gretchen Murphy have read other works by Hopkins as comments on imperialism (namely "Talma Gordon" and *Of One Blood*), I believe that *Winona* is a significant addition because in it she articulates a coalition among people of color based on shared oppression. In this way, *Winona* sidesteps some of the civilizationist rhetoric present in *Of One Blood*.

[144] There was large opposition to the annexation of the Philippines in the African American community (Gruesser 14).

[145] In 1905, Hopkins wrote to William Monroe Trotter, editor of the *Boston Guardian*, that the *Colored American Magazine*'s new financial backers wanted her to stop discussing racial oppression and stop printing articles ON THE FILIPINO" (Brown 550).

[146] Other articles in the series included: "Oceanica: The Dark-Hued Inhabitants of New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, Fiji Islands, Polynesia, Samoa, and Hawaii" ; "The Malay Peninsula: Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and the Philippines" ; "The Yellow Race: Siam, China, Japan, Korea, Tibet" and "Africa: Abyssinians, Egyptians, Nilotic Class, Berbers, Kaffirs, Hottentots, Africans of Northern Tropics, Negroes of the United States."

[147] Powell was a follower of Lewis Henry Morgan and founded the BAE in 1880. According to Michael Elliott, Powell "endorsed social evolution and its stagist, developmental model of human history" (xxvii)

[148] See Figure 2 in the appendix for a copy of the photograph.

[149] Michael Elliott refers to this as the "salvage imperative:" "this project…took on particular urgency because of the commonly held belief that the carriers of traditional Indian languages and forms of knowledge would soon disappear (9).

[150] The disjuncture between image and text also challenges the eugenic belief that photography could capture essential differences between races, as Frances Galton did. See Shawn Michelle Smith, *American Archives* and Allan Sekula, "The Body as the Archive."

[151] Dan Moos believes Love likely distributed and marketed the autobiography himself (89).

[152] According to Amy Greenberg, "martial men believed that the masculine qualities of strength, aggression, and even violence, better defined a true man than did the firm and upright manliness of restrained men" (12).

[153] Love's perception of the West as a place of freedom is echoed in scholarship on the African American presence in the West. Quintard Taylor says that "for much of the 19th century African Americans viewed the West as a place of economic opportunity and refuge from racial restrictions" (81). Taylor argues that Black cowboys specifically experienced more equality, with equal wages for African Americans and white Americans (160).

[154] See Allmendinger, "Deadwood Dick;" Dodge, "Claiming Narrative;" Speirs, "Writing Self."

[155] As Bederman points out, Roosevelt selected many former cowboys and frontiersmen to serve in his special regiment (191).

[156] For more on African American military service during the Spanish American War, see: Jennifer James, *A Freedom Bought with Blood: African American War Literature from the Civil War to World War II*; Susan Gillman, *Blood Talk: Race Melodrama and the Culture of the Occult*.

[157] Despite the fact that Pullman porters were "racial roles," I disagree with Allmendinger when he asserts that porters were "essentially slaves who reenacted the slaves' legal servitude" (*Ten* 24). Porters were deeply respected within the African American community and were one of the earliest labor groups to attempt unionization. See Brailsford Brazeal, *The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Its Origin and Development*.

[158] For a history of the black cowboy, see Philip Durham and Everett Jones, *The Negro Cowboys*.

[159] Figure 3, Appendix.

[160] Figure 4, Appendix.

[161] Figure 5, Appendix.

[162] Several Cherokee argue for citizenship not based on blood but on dense kinship networks. See Sparks, "Freedmen are Citizens of the Cherokee Nation." On tribal the debate as it relates to tribal sovereignty, see http://indianz.com/news/archives/000930.asp.

[163] Troy Duster estimates that since 2002, over half a million people have purchased commercial DNA tests (99).

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