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Between Skin and Heart: Racial Authenticity and Emancipation in the British Caribbean and United States

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Between Skin and Heart:
Racial Authenticity and Emancipation in the British
Caribbean and United States

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for
the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in History

by Adam James Richard Thomas

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Alice Fahs, Chair
Professor Winston James
Associate Professor Sharon Block

2016

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	American Antiquarian Society
AL	Angus Library
AMA	American Missionary Association
AMAA	American Missionary Association Archive
APS	American Philosophical Society
ARC	Amistad Research Center
ARTBS	American Reform and Tract Book Society
ASL	Anthropological Society of London
ASS	Anti-Slavery Society
AWTP	Albion Winegar Tourgée Papers
BCAH	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin
BL	British Library
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
BFRAL	Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
CCU	Colonial Church Union
CWM	Council of World Missions
DU	David M. Rubenstein Special Collections Library, Duke University
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania
ICS	Institute of Commonwealth Studies
JARD	Jamaican Archives and Records Department
JC	*Jamaica Courant*
JRC I	*Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission, Part I: Report*

JRC II	*Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission, Part II: Minutes of Evidence and Appendix*
LMS	London Missionary Society
LOC	Library of Congress
NAUK	National Archives, United Kingdom
NARA I	National Archives and Records Administration I, Washington DC
NARA II	National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park, Maryland
NCC	North Carolina Collection
NLJ	National Library of Jamaica
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NYPL	New York Public Library
RAI	Royal Anthropological Institute
SCRBC	Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture
SHC	Southern Historical Collections
SHL	School of Advanced Studies, Senate House Library, London
SMS	Scottish Missionary Society
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies Special Collections
UNC	Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
UWI	West Indies and Special Collections, University of the West Indies
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Between Skin and Heart:
Racial Authenticity and Emancipation in the British Caribbean and
United States

By

Adam Thomas

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Irvine, 2016

Professor Alice Fahs, Chair

This dissertation asks how the end of slavery affected ideas of
community belonging and social authority. Part one examines
divisions within black communities during popular political
protests and electoral campaigns, locating forms of black
nationalism in each region shaped by West African-derived
cultural traditions, experiences of slavery, and the example of the
Haitian revolution. Black people perceived as disloyal to
nationalist visions of racial destiny in both regions were
marginalized in remarkably similar ways. Part two considers how
former enslavers and other white supremacists in the Caribbean
and US united across national lines to undermine liberal
opponents. Attacks on Caribbean missionaries and US
carpetbaggers employed the same racialized vocabularies of
economic and sexual impropriety to cast political opponents as less

than fully white and lacking authority to govern freedpeople. Part three addresses missionary and carpetbagger attempts to reclaim whiteness by adopting formerly enslaved children. Placing black children in white families as test cases for postemancipation reform programs weakened adoptees' ties to black kinship networks. Living on the cusp of two families but included fully in neither, the genealogical isolation of formerly enslaved children produced a sense of confusion concerning ideas of racial belonging.

Analysis of these cases illuminate the tension created between societal perceptions of a subject's race based on physical appearance and contradictory perceptions based on behavior and allegiance. These conflicts engendered exclusion of those said to have "black skin and white hearts" or seen as "white niggers," undermining radical and liberal visions of emancipation. Tracing transnational circulations of people and ideologies, the dissertation shows that similar notions of racial authenticity operated in the Caribbean (c.1823-1866) and US (c.1861-1900), challenging exceptionalist narratives of American racial history. Though many reformers believed emancipation would eradicate racial difference, subjects in every instance grounded authority to enact their vision of emancipation in claims of purity. While research on the relationship between race and slavery tends to focus on origins, it

is only by examining the formal end of bondage that we can

understand how race survived slavery's nominal demise to

continue as a source of social division today.

INTRODUCTION

In October 1865, thousands of black peasants and laborers rose in rebellion against the white plantocracy of Jamaica. Protesting its stranglehold over the franchise, reluctance to pay livable wages, and the punitive measures it routinely imposed on black people in courts, a well-drilled group of rebels attacked the police station in Morant Bay, capital of the St. Thomas-in-the-East parish. Moving on to the courthouse where the Vestry parish government was in session, they attacked hated members of the body and killed most of the militia that engaged them.[1]

One of the first people captured by protesters was Charles Price, a wealthy architect and vestryman. He was recognized as black based on his physical appearance but had, the official investigation of the rebellion wrote, "by his abilities raised himself to a position in life superior to that of most of his race." Protestors attributed Price's success to a different cause. Despite his racial identity, he had aligned with members of the white plantocracy and underpaid black employees. These crimes were compounded when he provided shelter for white targets of the crowd during the rebellion.[2] According to witness testimony, the captors asked:

> "Price, don't you know that you are a black nigger? and married to a nigger? … Don't you know, because you got into the Vestry, you don't count yourself a nigger?" … "Take a looking glass, and look on your black face"
>
> Price said, "Yes, I am a nigger."

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[1] Gad Heuman provides the most extensive account of these events in *"The Killing Time": The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994).

[2] British Parliamentary Papers [BPP], *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission, Part I: Report*, XXX, no. 3683 (1866) [JRC I], 14; Testimony of Dr. J. S. Gerard, in BPP, *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission, Part II: Minutes of Evidence and Appendix*, XXXI, no. 3683-1 (1866) [JRC II], 8; Testimony of Henry Good, Ibid, 30; Gad Heuman, "Killing Time," 10. Price's connection to Baron von Ketelholdt, custos of Morant Bay, was especially unpopular. Von Ketelholdt, also killed at the courthouse, was despised for his arbitrary use of court power to brutalize black people, and for removing the popular, radical anti-plantocrat colored politician, G. W. Gordon, from the Vestry.

Though they had orders to "kill no black; only white and brown," the group broke protocol after women among them testified to Price's abusive employment practices. Despite offering two hundred pounds for his life, a fortune for average protestor, Price was beaten "till the back part of his head was as flat as his face." His "complexion some thought would have saved him," wrote the *Falmouth Post*, but as one participant pointed out, Price had "black skin and a white heart."[3]

One year later and fifteen hundred miles away in Baltimore, the Radical Republican judge, Hugh Lennox Bond, received a letter. It expressed the anger local white conservatives felt at Bond's support for creation of a publicly funded integrated school system in Maryland. "Look out you black hearted nigger loving son of a bitch," it proclaimed. "Why don't you leave Maryland[;] its no place for you. We are white men here. Leave go to Massachusetts and be a nigger." By aligning with African Americans (though like many white liberals it was a limited and qualified allegiance at best), a man recognized as physically white had, in the eyes of his opponents, betrayed the race and forfeited his place within it.[4] His "nigger loving" marked him apart from "true" white men of the state—men who had until just a year before held or condoned holding black people as property. By identifying the abolitionist hotbed of Massachusetts, home of Sumner, Child, and Garrison, as a state where an ostensibly white person could "be a nigger," the author established a connection between a broader class of liberals and compromised racial status. Just like Price, Bond's racial flaws manifested in tension between skin and heart.

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[3] Testimony of William Payne Georges, *JRC II*, 4; Testimony of Henry Good, *JRC II*, 30; *Falmouth Post* [Jamaica], 20 October 1865. The average wage for sugar plantation laborers in 1865 was one shilling per day – lower than some wages in 1838. See Heuman, *"Killing Time,"* 75; Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica, 1832-1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 126.

[4] Curtis to Hugh L. Bond, November, 1866, quoted in Douglas R. Egerton, *The Wars of Reconstruction: The Brief, Violent History of America's Most Progressive Era* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014), 136. On the limits of Bond's support for black advancement, see Richard Paul Fuke, "Hugh Lennox Bond and Radical Republican Ideology," *Journal of Southern History* 45, no. 4 (1979): 569-86.

This dissertation examines that tension, in the years immediately surrounding emancipation in both the British Caribbean and the US South. It developed when societal perceptions of a subject's race based on physical appearance, especially color, came into conflict with contradictory perceptions of race based on behavior and allegiance that emancipation made more possible. As a result of this conflict between outward appearance and inward character, between an established system of race and promises of the nineteenth century's own "post-racial moment," the person under discussion was rendered racially inauthentic. Investigation of authenticity reveals four primary outcomes: firstly, becoming seen as inauthentic justified exclusion from the racialized community with which subjects identified. Inauthenticity was often deliberately imposed for the purpose. Secondly, in both locations, imposition of inauthenticity and social exclusion weakened radical and liberal emancipation programs, hastening a resurgence of white supremacy. Thirdly, remarkably similar forms of racial authenticity operated in both regions, pointing to the interrelated nature of respective national emancipation processes. Fourthly, authenticity debates ensured that race survived the end of slavery as a basis of social division. Many reformers believed emancipation would eradicate racial difference; one American was typical in his claim that "old things are passing away, and eventually old prejudices must follow."[5] But as actors in every instance grounded authority to enact their version of emancipation in claims of racial authenticity, the nineteenth-century post-racial moment proved just as illusory as the present one.

The first section takes up arbitrations of identity within groups of enslaved and freedpeople who identified as black. Chapter One examines moments of popular protest. As

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[5] Quoted in Allyson Hobbs, *A Chosen Exile: A History of Racial Passing in American Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 77.

black people banded together to resist slavery and post-slavery racial oppression, those who refused to join or resisted uprisings, who protected white property and lives, were deemed disloyal to the cause of inaugurating autonomous black communities. They were, therefore, classified as inauthentically black. People who earned this unwelcome designation were pushed beyond the boundaries of the new nation under construction.

Chapter Two reveals similar phenomena in democratic elections and colonization schemes. As newly enfranchised black men identified the Republican party as the best means of securing a meaningful freedom, the small minority who voted Democrat (the "party of slavery") appeared in opposition not just to freedom but to the black race. And in decisions enslaved and freedpeople made about whether or not to leave the sites of their enslavement, some believed that separation from whites was the only choice for true freedom while others believed that the land they had worked under slavery was both their own and an important factor in constructions of identity. Thus, both staying and going could result in the label inauthentic. In these debates around party choice and conduct during protests, black women took leading roles in arbitrations of racial and community belonging. In doing so, they contested the exclusion from political realms that dominant gender ideologies required.

No matter the form of politics, black people in both the Caribbean and US imagined their postemancipation lives as a massive departure from slavery. Even after attainment of the franchise, often taken as proof of integration into white society, the primary goal of many black people was minimization of white influence over their lives. They worked to secure exclusive

control of resources, constitute their own formal and informal governments, and, when possible, to physically separate from whites. I define these visions of emancipation as *radical*.[6]

The second section addresses authenticity within white communities. For the purposes of this investigation, most whites fell into two groups: white supremacists and reformers. The former—sometimes referred to as the "enslaving classes," "plantocrats," or "redeemers"—were comprised enslavers, former enslavers, and their sympathizers. Those who did not actually own slaves typically drew their livelihoods directly from it in some way—attorneys, overseers, bookkeepers, or merchants, for example—or they saw emancipation as a threat to an idea of whiteness in which they were psychologically invested. Put simply, these groups identified slavery or white supremacy as the correct racial order and attempted to recreate it as fully as possible after emancipation. Their visions of post-slavery society were the most *conservative*.[7]

The other group of whites were comprised mostly of abolitionists, missionaries in the Caribbean, especially dissenting sects like Baptists and Methodists who expressed the greatest sympathy for black people, and "carpetbaggers" in the US—Northern Republicans who inhabited the South after the Civil War. This label in itself subsumed a range of people; politicians who oversaw Reconstruction and teachers who educated freedpeople receive the greatest attention. But "scalawags"—Southern Republicans considered traitors to the South—and

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[6] While scholars have identified certain white activists of the era as "radical"—William Lloyd Garrison or Albion Tourgée, for example—I generally identify radicalism as a province of black politics here. Even in the case of someone like Tourgée, undoubtedly one of the most progressive white activists of the time, he did not advocate nationalist forms of autonomy for black people. The only whites who did support separation that might appear nationalist were segregationists or advocates of colonization driven by beliefs in white supremacy and black inferiority. In contrast, black people who advocated autonomy and separation grounded their visions of emancipation in beliefs of racial equality or even black superiority.

[7] The expanded definition of "plantocracy" that includes Caribbean non-slaveholders who were nonetheless dependent on the system for economic and psychological gain is taken from B. W. Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850: Capital and Control in a Colonial Economy* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 2005). I expand the group further under the label "the enslaving classes" when talking about both the Caribbean and US.

Union soldiers—considered agents of emancipation by determined keepers of slaves—are also discussed. What matters here is that the person or group in question was identified—not always correctly—as expressing support for racial equality or otherwise aligning with black people. I describe both the actors and their visions of emancipation as *liberal*.[8]

Appearing to support racial equality earned a designation of inauthentic whiteness. Chapter Three examines white supremacist depictions of reformers as sexually immoral in print. Emphasizing hypersexuality, promiscuity, and "miscegenation," these characterizations resembled nineteenth-century stereotypes of blackness, thereby questioning the whiteness of their targets.

Chapter Four addresses physical punishments that complemented print depictions discussed in Chapter Three. White supremacists engaged in campaigns of anti-reformer violence—floggings, hangings, burnings—that recalled slave punishments, denoting victims as unworthy of equal treatment with "true" whites and marking their identities as inauthentic.

The final chapter considers transracial adoption of formerly enslaved children by white reformers. Through these arrangements, missionaries and carpetbaggers attempted to reclaim whiteness by proving their ability to govern the formerly enslaved. (Like conservative opponents, they usually dismissed the possibility that black people could govern themselves).

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[8] Many reformers were inconsistent at best in support for the enslaved and formerly enslaved. Even the most determined abolitionists rarely believed blacks the equal of whites. But while I make the distinction, most militant white supremacists rarely did. They imposed inauthenticity in broad strokes. A liberal ideal of emancipation differed from a radical view in that it accepted the possibility of black inferiority, but differed in turn from a conservative view in that it considered that inferiority a temporary condition or "badge" of slavery. David Theo Goldberg identifies a central debate in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century racial theory between the idea of alterable difference resulting from historical circumstance (racial historicism), and fixed difference resulting from birth (racial naturalism). Both defined an "other," in this case "black" or "African," as inferior. See *The Racial State* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002); Srividhya Swaminathan, *Debating the Slave Trade: Rhetoric of British National Identity, 1759-1815* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 184.

They pressed ahead with their political programs, making black children, who carried particular symbolic significance as the "future of the race," test cases. As racial identity was partly defined by biological filiation, disruption of genealogy by transfer of black children to white families created a sense of racial inauthenticity among adoptees.

Authenticity and Authority

Whenever an actor, black or white, invoked inauthenticity, they did so to undermine an opponent's ability to enact a political program. When, for example, the Jamaican enslaving classes responded to a slave rebellion in 1831 with a campaign to exclude missionaries from the island, attachment of inauthenticity informed a deliberate bid to wrestle control of black labor from perceived rivals. The Jamaican House of Assembly informed representatives in Britain that "[t]here can be little doubt that the whole Body of the Sectarians feel desirous to remove from themselves the deserved infamy attaching upon them … it will be our fault if they are again suffered to obtain their former ascendancy over our once happy dependents."[9] Here key members of the plantocracy acknowledged a deliberate effort to reduce the influence of "Sectarians" over black "dependents." For their purposes, infamy in this instance was racialized.

For whites in the British Caribbean, authority rested in what Partha Chatterjee terms the "rule of colonial difference"; as an agent of colonialism, the missionary's power was bound up in the ability to civilize a colonized "'other'"—in this case "the African"—portrayed as "inferior

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[9] House of Assembly Committee of Correspondence to William Burge, 13 July 1832, 1B/5/13/1, House of Assembly Committee of Correspondence Out-letter Book, 1794-1833, Jamaican Archives and Records Department [JARD].

and radically different."[10] By minimizing the difference between missionary and black congregant in racial terms, planters simultaneously diminished the former's power to lead the formerly enslaved. The letter coordinated political strategy between Jamaican enslavers and supporters residing thousands of miles away in the British metropole, whom, for their part, were expected to publicize missionary impurity as widely and forcefully as possible, thereby weakening popular support for abolition and liberal postemancipation politics. Thus, imposition of inauthenticity and marginalization of reformers were Atlantic processes. White supremacists in the US would employ similar tactics to similar ends three decades later.

Many of the same phenomena held true for black communities. When black Republicans stoned Martin Delany in Cainhoy, South Carolina, in 1876, their actions overflowed with racial meaning. The use of violence revealed that they no longer considered Delany one of their own. As the vast majority of African Americans supported the Republican ticket as the best chance of realizing radical ideals amid a white majority, Delany's alternative vision, defined, so it seemed to his assailants, by a turn away from black nationalism toward support for the party of slavery, had compromised his place in what Paul Gilroy terms the "imagined community of the race."[11] Because his plans for black people no longer overlapped with their own, he had lost authority to lead them. When, as Chapter Two will show, Delany attempted to reassert his position by claiming blackness, he revealed a tacit understanding of the connection between racial

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[10] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 10. Historians have cast missionaries as agents of colonialism, who, though at times opposed to some of the most obvious cruelties of imperial rule, nonetheless promulgated it in attempts to remake foreign "heathen" subjects in the mold of "civilized" Europeans. Invocation of authenticity was a part of that remaking; particularly within white communities, it was a tool in a contest between two groups—one reformist, one reactionary—for imperial power. Examinations of missionaries as imperialists that have shaped my thinking here are Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

[11] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 24.

authenticity and social and political authority. Price's attackers viewed him in similar terms and employed more violent means to achieve a permanent exclusion. Again, the effects of authenticity and inauthenticity were not confined by national boundaries.

Catherine Hall highlights a "war of representation" waged between pro-slavery and anti-slavery activists in Britain from the 1820s onwards. At its center was "the disputed figure of the African," whom opponents of slavery claimed as "brothers and sisters" and supporters of the system portrayed as "fundamentally different from, and inferior to, their white superiors." The battle for authority between these two groups also sparked a second war of representation as a corollary to the first, this time centered on abolitionists themselves and their postemancipation successors: missionaries, teachers, and carpetbaggers. Both debates were racialized. While the meaning of the African's blackness was the subject of the first, the nature and realness of the liberal's whiteness was the topic for the second. On one side, conservatives challenged the authenticity reformers; on the other, reformers contested the charges, portraying themselves as no less white than their accusers while providing a different definition of what whiteness should be. To the enslaving classes, the ideal white was the antithesis of the stereotype of the African they propagated. While blacks were lazy, dishonest, hypersexual, and promiscuous, the true white was the opposite in every way. Genuine whiteness was proven through subjugation of and sexual separation from black people (an irony not lost on abolitionists who criticized rape of enslaved women by their masters). Reformers, they claimed, were not just too willing to fraternize with blacks, but exhibited "black" traits, particularly when it came to sexual morality.[12]

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[12] Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 107, 108. See also David Lambert, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity during the Age of Abolition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). It should be noted that to accuse a missionary or carpetbagger of being racially inauthentic was not to accuse them of being black. In almost all ways, by virtue of the white physical appearance reformers examined here could claim, they were never considered as inferior as those deemed physically black, nor did they suffer the same oppression or violence. Neither were the

Abolitionist vision of whiteness were not so different; they attempted to portray themselves as the antithesis of black stereotypes too. But liberals proclaimed themselves more morally upstanding than not just blacks but pro-slavery whites too. Indeed, they were better able to govern former slaves because of it, reminding listeners that enslavers had been willing to cross racial lines through sexual contact under slavery. But more importantly, their vision of whiteness relied upon raising, educating, and reforming, rather than subjugating "the African," or so they believed. They saw the negative traits of blackness not as innate and immutable, as the enslavers claimed, but as temporary byproducts of slavery that true whites could remove with time and effort. Yet because authority to oversee the working of emancipation relied upon the colonial rule of difference, they constantly had to portray "the African" as inferior to themselves, always on the path to civilization but never quite achieving it. Because if whites and blacks were the same, the reformer had no reason for being.

This inherent contradiction in the abolitionist view ultimately handed the pro-slavery faction victory. The white supremacist vision of whiteness was based on a simpler and clearer distinction from blackness. It was easier to retain authority in the public view by stressing how the conservative white differed from blacks who, as time wore on after each emancipation, appeared less and less capable of civilization to more and more white observers. As freedpeople increasingly refused to observe liberal demands on their conduct, reformers eventually had to concede; blacks supposedly could not be reformed because they themselves had failed to reform them as far as the broader white public was concerned. To continue to proclaim blacks as "brothers and sisters" when they engaged in rebellions like Morant Bay would only prove that

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inauthentically black considered white. To be rendered racially inauthentic was not to change race entirely, to go from black to white or vice versa. Rather inauthenticity was almost a separate racial category in its own right, positioned somewhere between the two polarities in the minds of those excluding said subject.

the reformer's own sense of morality, a concept increasingly associated with whiteness, was compromised. Both the "Christian public" in the British metropole, and white Republicans of the US North—the key respective audience in the war of representation in each society, who had both initially expressed sympathy for racial equality—came to accept the view that blacks could not be civilized. With it, they accepted the more conservative view of whiteness that required a strict subordinating hand to be wielded over unruly inferiors. Many missionaries, teachers, and carpetbaggers acknowledged this as the way forward. Where they did not concede, that strict hand often subordinated them too, as an analysis of anti-reformer violence (Chapter Four) shows.

But the major weapon in this war of representation was not the sword but the pen, or rather the printing press, with battle waged on the pages of newspapers, pamphlets, and novels. On one side, accusations equating morality of missionaries with that of black congregants became staples of pro-slavery journals throughout the British Caribbean. In Jamaica, Baptist missionary, William Knibb, complained that newspapers were daily "filled with the most abominable falsehoods against us every one and are employed to render us odious – we are called liars, pickpockets, vagabonds, scoundrels – every name of reproach that miserable malice can invent." He likely realized that the "odiousness" planters attached to the missionary character was racialized. "That there are persons sufficiently base to invent and propagate the foulest calumnies to gratify a malicious propensity," concurred London Missionary Society agent John Smith in British Guiana in 1823, "and that others are weak enough to believe them, however incredible or absurd, are facts which almost every one's experience abundantly conforms."[13]

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[13] William Knibb to Mother, 9 September 1828, WI/3/11, West Indies Correspondence, Baptist Missionary Society Collection, Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford University [AL]; John Smith, 19 July 1823, Journal of John Smith, 1817-1823, Box 1, No. 2, Journals, Council for World Missions/London Missionary Society Archive, Special Collections Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, London [SOAS]. We might expect print culture to be central to the process of identity arbitration, as Benedict Anderson shown that it was an integral part

But as the correspondence between the Jamaica Assembly and its British emissaries shows, more was intended than satisfaction of a "malicious propensity." Attacks were calculated to undermine liberal authority, reduce popular support for reform, and reestablish the dominance of enslaving classes. Whether in the London merchant's perusal of anti-slavery publications to probe for weaknesses in "the enemy camp" before publishing his attacks, or the Jamaican planter's list of "Actions to be taken in 1832" to counteract abolition—including letters written to *John Bull* and *The Times*, and distribution of a pamphlet entitled *Jamaica Insurrection, or the Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society, Exposed and Refuted*—the rise of white supremacy in opposition to emancipation should be considered a methodical and well-executed movement. Furthermore, it was successful. In one example, John Smith was prosecuted on flimsy evidence and sentenced to death for inciting a rebellion just a month after the press accused him of theft, indicating, as will be shown, that press criticism justified physical punishments. Smith died in prison before he could appeal.[14]

Reformers received similar treatment in the US. Of his experiences in North Carolina, carpetbagger Albion Tourgée remembered that "[d]efiant hostility, bitter animosity, unrestricted libertinism in the assaults of private character, poured over the columns of the Southern press like froth upon the jaws of a rabid cur … The previous training which the press of the South had received in the art of vilification under the régime of slavery, became now of infinite service in this verbal crusade." Tourgée himself was accused of harboring sexual feelings for his adopted formerly enslaved daughter. So powerful was the chief accuser, Josiah Turner of the *Raleigh*

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of how the "imagined communities" of national identity were formulated too – *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed. ([1983]: New York: Verso, 2006).

[14] Joseph Liggins to C. B. Codrington, 25 January 1832, C/38, Codrington Family Papers, Rhodes House Library, Oxford; Robert Johnson, "Actions to be taken in 1832," in Box 46, Folder 6, Powel Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia [HSP]; *Jamaica Insurrection, or the Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society, Exposed and Refuted* (London: Cunningham and Salmon, 1832).

Sentinel, in his critiques of Reconstruction that the paper was known by readers as "our great bulwark against attacks of radical hatred and oppression." One subscriber described Turner as the true "champion" of the state, who "through the columns of the *Sentinel*, warned the people that North Carolina was being ruined by this thieving radical party [and that their] fundamental liberties were in danger." He "assaulted the Radical army of thieves, carried the war to into the enemy's camp, and almost single handed and alone won the great battle of NC for our people." In the war of representation, Turner and his colleagues, just like the pro-slavery journalists of the British Caribbean, were skilled combatants.[15]

Missionaries and carpetbaggers fought back with any means at their disposal, knowing that loss of whiteness or reputation potentially spelled loss of vocation, the hearts and minds of the formerly enslaved, and the destiny of their respective nations or even mankind. Such were the terms in which some reformers viewed their work. Smith protested in writing to the *Guiana Chronicle*. Missionary societies published their own narratives to counter pro-slavery discourse, and petitioned the government to intervene. Knibb sued the editors of the *Cornwall Chronicle* and *John Bull* for libel. Despite the Attorney General of Jamaica's view that press attacks were intended "to lower Mr. Knibb in the eyes of his people, and in the estimation of the public generally," the missionary found the planter-dominated legal system in complete support of the press. A "friend of the people has not the least chance of justice," he concluded. Tourgée's observations came in *A Fool's Errand* (1879), a near autobiographical novel about a carpetbagger's life in North Carolina. In each format, reformers challenged conservative claims

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[15] Albion W. Tourgée, *A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools*, ed. John Hope Franklin ([1879] Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 174; R. Outlaw to Josiah Turner, 19 October 1872, Folder 5, 730 Josiah Turner Papers, Southern Historical Collection [SHC], Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill [UNC].

and gave different accounts of themselves to the public, portraying themselves as paragons of true whiteness.[16] Ultimately, however, their efforts came to little.

Continuity and Change: Defining the Era of Emancipation

Rarely do historical phenomena fit neatly into discrete and easily discernable chronological parameters, and the transition from slavery to freedom is no different. This dissertation covers years before and after each legal end of slavery because, as historians increasingly recognize, "freedom's arrival was not the work of a moment but the product of a movement; it was a process, rather than an occasion."[17]

In the British Caribbean context, emancipation technically began in 1834 or 1838, depending upon whether the intervening four-year period of "apprenticeship," in which the formerly enslaved were compelled to work on the sites of their enslavement but paid at a regulated rate, is seen as a significant departure from slavery.[18] Regardless, enslaved people sensed emancipation's approach before the Slavery Abolition Act passed in parliament and received royal assent in August 1833. Indeed, they fought to fulfil their own prophecies. Slave

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[16] *Falmouth Post*, 10 July 1839; Knibb to Rev. T. Middleditch, quoted in *The Youthful Female Missionary: A Memoir of Mary Ann Hutchins, Wife of the Rev. John Hutchins, Baptist Missionary, Savanna-La-Mar, Jamaica; and Daughter of the Rev. T. Middleditch, of Ipswich; Compiled chiefly from her own Correspondence, by her Father*, Second, Revised Edition (London: G. Wightman, & Hamilton Adams & Co., 1840), 172. On the Knibb libel cases, see Lionel Smith to Marquess of Normanby, no. 152, 1 August 1839, CO 137/239, NAUK; *The Baptist Herald and Friend of Africa*, 29 April 1840.

[17] Ira Berlin, *The Long Emancipation: The Demise of Slavery in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 18. Other portrayals of protracted, uneven emancipation processes include Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985); Idem, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Jim Downs, *Sick from Freedom: African-American Illness and Suffering During the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[18] Antigua was the exception in the British Caribbean in instituting immediate and "full" abolition in 1834.

rebellions erupted in 1816 (Barbados), 1823 (British Guiana), and 1831 (Jamaica), moments in which parliament discussed measures to register slaves, ameliorate the conditions of slavery, or abolish it entirely. That the enslaved acted amid debates on how to better regulate or improve their condition suggests that they sensed potential weaknesses in the institution. They believed full freedom was within their grasp and struggled harder for its achievement. Because that fight required loyalty imagined in racial terms, dissent was similarly racialized. Thus, the enslaved could judge some among them as inauthentic prior to slavery's end. These rebellions are therefore included in discussion of a larger "era of emancipation."[19]

Even they cannot be taken as definitive starting points of that era, however. Expectations of racial loyalty were shaped by the Haitian Revolution (1790-1804) and West African cultural traditions dating to at least 1675. But for the time prior to legal emancipation examined here, most attention is paid to the years immediately preceding it. Whether it was the 1831-2 rebellion in Jamaica or the Civil War in the US (1861-5), it was in these final moments of slavery that the system sustained its greatest challenge, that its racial order seemed most fragile, that actors worked hardest for its defense or destruction, and that, therefore, the clearest pre-emancipation examples of authenticity debates generally occurred.[20]

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[19] On the late slave rebellions and connections to public debates over slavery, see Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 254-322; Hilary McD. Beckles, "The Slave Driver's War: Bussa and the 1816 Barbados Slave Rebellion," *Boletin de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 39 (1985): 85-109; Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1787-1834* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 1982), 148-178; Gelien Matthews, *Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolition Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

[20] Jessica A. Krug dates the creation of the Memendada Kromanti oath, which I argue informed expectations of racial loyalty, to 1675 – "Social Dismemberment, Social (Re)membering: Obeah Idioms, Kromanti Identities and the Trans-Atlantic Politics of Memory, c. 1675–Present," *Slavery & Abolition* 35, no. 4 (2014): 537-558.

Whites sensed the end of slavery was coming too. As one witness to the 1831 rebellion remarked, though it

> failed of accomplishing the immediate purposes of its author … by it a further blow was dealt to slavery, which accelerated its destruction; for it demonstrated to the imperial legislature that among the negroes themselves the spirit of freedom had been widely diffused as to render it more perilous to postpone the settlement of important question of emancipation to a later period.[21]

But if the uprising of 1831 made emancipation appear nearer, it did so in part because those of 1816 and 1823 had the same effect before.[22] While emancipation was no more inevitable than any historical process, it appeared so to abolitionists for whom divine intervention against evil easily trumped historical contingency; as each event occurred it brought hope that the end of slavery was truly nigh. For their part, enslavers saw the rebellions as crises in the racial order they cherished. They struggled against the rising tide as bitterly as possible for as long as they could. It was in the conflict between agitators for slavery's end and militant backers of the *status quo*, between hope and fear of emancipation, between belief in extending help to blacks and beliefs in their subjugation, that arbitration of whiteness took place. Again, the processes began when emancipation appeared more likely, before it actually occurred.

In this respect, *Between Skin and Heart* draws on a recent historiographical trend emphasizing continuities in black experiences and white operations of dominance before and after emancipation in the US. Steven Hahn and Stephen Krantowitz have challenged definitions

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[21] Henry Bleby, *Death Struggles of Slavery: Being a Narrative of Facts and Incidents, which Occurred in a British Colony during the Two Years Immediately Preceding Negro Emancipation* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1853), 1. See also Matthews, *Caribbean Slave Revolts*.

[22] Public attention to West Indian emancipation, British and American, typically focused on Jamaica, the most productive British sugar colony. As such, I devote more attention to it here than other Caribbean locations. However, because one island cannot stand in for an entire region, and because the workings of emancipation in Jamaica were influenced by similar processes abroad, connections are drawn to Barbados, British Guiana, and Antigua. On Jamaica's importance to the British imperial economy, especially after the Haitian Revolution, see Trevor Burnard, *Planters, Merchants, and Slaves: Plantation Societies in British America, 1650-1820* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); 157-210; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 118-23.

of emancipation as a sharp break in how African Americans conceptualized their political struggle, noting that destruction of slavery was seen as one point on a continuum toward, rather than the ultimate achievement of, forms of freedom they imagined. And on issues of health, sexual autonomy, freedom of movement, and freedom of labor, a body of scholarship challenging the idea that enslaved people's lives changed dramatically after emancipation grows ever larger.[23] Caribbeanists O. Nigel Bolland, Michael Craton, Anthony de V. Phillips, and Natasha Lightfoot make similar arguments about the West Indies. All are reminders that equating emancipation with drastic change potentially implies resolution of inequalities cultivated in slavery, allowing us to ignore the extent to which the system's legacies, particularly racial, continue today. By showing that construction of inauthenticity after emancipation followed patterns set before, *Between Skin and Heart* echoes the recent scholarly call to avoid such a pitfall.

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[23] Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003); Idem, *The Political Worlds of Slavery and Freedom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Stephen Krantowitz, *More Than Freedom: Fighting for Black Citizenship in a White Republic, 1829–1889* (New York: Penguin, 2012). Histories that emphasize continuities of black suffering and oppression after emancipation include Downs, *Sick from Freedom*; Hannah Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Race in the Postemancipation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); and as a forerunner to both, Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Knopf, 1979). Many historians argue that the growth of prisons and prison labor after emancipation recreated aspects of slavery. For just a few examples, see Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Doubleday, 2008); Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* (New York: Verso, 1996); Mary Ellen Curtin, *Black Prisoners and Their World, Alabama, 1865-1900* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000); David M. Oshinsky, *"Worse Than Slavery": Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice* (New York: Free Press, 1996). For similar comparable arguments in British Caribbean history, see O. Nigel Bolland, "Systems of Domination after Slavery: The Control of Land and Labor in the British West Indies after 1838," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 4 (1981): 591-619; Michael Craton, "Continuity Not Change: The Incidence of Unrest among Ex-slaves in the British West Indies, 1838–1876," *Slavery & Abolition* 9, no. 2 (1988): 144-70; Anthony de V. Phillips, "Emancipation Betrayed?: Social Control Legislation in the British Caribbean (with Special Reference to Barbados), 1834-1876," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70, no. 3 (1995): 1349-72; Natasha Lightfoot, *Troubling Freedom: Antigua and the Aftermath of British Emancipation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

Within white communities, authenticity was generally invoked by former slaveholders as a way to strengthen or retake their dominant social position. As Catherine Hall notes of the British Caribbean context, "[i]n the eyes of almost all [enslavers], racial hierarchy was essential to social order: slavery might be over but difference must be maintained. This was their most important message."[24] Racial authenticity both relied upon and reinscribed that difference. Even among enslaved and freed peoples, questions of authenticity reified the notion that whiteness was discretely different from blackness. These processes ensured that at the very moment reformers envisioned a raceless society, race outlived slavery's demise as a basis of social division. The persistence of authenticity claims today amid another supposedly "post-racial" moment—taken up in the conclusion—points to the stubbornness and flexibility, even ineradicable permanence, of race.[25]

Yet to view emancipation only in terms of continuity is to overlook the opinions of many freedpeople. While keenly aware of the ways in which they continued to be oppressed, they also recognized that in key respects, their lives were different from slavery. Though never universally, permanently, or without white resistance, many could reclaim kin, abandon the sites of their enslavement, choose when and for whom to work, file suits in court, vote in elections, hold office, own business, change employers, go on strike, and engage in multiple other activities that slavery had prevented. There were, depending on time and local circumstance, lesser or greater

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[24] Catherine Hall, "Reconfiguring race: the stories the slave-owners told," in Idem et al., *Legacies of British Slave-ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 163.

[25] Historians studying the relationship between slavery and race have generally focused on the "origins" debate concerning which system begat the other. To my mind, this discussion is useful only to the extent that it provides insight on how to mitigate the most harmful effects of or deconstruct race altogether. Whether race or slavery came first seems of secondary importance in light of the former's survival after the latter ended. An assessment of how race survived and whence it derives its power now seems more worthwhile. By locating authenticity as a means of race's continuation, this project makes such an attempt. A summary of major texts in the origins debate until 1989 can be found in Alden T. Vaughan, "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 97, no. 3 (1989): 311-54.

checks upon these forms of progress, but emphasis on continued hardship must not obscure the very real ways in which freedpeople considered their lives improved. Indeed, debates concerning authenticity often took place within efforts to make and secure such advancements. An African American could not be rendered inauthentic for voting Democrat if he could not first vote, and the Fourteenth Amendment could allow blacks to vote only once the Thirteenth legally ended their enslavement. Charles Price's employment practices and allegiance with white planters could not have rendered his heart white had said planters been his enslavers, and said employees been instead his fellow slaves. Thus, racial authenticity resulted from emancipation as much as it preceded it. I contend that questions of authenticity are immanent parts of constructions of race, but it was these shifts, products in every case of emancipation, that prompted much louder and more frequent discussion of authenticity and inauthenticity. They may have begun during slavery, but they matured and took place more frequently after its demise.

The same holds true for white communities. For reformers, emancipation meant more regular and direct access to freedpeople, access that property rights of enslavers previously prohibited. Slavery's end signaled, at least in the conservative imagination, greater liberal influence over the formerly enslaved. The new stronger position as rivals in a contest to govern freedpeople prompted white supremacists to impose inauthenticity. Hugh Lennox Bond's advocacy only brought questions about his whiteness because emancipation made it possible for significant numbers of black people to receive an education; before 1865, laws prohibiting slaves from doing so rendered the point moot.

The new closeness between black subjects and reformers and made challenges to the latter's whiteness easier to make. Conservatives could level charges of improper missionary and carpetbagger contact with black women without their own reputations coming under scrutiny;

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not only could these meetings now take place outside of the enslavers' view and without their approval, but abolition also allowed them to distance themselves, at least rhetorically, from their own sexual exploitation of black women during slavery. Thus, white supremacists constructed a façade of innocence while attaching racializing guilt to their opponents. Emancipation, and the loss of property, prestige, and power it entailed, prompted enslavers to attack reformers with greater frequency and vehemence, but it also provided new weapons for the assault. In response, missionaries and carpetbaggers made use of the greater and more direct power they could wield over freedpeople to restate their claims to authentic whiteness. After all, they could only adopt black children as subjects of their reform programs if those children were no longer legally beholden to slaveholders.

Scholars who emphasize continuities between slavery and freedom typically respond to an earlier scholarly view that, at least for a time, the formerly enslaved secured meaningful forms of freedom in stark contrast to their previous condition. Chief among works of this kind—themselves challenges to earlier racist "Dunningite" characterizations of Reconstruction as an unqualified failure pointlessly imposed on the white South—are two monumental studies: W. E. B. Du Bois' *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* (1935) and Eric Foner's *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (1988). Both are declension narratives that acknowledge the swift and violent overthrow of a very brief period of relative equality. (In Du Bois' words, "the slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery"). But both also see that window as a moment of real change. In the education freedpeople secured and the "massive experiment in interracial democracy" black

male enfranchisement signified, significant social advancement was achieved.[26] The same framework fits the British Caribbean, where, despite the fact that the enslaving classes maintained greater social and political power in the immediate aftermath of emancipation, freedpeople initially enjoyed significantly greater mobility, independence from white intervention, and, through activism, higher wages. While a combination of planter resistance, natural disaster, and a collapsing sugar economy would force many into poverty and back onto white plantations for meager compensation, the immediate postemancipation years were a time of optimism and possibility for black people.[27]

But for all the importance accorded to changes in the lives of the formerly enslaved, relatively little attention has been paid to how emancipation altered construction of race. They were able to detail how the lives of subjects transformed in freedom, but without the critical vocabulary provided by the cultural turn at their disposal, Du Bois and Foner wrote of "black" and "white" as relatively stable categories. Others have taken up the task since, most notably

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[26] W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* ([1935] New York: Free Press, 1998), 30; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* ([1988] New York: Perennial Classics, 2002), xxiii. Manning Marable builds on this work, showing that although many gains were rolled back, legal changes secured during Reconstruction laid foundation for what C. Vann Woodward called the "second Reconstruction" of the Civil Rights Movement in the mid-twentieth century – *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction and Beyond in Black America, 1945-2006*, 3rd ed. (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2007), 3-11; Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* ([1955] Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). For an example of the Dunningite view, see William Archibald Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic, 1865-1877* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1907). Recent attempts by Adam Fairclough to rehabilitate the Dunning school remind us how necessary the Du Bois-Foner narrative remains. See Fairclough, "Was the Grant of Black Suffrage a Political Error? Reconsidering the Views of John W. Burgess, William A. Dunning, and Eric Foner on Congressional Reconstruction," *Journal of the Historical Society* 12, no. 2 (2012): 155-88; "Congressional Reconstruction: A Catastrophic Failure," *Journal of the Historical Society* 12, no. 3 (2012): 271-82. For critiques in the same issue, see Michael W. Fitzgerald, "Reconstruction Reengineered: Or, Is Doubting Black Suffrage a Mistake?" (241–247); Michael A. Ross and Leslie S. Rowland, "Adam Fairclough, John Burgess, and the Nettlesome Legacy of the 'Dunning School'" (249-70).

[27] On black optimism in the early years, see Woodville K. Marshall, "'We be Wise to Many More Tings': Black Hopes and Expectations of Emancipation," in *Caribbean Freedom: Society and Economy from Emancipation to the Present*, eds. Hilary McD. Beckles and Verene Shepherd (Kinston: Ian Randle, 1993), 12-20. On initial increases in wages as a result of activism and subsequent declines, see Swithin Wilmot, "Emancipation in Action: Workers and Wage Conflict in Jamaica, 1838-1840," *Jamaica Journal* 19 (1986): 55-62; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 125-7; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*.

Martha Hodes, Catherine Hall, and Allyson Hobbs. To these scholars, emancipation was a time of racial flux. Hobbs defines it as "a turning point in the history of racial ideology" and a "thoroughgoing transformation in the racial order." With new occupations, regions, and relationships open to freedpeople, what it meant to be black or white, and how those categories defined one another, changed. Hall makes a similar point about Britain and the Caribbean, where the 1830s and 40s witnessed significant belief in "universal family of man" that transcended racial difference. Even though racial divisions would harden in the minds of many whites in the late 1840s and 50s, "it was emancipation that provoked new ways of defining racial difference." Similarly, Hodes notes that while the antebellum Southern "racial hierarchy had rested on the categories of 'black' and 'white' as well as on the categories of slavery and freedom," after emancipation, "categories of color bore the entire burden of upholding the racial hierarchy." In these views, slavery's end signaled a transition between what Cedric Robinson terms "racial regimes" that privileged difference. Until a new one was created, there was potential room to maneuver between categories.[28]

The fragility of dividing lines was compounded by the fact that color had never proven entirely reliable as a means of differentiation. Analyzing moments when it seemed distinctly unreliable—court cases in which enslavers attempted to determine the "true" racial status of someone they claimed as property but whose physical markers were ambiguous—Teresa

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[28] Hobbs, *A Chosen Exile*, 74; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 338, 48; Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth Century South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 147; Cedric J. Robinson, *Forgeries of Memory and Meaning: Blacks and Regimes of Race in American Theater and Film before World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). Though she largely emphasizes continuities, it should be noted that Rosen interrogates the effects of emancipation on racial categories in *Terror in the Heart*. Ada Ferrer shows that postemancipation Cuba was similarly imagined as "raceless," and yet there too race survived slavery's end. The similarity with the Anglophone Atlantic suggests that authenticity debates could be located there too, as part of a more universal effect of slave-emancipation – *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 7-10.

Zackodnik argues that classifications relied instead on assessments of "reputation, personal conduct, and association."[29] As the case of someone like Charles Price shows, the same factors were central to construction of inauthenticity after emancipation; the end of slavery as a way to determine race required even closer attention to other means, like color, behavior, and allegiance. These sources came into conflict more frequently after emancipation, as a result of the novel forms of behavior and allegiance that it produced—the new possibilities for black people emerging from the social fluidity Hodes, Hall, and Hobbs outline.

The majority of this study is devoted to years following emancipation. In the British Caribbean, coverage extends to the Morant Bay rebellion. The severe repression that followed effectively ended protestors dreams of black autonomy. The Crown assumed direct control of the island, a change to which the planter-dominated Assembly voluntarily agreed, effectively disempowering people of color and "restoring whiteness as a necessary qualification for jobs at the top of the administration."[30] With no powerful nationalist mass movement until the advent of Garveyism in the twentieth century, and no formal avenue of power available before a new constitution in 1884 (and then it was no more than existed in 1865), defining the meaning of freedom, and claiming the authority required to do so, became significantly less possible for black Jamaicans. Morant Bay also signified a partial cessation of hostilities between white

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[29] Teresa Zackodnik, "Fixing the Color Line: The Mulatto, Southern Courts, and Racial Identity," *American Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (2001): 422. Arbitrations of identity examined here were effectively unofficial hearings convened for the same purpose as the court cases Zackodnik examines—defining whether a subject's claim about their identity was genuine. See also Ariela Gross, *What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Peter Wallenstein, "Reconstruction, Segregation, and Miscegenation: Interracial Marriage and the Law in the Lower South, 1865-1900," *American Nineteenth Century History* 6, no. 1 (2005): 57-76.

[30] Roy Augier, "Before and After 1865," *New World Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1965): 38-9. On the disempowerment of an already oppressed black majority in Jamaica after 1866, see Patrick E. Bryan, *The Jamaican People, 1880-1902: Race, Class, and Social Control* (Mona: University of West Indies Press, 2000), 11-21; Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnson, *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920* (Mona: University of West Indies Press, 2004), 1-13. Moore and Johnson locate cultural nationalism in the period between Morant Bay and Garveyism, but it did not stimulate a protest movement on the scale of the rebellion.

reformers and the formerly enslaving classes; many of the former lost hope of remaking Jamaica

in a European image, conceding to "racial thinking which assumed hierarchy and inequality" that

Hall shows grew popular among whites from the late 1840s.[31] Having relinquished authority

over freedpeople along with planters, missionaries and their metropolitan backers moved closer

to their former rivals in understandings of race and expectations of black disobedience. With

policing of black people now in the government's hands, with less to gain by questioning the

whiteness of reformers, the necessity of imposing inauthenticity diminished here too. The change

was not permanent, but for the scope of this study, it makes for a logical endpoint. After all,

proliferation of authenticity debates in the present show that the process potentially has no end.

In the US, 1877, traditionally taken as the conclusion of Reconstruction, provides one

possible end for this study. Disenfranchisement of African Americans, already underway but

effectively completed by Rutherford B. Hayes withdrawing Union from the South, certainly

reduced opportunities for authenticity debates that had defined election campaigns of the era.

Indeed, analysis of the 1876 election in South Carolina shows that it was the obvious approach of

disenfranchisement that raised the stakes of black political action and prompted some of the most

violent arbitrations of authenticity and authority. Withdrawal of troops also signaled that

carpetbaggers could no longer rely on federal protection. Many abandoned the South in what

white supremacists called "redemption" from "negro-carpetbag rule." Further imposition of

inauthenticity was unnecessary.

Yet authenticity shaped other forms of political expression like colonization schemes

after the 1870s. And in places like Wilmington, North Carolina, where liberal forms of

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[31] On the declining enthusiasm for missionary work among missionaries and the increasing adoption of racist views, see Gale L. Kenny, *Contentious Liberties: American Abolitionists in Post-Emancipation Jamaica, 1834-1866* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 201-9; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 243-264.

"interracial democracy" persisted (challenging conventional periodization of Reconstruction), the campaign against white Republicans continued with it. The racial violence that erupted there in 1898 was in many ways a massive arbitration of authenticity. Though *Between Skin and Heart* focuses mostly on the 1860s and 70s for the American context, analysis extends to moments like this in the following two decades where necessary. Scholars like David Blight and Edward Blum have shown that exclusion of African Americans from a whitened national identity was not fully achieved until North and South reconciled to fight the Spanish American war under a US flag in 1898. Exclusion of reformers from an imagined community of whites was in many ways a complementary process, making the turn of the twentieth century an equally logical culmination of this study, with the acknowledgment again that aspects of these ideas still operate today.[32]

Racial authenticity as a social construction and basis of power was, therefore, a product of both continuity and change; of attempts to cling to the preemancipation obsessions with color and of postemancipation transformations in what kinds of conduct and association were possible. It was both a new phase in the production of race and an extension of race's prior influence. Before emancipation, William Blake's poetry had described a boy who was "black, but O! my soul is white." And the main character of Harriet Wilson's novel *Our Nig* could define herself as

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[32] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Edward J. Blum, *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1898* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005). For similar arguments, see Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 253-86; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 61-85. Other histories citing the 1890s or later as the end of Reconstruction include Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1890* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Heather Cox Richardson, *The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865-1901* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Idem, *West from Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America after the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). It could be argued that Vann Woodward's *Strange Career of Jim Crow* was the foundational text of this trend.

"black outside, I know, but I's got a white heart inside."[33] But near and after slavery's end, this tension between appearance and character took on different meanings. Possession of a white heart ceased to be a symbol of attainable goodness, as Blake and Wilson view it, becoming instead a betrayal of black community. Only when a meaningful sense of freedom away from white influence became possible did a white heart symbolize a source of shame.

Between Skin and Heart reconciles the two sides of the debate outlined above. It takes seriously the extent to which historical actors viewed emancipation as a significant change to celebrate or mourn. Yet it also leaves room to interrogate the ways in which the slave system continued to shape the lives of those bound, employed, made rich, and given purpose by it, long after its formal end. Moreover, it begs questions of how the system still informs race, community, and power today.

Comparable Conditions

Between Skin and Heart views two seemingly distinct postemancipation moments together. There were significant divergences between the British Caribbean and US, not least that, in addition to differences of time, one process was initiated by parliamentary procedure, the other by civil war; one saw government issued compensation for enslavers, the other none; one saw a gradualist half-measure of apprenticeship instituted between legal enslavement and freedom, the abolition was, at least in theory, immediate; one saw the enslaving classes retain dominance in courts and legislatures, the other saw a significant though temporary decline in enslaver social

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[33] William Blake, "The Little Black Boy" (1789), *The Poetry Foundation*, http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/172927; Harriet E. Wilson, *Our Nig; Or, Sketches from the Life of a Free Black*, eds. Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Richard J. Ellis ([1859] New York: Vintage, 2011), 12.

and political power; one saw freedpeople largely excluded from political office (Charles Price being a notable exception), the other saw extension of suffrage to black men.

Yet for all the differences, a comparative approach shows that remarkably similar forms of authenticity operated between the two. Black rebels in Jamaica and black Republicans in the US used the same metaphors of skin and heart to describe community members who appeared to align with whites. The enslaving classes of both societies attached the same supposedly black sexual habits to white reformers, and employed the same kinds of racialized violence to reinforce their attacks. And transracial adoptees in both locations suffered similar crises of belonging when placed between black and white kinship networks. Commonalities suggest that we must look beyond national boundaries for a more complete picture of race's relationship to slavery.

Emancipation has long been a subject of comparative study, but as Jeffrey Kerr-Ritchie notes, many historians who took up the task aiming to usurp exceptional narratives ended up "buttressing the argument for the uniqueness of America's past compared to other national experiences" through emphasis on the bloody origins of US emancipation, the degree to which the formerly enslaved were enfranchised, and the level of violence employed by former slaveholders to overthrow Reconstruction. Building on Kerr-Ritchie's challenge to these supposedly unique trends, and on the recent turn in British Caribbean historiography toward placing the region in broader Atlantic contexts, focus on authenticity in *Between Skin and Heart* shows that differences between the two regions were generally ones of degree rather than kind.[34]

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[34] Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie, *Freedom's Seekers: Essays on Comparative Emancipation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 2 (quotation), 1-17. Kerr-Ritchie focuses much of his critique on C. Vann Woodward, *Emancipations and Reconstructions: A Comparative Study* (Moscow: NAUKA Publishing House, 1970); Eric Foner, *Nothing but Freedom: Emancipation and its Legacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983); and George M. Frederickson, "White Responses to Emancipation: The American South, Jamaica, and the Cape of Good Hope," in *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social*

The Civil War's violence was arguably reflected in the slave rebellions that preceded emancipation and followed in its wake, but even if the US saw a greater number of casualties overall, this fact did little to alter the effect of (in)authenticity on emancipation beyond determining the setting in which it appeared. If the war precipitated temporary exclusion of the most determined racists from positions of power and justified greater black enfranchisement in the US, the difference simply ensured that authenticity was more likely to be debated in elections than open rebellion when compared to the Caribbean. Even then, the war provided opportunities for black resistance that mirrored the nationalist tone of Caribbean uprisings more closely.

The premise that opposition to racial egalitarianism was greater and more brutal in the US is even less tenable. For one, it could be argued that white supremacists resorted to violence more readily there because they did not enjoy the same level of legislative and judicial power of freedpeople as their Caribbean counterparts did, making the terms of comparison problematic from the outset. Furthermore, analyses of violence in the context of emancipation tend to focus only on its use by whites against blacks. Here I consider violence within white communities as well, complicating assumptions of uniqueness. But perhaps most crucially, the exceptionalist view requires defining emancipation as an episode that begins only when it is legally inaugurated. As freedom was an exercise in psychological, social, and political subjective development as much as it was an attainment of a new legal status, this project takes a longer view. Extralegal activism like the late slave rebellions informed the process by which freedom was achieved as much as parliamentary debates and ratification of amendments. Thus, planter campaigns of anti-missionary violence that followed slave rebellions in British Guiana (1823)

Inequality (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 236-53. On the Atlantic dimensions of Caribbean historiography, see Christer Petley, "New Perspectives on Slavery and Emancipation in the British Caribbean," _Historical Journal_ 54, no. 3 (2011): 855-80.

and Jamaica (1831-2), the work of paramilitary organization whose methods foreshadowed groups like the Ku Klux Klan, constitute clear parallels to "redemption" in the South. The fact that such violence was essential to inscription of inauthenticity on ostensibly white bodies in both regions makes them more alike than different in this respect. Moreover, historians have often overlooked how forcefully the conservative press in both regions justified this violence.

To observe similarities is not to ignore or erase significant differences. The meaning, both past and present, that a historian ascribes to those differences is of greater importance. As Demetrius Eudell reminds us in his comparative work on Jamaica and South Carolina, "one does not have to see the formation of the United States as a 'miracle' to acknowledge its singularity, for all historical contexts on one level have their own distinctiveness." In the context of his work, and this work too, value judgments concerning which setting witnessed "greater" black freedom for a brief window matter less than the longer-lasting results of larger historical processes, namely the overthrow of the most egalitarian iterations of post-slavery society. To quote Eudell again, "when one considers that neither system of emancipation remained able to sustain a vision of freedom reflective of the perspective of the former slaves, local differences become secondary, and claims of exceptionalism and uniqueness can be made secondary to the ends (rather than the means) of emancipation." That black Jamaicans had fewer opportunities to vote than black (male) Americans, a point of paramount importance to many US historians, seems less significant when faced with the realization that "in both postslavery situations, the dominant society found a way to disempower (Jamaica) or disenfranchise (South Carolina) its respective Black majorities and still continue to see itself as being a nation that embodied free and

democratic principles."[35] The racial legacies of slavery continue to define the present, the journey to "visions of freedom reflective of the perspective of former slaves" (and their descendants) having proven protracted and non-linear between the legal end of slavery and today. Yet Britain and the US still view themselves as unique paragons of freedom. Abolition—a source of Britain's "moral capital" as an imperialist power, and the birth, in Abraham Lincoln's mind, of a new US nation in keeping with its founding ideals—is often cited as the basis of such claims.[36] By explaining part of how race survived beyond slavery's eradication, *Between Skin and Heart*, also partly explains the endurance of this paradox.

Similarities between regions also suggest that authenticity, or at least its greater prominence in political settings, may be an outcome of slave emancipation as a sociological process; though beyond the purview of this study, any instance in which slavery's racial regime is undone and new forms of conduct and association develop could theoretically witness similar debates around what it meant to belong to a racial group. Colin Dayan shows that early Haitian-born historians of that country willfully invoked tension between skin and heart as a way to communicate with a European audience while identifying with and vindicating their African Caribbean origins; they "turned to France and the white world, but claimed blackness and repaired the image of Africa—by making Haiti … the instrument of reclamation." While defined by a different, arguably more generative form of tension in the case Dayan describes, the space

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[35] Demetrius L. Eudell, *The Political Languages of Emancipation in the British Caribbean and the U.S. South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 180.

[36] Abraham Lincoln, "Address at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania" (1863), in *Abraham Lincoln: Speeches and Writings 1859-1865: Speeches, Letters and Miscellaneous Writings, Presidential Messages and Proclamations* (New York: Library of America, 1989), 536. On abolition as a key part of Britain's self-definition as a an embodiment of a free nation, and the resultant justification of its imperial platform, see Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Frederick Cooper, "Conditions Analogous to Slavery: Imperialism and Free Labor Ideology in Africa," in Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott, *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 107-49.

between skin and heart was just as much a product of emancipation in Haiti as it would be in the British Caribbean or US. In all three cases, that tension resulted from a weakening of connections between, in Dayan's words, "biological fact and ontological truth" that had both justified and been justified by slavery: the notion that "black = savage, white = civilized."[37]

Perhaps less universal for the broader Atlantic but certainly true of both the British Caribbean and US was the fact that emancipation also provided opportunities for white reformers to engage black communities in novel ways. Slavery's end eradicated the property rights of enslavers that previously acted as barriers between white reformers and the black targets of their reform. With contact between the groups more frequent after emancipation, new opportunities for conflict between skin and heart abounded. Ultimately, the presence of three broad groups— black people seeking meaningful freedom, militant white supremacists, and reformers—was the biggest factor in similar conditions of possibility for production of inauthenticity. Contests within and between these sects, and racial meanings attached to them, provided the key sites of identity arbitration in the two regions examined.[38] In this respect, *Between Skin and Heart* extends the "systadial" analysis favored by some Caribbeanists to the US. In terms of the three sets of actors and the discussions of authenticity they generated, it is possible to compare the two regions because, to quote Franklin Knight, "the separate units pass through the same general experience," just "at different times."[39]

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[37] Joan [A.K.A. Colin] Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 9, 8.

[38] In *Liberalism in Empire: An Alternative History* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014), 1-32, Andrew Sartori explains the adoption of Lockean notions of private property "even where Locke himself was unknown" by showing that agrarian Bengalis "confronted the [same] opaque forms of practice to which Locke's theory had spoken" (9). By establishing similarities between social conditions of Bengal and the England in which Locke wrote, Sartori suggests that where such common ground exists, it is not necessary to locate direct ideological connections (i.e. who read what). While I do locate such connections when possible, I adapt Sartori's argument; conditions in the Caribbean and US were sufficiently aligned to produce similar constructions of race.

[39] Franklin W. Knight, *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), xvi. Sydney W. Mintz also argues for a systadial approach in "Labor and Sugar in Puerto

Transnational Connections

Similar constructions of race resulted from more than common social conditions. Direct

communication between regions played an equally significant role.[40] While historians have long

emphasized transnational connections between the US South and British Caribbean, especially

Barbados and South Carolina, narratives of this kind tend to end with the American Revolution.

Implicitly or explicitly, they suggest that a once vibrant exchange of people and commodities

between the regions diminished to a point of insignificance thereafter, as the Caribbean colonies

sided with the metropolis and received an exodus of fellow loyalists fleeing the newly

established United States. Passage of trade restrictions in Britain prohibited the kind of exchange

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Rico and Jamaica, 1800-1850," *Comparative Studies in History and Society* 1, no. 3 (1958): 273-83; "Slavery and the Rise of Peasantry," Historical Reflections 6 (1979): 215-42; "Ethnic Difference, Plantation Sameness," in *Ethnicity in the Caribbean: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetnik,* ed. Gert Oostindie ([1996] Amsterdam: Amsterdam Academic Archive, 2005), 39-52.

[40] This investigation is both comparative and transnational in that it discusses conditions common to both regions (without them necessarily being directly connected), as well as direct transmission of people and ideas across national lines. This dual emphasis constitutes a "cross-national" approach, which in Enrico Dal Lago's words "transcend[s] the nations in attempting to understand the connections between them, but at the same time, also respect[s] the nation as a possible unit of analysis" – *American Slavery, Atlantic Slavery, and Beyond: The US "Peculiar Institution" in International Perspective* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2013), 14. While the transnational turn in history allowed scholars to perceive trends that national histories obscured, it also often discounted the nation as a valid "unit of analysis." Because this project partly examines the definition and policing of national boundaries, both formal and imagined, and because "nations have played a critical role in history and are essential in understanding the past," I follow Rosemarie Zagarri's position that "Nation-based historical narratives … need not be thrown out with the global bathwater" – "The Significance of the 'Global Turn' for the Early American Republic: Globalization in the Age of Nation-Building," *Journal of the Early Republic* 31, no. 1 (2011): 7. On cross-national history, see George M. Frederickson, "From Exceptionalism to Variability: Recent Developments in Cross-National Comparative History," in *The Comparative Imagination: On the History of Racism, Nationalism, and Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 37-46; Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, "Introduction: Comparative History, Cross-National History, Transnational History—Definitions," in *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, eds. Cohen and O'Connor (New York: Routledge, 2004), ix-xxv.

upon which the Caribbean economy had come to rely. Thus, with the West Indian sugar economy locked in decline and the North American colonies lost, the British turned away from the Atlantic and looked instead to India as the center of its new "second empire." The beginning of the United States becomes simultaneously the end of American-Caribbean connections, at least until the early twentieth century when migration grew significantly in scale.[41] In contrast, I argue that in many ways, the US and British Caribbean remained closely connected throughout the nineteenth century by circulations of people and ideas.

Historians who *do* emphasize post-Independence interaction tend to focus on abolitionist networks. Gale Kenny, Edward Bartlett Rugemer, and Nichola Clayton all show that American reformers drew inspiration from British counterparts and tested their own plans for post-slavery society in the West Indies.[42] These networks were integral to phenomena analyzed here. It was

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[41] On the American Revolution as a moment of fracture between the Caribbean and American mainland, see Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Idem, "Colonial South Carolina and the Caribbean Connection," in *Imperatives, Behaviors, and Identities: Essays in Early American Cultural History* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1992), 68-86. Though O'Shaughnessy and Greene differ on points of comparison, both end their studies of the relationship at that point. On British loyalists in the Caribbean, see Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Vintage, 2012); Wallace Brown, "The Loyalists of the American Revolution in the Bahamas and British West Indies," *Revista/Review Interamericana* 5, no. 4 (1975): 638-47; Charlene Johnson Kozy, "Tories Transplanted: The Caribbean Exile and Plantation Settlement of Southern Loyalists," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (1991): 18-42. On the post-Revolution decline of trade and its effects on the Caribbean economy, see Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* ([1944] Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Selwyn H. H. Carrington, *The British West Indies During the American Revolution* (Providence: Floris Publications, 1988); Richard B. Sheridan, "The Crisis of Slave Subsistence in the British West Indies During and After the American Revolution," *William & Mary Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1976): 615-41. P. J. Marshall argues that Britain turned away from the Atlantic and toward India in *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India, and America c. 1750–1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), and Jasanoff concurs in *Liberty's Exiles* (335). In contrast, Ernesto Bassi shows that the British continued to engage in Atlantic imperial projects, in "Turning South before Swinging East: Geopolitics and Geopolitical Imagination in the Southwestern Caribbean after the American Revolution," *Itinerario* 36, no. 3 (2012): 107-32.

[42] Edward Bartlett Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation: The Caribbean Roots of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008); Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*; Nichola Clayton, "Managing the Transition to a Free Labor Society: American Interpretations of the British West Indies during the Civil War and Reconstruction," *American Nineteenth Century History* 7, no. 1 (2006): 89-109.

through them, for example, that parenting ideologies cultivated in Ohio's Western Reserve came to shape transracial adoptions in Jamaica. Such cases are taken up in Chapter Five.

While this recent transnational scholarship has tended to focus on white activists, Richard Blackett and Winston James earlier revealed regular movement of black people and ideologies between the US, Caribbean, and other locations of the Atlantic world in the nineteenth century. Building on such work, I show that enslaved and freedpeople in each location imagined a transnational community of the race to which absolute loyalty was expected, and for betrayal of which inauthenticity was imposed. Activists in the British Caribbean paid close attention to how emancipation was realized in the US. They would attend American Missions in Jamaica where, on their insistence, "one of the Wednesday meetings in each month [was] wholly devoted to giving intelligence of the Freedmen in the United States." Upon learning that the Emancipation Proclamation had come into effect in the US, black people "could be heard singing" in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica. One formerly enslaved man expressed a clear sense of black destinies entwined across national boundaries with the statement: "we, in Jamaica, should not be indifferent to this great fact that freedom in America makes us freer than ever … many an involuntary sigh escaped us when thinking of the increasing power of the slave-empire around us. Now, thank God, I can breathe more freely." And on the eve of the Morant Bay rebellion, when peasants and laborers of color attended "Underhill meetings" to protest their oppression, those gathered in Kingston lamented Lincoln's death as "an overwhelming calamity which has afflicted the cause of humanity and freedom," and celebrated "the hand of almighty God in the near approach of the entire abolition of Slavery in America, and trust[ed] that a similar blessing

await[ed], at an early day, all other slaveholding countries."[43] They learned of such events through white abolitionist networks but also the popular black press. Papers like the *Jamaica Watchman,* for instance, reprinted news of the American struggle for black freedom.

Communication traveled in the other direction as well; black abolitionists in the US marked anniversaries of emancipation in the British Caribbean until they had their own to celebrate, and held up progress made by the freedpeople abroad as proof of what awaited at home. Charles Starbuck, agent of the American Missionary Association in Jamaica, strengthened one connection of this kind by commissioning aid from veteran Jamaican abolitionist Richard Hill in documenting what he considered the success of British Caribbean emancipation for an American audience in the first year of the Civil War. Hoping Hill's testimony might persuade slaves to enlist in the battle for freedom and the Union to arm them, Starbuck made "no apology" to Hill, "for requesting you to take this trouble for when so momentous an issue is ripening even the *milites emeriti* of freedom may well feel called to buckle on the armor again." Starbuck both imagined and facilitated a connection between militant protestors of color in the British Caribbean and US. Providing even more direct links were people like John Willis Menard, discussed in Chapters One and Two, who lived, worked, and protested in both societies, taking inspiration from radicals in one when agitating in the other. More important though were the diasporic webs created by slavery that brought West African derived ideologies concerning communal loyalty to the shores of each New World location, and the enslaved people who subsequently passed them down to future generations. Equally crucial were newspapers and

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[43] Richard Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983); Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (London: Verso, 1998), 11-12; *American Missionary* (October 1863); *Ibid* (March 1863): 49; *Ibid* (August 1863): 173; *Jamaica Watchman and People's Free Press* [Kingston], 5 June 1865.

travelers who brought stories of the Haitian Revolution, reinforcing the idea that a united force of black people could secure freedom.[44] I argue that these trends combined to instill significant belief among enslaved and freedpeople that solidarity was paramount in the face of racial oppression, that said solidarity was racialized, and that dissenters were therefore inauthentic.

Though transnational dimensions of abolition movements must be recognized, focus on them alone obscures other key points of communication between the regions. Matthew Pratt Guterl argues that enslavers of the American South were "connected—by ship, by overland travel, by print culture, by a sense of singular space, and by the prospect of future conquest—to the *habitus* and *communitas* of New World slaveholders, to institutions, cultures, and structures of feeling that were not contained by the nation-state." But Americans were not alone in envisioning a transnational empire of slaveholders. Their Caribbean colleagues also made use of these connections to comprehend and secure their position. This white supremacist fraternity, an extension of David Lambert's "counter-revolutionary Atlantic" framework beyond the West Indies and Britain to encompass the US, was crucial in the transmission of authenticity.[45]

Challenges to reformer whiteness in the US mirrored those of the Caribbean in part because white supremacists in each place watched the other closely. One plantation attorney in

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[44] B. W. Higman, "Remembering Slavery: The Rise, Decline and Revival of Emancipation Day in the English-speaking Caribbean," *Slavery & Abolition* 19, no. 1 (1998): 90-105; Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie, *Rites of August First: Emancipation Day in the Black Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007); John R. McKivigan and Jason H. Silverman, "Monarchial Liberty and Republican Slavery: West Indies Emancipation Celebrations in Upstate New York and Canada West," *Afro-Americans in New York Life & History* 10, no. 1 (1986): 7-18; Charles C. Starbuck to Richard Hill, 10 November 1861, MS 756 no. 7, Richard Hill Papers, National Library of Jamaica, Kingston [NLJ]. Hill witnessed post-emancipation Haiti firsthand and took inspiration from it for his political work in the British Caribbean, and through Starbuck, the US too. On Hill's visit to Haiti and its influence on his political activism, see Frank Cundall, "Richard Hill," *Journal of Negro History* 5, no. 1 (1920): 37-44; Matthew J. Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica after Emancipation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 133.

[45] Matthew Pratt Guterl, *American Mediterranean: Southern Slaveholders in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 1; David Lambert, "The Counter-Revolutionary Atlantic: White West Indian Petitions and Pro-Slavery Networks," *Social & Cultural Geography* 6, no. 3 (2005): 405-20.

Antigua learned of the 1831 uprising "in which the missionaries had been implicated" from "the Philadelphia papers containing extracts from Jamaica." Clearly, the American pro-slavery press took enough interest in the West Indies to report on rebellions and missionary conduct, and West Indians took enough note of the US to receive its news. Even people like New York Democrat Congressman Gouveneur Kemble who opposed slavery in the abstract remained acutely aware of British Caribbean emancipation, and disapproving of the abolitionist's active role in its realization. Kemble felt familiar enough with events to converse at length with merchant and British Member of Parliament Edward "Bear" Ellice. "The philanthropists of Europe," he wrote, "are too apt to confound both words and things; first in assuming that because a negro is a man, he is in character, in disposition, and all things, like a white man; and next that emancipation, which is an ennobling term when applied to the Caucasian race, but applied to the negro as we know him on this continent, means annihilation." Kemble was far from alone in discussing such matters with prominent figures across the Atlantic, and if even tepid critics of slavery in the US were willing to cast such unflinching critical eyes over reformers in the British Caribbean, it is not hard to imagine that militant defenders of the "peculiar institution" could take lessons from the marginalization of missionaries when confronting white liberals in their own later emancipation scenario.[46]

It is hardly inconceivable either that Francis Warrington Dawson, a Briton who enlisted in the Confederate army and edited the anti-Radical *Charleston Courier* during Reconstruction, modelled his paper's attacks—in which carpetbagger's were deemed "infinitely more degraded" than blacks—on *The Times* of London's depictions of Baptist missionaries as unworthy of

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[46] R. Jarritt to C. B. Codrington, 17 March 1832, C/29, Correspondence, Codrington Family Papers, Rhodes House Library, Oxford; Gouveneur Kemble to Edward Ellice, 8 April 1857, MS 15029, Ellice Papers, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh [NLS].

membership in the British-Caribbean community of true whites after Morant Bay. Dawson mentioned reading England's paper of record, and his place in a transatlantic circuit of white supremacists suggests awareness of resistance to black freedom and white reform beyond US shores. Reports of incidents like Morant Bay provoked hysterical responses in newspapers sympathetic to the US's recently dispossessed enslavers, supposedly providing proof that black freedom could only end in catastrophe.[47]

Beyond the press, Americans found useful examples of how to interpret emancipation in more developed writings by leading British critics. For example, when Thomas Carlyle condemned abolitionists ("Exeter Hall philanthropy") for transforming productive West Indian colonies of obedient and hardworking slaves into "unnameable abortions, wide-coiled monstrosities," his apocalyptic tone found an admiring readership in the South. "The spirit of Thomas Carlyle is abroad in this land," wrote one pro-slavery American journal in 1848, "The strong thinker, the earnest soul, is making an impress wherever the Saxon tongue and Saxon blood prevail. Here in our Western World, even more than his native isle, [he] is … beginning to be appreciated."[48] Reading texts by the likes of Carlyle, Anthony Trollope, and publications of racial scientific organizations like the Anthropological Society of London, American opponents of Reconstruction gained a vocabulary of blackness with which to describe white opponents. Some cultivated racism through firsthand knowledge of the Caribbean. For one, scientist Samuel

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[47] *Charleston News & Courier* [SC], 12 May 1873, quoted in *The Correspondence of Sarah Morgan and Francis Warrington Dawson with Selected Editorials Written by Sarah Morgan in the* Charleston News & Courier, ed. Giselle Roberts (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 201; Francis Warrington Dawson to Mother, 7 January 1866, Box 1, Folder 2, Francis Warrington Dawson Family Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University [DU]; Dawson, *Reminiscences of Confederate Service, 1861-1865*, ed. Bell I. Wiley ([1882] Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 4. On US responses to Morant Bay, see Rugemer, *Problem of Emancipation*, 291-301; Clayton, "Managing the Transition."

[48] Thomas Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* XL (1849): 532; "Carlyle's Works" *Southern Quarterly Review* XIV (July 1848): 77. On Carlyle's popularity in the South, see Gerald M. Straka, "The Spirit of Carlyle in the Old South," *The Historian* 20, no. 1 (1957): 39-57.

George Moreton formulated his views on a tour of the West Indies and conversation with enslavers. Thus, pro-slavery texts of import in the US had roots in Barbadian sugar plantations.

White supremacists in Britain and its Caribbean colonies also recognized shared interests with their American cousins. While trade may have diminished in the aftermath of the American Revolution, merchants like Stephen Girard of Philadelphia continued to invest heavily in Jamaican coffee and sugar throughout the 1820s, and partnered with Liverpool trading houses to do so. Robert Johnson, a Jamaican enslaver with several American relatives, did such brisk business with the US that he tried to establish a steam route in 1838 with departures every fifteen days between Kingston and New York. His plan to accommodate a hundred passengers suggests the level of exchange between the regions well into the nineteenth century. And just as Jamaica's abolitionist press celebrated US emancipation, its pro-planter journals condemned it. As Jamaican planters interpreted the violence of Morant Bay as proof of the dangers of emancipation, they read accounts in the *Jamaica Guardian* of "hostility toward each other in some parts of South Carolina of the whites and blacks … assuming a phase threatening serious results." They undoubtedly noticed resemblances in the American struggle to subdue a black population viewed as natural inferiors. And just as attendees of the Anthropological Society of London openly supported the Confederate defense of slavery in the British metropole in the 1860s—well known Confederates soldiers and Southern enslavers populated its membership rolls—notorious Confederate naval officer and blockade runner Captain Raphael Semmes was given a hero's welcome in Kingston by "merchants of pro-slavery proclivities."[49]

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[49] Thomas & William Earle & Co. to Stephen Girard, 1 September 1824, Stephen Girard Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia [APS]; Robert Johnson to My Dear Lawrence, 12 August 1838, Johnson to Richard Irwin, 19 September 1838, Box 46, Folder 3, Power Family Papers, HSP; *Jamaica Guardian*, 2 November 1865; *American Missionary* (April 1863): 74.

Frequent mid-century rumors that the US might annex Jamaica and reinstall slavery were generally dismissed as baseless by the Governor and Colonial Office, but the more hotheaded among the planter elite were known to treat the stories with optimism or even solicit an invasion.[50] In 1831, the Jamaica Assembly openly discussed requesting intervention from the US as a means of "preservation" from the British government's attempts to "compel us to manumize [sic] or abandon our Slaves." In 1850, the *Colonial Standard* reprinted articles from the *New York Sun* in which such plans were mooted. Alternatively, as the letters of plantation attorney Isaac Jackson revealed, mid-level plantocrats like overseers or bookkeepers left the West Indies after emancipation for greater profit in the thriving slave system of the US. The willingness of Caribbean planters to migrate or seek US protection, and the corresponding willingness of at least some Americans to oblige, indicates the extent to which exploiters of black labor recognized mutual interests in white communities abroad. They saw in one another kindred spirits, a source of psychological and material support. Even agents of the British colonial government considered cultivating such connections at times; Governor Edward Eyre, increasingly concerned by unrest among Jamaica's black majority, sought permission to "take advantage" of the Civil War to "induce discontented [white] persons" of the South to "emigrate to this island."[51] The links between the regions, concrete and imagined, were numerous. In many cases, they provided a basis for common forms of racial construction.

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[50] Examples of the colonial government's discussion of annexation rumors can be found in G. J. Gilbert to Duke of Manchester, 28 October 1823, CO 137/155; Earl Belmore to Viscount Goderich, no. 88, 6 September 1831, CO 137/179; Earl Mulgrave to Goderich, 2 May 1832, CO 137/182, all at National Archives, Kew, UK [NAUK]. For examples of planter enthusiasm for annexation, see Avis Tennet to Robert Johnson, 1831, Box 45, Folder 10, Powel Family Papers, HSP; Charles Nockells to Sir Henry Fitzherbert, 22 November 1847, Sir Henry Fitzherbert Papers, DU. On Jamaican calls for US annexation, see Christer Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica: Colonial Society and Culture during the Era of Abolition* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), 100-1.

[51] Committee of Correspondence to William Burge, 17 December 1831, 1B/5/13/1, House of Assembly Committee of Correspondence Out-letter Book, 1794-1833, JARD; *Cornwall Chronicle and County Gazette*, 26 April 1850; Isaac Jackson to Fred Fielde, 14 October 1839, Isaac Jackson Letterbooks, vol. I, APS; Edward Eyre to Viscount Cardwell, no. 215, 23 August 1865, CO 137/392, NAUK. The plan seemingly never bore fruit, most likely

Sources

Between Skin and Heart makes use of a range of materials, many of which are traditional fodder of historians. Personal and official correspondence, memoirs, newspapers, pamphlets, and government reports all feature heavily among the source base. However, two kinds pf sources require brief explanation.

Chapter One's analysis of popular protest, especially the 1831 and 1865 uprisings in Jamaica, makes significant use of testimony taken from participants during post-rebellion trials. Historians have often been reluctant to engage such sources; for example, one labels use of courts records from 1831 "problematic" because "witnesses were negotiating for their lives."[52] Witnesses surely faced punishment, even death, and it stands to reason that they would portray themselves in the most favorable light. But this seems insufficient cause for dismissing the testimony out-of-hand. When looking for proof that some black people complied with white authority, the decision to testify against rebels is itself an example. The fact that slaves would often accuse one another of rebellious action in a bid to save their lives only reinforces a sense of complexity, of competing ideas and aims, within black communities. Moreover, the sheer amount of examples casts any claim that compliance with white power during rebellions was *always* invented to guarantee survival as unsupportable. The enslaved would have realized early on that

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because, as Eyre himself expected, the US government would almost certainly object to an immigration arrangement that effectively recognized the legitimacy of the Confederacy as a treaty-making entity.

[52] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 106, 107. Heuman raises similar concerns about the Royal Commission records from Morant Bay, but focuses on specific individuals – *"Killing Time,"* 82.

being accused was enough to be found guilty; practically no defendant was saved from punishment unless a white person interceded on their behalf, and even then it was far from guaranteed. If the reward for lying was effectively non-existent, it seems unwise to assume all testimony was fabricated. Furthermore, accounts of compliance are frequently borne out outside of slave testimony. In each rebellion, planters stated publicly that black people protected them and worked opposed the rebellion, and newspaper accounts provide further examples. Unlike slaves, plantocrats had little reason to lie; it was in their interests to separate the compliant from the rebellious as a bulwark against future turmoil. Evidence is also abundant in the abolitionist press and missionary accounts.

Of greatest concern, dismissing slave testimony effectively limits us to white accounts only. The lack of slave literacy and lack of credence given to black views at the time means that trials are usually the only venue in which their voices were recorded. We must be wary of replicating colonial ideologies that only considered white testimony authoritative and rejected black narratives as untrustworthy by nature. For all of these reasons, I stand by the emphasis I place on these sources. Concerns about their accuracy are justified, and the sources have been read with them in mind. I have not included any sources in which I detected sign of fabrication. Indeed, in most cases the claims are borne out by multiple witnesses in the trial or other sources.

Historians have also at times been reluctant to use fiction as a source, with something so deliberately imaginative appearing counterintuitive to practitioners of a discipline that celebrates verifiable evidence and objective analysis as its cornerstones (while increasingly acknowledging their limits). But overlooking fiction can obscure key elements of phenomena examined here. After all, it was in the imaginative spaces it offered that many nineteenth-century actors thought through the very real issues they confronted. For the carpetbagger Albion Tourgée, it was a place

to test legal arguments or express ideals for race relations. The anonymous "Slave Driver" who authored a novel from personal experience to defend Jamaican chose the form because "to make great pretensions to veracity … might prejudice his claim to that quality rather than aid it," on account that "many may feel inclined to attach little weight to [non-fictional] testimony in consequence of his profession ranking rather low on a moral scale; yet it must be admitted he knows the truth." For this author, it was the best way to convey that truth, not to fabricate it. Engagement with "the problem of fiction" was not the purely the product of a twentieth-century postmodern moment; nineteenth-century writers knew well that "the possibility exists for fiction to function in truth," and wrote their fictions for the purpose.[53]

Indeed, the line between fact and fiction was well and truly blurred in the era of emancipation. A novel like Tourgee's *A Fool's Errand* changed names and a few details, but it was based on personal experience so closely in points that it could be considered almost autobiographical. Where it departed from the historical record—a shaky concept itself when pitched as absolute truth—the form allowed the author to state a political case concerning emancipation. In this regard, fiction was no different from an editorial, or even typical news reports which were hardly bound by expectations of objectivity, and seemingly considered precision no more valuable.[54] Accounts of missionaries in the pro-planter *Jamaica Courant*, or of carpetbaggers in the *Raleigh Sentinel*, threw unfounded accusations around with abandon,

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[53] Anon., *Marly, or, a Planter's Life in Jamaica* (Glasgow: Richard Griffin & Co., 1828), 2 (quotation); Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 193 (quotation). On claims of objectivity and their limits, see Novick, *That Noble Dream*. On Albion Tourgée's fiction as a testing ground for legal arguments, see Brook Thomas, "The Legitimacy of Law in Literature: The Case of Albion W. Tourgée," *Elon Law Review* 5, no. 1 (2012): 171-97. On the value of fiction as a form of truth, see Peter Lamarque and Stein Haugom Olsen, *Truth, Fiction, and Literature: A Philosophical Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[54] On the partisan nature of the press and its inaccuracies during the era, see Mark Walhgren Summers, *The Press Gang: Newspapers and Politics, 1865-1878* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Ted Tunnell, "Creating the 'Propaganda of History': Southern Editors and the Origins of Carpetbagger and Scalawag," *Journal of Southern History* 72, no. 4 (2006): 789-822.

playing faster and looser with ideas of proof than any novel examined here while presenting their opinions as unquestionable truth. The *Sentinel's* accusation that Tourgée harbored sexual feelings for his adopted daughter, for example, was pure speculation, made simply because the target was a political opponent. Expecting fiction to abide by standards of accuracy that newspapers, a traditional favorite of historians, did not meet, verges on hypocrisy.

Therefore, I employ fiction where it serves a purpose. In Chapter Five I read Harriet Wilson's *Our Nig* as an expression of inauthenticity created by transracial adoption to fill gaps left by exclusion of children's voices from the archives. Though written in adulthood and fictionalized in parts, the novel was again based closely on the author's own experiences, this time of childhood, making it an invaluable alternative. Elsewhere, I read fiction as imaginative spaces in which actors thought through or recorded ideas, and lenses through which actors interpreted their political world. Texts like *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or *The Grateful Negro* exerted powerful influence *because* they were fictional, allowing subjects to see themselves in certain characters and act according to those views. It would have been harder to put themselves in the shoes of a figure like Harriet Beecher Stowe's Eliza, for example, if the escapee appeared as "real" in a runaway slave advertisement instead.[55]

Usage: Talking about Race

Any discussion of this kind, Ada Ferrer notes, "must necessarily weave back and forth between asserting the constructed character of what we call race and then speaking about black people who did this and white people who did that. The tension is … irreconcilable: for the fact that race

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[55] On *Our Nig* as documentary of Wilson's experiences, see Henry Louis Gate's introduction to the edition cited.

is not a biological category does not mean that historical protagonists spoke, thought, and acted as if it weren't." Put another way, to treat race as ideological must "not deny that ideology has real effects on peoples' lives." To take race seriously while minimizing its reinforcement as social category, and unless I specifically make clear that I am doing differently, the racial designations I use as descriptors, typically "black" and "white," denote how the subject in question was *recognized* locally in a given moment. Here I take a cue from Martha Hodes.[56]

Furthermore, unless quoting directly, I use a term like black even when a historical actor says something different like "negro" or "colored." I do so for two reasons: firstly, I wish to avoid reinforcing outdated and potentially offensive labels, and secondly, some terms were understood differently between regions. In the US, for example, "colored" was in the late nineteenth century often synonymous with black, whereas in the British Caribbean, it generally denoted a separate category of people with one black and white parent—what we might call "mixed race" today. I use the term "brown" to denote this group. While not in itself ideal, it was used at the time by the people to whom I refer and avoids confusion now.

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[56] Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*, 10; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs* 17 (1992): 255; Hodes, *White Women, Black Men*, 9.

CHAPTER 1: Popular Protest

John Willis Menard and Samuel Ringgold Ward were both in Jamaica when Charles Price's white heart earned a death sentence. At first glance, they had more than this in common. Both were born black in the antebellum US and found racial oppression there unbearable. Both edited newspapers, using them to discuss the struggles black people faced throughout the Atlantic world. And having experienced life in post-slavery British colonial territory—Ward in Canada, Menard in Honduras—both encouraged their African American brethren to abandon the US. Both followed their own advice, settling in Jamaica; Ward arrived in 1855, Menard sometime between late 1863 and January 1865.

Once in Jamaica, they became politically active. Ward expressed his desire to be "of service to my people in that island," an attained a pastorship to "a group of dissidents from Kingston's Baptist Church." In 1857, he publicly criticized the post-abolition survival of the slave trade in the Caribbean. In 1865, he attended the "Underhill meeting" in St. David, where participants petitioned the British government for an end to planter oppression. In his short time on the island, Menard formed close bonds with Samuel Clarke, former Vestryman for St. David and member of the parish's "radical black elite." With Clarke's encouragement, he wrote letters to black newspapers, advocating education for the black poor. He founded the "Workingman's Literary Society" with this purpose in mind.[1]

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[1] Samuel Ringgold Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-slavery Labours in the United States, Canada & England* (London: John Snow, 1855), 406; Ronald K. Burke, *Samuel Ringgold Ward: Christian Abolitionist* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 58, 59; Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie, "Samuel Ward and the Making of an Imperial Subject," *Slavery & Abolition* 33, no. 2 (2012): 205-219; "Resolutions, St. David," encl. in Eyre to Cardwell, 12 July 1865, no. 174, CO 137/392, NAUK; Clinton Hutton, "John Willis Menard in the Struggle for the Definition of Post-Slavery Society: An African American in Jamaica in the Nineteenth Century," *Jamaica Journal* 31, no. 1-2 (2008): 58. Given his political sympathies and activism on the island, it seems likely that Menard attended the same Underhill meeting as Ward, held in his home parish. On Samuel Clarke, see

As politically active citizens of the black Atlantic, these two men's lives encapsulate the themes of this chapter. Their travels between the US and Jamaica reveal the close connections between African-descended peoples of the two locations. Their support of emigration schemes is consistent with the ways in which many black people imagined and sought to shape what Michele Mitchell calls "racial destiny." The belief that people of African descent "shared a common fate," and the desire to determine what that fate should be, increasingly motivated enslaved and freed peoples throughout the Atlantic world following emancipation. Many of them would have concurred with Menard's statement in an open letter to Frederick Douglass that "it becomes the duty of *every* one of us, large or small, to examine very minutely the great issue in whose comprehensive grasp lay our destiny, welfare, and future happiness." Though the specific strategies for its achievement varied, the attempt to negotiate a progressive future for the race in its entirety imbued certain actions—those that supported a particular vision of racial destiny— with a sense of racial authenticity and social authority. If rebellion was broadly accepted as the means for improving the race's future, engaging in that rebellion was proof of legitimate blackness. Furthermore, if a black subject's conduct or association appeared to oppose the popular course, as Charles Price's did, claims to blackness were compromised. The present analysis, like Mitchell's, "examines critical moments when African Americans [and African Jamaicans] contended that the race shared particular interests as a sociopolitical body and that the collective's future depended upon concerted efforts to police intraracial activity." As part of

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Swithin Wilmot, "The Politics of Samuel Clarke: Black Creole Politician in Free Jamaica, 1851-1865," *Caribbean Quarterly* 44, nos. 1-2 (1998): 129-44; Testimony of W. P. Georges, Trial of Samuel Clarke, Appendix IV to *JRC II*, 1149.

that policing, advocates of a particular racial destiny imposed inauthenticity on opponents to claim authority for their vision.[2]

To understand racial authenticity among enslaved and freed communities, we must consider various venues in which racial destiny was debated. Jamaica and the US often deviated from one another in these respects. The different realities of post-emancipation societies determined that violent rebellion was more common in the former than the latter, for example, while African American men gained far greater access to the vote (discussed in Chapter Two) than Jamaican counterparts.[3] Here I focus principally on two major insurrections in Jamaica—the 1831 "Sam Sharpe" slave rebellion that accelerated abolition, and Morant Bay in 1865. However, smaller-scale labor strikes (1838-1842) and rebellions throughout the island (1848, 1859), are also examined. The willingness to engage in open, often large-scale, attempts at revolution, despite knowing well that they would most likely be met with violence, torture, and summary execution, reveals the extent to which African Jamaicans were prevented from realizing their dreams of freedom by other means. For this reason, I refer to the ideology that underlay their actions as a "nationalism of necessity." So limited were rebels' options, and so high were the stakes of failure, that pressure to join the cause elicited more extreme examples of identity arbitration.

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[2] John Willis Menard, "A Reply to Frederick Douglass," *Douglass Monthly* [Rochester, NY] (August 1863): 820; Michele Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 7, 8, 9. While Mitchell primarily focuses on the era of Reconstruction, she notes that discussions of racial destiny began earlier, in "the expansionist years between 1830 and 1850" (7). I build on her analysis, extending it to the immediate post-emancipation years, as well as the Caribbean.

[3] Eugene D. Genovese argued that the topography of the islands, size and distribution of plantations, absenteeism of enslavers, and differences in enslaver culture made the Caribbean a much more suitable venue for open rebellion than the US – see *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979).

Though the venues for their expression often differed in African Jamaican and African American communities, the political ideologies in each resembled one another closely. Owing to a shared history of Atlantic slavery, visions of racial destiny were products of both Africa and the Americas. The enslaved brought similar ideologies and customs from Africa, and underwent similar forms of oppression and resistance in the New World. Moreover, black communities in both regions saw a path to follow in the Haitian Revolution. Thus in both places, African traditions were the "specific inspiration" of nationalist impulses, and the experience of slavery, along with the example of Haiti, was their "social cauldron."[4] There were further similarities in the experiences of freedwomen, who were excluded from the franchise in both locations. And a transnational circulation of ideas and people tied the regions together. The likes of Menard, Ward, Henry Highland Garnet, Richard Warren, John Brown Russwurm, and Edward Blyden moved between the British Caribbean and US, bringing their experiences of one to bear on visions of racial destiny in the other.[5] Menard was keenly aware of the workings of freedom in Jamaica before he arrived. His wife, Elizabeth, was Jamaican-born, and he publicly commemorated British Caribbean emancipation in Illinois in 1859.[6] During his time in Canada, Ward's newspaper, the *Provincial Freeman* (co-edited with fellow emigrant and emigrationist,

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[4] Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 72, 73.

[5] Less well known that the other men listed, Rev. Richard Warren, originally from the US, preached in the chapel attended by one of the Morant Bay's rebellion's leaders (G. W. Gordon), and baptized another (Paul Bogle). It is possible that he helped radicalize, or was radicalized by, these rebels. He was detained in the same military camp as Menard, on charges of using "traitorous and rebellious language and inciting to sedition," but he seemingly went unpunished thereafter. It is not clear how actively he was actively involved in the uprising. See Hutton, "John Willis Menard": 60; "Statement of Civilian Prisoners Confined at Up Park Camp between 14th October 1865 and 11th November 1865," in BPP, *Jamaica Disturbances. Papers Laid before the Royal Commission of Inquiry by Governor Eyre* XXX, no. 3682 (1866), 303.

[6] See *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], 5 August 1859, quoted in Glenn L. Starks, "The Biography of John Willis Menard, First African American Elected to Congress," in *Before Obama: A Reappraisal of Black Reconstruction Era Politicians vol. 2: Black Reconstruction Era Politicians: Fifteenth Amendment in Flesh and Blood,* ed. Matthew Lynch (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012), 222-3. Little is known of Elizabeth's life beyond Menard's few references to her. We cannot know when or why she initially left Jamaica for the US but her presence there suggests that an even greater connection between the two locations than can be seen in the historical record.

Mary Ann Shadd), ran articles that celebrated West Indian emancipation; a piece that described a man who "previous to the first of August, 1838, had been a slave on a sugar estate" but now lived in a "neat house," enjoying "substantial and elegant dinner[s]," was typical in its praise.[7]

Yet ideals of racial destiny were never monolithic. There can be no better examples of this than Menard and Ward. For all they shared, in one key respect their opinions diverged. Their relationship to the rebellion and their views of rebel actions could not have been more different. His connection to Clarke and the supposedly radical nature of the Workingmen's Literary Society brought Menard under the paranoid gaze of Edward Eyre, Governor of Jamaica, who brutally suppressed the rebellion.[8] While Eyre sent many of Menard's associates, and hundreds of other black people, to the gallows, Menard himself was arrested "without warrant or complaint under oath," held in "close confinement," and delivered to the US Consulate under armed guard. Though the Consul "found nothing to justify even a suspicion" of Menard's direct involvement, the British government claimed he incited rebellion.[9] They found among his confiscated papers charges of cruelty against an overseer, advocacy of "black nationalities," and statements that black people's "prosperity and happiness … lay in separation from the white race." Sundry letters spoke of a "'deep hatred [of America's] ruling class.'" These ideas,

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[7] *Provincial Freeman* [Toronto], 25 March 1854.

[8] Though the society had a small local membership, Eyre's administration had become so fearful of black rebellion that debating prompts such as "whether republican or kingly government was best adapted for the good of mankind," or "whether fire or water was the greater element," constituted sedition. See Statement of Charles McLean, Clerk of the Vestry for St. David, in BPP, *Jamaica Disturbances*, 36; and Hutton, "John Willis Menard": 58. Eyre's suppression of the rebellion became a matter of intense debate in the wake of Morant Bay, costing him his position and almost leading to imprisonment. On Eyre's suppression of the rebellion, see Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 23-7, 406-33; Julie Evans, *Edward Eyre: Race and Colonial Governance* (Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press, 2005); Geoffrey Dutton, *Edward John Eyre: The Hero as Murderer* (London: Penguin, 1977); Bernard Semmel, *Democracy versus Empire: The Jamaica Riots of 1865 and the Governor Eyre Controversy* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1962).

[9] Aaron Gregg to William H. Seward, 1 March 1866, T31 Despatches from the US Consuls in Kingston, Jamaica, 1796-1906, vol. 22 (5 March 1864-6 December 1868), National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park, Maryland [NARA II].

especially when expressed by a "highly intelligent person," were considered incendiary. Menard was deported to New Orleans in early November, leaving Elizabeth behind, pregnant and "destitute."[10]

While Menard may not have wielded rifle, machete, or torch in the rebellion, he cannot be wholly separated from its ideology. Indeed, the Colonial Office's interpretation of his papers echoes his earlier writings. Though born free in Illinois himself, ever since the Supreme Court ruled in 1856 that black people had "no rights that the white man was bound to respect," Menard had advocated racial separatism. "Why stay here," he asked in a speech to free blacks in 1860, "where our very being is not acknowledged, where our manhood is denied us?" He told Douglass that "the inherent principle of the white majority of this nation is to refuse FOREVER republican equality to the black minority." By claiming their own nation, he believed, blacks could secure the citizenship denied by the Supreme Court. There they could "show the civilized world that we are fully capable of self-government."[11]

During the Civil War, Menard pursued his goal of "the separation of the races" as a clerk in the Department of the Interior working on Abraham Lincoln's colonization policy, but missions to Haiti, Liberia, and British Honduras all came to nothing. In 1863, he claimed that if

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[10] Lord Stanley to Charles Francis Adams, 1 July 1867, in US Congress, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs, Accompanying the Annual Message of the President to the Second Session Fortieth Congress, Part I* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1868), 114; H. J. Kimble to W. H. Myers, 2 November 1865, encl. in Sir John Grant to the Duke of Buckingham, 13 May 1867, no. 97, CO 137/424, NAUK; C. F. Adams to Lord Stanley, 27 December 1866, Foreign Office no. 12279, CO 137/409, Colonial Office Records, West Indies and Special Collections Library, University of the West Indies, Mona [UWI]. Menard was still seeking to compensation for his confiscated possessions in 1883 – see unsigned and unaddressed letter, 30 July 1883, Foreign Office no. 13154, CO 137/512, UWI. See also Phillip W. Magness and Sebastian N. Page, *Colonization after Emancipation: Lincoln and the Movement for Black Resettlement* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011), 100-101; Heuman, *"Killing Time,"* 157-8.

[11] J. W. Menard, *An Address to the Free Colored People of Illinois* (N. p., 1860), 1, 2; Idem, "A Reply to Frederick Douglass," *Douglass Monthly* (August 1863): 821.

any had succeeded, "I would have been to-day [living] in the limits of a 'Negro nationality.'"[12] Thus, separatist references in the British Colonial Office archives seem far from outlandish. Menard may not have favored the violence by which they would have been realized, but the black nationalist aims expressed by Morant Bay rebels were in some ways an extension of his own desire for a "Negro nationality." The rebellion's leader, Paul Bogle, expressed a similar belief in racial unity when he referred to his supporters as "my black skin," and rank-and-file insurgents' implored one another to act "colour for colour." They claimed that they would take possession of the island for black people, and sang "Buckra's [white man's] blood we want,/ Buckra's blood we'll have … Till no more's to be had." Clearly, as Thomas Holt notes, white "planters and peasants [had come] to occupy two different worlds."[13]

In contrast, Ward condemned the uprising as a "most diabolical affair." He took issue less with the insurgent black poor than with the "seditious and treasonable teachings" of George William Gordon, the Assemblyman executed as a ringleader by the colonial government. In Ward's mind, this "mulatto and his confreres" had led the mass of African Jamaicans astray, making them his "cat's paw." In contrast to most Atlantic abolitionists, Ward defended Eyre's brutality as an appropriate remedy to a crisis in which the "safety of the whole island as to property, order and life was endangered." "[I]f the black people of all grades," Ward wrote, "will cease once, and for ever, to follow bad mulatto leadership, to disloyalty, to the gallows, and to

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[12] Menard to J. P. Usher, 11 April 1863, Miscellaneous letters pertaining to colonization, 23 May 1860-10 October 1868, Record Group 48: Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior relating to the Suppression of the African Slave Trade and Negro Colonization, 1854-1872, National Archives and Records Administration I, Washington DC [NARA I]. On Menard's unsuccessful emigration projects, see Menard to Rev. James Mitchell, 23 April 1863; and Menard to Abraham Lincoln, 16 September 1863, both in same collection and file; Magness and Page, *Colonization after Emancipation*. It was probably Menard's close connection to US government officials, and (ironically) the US citizenship that the Supreme Court had sought to render meaningless for him nine years earlier, that saved Menard from the noose.

[13] *The Times* [London], 3 March 1866; Paul Bogle, J. G. McLarren, B. Clarke, P. Cameron to Mr. Graham, encl. in Eyre to Cardwell, 20 October 1865, in BPP, *Papers Relating to the Disturbances in Jamaica*, Part I, LI, no. 3594 (1866), 23; BPP, *Jamaica Disturbances*, 6; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 288.

perdition, our beloved country will remain quiet, and loyal, and peaceable." Ward's view, described by one scholar as a "paean of black loyalty to the British empire," echoed perfectly and the dominant view of the white plantocracy, Eyre included.[14] It is quite possible that if any rebels survived Eyre's measures, they regarded Ward in a similar light to Charles Price. To them, perhaps Ward also had black skin and a white heart.

The differences between Menard's and Ward's interpretations are a useful reminder that we must, as Nell Irvin Painter advises, eschew the "prevailing wisdom … that strong black people functioned as members of a group, 'the black community,' as though black people shared a collective psyche whose only expression was racial, as if race obviated the necessity to discuss black people's subjective development."[15] In seeking to define racial destiny, black activists envisioned, and often sought to speak on behalf of, a united people. But while a discussion of destiny may appear to imply that there existed at some stage in some place a single community with a univocal opinion, divisions between black people over the meanings of race are in fact the focus here. People who were perceived as aligning with white power and rendered inauthentic rarely identified as non-black or claimed to be "assimilating" with a white American or Jamaican culture. Instead they had a different idea of what blackness meant, or simply viewed race as secondary to other categories of identity. To those like Price's captors who arbitrated identity at a

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[14] Ward, *Reflections upon the Gordon Rebellion* (N. p., 1866), 1, 7, [located in the Special Collections Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor]; Kerr-Ritchie, "Samuel Ward": 211. Ward's loyalty to the British government and its agents may in part result from a view common among African Americans in Canada that the British government guaranteed their freedom, in contrast to the US. See Ikuko Asaka, "'Our Brethren in the West Indies': Self-Emancipated People in Canada and the Antebellum Politics of Diaspora and Empire," *Journal of African American History* 97, no. 3 (2012): 219-239; Jane Rhodes, "The Contestation over National Identity: Nineteenth-Century Black Americans in Canada," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 30, no. 2 (2000): 175-186.

[15] Nell Irvin Painter, "Soul Murder and Slavery: Toward a Fully Loaded Cost Accounting," in *Southern History across the Color Line* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 21.

community level, however, race, and its attached connotations for behavior and association, remained primary.

The variety of viewpoints among black Atlantic communities was matched in the assortment of political actions taken after emancipation. They ranged from appropriation of institutions and resources to the complete removal of whites from the island and the creation of an exclusively black sovereign state in their place. And yet, in most cases they followed a specific idea of destiny. Shortly before Morant Bay, one black preacher told his congregation, "You are black and I am black, and you ought to support your own colour. The blacks are seven to one of the others and they ought to have the island."[16] These sentiments reflected the primacy of race in the interpretation of rebellions.[17] Coming shortly before and after slavery's formal end, these uprisings were moments when racial regimes were at their most unstable. Although—or perhaps because—it seemed like "the racial order that defined black as slave and white as master was about to collapse," both sides imagined a strict black-and-white binary.[18] For plantocrats, the

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[16] Jonathon Edmonson to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society [WMMS], 23 October 1865, Box 199, Jamaica Correspondence, WMMS Archive, SOAS.

[17] In contrast, Abigail Bakan views the 1831 rebellion as first and foremost an act of class warfare, because its proclaimed leader, Samuel Sharpe, had envisioned a mass strike. "The rebellion cannot be reduced to a crusade of blacks against whites," she writes, "it was, in essence, a labour rebellion, organized to attain freedom from slavery, and in this process, the racism that supported the system was necessarily challenged directly" – *Ideology and Class Conflict in Jamaica: The Politics of Rebellion* (Montreal & Kingston, Canada: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990), 64. However, this view relies on the definition of slavery as primarily a system of class oppression, relegating race to the realm of superstructure and ignoring ways in which the two categories intersect. Moreover, Bakan defines the rebellion only by the aims of its leaders, despite the fact that the vast majority of rebels followed a different path almost from the outset. If we take their actions, rather than the words of a few, as an interpretive starting point, 1831 looks quite different. As Emilia Viotti da Costa notes, rebellions "bring to light the conflicts that in daily life were buried beneath the rules and routines of social protocol," exposing "the contradictions that lay behind the rhetoric of social harmony, consensus, hegemony, and control." Thus, we must account for a variety of motives in any analysis of rebellion – *Crowns of Glory*, xiii-xiv.

[18] Edward Bartlett Rugemer, "The Harrisons Go to Jamaica: Race and Sexual Violence in the Age of Abolition," *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 1 (2008): 18. In some respects, the notion of a society strictly divided on racial lines echoes Philip Curtin's argument that there existed two Jamaicas – one Euro-Jamaican, one Afro-Jamaican – in the three decades following emancipation, a view that has drawn criticism for overlooking the role played by the "colored" or "brown" population. While Mavis Campbell argues that browns largely pandered to whites, Gad Heuman and Monica Schuler complicate the black-white duality, arguing that browns followed their own ideological path but one that often supported enslaved and freed people. I am not arguing that brown people were insignificant in British Caribbean society. However, their influence within island society does not negate the fact

very existence of the white race was under threat. Rebels' moral economies were racialized in equally sharp terms.

Visions of racial destiny in the era of emancipation were usually nationalist, but ideas of nationhood were more varied and expansive than scholars often allow. Some iterations centered on the creation of independent sovereign states, as Menard's lauding of "Negro nationalities" suggests. So does the claim made at one 1866 political meeting in Georgia that black people would soon "rule all nations." But at other moments, a nation might be defined as a collective of *people*, viewed in racial terms.[19] Freedman A. H. Haines expressed this idea when informing President Andrew Johnson in 1865 that "we feel to bee a people." And it was not unusual for a freedman to consider himself, as one Louisiana State Convention delegate did in 1865, "to be a

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that during rebellions, they were usually considered to belong on one side of a stark black-white racial divide, assumed by one group to have aligned with the other. Schuler addresses the civil service, Heuman the Jamaican Assembly – institutions rendered largely ineffective when rebellions erupted. I am keen to avoid the tendency, identified by Paul Gilroy, in which notions of black and white culture simply become synonyms for "fixed, mutually impermeable expressions of racial and national identity." My point is not that there existed any discrete, monolithic white, black, or brown "culture" or race, but rather that people identifying with a group according to color perceived distinct difference between themselves and other groups. It was this perception, and expectations of behavior inherent in it, that underlay imposition of inauthenticity when the expectations went unmet. The perception of a strictly divided island was not constant, nor its development linear, following emancipation. It ebbed and flowed, but became starker during moments of unrest. Curtin, *Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony, 1830-1865* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955); Campbell, *The Dynamics of Change in a Slave Society: A Sociopolitical History of Free Coloreds in Jamaica, 1800-1865* (Rutherford: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1976); Heuman, *Between Black and White: Race, Politics, and the Free Coloreds in Jamaica, 1792-1865* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981); Schuler, "Colored Civil Servants in Post-Emancipation Jamaica: Two Case Studies," *Caribbean Quarterly* 30, no. 3/4 (1984): 85-98; Gilroy, *"There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack": The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 61.

[19] Emma Bryant, Diary 25 April 1866, John Emory Bryant Papers, DU. Some scholars stipulate that "classical black nationalism" can only be understood in such terms, where the "goal was the creation of an autonomous black nation-state, with definite geographical boundaries—usually in Africa" – Wilson J. Moses, *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 1. Dean E. Robertson concurs, suggesting *in Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) that to be considered black nationalist between 1850 and 1925, "activists must have worked for separate statehood" (2). In contrast, Rodney Carlisle notes in *The Roots of Black Nationalism* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975) that "when we set out to study doctrines of black nationalism in the United States, we do not necessarily present a brief that a black nation exists here as such. Yet the concept that the black people of the United States form a nation has a degree of objective justification. Blacks in America have had not only a separate economic status and a more or less clearly separate ethnic identity, but also a degree of separate culture, separate religious structures, and separate social institutions which give support to the idea of a national existence" (3-4). It was the impulse to create this kind of separation, even if it was never fully achieved, that frequently underlay the actions and expectations of people who inflicted inauthenticity.

Representative for the whole African race." These men imagined a community of the race, with all interpretations requiring boundaries drawn around a concept of blackness. It might be a nation-state's borders, to be mapped, crossed, or defended. Or it might be the outline of a community, to which certain acceptable forms of behavior and association secured or undermined one's membership. The latter might take a variety of forms, from informal kinship groups to official clubs. When they aspired to independence from white political authority in an effort to determine the race's future, the actions of the formerly enslaved can be considered microcosmic black national experiments. In keeping with more established forms of black nationalism, constituents of these "micro-nations" still expected "unity in their ranks and control over their own destinies, for independence from an oppressive, racist society." Henry McNeal Turner's argument that black people "must be one and inseparable, blended, tied, and bound together," because "power comes from organization, and organization comes through unity," was a product of such thinking.[20]

Evidence of these more local forms of nationalism are abundant in both societies. In Jamaica, mass political rallies, like the "Underhill Meetings" Ward attended, evince black political consciousness centered on community sanctity and self-determination.[21] And black Christians frequently attempted to wrestle mission chapels from white control, break off to form

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[20] A. H. Haines to Andrew Johnson, quoted in Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm so Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Vintage, 1980), 502; "The [Louisiana] State Convention," in *Proceedings of the Black State Conventions, 1840-1865, vol. II: New Jersey, Connecticut, Maryland, Illinois, Massachusetts, California, New England, Kansas, Louisiana, Virginia, Missouri, South Carolina*, eds. Philip S. Foner and George E. Walker (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 248; Sterling Stuckey, *The Ideological Origins of Black Nationalism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), 3; *Christian Recorder* [Philadelphia, PA], 20 January 1866.

[21] A multitude of demands were made: promptly paid wages in keeping with "the value of their labor," an end to "heavy taxation," inquiries into the destruction of provision grounds, homes, and black graveyards by vengeful white authorities ("our bitterest enemies"), censure of the conservative press ("the guardian of slavery"), and an end to white bias in courts and cronyism in official positions. See "Resolutions Passed at Public Meeting in St. Mary's" encl. in Edward Eyre to Edward Cardwell, 10 July 1865, no. 172; "Resolutions, St. David," encl. in Eyre to Cardwell, 12 July 1865, no. 174, both in CO 137/392, NAUK.

independent congregations, or replace the parson with someone whose ideology better reflected their own. The American Missionary Association encountered such schisms; black worshipers effectively took control of Eliot mission station, replacing the white missionary with a black leader. Baptist missionaries Samuel Oughton and James Phillipo had to defend their authority against incursions from people no longer content to be "followers." In the latter case, congregants claimed the right to determine their own religious experiences rather than be lectured to by a "Spiritual Tyrant." They couched demands in terms of ownership, informing the Baptist Missionary Society that mission property was "purchased with our money, and also we built [the chapel] with our contributions."[22]

In the US, African Americans sought similar control over the key institutions in their lives, from churches to schools, political clubs, drilling companies, and militias that engaged in defense of the community against white intervention. In Prentiss County, Mississippi, eighteen Union League members not only killed an African American who poisoned one of their members but proceeded to arm themselves and "threaten the lives of [white] officials" who came to arrest them. A group in Talladega, Alabama, responded to Ku Klux Klan arson threats against black schools in 1870 with the promise that "they would burn the [white areas of] town" in retaliation. Here they matched anonymous warnings made just before Morant Bay that the black community

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[22] Loren Thompson to George Whipple, 28 June 1849; 24 July 1850, both in American Missionary Association Archive [AMAA], Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans [ARC]; Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 100-1; Joseph MacLean and William James to the Baptist Missionary Society, 17 April 1845, H/11 Home Correspondence, Baptist Missionary Society Collection [AL]; George Rouse to Joseph Angus, 8 October 1845, MS 841, Letters of G. Rouse of Kingston to Secretaries of the Baptist Missionary Society, NLJ. While in Phillipo's preferred replacement was another white English missionary, Thomas Dowson, he was only elevated to the position of a rival to Phillipo by the collective action of black people. Moreover, those people seemingly favored Dowson because his brand of Christianity was more in keeping with the syncretized African-Christian practices common among nationalists (discussed below). In Oughton's case, the attempt to evict him was of a more obviously black nationalist nature, as no white replacement was sought. See Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 192-9, 246-8. On black desires for autonomy within or independence from white missions, see Robert J. Stewart, *Religion and Society in Post-Emancipation Jamaica* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 110-152; Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 57-9.

would "get brimstone and fire, and ... illuminate the town in a moment ... we do not care what become of us after." In similar defiance of white authority, former slaves instituted their own courts when official white-dominated ones offered no justice. An extension of the process of internal "arbitrations" held on plantations under slavery in both the Caribbean and US, these unofficial venues were especially prevalent in Jamaica in the run up to Morant Bay. Such ventures derived self-constituted authority from black communities rather than white officialdom, thereby reinforcing collective bonds crucial to ideas of racial destiny.[23]

Caribbean black nationalists more frequently sought physical territory as the basis of a sovereign state, from the Maroon communities whose independence was recognized by the Crown to the late slave rebellions in Barbados (1816), British Guiana (1823), and Jamaica (1831-2). Though the latter episodes are often defined almost entirely as attempts to end slavery, participants advocated the complete overthrow or expulsion of white inhabitants, or at least physical separation from them, more often than scholars generally acknowledge. This holds true especially in Jamaica, where for example, rebel Alexander Milne instructed his followers "not to burn anywhere because [they] would require the houses when Buckra left the island." Likewise,

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[23] Samuel Agnew, 6 July 1873, vol. 16, folder 18, 923 Samuel Agnew Diaries, SHC, UNC; J. N. Brown to E. M. Cravanth, 26 September 1870, AMAA, ARC; "Letter picked up opposite the Police Station, Lucea," encl in. Eyre to Cardwell, 7 November 1865, no. 21, CO 884/2/2, NAUK; Noelle Chutkan, "The Administration of Justice in Jamaica as a Contributing Factor in the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865," *Savacou* 11/12 (1975): 78-85; Heuman, *"Killing Time,"* 69-77. Opposition to white judicial power pervades an anonymous note addressed to the Custos of Kingston during Morant Bay; threatening violence if members of the black radical elite were punished, it warned "Hell and scissors, if those men are flogged Kingston will be fired from east to west. Beware Custos … mind they don't make a custard of you. Fire, fire, fire, fire, fire, fire, fire" – "Communication to the Custos of Kingston," encl. in Edward Eyre to Edward Cardwell, 20 October 1865, no. 1, CO 884/2/2, NAUK. According to the customs collector at Spanish Town, black Jamaicans openly expressed "hatred & impatience" at "'white man's' or 'Buckra Law,'" as far back as 1848 – Lyndon Howard Evelyn to Sir Charles Grey, 12 June 1848, CO 137/299, ff. 20-1, NAUK. Creation of autonomous courts revealed "an essential feature of Afro-Creole religion, in its Christian form as well as its pre-Christian, or non-Christian forms" - its "readiness to deal with the world when the mechanisms for doing so of the planters' Jamaica were either closed to or used against the blacks" – Stewart, *Religion and Society*, 130-1. Hahn discusses plantation arbitrations and drilling clubs as formations of collectives among freedpeople in *Nation under Our Feet*, 174-5, 176, 182.

Edward Francis, from Fairfield estate, outlined a plan for his community to live in the woods, apart from whites, because "black people that live with white people always have [their] nonsense."[24]

Once emancipation had been achieved, territorial appropriation took on even greater significance, in part because white elites maintained enough power to prevent the formerly enslaved from realizing their ideals of freedom. An overheard conversation between two black Jamaicans shortly before an 1848 rebellion indicates their frustration:

> 'What kind of free this [?]'
> 'This the free them gee we.'
> 'This free worse than slave; a man can't put up with it.'

As slavery's demise could not guarantee meaningful freedom, freedpeople sought it increasingly through more exclusive models. Rumors in 1848 that rioters in St. Mary's intended to "kill every white and brown person [so] that they would get the country to themselves" may not have been entirely exaggerated. After all, as we have seen, some Morant Bay rebels had similar aims. The *Jamaica Guardian* stated as much: "We have heard a black man in Kingston … declare from the pulpit that, 'As the blacks were the most numerous class in Jamaica, therefore Jamaica belonged to them;' and we have heard the sentiment expressed by other black men." Though this journalist found it "absurd" that "the property of a country and all the offices of honour" should belong to "the most numerous class," he captured precisely the view held by many engaged in the uprising.[25]

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[24] Testimony of John Alexander Lewis, Trial of Allick alias Alexander Milne, 3 August 1832, St. James Slave Courts; Testimony of Letitia Wilson, Trial of Edward Francis, Robert Charlton, and Henry Smith, St. Thomas-in-the-East Courts Martial, f. 427, both in CO 137/185/2, NAUK.

[25] John Salmon to T. F. Pilgrim, 25 June 1848, f. 40; Affidavit of Elizabeth McKay, enclosed in H. A. Whitelock to F. F. Pilgrim, 3 July 1848, f. 87, both in CO 137/299, NAUK; *Jamaica Guardian*, 18 October 1865; Marshall, "'We Be Wise.'"

African Americans frequently imagined this kind of revolution, but it was always a taller

order in the US. Menard and others looked abroad for this very reason. Black nationalist

impulese, however, were just as prevalent. It is again evident in the Maroon settlements that

existed in various forms and states of separation from white society in the British North

American colonies and US. It reverberated through the antebellum calls to rebellion from black

activists like David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet, and American slaves answered them

with greater and greater force during the Civil War.[26] They militantly pursued independence,

from a suppressed rebellion in Adams County, Mississippi in 1861 to secret political meetings

and guerilla warfare waged on the Manigault family plantations in Georgia in 1861-2.[27] Here the

"Notorious Rascal Jack Savage," Ishmael, Big Hector, and others destroyed plantation property,

stockpiled "plantation guns and powder," and wore weapons openly to prove they would "not be

taken." Moreover, they constantly fled the plantations, creating in the vicinity "a safe and

unmolested refuge of runaways" –a micro-nation alternative to plantation slavery.[28] Accepting

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[26] Steven Hahn, *Political Worlds*, 1-54. Sylvaine A. Diouf, *Slavery's Exiles: The Story of the American Maroons* (New York: New York University Press, 2014); Herbert Aptheker, "Maroons within the Present Limits of the United States," in *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, ed. Richard Price (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 151-167; David Walker, *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America, Written in Boston, State of Massachusetts, September 28, 1829* (Boston: David Walker, 1830), 30, 22-3; Henry Highland Garnet, "An Address to the Slaves of the United States of America (Rejected by the National Convention, Held in Buffalo, NY, 1843)," in Stuckey, *Ideological Origins*, 165-73. That they also stressed African origins and the importance of black unity, criticized blacks they considered compliant with slavery, and expressed resentment of white interference suggests nationalist leanings in keeping with Caribbean rebels. While Walker held up Jamaica as an example in which slavery had successfully prevented blacks from securing the independence he felt their numerical advantage all but guaranteed, one wonders whether his view might have changed had he lived to see the rebellion that erupted just two years after he published his Appeal.

[27] Winthrop D. Jordan, *Tumult and Silence at Second Creek: An Inquiry into a Civil War Era Slave Conspiracy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996); Justin Behrend, "Rebellious Talk and Conspiratorial Plots: The Making of a Slave Insurrection in Civil War Natchez," *Journal of Southern History* 77, no. 1 (2011): 17-52; Colin Edward Woodward, *Marching Masters: Slavery, Race, and the Confederate Army during the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 17; "Some Incidents of the War as personally Experienced – Written in 1883," Box 7, Book 2, f. 28, Cronly Family Papers, DU.

[28] "Visit to the 'Gowrie' and 'East Hermitage' Plantations, Savannah River, 22nd March 1867," Manigault Plantation Journal, Folder 3, 484 Manigault Family Papers, SHC, UNC; Gabriel E. Manigault to Louis Manigault, 21 January 1861, in *Life and Labor on Argyle Island: Letters and Documents of a Savannah River Rice Plantation*, ed. James Clifton (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1978), 314. This letter reveals the lengths to

Steven Hahn's argument that the black exodus to Union lines constituted a massive slave rebellion moves us beyond the assumption that US slaves were less radical than Caribbean counterparts.[29] When like those of the Savannah River region they formed autonomous communities, their radicalism took on a decidedly nationalist inflection.

African American nationalist radicalism continued into the postemancipation era. One freedman responded to voter intimidation by whites in Alexandria, Louisiana by proclaiming "if I had my way I'd hang every last white man." Just two months before rebels attempted to create a free black nation in Jamaica, delegates to the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League convention advocated a "war of the races" in the South to secure full freedom and redeem the suffering slavery had inflicted upon its captives.[30] Here the close connections between interpretations of black politics in the US and Jamaica become clear. A "war of the races" was the same phrase used by Benjamin Vickers, member of the Jamaican Legislative Council, when speculating on the end result of political strife in 1860, a prediction realized at Morant Bay five years later.[31] And Charles Sumner used it to describe his vision of what would occur if African

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which the Manigault family and their overseers were forced to go in order claim their slaves' return. They hired "three professional negro hunters and nine dogs" to track the escapees down. Once caught, Jack Savage and George proved so militant that Charles Manigault ordered him kept for "3 Months in Dark solitary confinement" – Charles Manigault to Mr. Capers, 26 January 1862, Box 4, Louis Manigault Papers, DU. Stephanie McCurry reveals how such resistance limited the Confederacy's abilities to fight the Union in *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 233-238.

[29] Hahn, *Nation under our Feet*. Hahn engages Eugene Genovese's dismissal of US slaves as less radical than Caribbean counterparts in *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage, 1976); and *Rebellion to Revolution*. For a similar criticism, see Walter Johnson, "A Nettlesome Classic Turns Twenty-Five," *Common-Place* 1, no. 4 (2001), http://www.common-place.org/vol-01/no-04/reviews/johnson.shtml

[30] Henry McCollam to Andrew and Ellen McCollam, 4 November 1868, Series 1.2, Folder 22, 449 Andrew McCollam Papers, SHC, UNC; "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League, Held in the City of Harrisburg, August 9th and 10th, 1865," in *Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions, 1865-1900, vol. I*, eds. Philip S. Foner and George E. Walker (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 144. Carole Emberton discusses freedpeople's ideas of redemptive violence, including this statement, in *Beyond Redemption: Race, Violence, and the American South after the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 128-9.

[31] Benjamin Vickers to Messrs. Thomas Hanky & Co., 24 November 1860, encl. in Governor Charles Henry Darling to the Duke of Newcastle, 24 November 1860, CO 137/351, NAUK. On Morant Bay as a "war of the races," see Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 263-309.

American men were not enfranchised; in their desire for citizenship and willingness to use violence if it was denied, Sumner noted, blacks in the South were "not unlike the freedmen of San Domingo or Jamaica."[32] This shared vocabulary reveals a growing sense in both societies of separation, to the point of exclusivity, between nations black and white.

The Transatlantic Origins of Nationalist Racial Destiny

Well into the nineteenth century, African religious practices informed rebellious ideology and action. Jamaican planters were still fretting over Nat Turner's uprising in Virginia in 1831, an event shaped by "Religious black nationalism" with "Africanized images of Christian divinities," as rebellion defined by similar phenomena broke out closer to home. In both instances, the emphasis African religious traditions placed on collective rather than individual goals played a particularly significant role. Manifesting in syncretized Jamaican religious practice of Obeah-Myal and its Christianized form, commonly termed Native Baptism, African-derived beliefs centered on "manipulation and control of supernatural forces" to realize "what the slave [and later formerly enslaved] *community* defined as socially beneficial goals." So important was this collective outlook that people who placed "personal goals above those of the community" were considered "antisocial," even "evil."[33] Arbitration of racial identity during the era had its origins

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[32] Charles Sumner, "The Equal Rights of All: The Great Guarantee and Present Necessity, for the Sake of Security, and to Maintain a Republican Government. Speech in the Senate, on the Proposed Amendment to the Constitution fixing the Basis of Representation, February 5 and 6, 1866. With Appendix," in *The Works of Charles Sumner, vol. 10* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1874), 133. Sumner referred to Morant Bay. Looking back at Morant Bay, the *New York Times*, 25 November 1898 gave its article the headline "Race Wars in Jamaica."

[33] Jeffrey Ogbonna Green Ogbar, "Prophet Nat and God's Children of Darkness: Black Religious Nationalism," *Journal of Religious Thought* 53 (1997): 56; William C. Suttles Jr., "African Religious Survivals as Factors in American Slave Revolts," *Journal of Negro History* 56, no. 2 (1971): 101-4; Kenneth M. Bilby and Jerome S. Handler, "Obeah: Healing and Protection in West Indian Slave Life," *Journal of Caribbean History* 38, no. 2 (2004): 154, 155; Monica Schuler, *"Alas, Alas Kongo": A Social History of Indentured African Immigration into Jamaica, 1841-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 33. My emphasis. Obeah and Myal have

in these practices; those who broke from the collective, imagined in racial terms, felt the full

force of the designation "antisocial."

The primacy accorded collectivity in African tradition, and the racialization of collective

consciousness in the New World, "predisposed slaves [and freedpeople] to regard plantation

agriculture," which directed resources from the black collective to its white rival, "as being as

unnatural as the institution which sustained it." In reaction, bondspeople created micro-national

forms to retake control of those resources. The process was grounded in slave ideologies brought

from Africa to the New World and maintained over generations. Though by the time of

emancipation few slaves in the US or Caribbean were African born, aspects of African religious

practices had by then been enshrined in ritual and social memory. In the British Caribbean, the

practice of oath-taking, central to Obeah-Myal and its later syncretic forms, galvanized rebels in

resistance. As such they became a consistent theme of enslaved warfare and its postemancipation

legacies.[34] Jessica Krug shows that for Maroons and slaves from diverse ethnicities, the

Kromanti (typically referred to among whites as Coromantee)-derived *Memendada Kromanti*

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at times been considered two separate religions, while more recently scholars have begun to define them as two aspects of the same belief system. I use the hyphenated term to avoid confusion.

[34] Michael Craton, "Proto-Peasant Revolts? The Late Slave Rebellions in the British West Indies 1816-1832," *Past & Present* 85, no. 1 (1979): 120; Randy Browne cautions against seeing Obeah only in terms of resistance in "The 'Bad Business' of Obeah: Power, Authority, and the Politics of Slave Culture in the British Caribbean," *William & Mary Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (2011): 451-80. But its influence on rebellions is nonetheless clear; so influential was it in 1760 and 1780 that the House of Assembly made it illegal. See Diana Paton, "Obeah Acts: Producing and Policing the Boundaries of Religion in the Caribbean," *Small Axe* 13, no. 1 (2009): 1-18. While Obeah-Myal was generally less evident in the nineteenth-century rebellions than it had been before, its Christianized form, Native Baptism, played a key role in the uprisings examined here. Mary Turner argues that the 1831-2 Jamaican "Baptist War" rebellion was "essentially the Native Baptist War; its leaders shaped mission teachings to their own ends and used mission organization for their own purposes" – *Slaves and Missionaries*, 153. On Native Baptism at Morant Bay, see Devon Dick, *The Cross and the Machete: Native Baptists of Jamaica: Identity, Ministry and Legacy* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2009), 167-201; Shirley C. Gordon, *Our Cause for His Glory: Christianization and Emancipation in Jamaica* (Kingston: Press University of the West Indies, 1998), 96-119; Stewart, *Religion and Society*. The presence of significant numbers of recently immigrated African laborers in St. Thomas-in-the-East and a massive revival of Obeah-Myal in the 1860s make clear the continued connections between African religious practices, the black nationalism that guided the rebellion, and the inauthenticity imposed on those who would not be guided. See Dianne M. Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey: African Dimensions of the Jamaican Religious Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 166-7; Schuler, *"Alas, Alas Kongo,"* 104-9.

oath was a method of constituting "a coherent social body" and commanding loyalty to objectives of independence. Once made, the penalty for breaking the oath was death, adding weight to expectations that all black people elevate the group above the individual.[35] At Morant Bay, for example, Thomas Johnson was just one of many participants told by rebels "that if I would not swear to them, they would kill me."[36]

Oaths formed powerful bonds of fellowship. In 1831, Sam Sharpe and his followers kissed a Bible, and "bound themselves by oath not to work after Christmas as slaves, but to assert their claim to freedom, and to be faithful to each other." The figurehead of Morant Bay, Paul Bogle, self-identified as "an African" despite being born in Jamaica, and his followers similarly pledged themselves in rituals even more strongly reminiscent of the *Memendada Kromanti*. At meetings in which the uprising was planned, Bogle "and others were swearing black men who came in." The fact that "a negro named J. W. Smith took the names down" made clear the contractual nature of the pact, and the surveillance that secured it. In an echo of eighteenth-century Obeah-Myal pre-rebellion rituals in which participants consumed grave dirt and alcohol, one witness testified to seeing "some powder mixed with rum" at Morant Bay. "[T]o each of those who took the oath a dram of this mixture was doled out."[37]

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[35] Jessica Krug, "Social Dismemberment": 543-4, 546. Krug notes that the Memendada Kromanti oath was initially a means by which Asante people of the Gold Coast coped with the "social dismemberment" caused by the betrayal and murder of their king in 1717: "those who came to Jamaica from the Gold Coast after this traumatic incident, carrying the memory of this kind of social dismemberment, could use the strategy of the Asante state for coping with such a loss to contend with their own social dismemberment through the dehumaniziation of enslavement and the terror of the Middle Passage" (544). The strategy was similarly useful in the face of racial oppression after emancipation. My analysis of the function of oaths in slave resistance owes much to David Barry Gaspar, *Bondmen and Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), especially 242-248. See also Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development, and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1967).

[36] *Gleaner and De Cordova's Advertising Sheet* [Kingston], 19 October 1865.

[37] Bleby, *Death Struggles*, 111-2; *Gleaner and De Cordova's Advertising Sheet*, 19 October 1865; *The Times* [London], 3 March 1866. Gaspar shows that Antiguan rebels drank liquor mixed with grave dirt to prove commitment. In the fashion of Obeah-Myal, the earth from the burial sites of dead slaves invoked the power of the dead in support of the campaign against slavery – *Bondmen and Rebels*, 245-6. The *Jamaica Courant* [JC]

In each instance, oaths delineated community boundaries in racial terms. In 1831, Thomas Stevenson testified that members of his party "were all sworn upon the Bible by their [black] Baptist ruler 'Capt. McLenan'" that if "the White people got the better of them in this business," those captured "were not to tell upon the Black people." Three decades later, the experiences of William Fuller, a policeman sent to arrest Bogle, echoed Stevenson. Held by Bogle's followers, Fuller was made to "kiss the book," so that his captors would not "take off [his] head." Bogle then asked:

> 'What is your skin?'
> [Fuller] said 'I don't know.'
> He said 'Black,' and that I must kiss the book and cleave to the black and cleave from the white. I was compelled to take the oath because they were ill-using me.

As an agent of the justice system through which white domination was maintained, had Fuller refused the oath, he would surely have been rendered inauthentically black. Fortunately for him, he was able to prove that he "cleave[d] from the white" before the eyes of the black community. Anyone who avoided or reneged on pledges of loyalty simultaneously renounced their claims to authenticity. Even when large-scale rebellions were absent, expectations of unity persisted during smaller strikes. Amidst an Obeah-Myal revival in 1842, plantation attorney Isaac Jackson reported that laborers in St. James were "leaving off work and publicly preaching Myalism." Work had already ceased on nineteen plantations in the parish, and Jackson expected the number to grow because strikers were "committing great outrages on those who refuse to join them."[38]

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recorded these rituals in the 1831 rebellion (3 February 1832) At Morant Bay, rumors of these practices among whites assumed a diabolical or supernatural inflection, as stories spread that "the [black] men opened the skulls of all the white men and scooped out all the brains which collected into a gourd or calabash. This they mixed with rum; and then, in the Baptist Chapel … proceeded to drink the mixture" – MS 1685 Reminiscences by the Right Hon. Viscount Elibank, Retired Commander, Royal Navy (1923), NLJ.

[38] Testimony of Thomas Stevenson, King v. Thomas Stevenson, 28 January 1832, Montego Bay Courts Martial no. 3, CO 137/185/1, NAUK; Testimony of William Fuller, *JRC II*, 80-1; Isaac Jackson to Phillip H. James, 3 October 1842, Isaac Jackson Letterbooks, vol. 3, APS.

Through constant reinterpretation in the New World, memories of Africa and its customs served to bind together communities long after the number of African-born people within them diminished. Even when oath-taking was less common, as in the US, Africa clearly shaped formulation of racial destinies. Coupled with David Walker's suggestion that slaves rise up against their masters in his *Appeal*, for example, was a celebration of ancient African culture. When Henry Highland Garnet assured slaves that "you should therefore now use the same manner of resistance as would have been just in our ancestors, when the bloody foot-prints of the first remorseless soul-thief was placed upon the shores of our fatherland," he combined a call to arms with memorialization of Africa as a source of black national unity. And though the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade ensured that fewer slaves could claim a personal connection to Africa, numerous independent black churches and secular organizations adopted the designation "African" in the nineteenth-century. Far from coincidence, the very idea of independence from white control was bound up in American memories of Africa.[39]

While the ideologies of different African ethnicities were extremely varied, and did not operate identically in different New World slave societies, I focus here on common denominators

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[39] Sterling Stuckey shows that memories of Africa served to unite rebellious slaves in the US, especially in Denmark Vesey's 1822 rebellion – *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory & the Foundations of Black America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 43-53; Walker, *Walker's Appeal*, 30, 22-3; Garnet, "An Address," 169; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 177. So strong were the ties between African social practices and political action in the Americas, Stuckey argues, that black nationalism in the latter was "essentially African nationalism" – *Slave Culture*, ix. However, Stuckey largely overlooks New World influences on black nationalism, which, as we will see, were often powerful. Planters held many of the colonial slave societies of British North America, such as those in the Chesapeake and South Carolina Lowcountry, included a significant number of slaves first "seasoned" in the West Indies. Moreover, masters who owned property on either side of the Caribbean Sea often moved their slaves from one region to the other. The creation of inauthenticity in postemancipation moments is testament in part to the persistence of similarities between these regions across generations. See Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Jack P. Greene, *Imperatives, Behaviors, and Identities*; Matthew Mulcahy, *Hubs of Empire: The Southeastern Lowcountry and the British Caribbean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014); Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Paul M. Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).

that both regions and most groups shared. In both of the areas I analyze, the majority of slaves came from West Africa, and found common ground between their cultures. Whether it was the use of Akan Twi or Mende as a lingua franca, shared religious beliefs concerning the importance of conjuring, or common memberships in African secret societies, diverse groups of Africans located what Walter Rucker calls "cultural bridges" as a means to create unity in the face of New World fragmentation.[40] And while Michael Gomez shows that African ethnic identities survived into the nineteenth-century, there is no evidence that the differences between them prevented cooperation during moments of protest. As Gomez notes, "it is possible to speak of both an African and an Igbo community concurrently," and the same holds true for a Coromantee/Kromanti, African, and black community during moments of rebellion. Indeed, adoption of creolized Kromanti-derived Obeah-Myal and Native Baptist practices may well have been another way of bridging potential ethnic divides. Put another way, if "it is it is inescapable that ethnicity had a direct impact on African Americans' self-perception" in the nineteenth-century, we need not assume that it was always as a source of division. It is certainly not impossible that a non-Kromanti participated in Kromanti-originated rituals without feeling a permanent loss or change of ethnic identity, nor that they assumed a new identity temporarily for the political task at hand.[41]

Even in scholarship that stresses the dominance of a particular ethnic identity in a given rebellion, not only are the strongest examples from the eighteenth-century, but they also point to breadth of ethnic diaspora from which transnational imaginations of a racial community could

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[40] Rucker, "Conjure, Magic, and Power: The Influence of Afro-Atlantic Religious Practices on Slave Resistance and Rebellion," *Journal of Black Studies* 32, no.1 (2001): 91; Schuler, *"Alas, Alas Kongo,"* 32; Marcus Rediker, *The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom* (New York: Penguin, 2012).

[41] Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 6, 13.

spring. When John Thornton cites uprisings in both Stono, South Carolina (1733) and Jamaica (1760) as being Coromantee/Kromanti dominated, he points to the potential for strong Kromanti-traditions to shape each region examined here in the next century.[42] Ultimately, rather than instead of thinking of as "designating a physical point of origin on the Gold Coast," an ethnicity like Coromantee was a "sociocultural invention in Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua," and, crucially, the US as well. It was means by which "out of many," different African peoples even in different New World nations, imagined themselves as "one." However, that oneness was in the rebellions examined, even in 1831, expressed in terms of race.[43]

       If African ideologies provided a similar foundation of black nationalism in the Caribbean and US, the example of the Haitian Revolution showed slaves and freedpeople in both regions that nationhood, even in the form of a sovereign state, could be realized. Overthrow of slavery and establishment of a free black republic had a forceful impact on the surrounding Atlantic region. From Brazil to Cuba, Jamaica, and the US, prospective rebels immediately learned of the new sovereign state and identified with its nationalism. Within a month of the Revolution's outbreak in 1791, Jamaican slaves celebrated it in song.[44]

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[42] Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 331; Idem, "The Coromantees: An African Cultural Group in Colonial North America and the Caribbean," *Journal of Caribbean History* 32, no. 1/2 (1998): 161-178

[43] Walter C. Rucker, *Gold Coast Diasporas: Identity, Culture, and Power* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 6 (quotation). On the Kromanti/Coromantee diaspora in the US and Caribbean, see also Kwasi Konadu, *The Akan Diaspora in the Americas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[44] Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 304-5; David Brion Davis, "Impact of the French and Haitian Revolutions," in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, ed. David P. Geggus (Columbus: South Carolina University Press, 2001), 3-9; Robin Blackburn, "The Force of Example," in *Ibid*, 15-21; Dubois, "The Promise of Revolution: Saint-Domingue and the Struggle for Autonomy in Guadeloupe, 1797-1802," in *Ibid*, 112-134; Ada Ferrer, "Speaking of Haiti: Slavery, Revolution, and Freedom in Cuban Slave Testimony," in *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, eds. Geggus and Norman Fiering (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 223-246. When British Guianese merchants reported in 1818 that slaves in St. Vincent, by virtue of "frequent intercourse with St.

A vibrant transnational print culture reinforced their hopes. Jamaica's black newspapers like *The Watchman* and *Morning Journal* provided news on Haitian society, defended the Revolution from white planter criticism, and campaigned for greater intercourse between the two islands.[45] Similarly, the black press in the US offered Haiti as an example to slaves in the South. Criticizing the view prevalent among whites that the enslaved were incapable of self-government, one letter to New York's *Freedom's Journal* reminded readers of the humble origins of the revolutionaries. Expressions of race pride preceded a warning that more Haitis were coming:

> When that day arrives, (and it is not far distant,) in which the whole of the West Indies will present to us, as in the case of Hayti is evinced, governments wielded by [slave] population[s], thought by our southerners to be deficient of physical powers, and a capacity of self-organization; then may our southern planters anticipate the time of their trial as drawing near.

In 1838, literate Jamaicans could read a special edition of the *Penny Magazine* devoted entirely to the Revolution's best known leader, Toussaint Louverture, presenting proof of the race's capabilities:

> while society is waiting for evidence of what the negro race at large can do and become, it seems to be rational to build high hopes upon such a character as that of a man who was, as a Dictator and a General, the model upon which Napoleon formed himself … and who will be regarded in history as one of the most remarkable men of an age teeming with social wonders.

Domingo" had at first opportunity "contrived (all being expert sailors) to make off for St. Domingo, taking with them a number of Negroes of the island," such escapes had become far from rare – McInroy, Sandbach & Co. to Sandbach, Tinne & Co., 29 June 1818; 13 July 1818, ICS 70/62, Sandbach, Tinne & Co. Papers, Institute of Commonwealth Studies [ICS], School of Advanced Study, Senate House Library, London [SHL]. According to W. Jeffrey Bolster, free black sailors became "roving ambassadors," spreading news throughout the enslaved Atlantic of the favorable treatment black people received in Haiti – *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 145, 131-157.

[45] Mimi Sheller*, Democracy after Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2000), 77-8. Sheller shows that Haitians took just as much interest in Jamaican affairs, including significant celebration of British Caribbean emancipation;

"He was altogether African," the piece concludes, "a perfect negro in his organization, yet a fully endowed and well-accomplished man.… He was emphatically a Great Man: and what one man of his race has been, others may be." Leaders of Jamaican rebellions likely did see something of themselves in Louverture, and something of Haiti in their own society's potential.[46]

Texts likes these made Haiti a focal point of an emerging black Atlantic consciousness. Its ideology manifested with particular strength in Jamaica, where an "intermeshing of Jamaican and Haitian political activists and black oppositional ideologies" throughout the nineteenth century provided fertile ground for growth of nationalist impulses.[47] Repeated rumors of Haitian involvement in Jamaican rebellions probably speak more to the politically vocal nature of expatriate Haitians in Kingston, to white fears of Haiti's encouraging effect on local slave resistance, and their justification of suppressive violence in response, than actual intervention.[48] But in such moments of turmoil, Haiti undeniably served as a model for Jamaican black

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[46] *Freedom's Journal* [New York, NY], 30 November 1827; MS 2044 *Monthly Supplement of the Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, 8 February-31 March 1838, NLJ. The Jamaican origins of Freedom's Journal's editor, John Brown Russwurm, is further testament to the transnational links between the US and British Caribbean.

[47] Sheller, "Jamaican-Haitian Relations in the Nineteenth-Century: The Origins of Trans-Caribbean Black Radicalism," *Jamaican Historical Review* 23 (2007): 48.

[48] For example, Louis Celeste Lescesne and John Escoffery, who campaigned for the rights of free colored Jamaicans, were accused of fermenting rebellion in 1823 and deported. See Sheller, "Jamaican-Haitian Relations": 38; Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 105; Matthew J. Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile*, 27-9. During Morant Bay, white claims of Haitian involvement became hysterical when the exiled Generals Salomon and Lamothe were arrested off the Jamaican coast. The discovery of "a significant amount of gunpowder" on their ship gave the Colonial Office "reasonable grounds for believing that [they] were engaged in abetting an insurrection." The planter press followed suit, describing a plan by "a set of rascally Haytien refugees, for the establishment of a second West Indian Empire or Republic." One editor claimed that a map of Kingston had been found showing "points at which the city was to be fired[,] … the points at which the massacre was commence from, and the points at which posts were to be stationed, so as to cut off the flight of those who escaped to the roads leading out of the city." – C. A. B. to General Lamothe, 15 November 1866, CO 137/409 (1866), UWI; *Falmouth Post*, 3 November 1865; *Gleaner and De Cordova's Advertising Sheet*, 26 October 1865. Evidence laid against George William Gordon, who was executed for inciting the rebellion, included witness testimony that he spoke of Jamaica as "a second Hayti" and instructed rebels to "do as they did in Hayti." Whites assumed by this that blacks would "cut [all] the white people's throats" – Testimony of Hon. William Hosack, *JRC II*, 926; Testimony of Dr. R. G. Bruce, *Ibid*, 730. Though Gordon and his associates denied the charges, Eyre ordered all Haitian immigrants banished – Heuman, *"Killing Time,"* 158; Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile*, 136-163; Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery*, 227-246.

nationalists. George Affleck, a participant in Jamaica's 1831 rebellion, sought to rally comrades on the Haining estate with descriptions of what success could bring. "In Saint Domingo," he told them, "the negroes [have] their cane pieces divided among them … [they keep] their own canes and Massa's too, and they … boil Sugar or Syrup what they liked for themselves." Control of one's own labor and its products—a reversal of the plantation regime African ideologies held to be unnatural—now seemed more than a fantasy. In 1848, rebels invoked Haiti as a foundation of their moral economy, with one asking his peers, "How is it that in St. Domingo the people raised a war there between them and the whites because they could not get enough wages, and we can't raise a war here?" Even in times of relative quiet, the ideal was never far from some freedpeople's lips. "We have it sometimes boldly stated in our streets," a white inhabitant of Kingston remarked in 1853, "that their object is to get rid of every white inhabitant, and St. Domingo is held up as an Elysium after which they wish to model Jamaica." These designs were revolutionary, but the creation of a black republic from the Caribbean's most productive slave colony proved that what had once seemed unthinkable was now distinctly possible.[49]

Haiti shone just as brightly as a beacon of hope for African Americans. Walker encouraged slaves to "read the history particularly of Hayti" as proof of "the glory of blacks." Ten years before emancipation, William Wells Brown asked "who knows but that a Toussaint, a Christophe, a Rigaud, a Clerveaux, and a Dessaline, may some day appear in the Southern States of this Union? … the day is not far distant when the revolution of St. Domingo will be reenacted in South Carolina and Louisiana."[50] Several advocates of emigration, including Menard,

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[49] Testimony of Thomas Affleck, King v. George Affleck, St. Thomas in the East Courts Martial, 2 February 1832, NAUK CO 137/185/2, f. 435; Affidavit of Thomas Armstrong, 28 June 1848, in BPP, *Dispatches received from Sir Charles Grey, Governor of Jamaica* XLIV, no. 685 (1847-8), 14; Elizabeth Holt to E. B. Underhill, 26 October 1853, MS 865 Elizabeth Holt Letter, NLJ.

[50] Walker, *Walker's Appeal*, 23, 24; William Wells Brown, "The History of the Haitian Revolution" (1855), in *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790-1860*, eds. Richard

identified Haiti as an ideal venue. Henry Highland Garnet urged free blacks to move there, as did James T. Holly, who saw in Haitian history evidence of black capacity for nationalist self-government, and settled in Port-au-Prince. He formed part of a transnational circuit of activists who travelled between Haiti and other black societies, publicizing the republic to eager listeners. Even Frederick Douglass, a lifelong opponent of emigration, considered Haitian revolutionaries "worthy to rank with the greatest and noblest of mankind, [for] they not only gained their liberty and independence, but they have never surrendered what they gained to any power on earth."[51]

Knowledge of the Haitian revolution offered concrete examples of what was required to determine the race's future, proving that absolute unity by color was necessary. Tellingly, when independence was finally codified in the new nation's 1805 constitution, it was determined that "the Haytians shall hence forward be known only by the generic appellation of Blacks." The *gens de couleur,* mentioned nowhere in the document, were subsumed under this label, suggesting that citizenship within a black nation would depend upon loyalty to a single racial designation. The pattern was followed in Jamaica in 1848, when rebels specifically recalled the Haitian case in attempts to ensure loyalty. They decided that "if the Brown people did not join the Blacks as soon as they the Blacks mastered the Whites they would turn upon the Browns and serve them as the Black people in St. Domingo served the browns there, for … had it not been

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Newman, Patrick Rael, Philip Lapsansky (New York: Routledge, 2001), 252. The Caribbean-born Denmark Vesey corresponded with the Haitian Emperor in 1822, expressing his plan to settle there, along with his fellow insurgents, once his rebellion in Charleston was accomplished. Vesey's efforts made clear that if African Americans could not join create an autonomous nation-state where they resided, some were willing to join the Haitian project. See Egerton, *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of Denmark Vesey* (Lanham: Roman & Littlefield, 2004), 136-8.

[51] See Garnet's article in *The North Star* [Rochester, NY], 2 March 1849; James T. Holly, "The Negro Race, Self-Government, and the Haitian Revolution" (1855), in *Lift Every Voice: African American Oratory, 1787-1900*, eds. Philip S. Foner and Robert James Branham (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 288-304; Frederick Douglass, "Lecture on Haiti – Dedication of the Haitian Pavilion, Worlds Fair, Chicago" 2 January 1893, Speech, Article, and Book File, Frederick Douglass Papers, Library of Congress [LOC]. Douglass had once supported US annexation of Haiti, but after serving as US Consul General there, came to admire Haiti's independence. See Waldo E. Martin, *The Mind of Frederick Douglass* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 86-90.

for the assistance of the brown people during the late [1831] Rebellion [in Jamaica] the whites never could have mastered the Blacks." For these protestors, ancestral connections to Africa provided sufficient grounds upon which colored people could be admitted to their racial group— the only group that would remain on the island upon the prospective revolution's completion. At Morant Bay seventeen years later, rebels required brown people to "join the blacks" by swearing oaths of allegiance. In the US, David Walker presented Haitians as proof that solidarity bred success. "They are men who would be cut off to a man, before they would yield to the combined forces of the whole world," he wrote. Haiti had become a symbol of the race's potential, of "African progress" and "the capacity for black self-government." Those who failed to support later iterations placed membership of the race in jeopardy.[52]

Open Resistance and the Hierarchy of Violence

Once slaves and freedpeople had made their oaths, once they set in motion events that might produce a "second Haiti," they raised the stakes in the racialization of conduct and association. In the face of overwhelming white violence that always followed black rebellion, every action a member of a black community took became a matter of life or death. Thus, when some appeared to "comply" with the Jamaican plantocracy, when they appeared to abandon the racial destiny that rebellion promised, the reaction of protestors was usually swift and occasionally final.[53]

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[52] *New York Evening Post*, 15 July 1805; Affidavit of William Foss, 28 June 1848, CO 137/299, f. 63, NAUK; *The Times* [London], 3 March 1866; Walker, *Walker's Appeal*, 24; Sheller, "Jamaican-Haitian Relations": 43.

[53] Throughout this chapter, I employ the term "compliance" to describe the actions of slaves and freedpeople who appeared to align with white authority, especially in rebellions. The vocabulary of consent and resistance by which scholars have historically sought to interpret such actions is largely inadequate. I avoid using the word "accommodation," made famous in Eugene Genovese's examination of slaveholder hegemony, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*. Though it is still the most developed exegesis of the subject, Genovese's definition of accommodation is troubling. Slaves who did accommodate slaveholder power, he argues, "accepted what could not be helped," believing that "a harsh and unjust social order [was] preferable to the insecurities of no order at all" (597-8, 90-1).

Charles Price's killing is a case in point. But before Morant Bay, African Jamaicans debated what actions were acceptable people amid rebellion. When rebels burned plantation works, ransacked stores, and occasionally engaged white militia in 1831, racial identity arbitration featured prominently.

A group led by Charles James, head driver on Beverly Penn, searched Copse estate for George Days, a slave who, James told his followers, "ought not to wait upon white people." The rebels found Days riding his horse on the estate, knocked him down, and struck him with machetes. Days wrestled himself free and ran toward the slave quarters, managing to make it to his house. James entered, training his gun on the prone man, telling him: "I mean to kill you &

Genovese views slaves as self-aware, calculating actors, and acknowledges the extent to which choice was circumscribed by slaveholder power. But implicit in the idea of "acceptance," and in the assertion that the potential chaos of freedom was more attractive than the stability of slavery, is the belief that slaves actually accepted slaveholder paternalism (which Genovese sees as heartfelt and genuine) at face value. Thus "accommodation," as Genovese renders the term, suggests that slaves (and freedpeople) were seduced into accepting the logic of slavery and white supremacy, feeling genuine love or loyalty towards their oppressors. Following Walter Johnson' intervention, it seems far more likely that slaves saw through paternalism, using for their own purposes slaveholders' notions of themselves as benevolent – see *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 35-6; "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no.1 (2003): 113-24; "Nettlesome Classic." Vincent Brown offers an alternative theory that acknowledges the extremity of pro-slavery power. Brown sees masters' attempts to control every facet of a slave's life as so expansive that survival itself registers as a form of protest. Yet slaves complied with slaveholder power, and in some instances worked to suppress the resistance of their fellow bondspeople, because the alternative could result in death. Does this, therefore, make compliance itself a form of rebellion? Of course it cannot, and Brown admits that the "politics of survival" "might be accused of trivializing politics by stretching the meaning of the term too far—if everything is political, then nothing is" – "Social Death and Political Life in the Study of Slavery," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 5 (2009): 1246. A space must be carved out between Genovese's and Brown's readings for another interpretation; one that takes compliance seriously as a choice slaves and freedpeople made, but views that choice in light of white power. Such a delicately balanced inquiry requires accurate terminology. Because the present analysis sees white law and violence, not black submission, as the principal cause of the actions under discussion (and their connotations for racial identity), Genovese's preferred term of "accommodation" seems unsuitable. So does "submission" itself, "consent," or "acceptance." "Collaboration" connotes a more active identification with whites than was usually the case. "Compliance" comes closest to capturing the notion that "compliers" conceded, often temporarily, to the force of oppression, but not the principle behind it. Compliance allows for the fact that competing expectations of black communities and white institutions limited the options available to slaves and freedpeople, that the latter's choice of response was rarely easy, but also that the decision to pursue that course was calculated. And unlike "survival," "compliance" does not preclude the variety of meanings rebels ascribed to different compliant actions, nor the range of punishments they inflicted in response to transgressions, nor again the diversity in the degrees of authenticity and inauthenticity produced as a result. Just as a bifocal focus on "resistance" and "accommodation" obscures a multitude of human actions and their consequences, so does an equally strict division between "accommodation" and "survival."

blow [your] brains out." He ordered Days to "confess that he was [allied] with the White people," that he had acted as a guide for the colonial military. Though Days denied it, James proclaimed that he "was the master now and would blow out [Days'] brains." For reasons unknown, James changed his mind and left.[54]

The punishment James inflicted reflected his view of Days' race. He deemed it appropriate treatment of someone who was "with the white people," whose allegiance implied betrayal of black racial destiny, and who could no longer be viewed as authentic. Just as rebels would fight whites when racial destiny required it, so too would they fight the racially suspect allies of whites. Behind James' antipathy was a perception that Days had chosen the wrong side. With rebellions framed as war between two distinct racial groups, those not with the rebels were against them. When William Kerr extinguished fires on a plantation, William Jarrett labeled him a "cowardly Rascal" who had failed in his "duty." Kerr's reply that he "did not know what they called Duty" revealed both the weight of community expectation and the unwillingness of some to bow to it.

That Jarrett interpreted honor in racial terms becomes clear in light of accusations that slaves had betrayed their race made during similar altercations. Using the Jamaican colloquialism for white, Thomas, a slave on the Moor Park estate, accused John Ridley, "a deceitful man," of "turn[ing] Buckra side." He threatened to "take off [Ridley's] head," prompting the accused to flee. Similar threats were made to Fidelia Livingstone. She remarked that the slaves on Machioneal "must have gone mad" if they thought the rebellion would succeed. William Duncan replied "'this girl must be mad, she will be hanged for turning Buckra

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[54] Testimony of Sydney Smith, King v. Charles James; Testimony of George Days, 25 January 1832, Montego Bay Courts Martial no. 2, CO 137/185/1, NAUK.

side.'" Expressing doubt was enough to appear inauthentically black—joining "Buckra side" suggested a partial change of identity. Even those who commended compliance with the plantocracy acknowledged its racial implications. One white Presbyterian missionary celebrated the "determination" of slaves on Georgia estate to "stand by Bucra [sic], and not join the insurgents." To most rebels, one could not exhibited loyalty to whites without becoming inauthentically black.[55]

A range of actions could beg questions of authenticity. Once could inform white authorities of planned resistance, like the carpenter who warned a Methodist missionary of coming destruction and hid his master's money and gunpowder from raiding parties. Defending white property in this manner was another possible offence. On the Leogan Estate, David Birch repeatedly extinguished fires, and even persuaded some rebels to stop relighting them. His choice earned him machete wounds. Lord Seaford, owner of Montpellier, claimed slaves had worked "zealously" to dowse fires and forcefully repelled attacks, in yet another action that denoted disloyalty. In one instance, a pro-planter newspaper reported, the "head people" on Green Park estate "voluntarily mounted guard last night for the purpose of protecting their masters [sic] property from incendiaries. In searching the negro houses they discovered two negroes belonging to York Estate, whom they immediately secured in the stocks." Some bondspeople even saved white lives. Richard Lawrence prevented one rebel from shooting at a white man, and others intervened when David Bernard wished to execute a white soldier. Fanny Waite, mistress of Summer Hall, testified in court that Richard Gillespie hid her and her children

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[55] Testimony of William Kerr, King v. William Jarrett, St. James Slave Courts no. 2, CO 137/185/2; Testimony of John Ridley, Trial of Thomas and Lewie, 31 January 1832, Montego Bay Courts Martial no. 3, CO 137/185/1, f. 209; Testimony of Fidelia Livingstone, King v. William Duncan, 11 January 1832, St. Thomas-in-the-East Courts Martial, CO 137/185/2, f. 422, all in NAUK; Rev. James Watson to Dr. William Brown, 7 February 1832, in *Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register* (May 1832): 198.

under the bed of his slave quarters from Billy Mighty. Mighty expressed his aim to "have Fanny

Waite's head that day," and when one child's cries revealed her location, he threatened to

decapitate Gillespie too for the betrayal.[56]

Beyond the 1831 rebellion, compliance with white power and its impact wage disputes

that typified labor relations in the first decade following emancipation as black community

members sought to regulate the racial destiny at the level of compensation and type of work. In

1836, Thomas Davies, stipendiary magistrate for St. James, reported that "the Constables on

Properties complain to me of their frequently being threatened if they support the white people or

those in authority over [laborers]." In 1838, freedpeople hurled "taunts and jeers" at those among

their numbers who consented to work for wages lower than the amount strikers demanded. And

when the headmen on Lord Seaford's properties reached a strike-ending agreement, their fears of

"being caught" by the workers they represented, having failed to attain a salary in line with

collective demands, reveals the continued power of nationalist ideals.[57]

In the US, labor strikes brought similar views of racial loyalty, and similar punishments

for not observing the rules. In 1876, around three hundred rice growers along the Combahee

River in South Carolina struck in response to punitive labor terms. According to one witness,

seven strikers were arrested for "whipping two men of their own number who had gone to work

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[56] H. Bleby to WMMS, 17 February 1832, Box 131, West Indies General Correspondence, WMMS Archive, SOAS; Testimony of David Birch, King v. Alexander McIntosh and Thomas Hislop, 24 April 1832, St. James Slave Courts, CO 137/185/2, f. 217, NAUK; Lord Seaford to Lord Holland, May 7 1832, Add MS 51818 Holland House Papers, ff. 38-41, British Library [BL]; Supplement to the *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette* [Spanish Town, Jamaica], 31 December-7 January 1832; Testimony of Richard Lawrence, King v. Richard Lawrence, 28 March 1832; Testimony of John Lewis, King v. James Innes & David Bernard, 27 March 1832, both in St. James Special Slave Courts & Quarter Sessions, CO 137/185/2; Testimony of Fanny Waite, King v. Billy alias Billy Mighty, 3 August 1832, St. James Slave Courts no. 1, ff. 342-7, CO 137/185/2, NAUK. Ultimately, Gillespie pacified Mighty, persuading him to take payment instead of lives

[57] Swithin Wilmot, "Emancipation in Action"; Thomas Davies to My Lord Marquess, 1 July 1836, 4/47/5 Thomas Davies Papers, JARD; James Watson to Joseph Brown, 29 August 1838, in *Scottish Missionary Register* (November 1838), 167; Isaac Jackson to Lord Seaford, 17 April 1840, Isaac Jackson Letterbooks vol. 1, APS.

contrary to the agreement made by them in their club."[58] Here and in Jamaica, plantation managers actively sought laborers who would cross picket lines, but the ostracism that came with doing so rendered the task difficult. Freedpeople "very seldom compete with each other," the attorney Isaac Jackson informed one absentee planter. "Indeed they are forbid to do so by their Friends and a few Labourers that could be ordered to do any Job that the Negroes refuse would be very useful & prevent Strikes to get a higher rate of Wages." Another attorney revealed the strength of community bonds when he wrote in 1841 that "upon Estates where one man refuses to take a job at a certain rate, his neighbour will take it under no other. The negroes so intermarry one with the other, that a breach of the above conduct will perhaps cause an everlasting dispute between the families"[59] Thus, maintaining one's place in the community proved a powerful motivation to abide by expectations.

At Morant Bay, rebellious Jamaicans acted swiftly against anyone considered physically black but whose conduct or association suggested a different identity. Matthew Joseph, a black schoolmaster "had a narrow escape from the fury of the rebels" at the courthouse. He gave offense by "reading to the people on one occasion, *The 'Queen's Advice,'*" a British government document that cast black protestors as ungrateful troublemakers. As the uprising took form, blacks who quoted from a document that symbolized unjust white authority recast their identity in an unflattering light. Anybody who appeared in league with whites ran the risk of severe

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[58] Robert Smalls to Daniel Chamberlain, 24 August 1876, Box 14, Governor Daniel Chamberlain Papers, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina. The "club" mentioned was likely the Union League. On the expectations of unity among laborers that South Carolina Union Leagues fostered, see Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 169-170, 179-188. On the multiple strikes in the region in 1876, see Brian Kelly, "Black Laborers, the Republican Party, and the Crisis of Reconstruction in Lowcounty South Carolina," *International Review of Social History* 51 (2006): 475-414.

[59] Jackson to Alexander Campbell, 4 June 1840, Isaac Jackson Letterbooks vol. 1, APS; Henry John Blagrove, 8 July 1841, 4/4/1 Henry John Blagrove Journal 1841-2, JARD.

punishment. Whether it was the people who "display[ed] their loyalty [by] hunting down the fugitive rebels"; Christian Henry, who saved the lives of "several white people" by "calling out that she was a Maroon, and bidding [rebels] beware of her people"; or the women who rescued injured soldiers at the courthouse "at great difficulty" the day after the battle, these dissenters placed their community status and safety in peril.[60]

Others were not so fortunate. When compliant action was recognized, it almost always garnered a violent response. Within Atlantic slave societies, physical violence was invested with racial meaning. serving more than purely practical disciplinary or deterrent functions. Corporal punishment was the physical manifestation of an enslaver's authority, grounded in, and constructive of, racial difference. In slavery's daily routines of brutality, determining who could punish whom and how became a method of racial definition. As Kristen Fischer notes, when "skin color and other phenotypic qualities failed to provide reliable markers of 'race,' whites inscribed difference directly onto the bodies of slaves" with force.[61]

In both regions, enslavers held absolute legal power over the bodies of their property. While white men could flog, brand, dismember, kill, or sexually abuse black women and men, force employed in the other direction was anathema. An enslaver's property rights stipulated that slaves could only be abused with his permission. Thus, in both the British Caribbean and US, enslavers created a hierarchy of violence. Only whites held the right to inflict violence upon

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[60] Seth Wolcott to George Whipple, 2 November 1865; AMAA ARC; *Falmouth Post*, 24 October 1865; *The Times* [London], 3 March 1866. This woman also rescued three white people from the Amity Hall estate. In keeping with treaty responsibilities that guaranteed their own independence, Maroons formed a key part of the forces that suppressed the rebellion – see Heuman, *"Killing Time,"* 131-4. Almost to the letter, the Queen's Advice, it mirrored Governor Edward Eyre's view of black Jamaicans, and that of the white plantocracy. Eyre had 50,000 copies distributed throughout the island – see *Ibid*, 55; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 277-8.

[61] Kristen Fischer, *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 189.

black people.[62] When slaves and freedpeople punished community members for disloyalty, they appropriated this hierarchy, placing themselves at its head. By asserting that he was "the master now" while attacking George Days in 1831, Charles James affirmed his authority to define black community boundaries and determine what constituted appropriate behavior for its members.[63] In the process, he pushed Days beyond the collective's margins on the basis of race. The violence he inflicted was proof of his own racial authenticity. It simultaneously marked Days as inauthentic in contrast.

Having long been subjects of punishment at white hands, rebels knew that their own use of violence during uprisings made a symbolic statement about the identity of their victims. Beatings were a common punishment for compliant actions, abundant in trial testimony of the 1831 rebellion. For example, three rebels attacked Allick Moncrieffe after he resisted them with gunfire. Not only did they strip him of clothes that denoted elite status within the enslaved community and preferment among enslavers, but they beat him severely. Only by pleading for clemency from one the rebellion's leaders did he save his life. When the second driver of the Anchovy estate "begged [rebels] not to burn the master's house" or purloin its contents, Moco Williams thrashed him. And Quamina was flogged by George Waite for concealing her mistress' location from rebels. White justifications for flogging in post-emancipation Jamaica were linked, Diana Paton, argues, "to the Jamaican population's African origins, invoking a contrast between

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[62] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 82-3, 90-2.

[63] The violence employed by both enslavers and rebels asserted authority grounded in claims of racial authenticity. But while under slavery violence was both proof of and justified by a slaveholder's whiteness – bound up in notions of "mastery" of non-white subjects – rebels claimed blackness when they attacked whites and ostensibly black compliers. On mastery and notions of race, see Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, & Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 350-61.

an implicitly European civilization on one hand and African barbarism/savagery on the other."[64] By inflicting corporal punishment, black people rejected the content of this message but not the logic. They repudiated notions of black inferiority but maintained the use of violence as means of social division. Rather than feel the whip, they wielded it. In the US, where flogging carried the same racial symbolism as in the British Caribbean, the attack on the two Combahee River strike breakers in 1876 similarly reified the blackness of the strikers and the inauthenticity of the beaten.

Threats of death, especially by decapitation, held a similar power to inflict inauthenticity. Vincent Brown has shown that enslavers in Jamaica used beheading as a punishment to impose "sacred terror" on resistant slaves. Hoping to persuade slaves not to commit suicide, for example, planters would desecrate corpses of those who did. Frequently, they beheaded them and displayed the head, hoping to convey to Africans the impossibility of returning to ancestral homelands in tact after death if they too resisted. Yet while these efforts may have proven ineffective—corpse dismemberment was a "compelling metaphysical threat" to Protestants but probably not to adherents of West African religious traditions—they signified the hopes of white elites to stamp their authority on Jamaican society. These measures remained in effect in the era of emancipation; in the trial of Bicks James, the presiding judge's order that the rebel's head be put on display on the most "conspicuous part of the estate" was not unusual. Protestors adapted the threat of decapitation, and its attendant claims of social authority, to their own ends. From Ann Gordon, who was threatened with beheading to prevent her from revealing the hiding place

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[64] Testimony of Mary Binns, King v. Allick Moncrieffe, 24 January 1832, Morant Bay Courts Martial no. 2, CO 137/185/1, ff. 163-5; Testimony of Thomas Williams, King v. Moco Williams alias Charles Strachan and George Weldale, 13 April 1832, St. James Slave Courts, CO 137/185/2, ff. 285-7; Testimony of Quamina, King v. Robert, alias Sam Griffiths, 28 February 1832, St. James Special Slave Courts & Quarter Sessions, CO 137/185/2, NAUK; Diana Paton, *No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780-1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 141-2.

of Fairfield Estate rebels, to the black policeman in Morant Bay who was warned that "if he was found among the 'buckras' his head would be cut off," decapitation was regularly invoked as a punishment for disloyalty. Though rarely carried out, threats were generally made in front of other rebels and compliers.[65] As such, they borrowed something of the spectacular from slaveholder punishments, serving to reinforce the influence and blackness of the threat-maker, simultaneously questioning the community belonging of the threatened subject. Moreover, other forms of spectacular terror were employed. Not only was Charles Price beaten beyond recognition in public view, he was disemboweled. At the same time, tongues and fingers of white authority figures were removed.[66] When the tradition of white-on-black spectacular violence was reversed, black bodies of compliers received similar treatment to white bodies, revealing that they remained excluded in death.

When compliers acted and associated in ways that conflicted with appearance, or "skin color and other phenotypic qualities," to use Fischer's words, their racial identity became less discernable to observers. But while slaveholder violence sought to resolve inauthenticity, rebel violence produced it. It could be argued that in the reversal of slavery's hierarchy of violence, rebels sought to mark compliers as white. But it should be noted that those punished were never

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[65] Vincent Brown, "Spiritual Terror and Sacred Authority in Jamaican Slave Society," *Slavery & Abolition* 24, no. 1 (2003): 26-7; King v. Bicks James alias William Stennett and Virgil, 28 February 1832, Special Slave Courts & Quarter Sessions, St. James, CO 137/185/2, ff. 365-6; Testimony of Ann Gordon, King v. Edward Francis, Robert Charlton, and Henry Smith, St. Thomas-in-the-East Courts Martial, 16 January 1832, CO 137/185/2, both NAUK; *The Times* [London], 3 March 1866. I did find one instance of a perceived complier being decapitated. John Leslie, a free man of color, was killed by George Longmore for saying he would name the men who burned Vernon House estate – Testimony of Scipio, King v. George, 10 February 1832, Special Slave Courts & Quarter Sessions, St. James, CO 137/185/2, ff. 355-6, NAUK. Some rebels were decapitated by the military, without trial, in its suppression of the Morant Bay rebellion. Thus, white use of spectacular violence against black resistance continued after emancipation. See testimony of R. Sherrington, *JRC II*, 238.

[66] *Falmouth Post*, 17 October 1865; *Jamaica Guardian*, 19 October 1865. Gordon was accused of having stated that a white opponent, Reverend Herschell, should have his "tongue cut out" – See, as just one example, the statement of G. B. Snaith, in BPP, *Jamaica Disturbances*, 250. Herschell's tongue was removed, and two women were observed in the area of Morant Bay holding a person's tongue, stating that it would not "tell anymore lies from heaven to hell" – Testimony of W. P. Georges, *JRC II*, 4; Testimony of Philip Burnard, *Ibid*, 271.

seen as white *per se*—physical markers of race remained unchanged, and therefore continued in conflict with the identity denoted by punishment. Moreover, if punishment was not final, it could serve as a corrective, prompting reform of behavior and a return to the fold. It only rendered a subject permanently inauthentic when it was fatal. In such an instance, death became a lasting symbol of unworthiness of citizenship in the imagined community of the race. Although James Johnson threatened to shoot Belinda during the 1831 rebellion because she "favored Buckra," the fact that he backed down suggests he saw a possibility for redemption.[67] In contrast, the annihilation of Charles Price at Morant Bay made clear that he could not be brought reformed.

In both the Caribbean and US, reformers professed middle-class expectations that black women withdraw from the labor force and devote themselves to the "private" domains of housekeeping and childrearing. And there was in both a decrease in women's participation in the "field work" that had defined the majority of enslaved lives. Thus it was potentially harder after emancipation for women to engage in political action, such as strikes, in labor settings.[68] Yet women's experiences proved similar to men's. They took equally active roles in Jamaican rebellions and assigning inauthenticity. In the 1831 rebellion, Ann James was hanged for providing food and shelter to rebels. Elizabeth Ball, a free black woman, received two dozen lashes and six months in jail for inciting unrest. Standing in the public market, she urged black

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[67] King v. James Johnson alias James Reid, 18 February 1832, Special Slave Courts & Quarter Sessions, St. James, CO 137/185/2, ff. 400-1, NAUK.

[68] In both societies, women often partook in other forms of wage earning. Market-trading of home-grown provisions, domestic service, and taking in laundry were just three occupations traditionally held by women that challenged any notions of a private-public gender divide. See Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 63-4; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 171. Swithin Wilmot shows, however, that women did engage in strikes and other forms of labor protest whenever possible in "'Females of Abandoned Character?' Women and Protest in Jamaica, 1838-65," in *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective*, eds. Verene A. Shepherd, Bridget Brereton, and Barbara Bailey (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1995), 279-295.

men to attack the "Buckra & Mulatto" who had imprisoned and beaten a woman for taking three pieces of cane. The distinction Ball drew between blacks and the two other racial groups shows that women clearly subscribed to the nationalist ideals of broader rebellious communities. And though Ball and James were rare examples of women singled out for trial, the frequent engagement of women in other late slave rebellions suggests that the disproportionate gender ratio in the trial records likely resulted more from the 1824 Order of Council, which sought to limit corporal punishment of enslaved women, than an unwillingness of women to participate in rebellion. Women were much involved in debates about how to punish those who did not support the nation being enacted. However, their identities were often obscured behind government and enslaver language like "crowd," "rabble," and "rioters."[69]

After emancipation, women continued to take a militant role in public attempts to define the meanings of blackness. In 1849, the *Falmouth Post* reported on "a number of loose women, who rushed into the court house with sticks and other weapons" to protest the election of a white planter to the House of Assembly. Ten years later, when the eviction of a brown man from Florence Hall estate by white relatives prompted unrest, the same paper described female participants as "prostitutes" and "profligate women" who sang "ribald and indecent songs" when "respectable Ladies appeared at windows of their houses." Seeking to undermine the character of protesters who contributed forcefully to the defense of black independence, the article in fact reveals that women used rebellions as a way to challenge gender norms that confined them to a supposedly apolitical domestic realm.

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[69] Trial of Ann James, 25 January 1832, Hanover Courts Martial, CO 137/185/3; Trial of Elizabeth Ball, 14 January 1832, Montego Bay Courts Martial no. 1, CO 137/185/1, both in NAUK; Hilary McD. Beckles, *Natural Rebels: A Social History of Enslaved Women in Barbados* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 172-3; Craton, *Testing the Chains*, 260-1, 273, 278; Paton, *No Bond*, 6-7.

Assumptions of sexual promiscuity were seemingly the only way conservative whites could interpret the actions of women who contributed publicly to black independence. When a journalist for the same paper described "ringleaders" at another protest in 1859 as "disguised in female attire," he may well have actually witnessed women in the vanguard, an incomprehensible prospect in a gender ideology that assumed only men could lead. Tales from Morant Bay of women sitting "on the bodies and gash[ing] them with broken glass," though exaggerated, speak to the willingness of Jamaican women not just to affect political change directly but to do so as part of communal action with creation of a black nation as its goal. Thus, insurrections temporarily upended gender hierarchies along with racial ones.[70]

Jamaican women matched their leadership in protest with similarly prominent involvement in the arbitration of racial identity. After all, it was female employees who decided Charles Price's white heart conflicted too much with his black skin for him to receive leniency. While the men among Price's captors had planned to keep him under arrest, the women insisted that "we work for him on the road and he not pay us … You need not keep him till before day." While women may have been excluded from some forms of political action, they claimed the right to inform the process by which membership in black communities was determined.[71]

Freedwomen also engaged in actions that countered nationalist visions of racial destiny, making them just as likely to be the targets of inauthenticity as its agents. If uprisings gave them access to more direct forms of political action than gender norms generally allowed, they also

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[70] Wilmot, "'Females of Abandoned Character?'"; Mimi Sheller, "Quasheba, Mother, Queen: Black Women's Public Leadership and Political Protest in Post-emancipation Jamaica, 1834–65," *Slavery & Abolition* 19, no. 3 (1998): 90-117; *Falmouth Post*, 4 September 1849, 9 August 1859; Heuman, *"Killing Time,"* 41; Anon., *The Florence Hall Controversy and Falmouth Riots* (Falmouth: N. p., n.d. [probably 1859]) in CO 137/347, NAUK; *Falmouth Post*, 22 February 1859; MS 1685 Reminiscences by the Right Hon. Viscount Elibank… NLJ.
[71] *JRC I*, 14; Testimony of Henry Good, *JRC II*, 30.

heightened the stakes, and penalties, of not acting in a sufficiently nationalist manner. The 1831 rebellion furnishes numerous examples. Jane Meller informed her local white Methodist missionary of the impending insurgency, warning him that she had frequently overheard conspirators on Shuttleworth Pen say that "all who did not join them, they were to kill." Though Meller seemingly kept her actions secret from the broader community, Margaret Wilson, a slave on the Adelphi estate, the "wife of [Thomas] Pedlar" from Morland, and "the wife of Robert Allen" from Tryall, were recognized publicly. All three were included on a list slaveholders forwarded to the House of Assembly in the rebellions' aftermath; their masters were so impressed by what they perceived as loyalty in these slaves' actions that they considered them worthy of official commendation. These women had given "early information of the intended insurrection," shown "meritorious conduct in preserving the lives of 7 white persons," and "protected … property from the attacks of the rebels," respectively.[72]

Such actions carried consequences. The "Brown women" who worked on Unity Hall estate confirmed the distance from blackness rebels read in their skin when they warned one slave, Thomas Baillie, "not to do mischief to Master's property but to guard it." Quamina, also on Unity Hall, went as far as to "send for & tell Mistress that she must move out all the things that she could – that they would burn the house that night." Ultimately she actively removed the property from harm's way, "as the men would not help." And when rebels came from the Kensington estate "in a body with the intention to kill the Mistress and children," Quamina "carried them away & hid them," saving their lives. As a punishment, Sam Griffith flogged, bound, and carried her back to Kensington. He marked her as inauthentic, just as Charles James

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[72] Thomas Murray to WMMS, 10 March 1832, Box 131, West Indies General Correspondence, WMMS Archive, SOAS; *London Patriot*, 17 October 1832.

did to George Days when he attacked him for "wait[ing] on white people," and the Morant Bay rebels did when they killed Charles Price for possessing a white heart.

Indeed, violence against women for "betraying the race" was no mere threat. The wife of Robert Allen was shot by rebels for her perceived disloyalty, while an unnamed housekeeper of Springfield Penn was tied to a Mango tree for extinguishing fires on the property. As in cases analyzed above, the hierarchy of violence marked them as non-black. Perhaps no example better evinces the liminal space between black and white communities that compliers occupied than the enslaved woman shanghaied into assisting the militia uncover a rebel hideout. Forced "by means of a pistol [placed beside] her ear" to be their guide, when she led them to the desired destination she was stabbed by the hiding protestors. Subject to violence from both sides, she belonged to neither.[73]

Women were similarly subjected to identity arbitration at Morant Bay. When an unnamed woman offered injured white militiaman water and attempted to shade him from the sun, one black man asked "'you dare to think you can cover his head [?] I will chop off your head [if you do].'" In some *respects*, this was no different from instances in which African Jamaican men provided material aid to the whites rebels considered their opponents. For example, William Donaldson rescued his white employer, Dr. John Gerard, from the battle at the courthouse, and "got into trouble with the people" for doing so.[74] Yet it is possible that gender played a role in the

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[73] Testimony of John Hine, King v. George Bucknor, Thomas Baillie, John Baillie, 10 February 1832, Slave Courts of St. James no. 1, f. 246, CO 137/185/2; Testimony of Quamina, King v. Richard Gillespie, Prince Edwards, Thomas Galloway, 26 February 1832, Montego Bay Courts Martial no. 2, f. 174, CO 137/185/1; Testimony of Quamina, King v. Sam Griffiths, 28 February 1832, Special Slave Court and Quarter Sessions, St. James, CO 137/185/2, ff. 263-4, all in NAUK; *London Patriot*, 17 October 1832; Testimony of Robert Walker, King v. James Bennett & Robert Walker, 12 April 1832, Slave Courts of St. James no.1, CO 137/185/2, ff. 275-8, NAUK; Supplement to the *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette*, 14-21 January 1832; *JC*, 4 February 1832.
[74] Testimony of Joseph Waterhouse Rutty, *JRC II*, 13; Testimony of Dr. John Stoddart Gerard, *Ibid*, 9; Donaldson only saved his own and Gerard's life by persuading the doctor to treat the black wounded, an act that sufficiently proved the former's loyalty to the cause and allegiance to "the people."

offense Rutty's savior caused. Unlike in the case of Donaldson and Gerard, the gender difference between injured white man and benevolent black woman potentially evoked sexual connotations. The intimacy implied in an act of nursing, if this is how the chastising rebel interpreted the event, might have recalled a duty of a wife or concubine. The intimacy implied in the woman's kindness may have brought to mind images of an "interracial union," commonly associated in colonial societies, Ann Laura Stoler notes, with a threat to "the fate of race and nation." And in regulating her actions, in separating black from white, the black male rebel may have sought to appropriate a mechanism of white colonial power, thereby claiming the legitimacy of the new nation under construction at Morant Bay. Or perhaps he sought to symbolically break the patterns of sexual abuse black women suffered at white hands both before and after slavery. But if this was the case, the woman in question was far from liberated by a death threat; his invective more closely resembled a desire to reclaim former white property on behalf of black men. The "tense and tender ties" that secured much of colonial power may have been broken, temporarily and symbolically, between white subjugator and black subjugated. But in the process, intimate forms of power were recreated within black communities, again at the expense of women.[75] A choice between exile from the community and retaining a place within it as a subject of male domination was little choice at all.

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[75] Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 41 (Stoler takes the phrase "threat to race and nation" from Herbert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow's *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* [Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983], 141); Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 23-67.

Understanding Compliance: Readings in Black and White

The severe reactions that followed compliance begs the question of why people engaged in compliant actions at all. In some instances, maintaining customary privilege or stable employment sometimes overrode community bonds. While many leaders of Jamaican rebellions held elite positions on plantations, so too were many elites rendered inauthentic for compliance. Miss Brown, the Housekeeper at Clifton who was attacked alongside a white attorney; Hazard, the pen-keeper on the same property who was threatened with violence for continuing to work; Edward Hayle Tharp, the head driver at Hampton whose beheading was ordered by rebels; Jane McDonald, the housekeeper at Unity Hall who saved her masters' possessions from the flames; and Alexander Ogilvie, a driver who prevented his masters' house being torched, are just a few examples from the hearings of a single court. Unsurprisingly, African Jamaicans were keen to retain what little advantages they had accumulated, especially given the fact that they had never seen an entirely successful slave rebellion on the island.[76]

But carrots of privilege went hand-in-hand with the stick of white violence. Threats of punishment against kin were often a powerful deterrent to black nationalist action. For example, in 1810, the "chief" of an "immense" Maroon community in Berbice, "extensive beyond anything that's possible to imagine," gave up the camp's position when his wife and children were captured. Conversely, the case of Quamina, a key participant in the 1823 rebellion in British Guiana, shows that commitment to community purposes might be increased when threats to family were removed. Quamina had resembled the idealized loyal slave. He once pledged in

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[76] Testimony of William Smith, King v. James Johnson, alias James Reid, 18 February 1832; Testimony of Belinda in *Ibid*; Testimony of Scipio, King v. Lawrence Tharp & James Gordon Tharp, 14 February 1832; Testimony of Jane McDonald, King v. George Kerr, Charles Gordon, Richard Allen, and Henry Miller, 15 February 1832; Testimony of William Hurdie, King v. Robert Kerr, 30 March 1832, all in Special Slave Courts & Quarter Sessions, St. James, CO 137/185/2, NAUK.

writing, along with three other slaves, "all through our distress to oblige [masters] as far as we can." But his patient attitude toward the plantocracy was seemingly altered by his wife Peggy's death. Not only did it determine that Peggy could no longer be targeted by vengeful masters, the manner of her death, with Quamina prevented from nursing her by the demands of his owner, made compliance even less appealing.[77]

Fear of individual suffering could also prompt compliance with white power. In a tour of Barbados in 1834, the American racial scientist Samuel George Morton noted that drivers on plantations "in every instance … a black man," were never "sparing of the lash to their fellow slaves … for if the gang does not effect a full amount of work, the unfortunate driver is liable to 39 lashes for the deficit." Amid rebellions too, some compliant behaviors were the product of duress. As Mary Turner says of the enslaved in 1831, "the old, the cautious, and the frightened" counselled against open resistance because they "knew the price of rebellion." The level of force used to suppress this uprising and countless more before it, suggests such fears were far from without foundation.[78]

Temporary compliance might be a prelude to greater resistance. Sidney Mintz reminds us that the "slave who poisoned the master's family … had first to become the family's cook." Thus, the "same slaves who accepted the status quo one day might reject it violently the next." Bob, a slave who escaped from William Hyland's Mississippi plantation, shows just how long a

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[77] John W. Gaul to Hugh McCalmot, 21 January 1810, RP 9549 Hugh McCalmot Berbice Collection, BL; Quamina, Satin, Bristel, and Asaar to Rev. George Burder, 14 December 1817, Box 2, British Guiana-Demerara Incoming Correspondence, 1815-1822; John Smith, 22 October 1822, Journal of John Smith, both in CWM/LMS Archive, SOAS. Emilia Viotti da Costa also cites the severe punishments Quamina received – one of which confined him to the hospital for six weeks – and exclusion from religious service by masters as reasons for his participation. While certainly contributing factors, these events were consistent themes of Quamina's life under slavery. The death of Peggy, just a year before the rebellion, suggests its effect as a final straw – *Crowns of Glory*, 181.

[78] Samuel George Morton, Journal 1833-c.1837, Samuel George Morton Papers, APS; Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 159.

game some enslaved and freedpeople played. He returned to the plantation seeking work in 1866, and proved himself an obedient laborer for over two years. In 1869, he left again, this time with a large amount of Hyland's cotton. His actions suggest then that even the most ostensibly compliant of actions on the part of slaves and freedpeople often obscured true intentions. The decision to comply was contingent. It reflected an actor's calculation of the conditions of possibility for themselves and their kin.[79]

This constant possibility of resistance may explain, at least in part, why compliant subjects have often been overlooked in the historiography. When Turner discusses a few examples of compliance on Moor Park, Anchovy Bottom, and Leyden, for example, she claims that "shining examples of fidelity were rare" and warnings against rebellion were "ignored."[80] Numerous examples from trial testimony analyzed above show compliance was in fact relatively common during rebellions.[81] The lacuna might also result from the understandable tendency among scholars to privilege resistance.[82] Yet resistance itself cannot be fully understood without accounting for compliance. "The presence of collaborators within the slave community," Walter

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[79] Sidney W. Mintz, "Toward an Afro-American History," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 13 (1971): 321; Idem, *Caribbean Transformations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 77; Gaspar*, Bondmen and Rebels*, 172; William S. Hyland to My Dear Child, 3 December 1866, 27 January 1867; Pattie Hyland Gould to Jerry C. Hyland, 12 February 1869, 2E509 Chamberlain-Hyland-Gould Papers, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin [BCAH].

[80] Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 159. There are references to compliance in other studies of 1831, but like Turner, they are extremely brief. See B.W. Higman, *Montpelier, Jamaica: A Plantation Community in Slavery and Freedom, 1739-1912* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 1998), 269; Christer Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 108.

[81] Scholars' unwillingness to make use of this testimony, as discussed in the introduction, is probably partly to blame.

[82] An emphasis on resistance has been a necessary counter-narrative to scholarly assumptions of slave docility that dominated the historiography of slavery until the 1950s, and arguably still shapes many popular perceptions today. I do not mean to deny the significance of resistance, or to usurp its place in examinations of slavery and emancipation. Rather, I believe that a focus on compliance complements and better defines understandings of resistance.

Johnson notes, "magnif[ies] our notion of the accomplishments of resistant slaves: there were powerful reasons to simply go along and time and again resistant slaves overcame them."[83]

White observers interpreted that collaboration very differently from enslaved and freed people. Generally unwilling or unable to credit black people with the capacity for rational calculation, they attributed "good" black behavior to white influence. Following the 1831 rebellion, there was no subject on which slaveholders and missionaries were in agreement except celebration of supposed obedience—an effect, both sides claimed, of correct discipline. On what the source of that discipline was, however, they could not have differed more. Enslavers were quick to condemn rebels, but the proslavery narrative they proffered had to reconcile defiance arrayed against them with depictions of slavery as a benevolent institution. In Jamaica, compliance was taken as proof of correct slaveholding practices, while missionaries and abolitionists were blamed for unrest. The slaves were "happy and contented," the *Jamaica Courant* claimed, before missionaries (especially Baptists and Methodists) led them astray. Members of the conservative public echoed the idea in letters to the editor. Reporting that slaves in St. Mary's were working peacefully, the writer claimed he "truly pit[ied] the ignorant and the deluded [bondspeople], and have long wondered they have withstood the wicked machinations of the [anti-]slavery society, and these subordinate wretches sent out by that society." To prove the point, the pro-planter press leapt upon examples of loyal slaves. Both the *Courant* and the *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette* praised John Wallace, the head driver on Whitehall estate in St. Elizabeth, who protected planter property, sheltered whites from the crowd, and provided safe

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[83] Johnson, "On Agency": 116. See also Ben Schiller, "Selling Themselves: Slavery, Survival, and the Path of Least Resistance," *49th Parallel* 23 (2009): 1-23.

passage to the militia stationed at Black River the next day. And as we have seen, the *Gazette* heaped similar praise on the slaves of Green Park.

Members of the plantocracy expressed the same sentiments in private correspondence. We have already seen that Lord Seaford exhibited pride at the supposed loyalty of his slaves, while the London agent of another absentee planter congratulated his estate manager for the good behavior of the enslaved: "It must be very gratifying to you to have found so good a Spirit among the greater part of the People under your care." Attorney Hamilton Brown followed suit, claiming that "The late [rebellion] emanated entirely from the Government, the Saints, and their agents, the Blackest Here. For never did a single Rebel complain of bad [treatment] having caused them to Rebel." Slave compliance was thus hailed as a justification for closing the missions.[84]

Unsurprisingly, missionaries offered a decidedly different interpretation. Keen to defend themselves from planters' accusations or violent reprisals, they sought to connect supposed obedience to religious instruction. In the abolitionist-missionary narrative, rebellion was a response to the cruelties of slavery while religion taught slaves to respect white authority. Missionary accounts of the rebellion emphasized in the strongest terms the good behavior of congregants. In a typical example from the Methodists, James Edney informed his superiors that "in our Society … there is not a single Negro who is not steadily at his Owner's work … It is stated in the Kingston Chronical [sic] that no member of the Methodist Society in the Parishes where the rebellion has been the most powerful, has been detected, and some of them have even perished in the flames while striving to save the Master's property." The Scottish Missionary

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[84] *JC*, 6 January 1832, 5 January 1832, 9 January 1832; Supplement to the *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette*, 7-14 January 1832; George Hibbert to William Tharp, 3 May 1832, R55/7/128(j), Tharp Papers, Cambridgeshire County Records Office, Cambridge; Hamilton Brown to George French, 24 May 1832, 4/45/56 Tweedie Papers, JARD.

Society (SMS) published excuses for followers "who knew their duty [but] did not stop the proceedings," noting "the dread they were under from the threats of those who broke out into open insurrection that if they did anything again as slaves, their houses would be burned and themselves murdered." Reminding readers of the power Christian teachers held to calm insurgents, missionary Hope Waddell claimed that "God has blessed my endeavours to keep them in good order, and [in] obedience to the laws. On one estate, where the people had taken from the house six guns and a pair of pistols, they brought them back at my urgent entreaties."[85] The Baptists, who were blamed above all others for the 1831 rebellion, went furthest to defend their reputation in the face of planter attacks. In a pamphlet he authored to rebut the accusations, William Knibb included a letter from a sympathetic enslaver, Samuel Barrett, who proclaimed that "religion had nothing to do with the late disturbances; but, on the contrary, its absence was a chief cause of them."[86]

This narrative, in which blacks remained docile when protected from slavery's worst cruelties, was an extension of long-running abolitionist literary tropes. A key example, Maria Edgeworth's *The Grateful Negro* (1804), published as the Haitian revolution came to a close and amelioration rather than immediate abolition was the primary white abolitionist goal, centers on two enslaved friends in Jamaica and their different loyalties. Hector and Caesar, both "Koromantyn"—recalling a connection to the Kromanti political identity Krug outlines—are foils of one another. Mr. Edwards, an archetypal "good" slaveholder is similarly a foil for Mr.

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[85] James Edney to WMMS, 13 January 1832. Other examples can be found in James Rowden to WMMS, 16 January 1832; Thomas Pennock to WMMS, 17 January 1832; Daniel Kerr to WMMS, 13 February 1832; H. Bleby to WMMS, 17 February 1832; Daniel Kerr to WMMS, 13 February 1832; H. Bleby to WMMS, 17 February 1832, all in Box 131, General West Indies Correspondence, WMMS Archive, SOAS; Hope Waddell to Scottish Missionary Society [SMS], 14 March 1832, in *Scottish Missionary Register* (June 1832), 246, 247.

[86] Quoted in William Knibb, *Facts and Documents Connected with the Late Insurrection in Jamaica and the Violations of Civil and Religious Liberty Arising Out of It* (London: Holdsworth & Hall, 1832), 20.

Jeffries, the worst kind of cruel master. Edwards purchases Caesar and his wife-to-be, Clara, from Jeffries in order to prevent their separation. This act, as well as Edwards' general benevolence towards his slaves, earns Caesar's unending loyalty. Hector never experiences such kindness from Jeffries. Therefore "his sense of injury was extreme; he knew not how to forgive." He becomes determined to ferment revolution and kill all the island's whites. "Hector would sacrifice his life to extirpate an enemy," Edgeworth writes, while "Caesar would devote himself to the defence of a friend; and Caesar now considered a white man his friend."

An alliance that could signal inauthenticity in the minds of enslaved people was idealized among white reformers. Caught between his friendship with Hector and his gratitude towards Edwards, Caesar chooses white loyalties over black when the rebellion erupts, informing his master of the plan. Seeking to save the island from destruction, Edwards, with a loyal band of whites and slaves, captures the ringleaders but spares their lives. In revenge, Hector stabs Caesar, who dies in his masters' arms. Edwards calms the other insurgents before rebellion spreads. The "influence of his character and the effects of his eloquence upon the minds of the people were astonishing." When missionaries discussed the events of 1831, they were prompted by and contributed to a view in which morally sound white behavior was the best antidote to slave resistance. To them, compliant slaves were not racially inauthentic but "grateful negroes."[87]

The abolitionist ideal of the loyal slave got its fullest definition in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Its title character, "a noble-hearted and faithful fellow," epitomizes pious obedience. Despite being sold by the man who promised to free him, Tom remains loyal, stating: "'Mas'r always found me on the spot—he always will. I never have broke

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[87] Maria Edgeworth, "The Grateful Negro" (1804), in *Popular Tales* (London: G. Routledge & Co, 1856), 345, 356.

trust, nor used my pass no ways contrary to my word, and I never will.'" Though Tom refuses to give up escapees Emmeline and Cassy under torture by despotic owner Simon Legree, he never exhibits a hint of anger towards his tormentor, nor raises a hand in resistance. He even forgives Legree with his dying breath, having been beaten brutally at the enslaver's command. In Stowe's view, Christianity imbues Tom with this patience, and he becomes a Christ-like martyr. He is like the "One whose suffering changed an instrument of torture, degradation and shame, into a symbol of glory, honor, and immortal life."[88]

This astoundingly popular novel became a powerful informant of abolitionist worldviews. Not only did it open "people's hearts & purses" towards abolition, as the secretary of the Presbyterian missionaries claimed, but it also framed reformers' expectations of black behavior. Stephen Bourne, an ardent abolitionist and stipendiary magistrate in Jamaica, entitled his 1858 memoir *The Uncle Toms and St. Clares of Jamaica*. "Here I am," he wrote, "to join in the cheers to Mrs. Stowe, and to shew that there are Uncle Toms in free Jamaica as well as in the United States still cursed with slavery." He described "faithful" and "admirable" black servants, who exhibited sincere gratitude for his kindness. But like Stowe and most other white abolitionists, Bourne's work maintained a distinct tone of paternalism. Black people were not capable of leading in his view. The only question for whites was whether it was better to "lead than drive" them. Abolitionists claimed the former. To them, Christian benevolence was the source of obedience to authority, however oppressive, among enslaved and freedpeople. With proper training, all blacks could acquire Tom's noble, forgiving spirit.[89]

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[88] Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Company, 1852), 56, 64, 274.

[89] Andrew Sommerville to Henry Highland Garnet, 15 February 1853, MS 7639 United Presbyterian Church Letterbook of the Secretaries, 1851-1854, SMS Collection, NLS; Stephen Bourne, *The Uncle Toms and St. Clares of Jamaica* (London: Thomas Bosworth, 1858), 11, 10, 12.

Conservative and liberal white assessments of black behavior shared an assumption that "the African" required "European" guidance. Few among even the most radical whites credited the formerly enslaved with the capacity for self-determination after emancipation. Yet black rejection of white authority in the constructions of micro-nations was mirrored in the literary arena. To the extent that African Americans took notice of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, they were hardly united in praise. Its paternalism elicited a particularly caustic response from outspoken nationalist Martin Delany: "in all due respect and deference to Mrs. Stowe, I beg leave to say, that she knows nothing about us, 'the Free Colored people of the United States,' neither does any other white person—and, consequently, can contrive no successful scheme for our elevation; it must be done by ourselves." Delany authored a novel in reply. The eponymous hero of *Blake, or, The Huts of America* (1861-2), is in many ways the polar opposite of Uncle Tom or Caesar, representing instead a reimagined Hector. While Tom speaks in stereotypically hackneyed dialect, Blake speaks clearly and eloquently. While Tom refuses to escape, Blake flees slavery in Mississippi for freedom in Cuba. While Tom is devoted to good white men, even enslavers, Blake declares "I never intend to serve any white man again. I'll die first!" While Tom submits to punishment, Blake organizes a massive rebellion to take place simultaneously in Cuba and the US. If Tom appeared as a corruption of blackness to Delany, Blake's conspiracy will lead to the "redemption of his race." While Tom is a paragon of piety, Blake considers Christianity the "oppressor's religion"; "Tell me nothing about religion," he continues, "when the very man who hands you the bread at communion has sold your daughter away from you!" Christianity is a corrosive, rather than civilizing influence on the slave in this reading. Rather than praise the obedience it inculcates, he offers a decidedly nationalist vision of racial destiny in its place.

Blake and his rebellious peers are bound by unbreakable bonds of community; they will "die by our principles" rather than give one another up. There is no room for white loyalties.[90]

Conclusion

Over the three decades following emancipation, the initial enthusiasm for missionary Christianity declined in Jamaica. African-derived religious practices grew in popularity among freedpeople, magnifying nationalist sentiments in black communities. As perceived obedience to white authority, praised so loudly in 1831, began to wane, missionaries clung desperately to the view that Christianity had been its cause. Morant Bay proved that missionaries never truly had control. Now that they could no longer credit themselves with having civilized the majority of black people, they argued either that defiance was a generational problem or that blacks were ultimately unable to attain civilization. In 1848, Methodist missionaries began to separate the "thankfulness and affection" of those born under slavery from the "worldliness and pride" of their offspring born after. After Morant Bay, an agent of the London Missionary Society tried to resign, claiming he could no longer command his congregants. He could not overcome the "countless ages of African superstition and cruelty [that] have left a deep impress on [the black] soul." AMA missionary Charles Venning finally concluded that "the reputed naturally religious predisposition of the African race, their meek and patient nature, their docility of character &c. is

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[90] Martin Delany to Frederick Douglass, 22 March 1853, in *Frederick Douglass' Paper* [Rochester, NY], 1 April 1853; Martin Delany, *Blake, or, the Huts of America* ([1861-2] Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), 29, 199, 20, 39. See Robert S. Levine, "Uncle Tom's Cabin in Frederick Douglass' Paper: An Analysis of Reception," *American Literature* 64, no. 1 (1992): 71-93.

not real." Rather than credit black Jamaicans with political acumen and moral economy amid oppression, Venning saw only savagery, and the impossibility of change.[91]

Here missionary views increasingly reflected white supremacist ideology held previously by plantocrats alone. More and more Christian preachers implicitly accepted the premises of people like Eyre and his supporter Thomas Carlyle, who famously claimed that only the whip could compel black people to work regularly. While John Willis Menard spoke with hope of the "rising generation" in Jamaica in January 1865, many missionaries were closer in mind to the pro-planter *Falmouth Post's* statement the following September that "twenty seven years after the abolition of Slavery … a large number of the population" had become merely "vagabonds and prostitutes of the very worst description." After the rebellion, terms like "savages" were increasingly added to the list. From then on, the idea that benevolence could inspire compliance was largely abandoned. Black nationalist ideals remained largely illegible to white observers.[92]

Having been banished from a country over his connection to a failed black nationalist revolutionary bid, John Willis Menard returned to his country of birth. With the Civil War over and emancipation secured, he would find it a different place from the one he had so willingly left. Never again would he live in a different country. Instead he entered a realm long closed to most African Americans: formal electoral politics. And yet, black access to the vote altered Menard's nationalism rather than erasing it. It provided a new method of securing the independence he envisioned for African Americans. The change marked new possibilities rarely seen in the Caribbean—events at Morant Bay was in part a reaction to black exclusion from the

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[91] M. Young to WMMS, 5 August 1848, Box 198, Jamaica Correspondence, 1848-1857, WMMS Archive, SOAS; W. J. Gardner to Dr A. Tidman 8 November 1865; Gardner to Tidman, 21 November 1865; Gardner to Tidman, 9 December 1865; Sherman Wilson to George Whipple, 10 February 1866, AMAA ARC.
[92] *Daily Sentinel*, 19 January 1865; *Falmouth Post*, 15 September 1865; Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse."

franchise. In this sense, at least for a time under Radical Reconstruction, Menard's nationalist strategy, centered in work for the Republican Party, was defined more by choice than necessity—a choice that had not existed in a meaningful way before he went to Jamaica. His new party activism allowed him to focus less on fomenting insurrection or his previous emigration schemes. Others would continue to pursue a sovereign nation for people of African descent, however. And just like the nationalism of necessity, these attempts, alongside debates about voting practice, produced division, dissent, and discussion of identity. It is to these phenomena that we now turn.

CHAPTER 2: Voting and Colonization

Exiled from Jamaica after the Morant Bay uprising, John Willis Menard was placed on a steamer to New Orleans. The sadness he likely felt at the crushing of black nationalist dreams beneath the full weight of colonial violence was surely magnified by the execution of several friends and forced separation from his wife and soon to be born daughter. And yet, he might have taken some comfort in the fact that his destination provided a homecoming of sorts to this descendant of a Louisiana French creole family. Even more significant for someone who had spent the last decade seeking improvement in the lives of African Americans, he was returning to freer country. Indeed, the city Menard found himself in had only a few years before been arguably the most important city in the US slave system, a crucial node in the domestic slave trade and central hub of the cotton empire.[1] Where better to appreciate the change in black fortunes?

And yet, Menard must have known that in 1865, the change was more symbolic than practical. When he disembarked at the dockside of the Mississippi's crescent bend, he came under the jurisdiction of "Black Codes" enacted by a Louisiana legislature that was sheltered by President Andrew Johnson's lenient approach to former Confederates. Menard's movement was legally circumscribed, he could not rent a house, congregate with other black Americans, preach to them, possess a firearm, or sell merchandise without a license. He, like all black people, was excluded from the state constitutional convention, which, being populated largely by former enslavers, did not extend him the franchise. One of his preemancipation poems rang true again:

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1 On the significance of New Orleans to the domestic slave trade and Southern generation of slave-based profit, see Johnson, *Soul by Soul*; Idem, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Steven Deyle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014); Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

"O Liberty! I taste but half thy sweets/ In this thy boasted land of Equal Rights!/ … Although declared a man, a vassal yet/ By social caste---a crime by heaven made!"[2] For the first two years after Menard's return, he wielded little more formal political power than he had in Jamaica. Presidential Reconstruction offered black Americans little beyond the legal end of slavery.

But by 1867, the relatively progressive atmosphere of Radical Reconstruction offered greater opportunities for social influence than the Caribbean ever had. The Jamaican press had provided Menard a venue to express his views on popular education—his published letters advocated "proper cultivation of native genius" as the foundation of "self-maintenance" of a "a great [black] nation."[3] In New Orleans, however, he was able to put theory into practice. He served on the examinations board of the all-black Straight University, and co-founded the Louisiana Educational Relief Association as a source of funding for black private schools. He edited New Orleans' *Free South* and *Radical Standard* newspapers. He even ran successfully as a Republican representative for Louisiana's Second District in 1868, but Congress denied him his seat. In 1871, he moved to Key West, seeing in Reconstructed Florida a land of opportunity for African Americans: "But now take hope---thy future shall be bright/" his poem "Florida" proclaimed, "Thy chains have fallen, and ended is thy night./ Thy wasted fields and trees will yield again;/ Redoubled harvests shall thy sons regain." Indeed, for a time, Menard continued to hold positions of influence, whether in the post office, state legislature, or customs house. From

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[2] Menard, "The Negro's Lament," in *Lays in Summer Lands*, eds. Larry Eugene Rivers, Richard Mathews, and Canter Brown ([1879] Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2002), 55-6; Ted Tunnell, *Crucible of Reconstruction: War, Radicalism, and Race in Louisiana, 1862-1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 96. John C. Rodrigue argues that the Black Codes were deliberately designed to tie former slaves to plantations, in *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields: From Slavery to Free Labor in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 67.

[3] Menard looked to Ancient Africa as proof that "civilization [could be] nurtured [just as well] under the benign influence of the tropical sun" as in European and European-American societies – J. W. M., "The Future of Jamaica," *The Daily Sentinel*, 22 February 1865, and "Popular Education No. 2," *Daily Sentinel*, 30 January 1865. See also "Popular Education," *Daily Sentinel*, 19 January 1865.

the 1870s onwards however, as the Republicans retreated ever further from egalitarianism, and racism within the party excluded black people from patronage, he struggled to find roles commensurate with his abilities. Yet he remained an influential voice in Floridian politics and black society until his death in 1893.[4]

The trajectory of Menard's life in these two societies reveals differences between their respective emancipations and the forms of political action available to black people. It is unlikely that Menard would ever have been able to even vote in Jamaica had he remained there, let alone hold meaningful office. Even if he became a British citizen, poll taxes and property requirements that prevented the vast majority of black Jamaicans from voting would have placed powerful obstacles in his way. His political engagement, therefore, would probably still have begun and ended with attendance at political meetings, his few published letters, and the Workingman's Literary Society.[5] Because British Caribbean enslavers accepted emancipation by parliamentary decision—though begrudgingly after years of stubborn resistance—they could dictate many terms of emancipation and maintain considerable power over their former labor force. They secured financial compensation and a four to six years of coerced labor under the "apprenticeship" system. Moreover, whites maintained a chokehold over the franchise,

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[4] Menard, "Florida," in *Lays in Summer Land*, 13; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 357; John W. Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1973), 128, 108; Edith Menard, "John Willis Menard: First Negro Elected to the US Congress, First Negro to Speak in the US Congress," *Negro History Bulletin* 28, no. 3 (1964): 54. Though Menard's margin of victory was significant (5,107 to 2,833), his white opponent Caleb Hunt challenged the results. When Congress met to decide the case, both Menard and Hunt gave speeches, making Menard the first African American to address Congress in person. A motion from Andrew Garfield that it was "too early admit a Negro to the US Congress" kept the seat vacant. On Menard's career in Florida, and his various ideological shifts, see Bess Beaty, "John Willis Menard: A Progressive Black in Post-Civil War Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (1980): 123-143.

[5] Only 1,903 people, mostly white, of Jamaica's population of 436,807, were eligible to vote in 1865 – Edward Bean Underhill, *The Tragedy of Morant Bay: A Narrative of the Disturbances in the Island of Jamaica in 1865* (London: Alexander & Shepheard, 1895), 3; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 274.

legislative bodies, and court system, thereby closing off most official avenues by which black people might have attained political power.

While claims that the US during Reconstruction witnessed a "stunning and unprecedented experiment in interracial democracy" are exaggerated, but such a description was even less applicable to Jamaica.[6] Charles Price's killing at Morant Bay suggests that formal democratic political action (or inaction) *could* factor in the production of inauthenticity. Price, a former speaker of the House of Assembly, apparently had not done enough in the position to prove his support for the imagined community of the race. His executioners further noted that since he "got into the Vestry" (St. Thomas-in-the-East Parish government), he no longer counted himself "a nigger." But as just two percent of black men and no black women could vote, and numbers of black elected officials were minimal, Price was a rare case when met his end.[7] Because the franchise was so limited, popular protest was the main way of effecting change for most people. Because white elites safeguarded their position so successfully after emancipation, the visions of racial destiny expressed in rebellions were often the most forcefully nationalist in sentiment.

US slavery ended only at gunpoint in a war that decimated the Southern economy, meaning that an American enslaver's power over the formerly enslaved was weaker than that held by a Jamaican counterpart. But when Congress assumed control of Reconstruction, disenfranchised former Confederates unwilling to let ghosts of slavery rest, and simultaneously extended the franchise to black men, it imposed a political dispossession in keeping with the war's economic destruction. Black Americans realized claims for self-determination long in the

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[6] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 278.
[7] Testimony of Henry Good, *JRC II*, 30; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 274-5.

making. They placed immense value on the vote, many linking it to the fulfillment of nationalist racial destiny. A political convention of freedpeople in Alexandria, Virginia, went as far as to state that "in one word, the only salvation for us besides the power of the government is in the possession of the ballot. Give us this, and we will protect ourselves."[8] When he almost secured a seat in Congress, Menard was nearly the first to benefit fully from the new constituency's power.

Others were better able to do so. In certain enclaves, where sizeable free black communities predated emancipation or black majorities allowed significant political mobilization, black Republicans developed powerful political machines. It was through the New Orleans iteration that black politicians Oscar Dunn and P. B. S. Pinchback consecutively secured the Lieutenant Governorship of Louisiana. So powerful was the black electorate in the state that Pinchback was able to remind the white Governor, Henry Clay Warmouth, in 1872: "All you have politically you owe to the Republican party and especially the Colored people of Louisiana." "Political preferment can only be obtained" with their approval, he explained, and Warmouth should feel an "obligation" to them. Four years earlier, both parties had been "pulling and hauling for the vote of Sambo" in the state, and Pinchback's bold prediction for the 1876 election—"I will be a power"—reveals the certainty with which he and many black men entered previously white-only realms of government. These new forms of influence determined how racial inauthenticity was created and affixed in the postemancipation US. Violent protest against white oppression was certainly not unknown there. But while it was often the only option for slaves and freedpeople in Jamaica, access to the vote generally rendered it less necessary in the Reconstruction-era South. When slavery had yet to be abolished, or when the black vote was threatened, black nationalism was more likely to assume its most violent form. But when some

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[8] "The Late Convention of Colored Men," *New York Times*, 13 August 1865.

of the formerly enslaved African Americans were able to realize democratic forms of political power, and the division between their interests and those of whites—at least Republican allies—was less distinct, authenticity was debated in less obvious ways and more diffuse venues.[9]

To locate the clearest instances of authenticity debates around voting choice during Reconstruction, therefore, I focus principally on 1868 and 1876 elections. These events proved most fruitful sites of investigation because they were especially contentious. The first general election in which black men could vote *en masse*, following closely on the heels of white Southern disenfranchisement under the Reconstruction Acts, produced an especially violent reaction from whites wherever federal forces were unable to intervene. Fearing the potential overthrow of rising black power before it was established, blacks placed especially strong emphasis on the importance of supporting the Republican ticket, casting it in racial terms. As Republican governments were overthrown state-by-state throughout Reconstruction, the need for unity among voters increased. By 1876, nationalist dreams of racial destiny were fading fast. The general election that year would be the last that black people could participate in for decades. South Carolina, the birthplace of secession and location of some of the most extreme white vigilante violence of the period, and yet one of the few states with a majority black population, provided an especially explosive environment for the election.[10] It also witnessed, therefore,

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[9] P. B. S. Pinchback to Henry Clay Warmouth, 11 September 1872, Series 2, Folder 46, 752 Henry Clay Warmouth Papers, SHC, UNC; John Payne to Uncle Billy, October 1868, John Payne Civil War Documents, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York [SCRBC]. Though in national terms such power proved short lived, not all African Americans were deprived of their newfound rights with the compromise of 1877. While large-scale, violent protest three decades after emancipation in Jamaica was a last resort of oppressed freedpeople, in the US it was more likely to signal the overthrow of freedpeople's constituted political regimes. The Wilmington "race riot" of 1898, discussed in the conclusion, is a clear example.

[10] On the particular frequency of Klan violence in South Carolina, for example, see Lou Faulkner Williams, *The Great South Carolina Ku Klux Klan Trials, 1871-1872* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 1-18; and Eric Foner, interview with Elias Isquith, "'The face of racism today is not a slaveowner': Eric Foner on the past and present of white supremacy," *Salon*, 24 June 2015, http://www.salon.com/2015/06/24/the_face_of_racism_today_is_not_a_slaveowner_eric_foner_on_the_past_and_present_of_white_supremacy/

some of the most determined actions among black voters, ultimately unsuccessful, to secure Republican victory. Hoping to avoid disenfranchisement amid the rising tide of white supremacy in the state, many policed party, community, and racial loyalty with particular vehemence. With the stakes raised, the penalties for disloyalty were sometimes as violent and exclusionary as in Caribbean rebellions.

Despite differences between the Caribbean and US, there were, therefore, similar experiences in definition of racial authenticity. In yet another, black people in both locations, Menard among them, contributed to debates around colonization. Along with voting, therefore, I also discuss the racial politics of migration. With the end of Reconstruction in the US came erosion of gains made via the ballot. Many African Americans, especially those who had not secured the level of influence Menard attained, increasingly chose to seek independence abroad in the 1880s and 1890s. Just as Menard had once done on his travels to Honduras and Jamaica before entry into electoral politics was a realistic option, many now took up his largely discarded colonization plans. This new wave of emigration differed however, in that the main barrier to it for most black people was financial rather than legal. While prior to emancipation, only free people of color like Menard could realistically expect to emigrate—an enslaver's property rights deprived the enslaved of such mobility—now all black Americans and Jamaicans could theoretically depart the land of their bondage. Thus, like voting, pursuing this form of nationalism was a choice—one circumscribed by monetary concerns in many cases, and by possible resistance from within black communities—but a choice nonetheless when compared with desperate attempts at revolution and almost certain death. Regardless of this greater freedom, or perhaps because of it, now, as during the 1850s and 1860s, emigrationist expressions

of racial destiny produced friction in black communities. And where there was friction, so too was there debates over authenticity.

Political Party Choice

From the moment they secured the vote, African Americans overwhelmingly identified with the Republican Party. The GOP's registration drive in the South, with the aid of the Union League, ensured that massive support materialized at the polls. It was in League meetings that many gained their first formal political education, often amid an atmosphere in which, as one white conservative South Carolinian complained, "any member who ventures to suggest a conciliatory course towards the white race is in danger of *losing his life*."[11]

Huge turnout in the Republicans' favor owed much to identification of the Democratic alternative with slavery and white supremacy. John Emory Bryant, a Maine carpetbagger resident in Georgia worked strenuously to persuade black voters of this view, reminding them in typically paternalistic tones that "the Union Republican party … gave you freedom and has given you the ballot," while its rival "fought to keep you in slavery and has since your emancipation done all it could to prevent you from receiving the ballot." Bryant cast disunity in decidedly racial terms: "A colored man who will now vote for [the] Rebel-Copperhead party is an enemy of his race and is governed by selfish motives … Do not trust such a man. If he does belong to your race he is *nevertheless* your enemy more to be detested than if he did not belong to your race."[12] Bryant's

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[11] John LeConte to William Sharswood, 1 September 1867, William Sharswood Papers, APS; John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction after the Civil War*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 124-5; Hahn, *Nation under our Feet*, 190-8; Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 545-8.

[12] John Emory Bryant, "To my Colored Friends of Augusta," 5 March 1867, Correspondence, Box 2, Folder 2, John Emory Bryant Papers, DU.

use of the conditional "if" to begin the final sentence confronted freedpeople from the first

election with the notion that a ballot cast for the Democrats signaled a departure from the

imagined black community. His claim that an African American "Rebel-Copperhead" voter was

worse than a white one set the categories of "black" and "Democrat" in opposition and mutual

exclusivity. A Democrat could never be truly black in Bryant's eyes.

He was largely preaching to the choir. While they could still exercise the vote during

Reconstruction, the vast majority of African Americans remained loyal to the party, not

necessarily because it prioritized their interests but because it never opposed them, in general

terms, as much as the Democrats did. But, as ever, freedmen's political allegiances were not

monolithic. Some African Americans leaned conservative as early as 1867. Edward Henderson of

Abbeville County, South Carolina, claimed to have joined that year. John Payne, a black clerk in

the Freedmen's Bureau, envisioned African Americans voting as one "class of people" but noted

that in Louisiana in 1868, "a few negroes with a good gift of the gab" were "ready for a small

consideration to do anything to canvass the State in behalf of the Dem. Party." The 149 black

Democrats polled in the state's Terrebonne parish in the next election, just thirty fewer than the

Republican number, suggests a more competitive race in some regions than might be expected.

But confident Democrat claims in another nearby parish of achieving "a foot-hold in the Radical

Camp" proved naïve. Only a "smattering of support" materialized, typically in cities where

"social stratification among African Americans was most complex and the largest concentrations

of antebellum free blacks were found."[13]

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[13] Testimony of Edward Henderson in US Congress, *South Carolina in 1876: Testimony as to the Denial of the Elective Franchise in South Carolina at the Elections of 1875 and 1876, Taken Under the Resolutions of the Senate of December 5 1876,* vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), 940; John Payne to Uncle Billy, 7 June 1867, October 1868, John Payne Civil War Documents, SCRBC; Ed McCollam to Andrew McCollam, 7 November 1868, Series 1.2, Folder 21, 449 McCollam Family Papers, SHC, UNC; Donelson

As white Republican commitment to black constituents faded in the 1870s, so did the commitment of some constituents to the party come election time. In 1872, Presbyterian minister Samuel Agnew described a prominent "Democratic darkey" with "a wonderful notion of his worth" near his rural Mississippi home. And by 1876, as we will see, many more African Americans were willing to consider alternatives. Though still a small minority, Christopher Hager's description of one black Democrat's views as "astonishing anomalies" overstates the case.[14] The extent of black support for Democrats, especially among former slaves, may have been greater than most scholars allow.[15]

Hager's subject is Garland White, who lived as a slave in Georgia, a fugitive in Canada, and a solider in the United States Colored Infantry during the Civil War. At times he enjoyed the patronage of influential Republicans like Indiana Governor Oliver Morton and Secretary of State William Seward, who helped secure him a Chaplaincy in the army. In many ways, White seems like a typical black Republican. But as Hager shows, there were also reasons to look elsewhere for advancement. When White's benefactors declined in health and influence, and he found

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Caffery to Bethia Richardson Caffery, 23 August 1868, 2227 Caffery Family Papers, SHC, UNC; Hahn, *Nation under our Feet*, 200.

[14] Samuel Agnew Diary, 5 September 1872, vol. 15, Folder 17, 923 Samuel Agnew Diaries, SHC, UNC; Christopher Hager, *Word by Word: Emancipation and the Act of Writing* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 218. Biographical details of White's life are taken from the same volume, 182-219.

[15] There are no book-length studies of black Democrats except for Edmund Drago's study of one state in one election, *Hurrah for Hampton: Black Red Shirts in South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998). Among the most comprehensive studies of the period, Foner's *Reconstruction* generally sees conservativism as largely confined to blacks who were free before emancipation, or the "emerging class of black businessmen" (546); Litwack's *Been in the Storm* addresses blacks who identified with white authority, and Democratic attempts to court black votes, but says little of actual black support for the party (541-2, 554-5); Hahn's *Nation under our Feet* takes black support of Democrats seriously and thoroughly assesses the reaction of the broader community in a brief passage (226-9). Other examples include Saville's analysis of 1867 elections in *Work of Reconstruction*, 169-70; and Rodrigue's brief analysis of ostracism of blacks Democrats in Louisiana in *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields*, 171-2. Nell Irvin Painter goes the further in noting that black Democrats "existed in nearly every community" in *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* ([1976] Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 14. Though focused mostly after Reconstruction, the best study in terms of highlighting the range of reasons for voting Democrat is Stephen Robinson, "'To think, act, vote, and speak for ourselves': Black Democrats and Black 'Agency' in the American South after Reconstruction," *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 2 (2014): 363-82.

himself unable to secure a job in the Freedmen's Bureau, he "saw the political landscape anew. Perhaps because the old allies were gone, perhaps deciding to embrace his southernness, or perhaps out of sheer opportunism, he forged alliances now not with white men who held power in Washington but with those who held power in the South." While most black people saw the Republicans as the one true option for the race's advancement, we must be wary of casting loyalty to the party as unquestioning. White's case proves that some expected an immediate return for their support. The Republicans may have provided it in more Radical policies of the late 1860s and early 1870s, but the retreat from racial equality in the mid-1870s prompted others to secure more modest patronage in less popular quarters. And White was not alone in his decision. In a letter to North Carolina Senator Matt Ransom, he sought a position for Pierce Lafayette, a "worthy Democratic colored friend" who "rendered me great service in a Stumping a position" in a failed bid for the state's 2nd Congressional district in 1874. By 1893, White expected to be able to organize multiple "Colored Dem. associations" throughout the state, suggesting a growth in black support for the party.[16]

Perhaps the expectation of a reciprocal relationship with the Republican Party, a belief that voting was part of a *quid pro quo* formulation, was best captured by Mississippi freedman Lee Guidon. When interviewed in the 1930s, he confessed that he still "votes Republican" because "that's the party of my color, and I stick to them as long as they do right." The explanation reveals both the identification of the Republicans with claims of black racial authenticity—it is the only true party for people of Guidon's "color." And yet, the acknowledgment that this connection was malleable, dependent upon the Republicans' ability to

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[16] Hager, *Word by Word*, 216; Garland A. White to Matt Ransom, 10 December 1875; White to Ransom, 3 November 1893, Folder 6, 2615, Matt Ransom Papers, SHC, UNC.

offer more than any alternative, suggests that when other freedpeople believed the GOP had

failed them, it was possible to look elsewhere. For those who felt the Republicans still honored

their commitment to black Americans, however, at least more so than the Democrats, a vote for

anyone else undermined claims of authenticity. Guidon concluded his statement with the claim

that "I don't dabble in the white folks' business, and that white folks' voting is their business,"

indicating that participation in the political process was not necessarily support for integration.[17]

Instead, party choice could remain an expression of nationalism, a way of securing separation

from white interference in the manner of rebellions or colonization attempts. This, far more than

an uncritical sense of duty, informed the rejection of the Democrat ticket.

Hager is right then that to most African Americans, even fifteen years after

Reconstruction's end, the political work done by White and Lafayette signified a "betrayal of

[the] race." But in the face of growing white violence towards the end of the century, others were

willing, or felt compelled, to engage in such "betrayals." Some voted Democrat in the wake of

the Wilmington race riot of 1898. And as codified segregation took hold in the South, black

politicians often took a different view of a Democratic vote's racial implications. Edward

Blyden, the Caribbean-born advocate of black nationalist colonization in Liberia told one white

South Carolinian conservative in 1909 that "on the general race issues I am entirely with the

Democratic party, and I know that the great body of pure Negroes in the South, especially in the

rural districts, are of the same opinion." Here Blyden undoubtedly projected his own phobia of

"race-mixing"—shared with many white supremacists in the South—onto a fictional black

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[17] Lee Guidon, quoted in *Lay my Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery*, ed. B. A. Botkin (New York: Delta, 1989), 80.

majority; if only Democrats could claim the mantle of authentic blackness as he asserted, the

black nation would be very small indeed. If his statement seemed outlandish, it reveals the extent

to which a Democrat vote had become conflated with allegiance to the most oppressive kind of

white power, a view Blyden fought to counteract. Even in 1909, the Republican loyalty most

African Americans felt, and the extent to which most assumed it was the natural choice of the

race, necessitated such boldness on his part. It might also reflect Blyden's desire for kind

treatment from whites in the South when he next visited.[18]

Blyden was surely aware of the racial violence sweeping the early twentieth-century

South as white supremacists cemented their post-Reconstruction stranglehold on political and

economic power. But it could be argued that physical coercion in support of Jim Crow was an

extension of the white "redemption" campaigns like the one that decided South Carolina's 1876

gubernatorial elections. The state elections in 1870 had proven that freedpeople would go to

considerable lengths to prevent unpopular votes being cast, such as making the voter "run a

gauntlet of pushes and shoves … to deposit his ballot." By 1876, the stakes were raised. South

Carolina was one of just a handful of former Confederate states in which Republicans still

maintained majority control of the political apparatus. Its black population had seen the gains of

Reconstruction whittled away in most neighboring states, and elections promised to increase

their own losses. While Democratic candidate Wade Hampton III promised to safeguard African

American rights, the party's racial politics were better represented by the work of organizer

Martin Gary, architect of the "Mississippi plan." This campaign of extreme violence, which

disenfranchised African Americans in vast numbers and secured Mississippi's redemption in

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[18] Hager, *Word by Word*, 216; D. M. Hobbs to Marion Butler, 22 November 1898, Series 1.2, Folder 118, 114 Marion Butler Papers, SHC; Edward Blyden to Editor of the News & Courier, 8 March 1909, Box 15, Hemphill Family Papers, DU.

1875, formed the basis of Gary's subsequent work on Hampton's behalf. In privately circulated documents, Gary asserted that "Every Democratic must feel honor bound to control the vote of at least one Negro, by intimidation, purchase, keeping him away or as each individual may determine, how he may best accomplish it." From six blacks militiamen murdered in the "Hamburg massacre" in Aiken County to those made to "declare themselves as Democrats, in order to save their lifes [*sic*]" in Greenville, redeemer vigilantes made good on the vow.[19]

Production of inauthenticity ambiguity around voting must be viewed in this context. On the one hand, the extreme violence of the 1876 election campaign could prove a powerful motive behind blacks switching parties. On the other hand, it made real the possibility that hard-won rights would soon be lost, inspiring more extreme acts in defense of racial destiny. Black Americans were forced to resort to the kinds of tactics more commonly employed by Jamaican counterparts. Without forceful resistance, South Carolinian freedpeople would soon face a similar reality of disenfranchisement, routine violence, punitive criminal justice, and economic dispossession. Desperate times called for desperate measures, and dissent within black ranks was suppressed by any means necessary. Prospective Democrats were reminded that they faced losing their place in local communities as well as broader membership of the race. Tom Lomax was informed told by Republicans in his community that a miscast voted equated to "swear[ing] against your own color." Asbury Green was rebuked for "vot[ing] with the white people" when he supported Hampton. Some black Democrats even openly acknowledged that their voting

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[19] Saville, *Work of Reconstruction*, 175; Drago, *Hurrah for Hampton*, 8; "S. C. Democratic Candidate Martin W. Gary's 'Plan of the Campaign of 1876,'" Appendix to Frances Butler Simkins and Robert H. Woody, *South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), 564; "Citizens of Greenville" to Daniel Chamberlain, 25 October 1876, quoted in Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 168. On the Hamburg massacre, see *Ibid*, 163-4; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 571-2.

choice meant that they were "going with the white people," suggesting that racial authenticity and party loyalty were intertwined to the point of inseparability.[20]

Punishments for compliance with white Democrats were often violent. Just outside of Lawtonville, a "colored Democrat" was "severely beaten by Radical negroes." When five people were arrested for the assault, a "body of armed negroes" intervened, rescued the prisoners, and killed two white constables. As the sheriff headed to Lawtonville with reinforcements, some two thousand African Americans gathered, ready to defend themselves by force, "swearing vengeance on every white man in the county."[21] That such vengeance was wrought upon the original black offender suggests that he too was no longer counted as truly black. It also shows that some freedpeople were willing to appropriate the hierarchy of violence to push dissenters outside of the imagined community of the race. Their "swearing vengeance" on all whites revealed a growing sense of racial separatism as the chances of "interracial democracy" dimmed. John Lee was told that his "throat ought to be cut for going with the democratic party," while black Republicans also threatened to shoot Asbury Green. The acts of violence themselves show the remaining resolve to safeguard racial destiny in the face of long odds.[22]

Ostracism often functioned in conjunction with physical punishment. Aaron Mitchell was warned: "Damn your soul! You better stay in town here, you democrat nigger. If you ever come out we will fix you." He soon found himself unwelcome at neighbors' houses and barred from

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[20] Testimony of Tom Lomax, in *South Carolina in 1876*, vol. II, 213; Testimony of Asbury Green, in *South Carolina in 1876*, vol. I, 959; Testimony of Johnson Hagood, in *Ibid*, 545.

[21] It was even rumored that the "negroes cut out [a constable's] brains with an axe" – *Daily Picayune* [New Orleans, LA], 18 November 1876, reprint of *Charleston News & Courier*, 17 November 1876. See also *Anderson Intelligencer* [SC], 23 November 1876; *Pickens Sentinel* [SC], 23 November 1876. All accounts report that the sheriff was on route to the town, and predicted a full-scale battle. However, the fact that one was never reported suggests it never took place. I could find no sign that any of the African Americans were prosecuted for the original assault or the killings of the constables.

[22] Testimony of Aaron Mitchell in *South Carolina in 1876*, vol. I, 962-70; John Lee in *Ibid*, 589; Testimony of Asbury Green in *Ibid*, 959.

church. His house was fired upon, and he was later beaten. Such exclusion was itself an appropriation of power slaveholders' once held. If masters proved the authority of whiteness partly by alienating slaves from their kin, the formerly enslaved invested blackness with authority after emancipation by excluding the inauthentic among their peers.[23]

When the outspoken black nationalist Martin Delany broke ranks with the Republicans to campaign on Wade Hampton's behalf, the significance of the betrayal produced an escalation of violence. Delany was drowned out by drums and cursing from black attendees at one rally, and a second in Cainhoy developed into a full-scale riot. After disrupting the meeting before Delany could take the stage, black people fired on a building to which he and other Democrats had retreated. Though Delany escaped, six whites were killed in a stark reversal of the usual trend of Reconstruction-era racial violence. Delany interpreted the attack to mean many black people no longer saw him as one of them, going out of his way to remind them several times in one response of his own racial consciousness and authenticity:

> I have been in Europe and Africa in the presence of nobility of many countries, and *black as I am*, I have never been insulted as I had been today by the *people of my own race.* Let me remind you of the fact that that I had come to South Carolina with my sword drawn, to fight for the freedom of the black man; that *being black myself, I had been a leading abolitionist … I am a friend of my own race* and have always held the position that it was the duty of those who had education to teach you that your best interests were identical with the white natives of the States.

Both the paternalistic tone and the content of the tirade probably served as further reminders of the growing sense of distance between the writer and the people to whom he claimed to belong. In their eyes, his past record counted for little. Present allegiances were the true indicator of his

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[23] Testimony of Aaron Mitchell, in *South Carolina in 1876*, vol. I, 966. On natal alienation under slavery, see Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

identity. He suffered the loss of blackness inherent in abandoning the Republicans. One Georgia freedman's statement reveals the extent to which some political and racial categories were incompatible: "we don't consider a black democrat," he said, "we simply call them traitors."[24]

Other Democrats were similarly aware of what political sympathies implied about claims of belonging, but cared less than Delany for the opinion of peers. Some deliberately distanced themselves from blackness, claiming white allegiance with pride. Ed Barber defended his ballot by noting that he was "just half nigger and half white man." Frank Adamson proclaimed himself "as close to white folks as peas in a pod." And in an echo of the justification Charles Price's killers gave for their actions at Morant Bay, he owned to being "black as a crow but [with] a white folks' heart." Thus while some sought to redraw the boundaries of blackness to exclude Democrats, a minority of those Democrats seemingly relinquished citizenship in black nations at will.[25]

Their hopes for the state were realized when Hampton became Governor, though only after incumbent Daniel Chamberlain challenged the result, Hampton counter-challenged, and two rival legislatures formed and claimed authority to rule. Chamberlain's eventual resignation owed more to new President Rutherford B. Hayes' decision to return US troops in the South to their garrisons, leaving the Republican unable to enforce his decisions, than recognition of Hampton's legitimacy. Chamberlain remained convinced that he had won the election once voter

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[24] Tunde Adeleke, *Without Regard to Race: The Other Martin Delany* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2003), 157; John S. Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina, 1865-1877* (Columbia, SC: The State Co. Publishers, 1905), 378-9; *Charleston News & Courier*, 18 October 1876, quoted in *Black Voices of South Carolina: Legend and Legacy*, ed. Damon L. Fordham (Charleston: History Press, 2009), 63 (my emphasis); Robert Gleed, quoted in Painter, *Exodusters*, 14.

[25] Ed Barber, interview with W. W. Dixon, in *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves, vol. 14: South Carolina Narratives, Part I* (Washington DC: Library of Congress, 1941), 34; Frank Adamson, interview with W. W. Dixon, in *Ibid*, 15.

intimidation and fraud was accounted for. Recent research suggests that he was probably correct.

Just how crucial the black vote was in the process remains unknown, but considering the fact that

Chamberlain's challenge largely rested on the belief that black people had been prevented from

voting Republican tickets or coerced into voting Democrat ones, the presence of even a small

group of proud black Democrats like Barber and Adamson potentially undermined his claims.[26]

Though the franchise differentiated the degree of political access enjoyed by male ex-

slaves in the US and Jamaica, women were excluded from voting in both societies throughout the

era of emancipation—it was just one of the factors that distinguished political experiences of

freedwomen from freedmen. And yet, just as black Jamaican women had engaged in rebellions,

their American counterparts proved determined to influence the electoral process where only

men held the vote. In 1867, South Carolinian freedwomen guarded the weapons Republicans

used to defend ballot boxes and physically beat men who sold their votes to Democrats. They

remained violent critics of black Democrats in 1876. Edward Henderson claimed that women

were more aggressive in regulating votes than men. Preston Taylor testified that they "stripped

me and tore off my clothes" for chanting Hampton's name. Jonas Weeks similarly recalled that

women "called me all kinds of names, and they would pull off my breeches and call me a devil."

Even his wife "cussed" at him and refused to wash his clothes. When Merriam Washington took

sixteen freedmen to the polls in support of the Democrats, women "stripped some of my boys of

their red shirts" so forcefully that "only eight of them voted." Nor was violence directed only at

voters themselves. Henderson's wife and children were insulted and flogged by women seeking

to change his mind, showing that some were held accountable for the path taken by their

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[26] Ronald F. King, "Counting the Votes: South Carolina's Stolen Election of 1876," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 2 (2001): 169-191.

husbands. Just as exclusion from the franchise did not save women from designations of

inauthenticity, nor did it stop them from informing the political process. In their hands, violence

and humiliation became tools to police which men could vote and for whom they cast a ballot.[27]

Or they might use other forms of persuasion; Henderson remembered wives would

"starve" husbands, "wouldn't sleep in the same bed with them," and, in one instance, a woman

who "threw her husband's clothes out of the door and locked the door on him." Like

freedwomen throughout the US, black women of South Carolina were just as determined as men

to ensure that—to use Sarah Vaughan Norral's words to her former mistress—"strangers" would

not "rule our people." As Elsa Barkley Brown argues, women regarded black men's vote as

communal property, and "throughout the South exclusion from legal enfranchisement did not

prevent [them] from shaping … political decisions." In attendance at political meetings, the

formation of political clubs – some with all female membership – and in the pressure they

applied to ensure men voted in keeping with their ideas of racial destiny, black women spoke

with a powerful voice in formal Reconstruction politics.[28]

As in the case of those who refused to engage in rebellion, no single reason can explain

why subjects broke with the black majority over party allegiance. At times an alternative vision

of racial destiny seemed more appealing or feasible. Delany seemingly abandoned the

Republicans because he had come to believe, with some justification, that they no longer served

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[27] Saville, *Work of Reconstruction*, 169-70; Thomas C. Holt, *White over Black: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 34-5; Joel Williamson, *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina during Reconstruction, 1861-1877* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1975), 343-4; Testimony of Edward Henderson in *South Carolina in 1876*, vol. I, 938-9; Testimony of Preston Taylor in *Ibid*, 556; Testimony of Jonas Weeks in *Ibid*, 560, 561; Testimony of Merriam Washington in *Ibid*, 563.

[28] Testimony of Edward Henderson in *Ibid*, 939; Sarah Vaughan Norral to Emma Mordecai, 23 November 1867, Jacob Mordecai Papers, DU; Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life and the Transition from Slavery to Freedom," in *The Black Public Sphere: A Public Culture Book*, ed. The Black Public Sphere Collective (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 126.

the interests of the race. He sought to "give warning" to African Americans that "northern white people are altogether in sympathy with the southern whites," having abandoned their commitment to racial equality. Other Hampton supporters felt similarly frustrated, seeing corruption and cronyism as the true result of Radical Reconstruction in the state. Aaron Mitchell, for example, cited "abuses" and "incompetence of the representatives to the legislature." Garland White (with whom Delany communicated on the subject) likewise found that opportunities for advancement were diminishing rather than growing under Republican rule by the mid-1870s.[29]

Democrats may have offered even less to the general black populace, but the prospect of temporary improvement could be enough to secure a vote from African Americans facing poverty. Asbury Green found that he could not "support my family" under the Republicans, making him desire "a change in the government." He received cash for his vote. Ed Barber similarly stated that when "a nigger git hungry," he could go "to de white folk's house … and explain hisself a democrat." Doing so meant he got "his belly full of everything de white folks got."[30]

As much as the promise of gain, fear of violence could be a powerful motivator toward voting Democrat. Delany switched his allegiance because he thought he saw a possibility for peace if Reconstruction was overturned. Arguably foreshadowing Booker T. Washington, he seemed to hope that a tranquil South would gradually make room for greater equality. He had his own vision for the race, or at least a different idea of how to achieve it than those who continued to vote the Republican ticket. Just like those threatened by white vigilantes at the polls or in the Hamburg massacre, he found it difficult to resist the force of Southern racism again in the

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[29] Quoted in Fordham, *Black Voices*, 63; Aaron Mitchell, in *South Carolina in 1876*, vol. I, 962.
[30] Asbury Green, in *Ibid*, 959; Ed Barber, in *Slave Narratives, vol. 14, Part I*, 35.

ascendency. Whatever the reason, as Stephen Robinson argues, "it would be an error to simply assume that all black Democrats were duped into supporting the Democracy …. Like any politician, many of these men were opportunists, sensing which way the wind was blowing and then following it." "Political deals with Southern whites were deemed by some black leaders as necessary if they were to retain any kind of influence. For others … associating with the Democrats gave them status or the chance of patronage." Each choice, however, potentially carried implications for race.[31]

The Racial Politics of Geography

Domestic political actions, from rebellion to voting, held out the promise of nationalist racial destiny, but its fullest forms went unrealized in every instance. As a result, many black people looked abroad. The exchange of people and ideas between the US and British Caribbean during the era of emancipation proved especially fertile ground for the formulation of emigrationist schemes, as well as debates around authenticity that could accompany them. Before John Willis Menard sought to fulfil his dreams of a "Negro nationality" in Jamaica, before Samuel Ringgold Ward made the island his final stop in a search for freedom, Henry Highland Garnet had made the island his home. Garnet, a longtime advocate of black nationalism, had worked briefly as a Presbyterian missionary on the island in the mid-1850s, before poor health compelled his return to the US.[32] His time in Jamaica informed a key shift in political philosophy; the indentured

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[31] Adeleke, *Without Regard*, 150, 152-155; Robinson, "'To think, act, vote'": 365.
[32] Garnet may have been the inspiration behind Ward's move to Jamaica. The two were cousins, and their families had been close; when Ward and his parents escaped from slavery in Maryland, Garnet's parents sheltered them on their first night in New York. Moreover, Ward knew that Garnet had moved to Jamaica – Ward, *Autobiography*, 26, 344.

African immigrants among his congregation inspired his turn to African colonization, at least in part. He began to feel "great claims of the fatherland," and eventually settled in Liberia in 1882.[33]

And long before Henry Highland Garnet reached the Caribbean, Jamaican-born John Brown Russwurm moved to the US via Canada. In 1829, during his tenure as co-editor of *Freedom's Journal* in New York, he became an advocate of colonization, in a marked departure from earlier opposition to the idea. Memories of Jamaica perhaps informed his change-of-heart; he "chafed under the daily humiliation of black life in the United States, probably with less patience than his African American counterparts did, largely because he knew of other worlds," including the Caribbean. He too settled in Liberia. Robert Campbell, who claimed the relative privileges of being considered brown in his native Jamaica, was denied them in the US where he was viewed as black. Outraged by the racism he encountered, he moved to what is now Nigeria upon Martin Delany's suggestion in 1862. The lives and emigrationist work of these activists reveals not just the dense network of travel and ideological exchange between the US and Caribbean, but the extent to which comparison of experiences in the two regions provoked desires to inaugurate or join free black nations. But perhaps no emigrant invested discussions of colonization with more racialized meaning than Edward Wilmot Blyden.[34]

Born free in the Virgin Islands, Blyden encountered anti-black racism in the US firsthand when refused admission to Rutgers Theological College in 1850. He immigrated to Liberia that

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[33] Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall*, 173; Andrew Somerville to Henry Highland Garnet, 30 July 1855, MS 7640 United Presbyterian Church, Letterbooks of the Secretaries, 1854-1857, NLS. Garnet's letters from Jamaica to the Presbyterian missionary society do not survive, but letters sent to him clearly respond to repeated claims that he wished to visit Africa.

[34] Winston James, *The Struggles of John Brown Russwurm: The Life and Writings of an Africanist Pioneer, 1791-1851* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 45; Blackett, "Return to the Motherland: Robert Campbell, a Jamaican in Early Colonial Lagos," *Phylon* 40, no. 4 (1979): 375-386.

year, going on to serve as editor for several newspapers (contributing to others in the US), professor of Greek and Latin at Liberia College, ambassador to Britain and France, Secretary of State, and Minister of the Interior. Throughout his career he developed key tenets of pan-Africanist ideology, engaging in what Tishale Tibebu calls exercises of a "racialist nationalist imagination." Blyden travelled frequently to the US and encouraged black Americans to join him in Liberia. "For the Negro, pure and simple," he wrote, "the only country is Africa." Only in its true homeland could the race's potential be fulfilled. "The solution of Africa in America," he wrote, "is America in Africa." Blyden made the same call in Caribbean. In 1864, when most black Jamaicans were enduring the social and economic conditions that sparked protests at Morant Bay, Blyden reported great enthusiasm for emigration among "the descendants of Africa in the West Indies." Some were apparently still migrating in 1890; Blyden wrote of a "surveyor, engineer, and practical agriculturalist" named J. B. Barnes who moved from Jamaica to Liberia that year and encouraged his parents to follow.[35]

Even at this time, however, emigration was a divisive topic among the formerly enslaved. Back-to-Africa movements, or equivalent schemes to Haiti and elsewhere, had certainly grown in popularity over the nineteenth century. But they had started from a point of near univocal antipathy in the 1820s and 30s, evidenced in black rejection of the American Colonization Society (ACS). As sectional antagonism and Southern enslaver power expanded in the 1850s, more and more black people made arguments in favor of emigration—Martin Delany, Mary Ann

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[35] Tishale Tibebu, *Edward Wilmot Blyden and the Racial Nationalist Imagination* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2012); Edward Wilmot Blyden, *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race*, Reprint of 2nd ed. ([1888] Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1994), 152, 405; Blyden to Alfred Smith et al., 10 March 1864; Blyden to William Coppinger, 26 May 1890, in *Selected Letters of Edward Wilmot Blyden*, ed. Hollis R. Lynch (Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1978), 64, 415.

Shadd, Menard, Ward, and Garnet among them.[36] Though much scholarship emphasizes a turn away from colonization in the US after African Americans secured emancipation, the divergence in black opinion around the issue has been obscured. When full freedom seemed a dim prospect in the last quarter of the century, African Americans increasingly looked to Africa.[37]

Even with these changes, Blyden was fighting an uphill battle. In both regions, many freedpeople were determined to put down roots, especially when the kinship groups by which so much of their social world was defined resided nearby. Communal ownership of land thus became a central tenet of the self-determinationist ideology that underlay micro-nations. Whenever possible, Jamaican freedpeople procured territory as a bulwark against white intervention in their lives. Despite white hopes that former slaves would "acquir[e] more wants" and work for wages to satisfy them, most preferred to live off what they could cultivate and sell. The manager of Castle Wemyss plantation was far from alone in complaining that easy access to land allowed freedpeople "to be completely independent of the necessity of labouring on the Estates, so that almost all the Labourers have withdrawn from this property, & the remainder can dictate their own terms." Attorney Isaac Jackson found that he could not defy laborers on the estate because they "would not remain upon the property but would settle back in the Mountain & form a Nucleus for others of the Estate to settle down with." In a clear sign of the importance

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[36] See, for example, Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (Philadelphia: N. p., 1852); Shadd, *A Plea for Emigration, or, Notes of Canada West in its Moral, Social, and Political Aspect with Suggestions Respecting Mexico, W. Indies, and Vancouver's Island, for the Information of Colored Emigrants* (Detroit: George W. Pattison, 1852); On black opposition to the ACS, see Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall*, 49; Ousmane K. Power-Greene, *Against Wind and Tide: The African American Struggle against the Colonization Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 95-157.

[37] Kate Masur criticizes "historians' continuing tendency to represent black public opinion in 1862 as unified against emigration and to gloss over the substantive discussions the issue generated" – "The African American Delegation to Abraham Lincoln: A Reappraisal," *Civil War History* 56, no. 2 (2010): 144. Magness and Page show that Lincoln seriously explored colonization for African Americans after the Emancipation Proclamation came into effect, with Menard a key agent in the effort – *Colonization after Emancipation*. Mitchell examines the increase in emigrationist sentiment in the late-nineteenth century in *Righteous Propagation*, 16-50.

of kinship, he found that "where they have been turned away they take all their families and friends along with them."[38]

In the US, former slaves expressed the same desire for property for the same reasons. During the Civil War, slaves occupied abandoned plantations, and, as one Treasury Department inspector of Southern Louisiana lands commented in 1863, "succeeded beyond rebel Expectations in living without the assistance of white men." As in Jamaica, US freedpeople made clear their desire to move outside of former masters' reach, or at least exchange labor on white land for concessions to their independence. In the rice-growing regions of South Carolina, for example, they formulated arrangements to labor a few days a week provided they received their own plots of land. It was a near carbon-copy of British Caribbean provision ground systems. And again like Jamaica, ex-slaves refused to work for whites whenever they could. "I am greatly harassed with the Freedmen," one landholder complained. "I have endeavored to get them to sign a contract [but] they are perfectly indignant. They will have their Rights or *nothing*."[39]

Land was seen as essential to freedom. When specifically asked by William Sherman and Edwin Stanton what black people expected from emancipation, formerly enslaved Baptist Minister Garrison Frazier, speaking on behalf of nineteen other African American religious leaders, said they wished to placed "where we could reap the fruit of our own labor, and take care

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[38] Richard Lewis to Messrs. N. & H. Mayo, 27 October 1841, Box 3, Ballard's Valley & Berry Hill Plantation Records, DU; Robert Hawthorn to Nash Hilliard, 2 October 1843, ICS 101/1/3/56, Castle Wemyss Estate Papers, ICS, SHL; Isaac Jackson to Alexander Campbell, 16 September 1841, Isaac Jackson Letterbooks vol. 2, APS. On white hopes concerning black labor and black investment in land, see Thomas Holt, "The Essence of the Contract: The Articulation of Race, Gender, and Political Economy in British Emancipation Policy, 1833-1866," in Cooper, Holt, Scott, *Beyond Slavery*, 33-59; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*.

[39] H. Styles, "Report: Dick Robinson's Plantation," 18 August 1863, in *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War,* eds. Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Stephen F. Miller, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland (New York: New Press, 1992), 110-1; Hahn, *Nation under our Feet*, 171; Robert Reid Hemphill to Rev. W. R. Hemphill, 13 December 1865, Box 4, Hemphill Family Papers, DU.

of ourselves … The way we can best take care of ourselves is to have land, and turn it and till it

by our labor … We want to be placed on land until we are able to buy it and make it our own."

More than economic survival, land was envisioned, in a seeming appropriation of Jeffersonian

republican ideals that had once been used to defend slavery, as a source of independence. Asked

if the formerly enslaves would prefer to live among whites or "in colonies by yourselves,"

Frazier responded, "I would prefer to live by ourselves." With only one exception, every

freedperson present echoed his sentiments.[40]

So central was this desire for landed independence that in Virginia, the Freedmen's

Bureau was forced to issue a circular correcting the "erroneous impression" that blacks would be

given land and encouraging them to "make proper contracts to labor." William Audley Cooper, a

Georgia plantation manager, remarked in the spring of 1866 that "Until within the last fortnight

the negroes have been fully persuaded that they were to own all the lands belonging to their

former masters. Any attempt on our part to undeceive them was received with a smile of

unbelief." Sharing the dream of Jamaican planters that freedpeople would form a disciplined

proletariat for white use, Couper asserted that "negro (free) labor will not be available until all

the suffering and hardships of a life of idleness has taught him the necessity of labor." Despite

most confiscated property being returned to former Confederates, black Americans remained

devoted the cause of landed independence whenever possible. Freedpeople on Mullen's Island,

South Carolina arrested any whites who sought to take back the land they claimed. The "Colored

Men of the Mechanic and Laboring Association," formed in Cass County Georgia in late 1869,

pooled its resources to procure "land to worke." They were determined to make purchases "as

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[40] "Colloquy with Colored Ministers" [1865], *Journal of Negro History* 16, no. 1 (1931): 91. On Jeffersonian republicanism, land, and defense of slavery, see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* ([1975] New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2003).

soon as we can" in order "to give homes to our poor." Only then could they avoid being "cheated out" of wages.[41]

Land claims were as much a matter of moral principle as they were a practical strategy. So deeply felt was the right to property and crops among the formerly enslaved in Jamaica that they defended it vehemently. Robert Mickle, "an old African," set fire to a large section of Bushy Park estate in 1839 "in consequence of the Estates Cattle destroying his corn." In the US, the "Committee of Freedmen on Edisto Island, South Carolina" captured broad sentiment in a petition to the Freedmen's Bureau. Stating "we want Homestead's," the committee went on:

> You ask us to forgive the land owners of our Island … The man who tied me to a tree & gave me 39 lashes & who stripped and flogged my mother & my sister & who will not let me stay in His empty Hut except I will do His planting & be Satisfied with His price & who combines with others to keep away land from me knowing full well I would not Have any thing to do with Him If I Had land of my own. – that man, I cannot well forgive.

It was through such trauma that many freedpeople had come to identify with the land. While some wished to abandon the South as soon as possible—and thousands did, even before

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[41] Circular no. 25, Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands, Headquarters of Virginia, 9 November 1865, General Orders Folder, Box 8 Miscellaneous American Letters and Papers Collection, SCRBC; William Audley Couper to Frances P. Corbin, 9 March 1866, Frances Porteus Corbin Papers, Manuscripts & Archives Division, New York Public Library [NYPL]; James Chaplin Beecher to Lt. M. Rice, 31 January 1866; Beecher to Maj. Smith, 31 January 1866; Beecher to Rice, 2 February 1866, all in James Chaplin Beecher Papers, DU; Rev. Charles E. Edwards to John Emory Bryant, 27 December 1869, Folder 3, Box 2, Correspondence, John Emory Bryant Papers, DU. On the meaning and importance of land to freedpeople, see Bolland, "Systems of Domination"; Hahn, *Nation under our Feet*, 136-43; Jean Besson, *Martha Brae's Two Histories: European Expansion and Caribbean Culture Building in Jamaica* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Foner, *Reconstruction*, 104-6; Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 398-404; Claude F. Oubre, *Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Land Ownership* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978). The centrality of land does not mean freedpeople did not value mobility. The ability to move without restriction was considered a key tenet of freedom. However, mobility was, like land, principally seen as a way to evade white control. If it achieved such an end, mobility within a region already inhabited by a subject and their community was potentially more attractive than the ability to leave the US altogether. On the importance of movement to ideas of freedom, see Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*; Hahn, *Nation under our Feet*; Stephanie H. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women & Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991); Marshall, "'We be Wise.'"

emancipation—others felt that years of slavery guaranteed rights of ownership. "America is more our country than it is the whites,'" David Walker reminded his readers, for "we have enriched it with our blood and tears." Walker's words echo in the platform of the North Carolina Equal Rights League after emancipation: "Here we have toiled and suffered; our parents, wives, and children are buried here, and in this land we will remain unless forcibly driven away." And in a separate petition to Andrew Johnson, the freedpeople of Edisto Island reinforced the point, stating "Here is where we have toiled nearly all Our lives as slaves and were treated by like Dumb driven cattle. This is our home, we have made These lands what they are."[42]

When we consider the degree to which the enslaved felt this sense of ownership, it makes the massive flight to the "contraband" camps and US lines during the Civil War, defined by Steven Hahn as the "largest slave rebellion in modern history," all the more remarkable. Refusal to leave might potentially signal a counterrevolutionary act in the eyes of some African Americans, which might in turn raise questions about the racial authenticity of those who stayed. Yet examples of the enslaved attaching inauthenticity to one another in debates about escape during wartime are rare. If leaving or staying might cast aspersions on a subject's loyalty, it might perhaps explain why Mrs. Dunbar, an enslaver in Adams County, Mississippi, overheard two of her captives quarreling only to find them gone the next day. But it seems more likely that

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[42] John Gale Vidal to John Mitchell, 17 July 1839, 1B/11/23, Letterbook of John G. Vidal, 1838-1849, JARD; Henry Bram, Ishmael Moultrie, and Yates Sampson to the Freedmen's Bureau Commissioner, 20 or 21 October 1865, in *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, Series 3, vol. I: Land and Labor, 1865*, eds. Steven Hahn, Steven F. Miller, Susan W. O'Donovan, John C. Rodrigue, and Leslie Rowland (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 440-1; Walker, *Walker's Appeal*, 73; North Carolina Equal Rights League, quoted in Hahn, *Nation under our Feet*, 124; Freedpeople of Edisto Island quoted in Mary Ames, "From a New England Woman's Diary in Dixie in 1865," in *For the Record: A Documentary History of America*, vol. 1, eds. David E. Shi and Holly A. Mayer (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2004), 579.

most enslaved people accepted the decision of community members, whatever it might be, knowing that neither option was easy nor a decisive guarantee of freedom. Outrage over escape remained the province of enslavers. In the case of Kate Foster, who recorded Mrs. Dunbar's experiences, she believed that the runaways lacked "any feeling" for their mistress. All those who left were "a lot of ingrates," "poor deluded creatures" who would "find out too late who are their best friends[:] Master or Massa."[43]

The lack of acrimony among the enslaved reflected an awareness that the world beyond the plantation was not always more conducive to survival. Cato Carter an escapee from Alabama, chose to run rather than murder another captive on his enslaver's orders, but "hated to go, 'cause things was so bad [during the Civil War] … You couldn't buy nothin' lessen with gold. I had plenty of [Con]federate money, only it wouldn't buy nothin'." Martin Jackson, enslaved in Texas, was warned against running by his father who noted that there was "'No use running from bad to worse, hunting better.'" For others, potentially permanent separation from kinship networks, often the most fundamental source of community or racial belonging, outweighed motivations to leave.[44]

Remaining in the region of enslavement after emancipation did contribute to impressions of racial authenticity, however, when it allowed a former enslaver to retain a significant degree of influence over nominally free black people. If a formerly enslaved person appeared willing to maintain his connection to a former master in an improper manner, claims of belonging came under scrutiny. Michael Morgan continued to work on Stephen Duncan's Mississippi plantation

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[43] Hahn, *Nation under our Feet*, 7; Kate Foster, 25 July 1863, Kate D. Foster Diary 1863-1872, DU.

[44] Cato Carter, Interview in *Slave Narratives, vol. 16: Texas, Part I,* 210; Martin Jackson, interview in *Slave Narratives, vol. 16: Texas, Part II*, 190. On the difficult decision to escape, especially for women, see John Hope Franklin and Loren Sonweniger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 20, 49, 213.

after emancipation, but, this being something many freedpeople could not avoid, was not in itself sufficient to be considered inauthentic. However, when Morgan informed Duncan of actions taken by other black laborers in return for room and board, it was a different matter. He reported William Jones for mismanaging Duncan's livestock and selling some for his own gain. "[W]hatever instructions you may give me i will carry it out prompt on account of securing my home," Morgan assured Duncan, "therefore i consider it my duty to Let you know any thing your servants would do that would not be to your interest…. i do not Like to make Complaints But i think it is right for you to hear any thing that interests you."[45] Because Morgan's assistance to Duncan seemingly stemmed from a practical decision to maintain customary privilege, it almost certainly put him at odds with Jones and others in the local black community. We cannot discount the possibility, however, that he viewed his role as informant, and the relatively stable situation it provided amid the uncertainty of the postemancipation South, as necessary to survival.

Indeed, deciphering the level of choice the formerly enslaved truly had becomes even more difficult for freedwomen, as the case of Patty reveals. In 1866, Mississippi planter Richard Thompson Archer fell ill on a tour of his failing plantations. More than a hundred miles from his family in Port Gibson, he looked to Patty, a former slave with whom he had once engaged in a sexual relationship of some form, to "nurse [him] through the night." Archer's wife, Ann, had prior knowledge of this antebellum "affair"; Archer acknowledged in a letter to her that "you will dislike my having Patty to attend to me" but promised that "in such health" he was "impotent." Archer mentioned that Patty herself "feared [Ann] would be angry." But the feelings of the local

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[45] Michael Morgan to Stephen Duncan, 8 January 1879, Folder 3, Servants' Letters 1871-1885, 2E993 Duncan Family Papers, BCAH.

freed community, especially those whom Archer had held in bondage, presented a greater barrier. They had already reprimanded Patty for "nursing" her former master "as if she was a slave." Convinced of the "necessity" of doing so, and mollified by Archer's candor with Ann, Patty took on the role of caregiver. She defended herself against criticism, making clear to her peers that "she is paid and did not see now she is free why it was wrong to wait" on Archer, even "if she did once belong" to him.[46]

The dispute reveals the different moral economies freedpeople held. Patty's critics were once Archer's property like she was, and worked his land for wages at the time of Thompson's illness. A paid employee engaged in agricultural labor was, in their view, an acceptable relationship for a former slave to have with a former master. Nursing, though it too was paid, was deemed inappropriate, and justification for Patty being ostracized. The intimate nature of the job—the necessity of entering Archer's private quarters, the possibility of bodily contact in the commission of her duties—perhaps reminded Patty's critics that she had once been the subject of Archer's sexual desires. Perhaps this differentiated the job from other, acceptable forms of employment. It is possible that Patty was making a political statement in her defiance of the freed community, that she saw in this moment the best way to earn some much needed money, or that she saw no reflection of slavery in the work. But we should be wary of assuming, as William Kaufman Scarborough does, that the aid she provided "indicate[s] some degree of lingering affection, or perhaps simply compassion." Her supposed "consent" may reveal instead the continued power of slave-era sexual trauma to command postemancipation compliance. The power Archer held before emancipation, backed as he was by enormous wealth, privilege, the

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[46] Richard T. Archer to Ann B. Archer, 10 November 1866, 2E646 Richard Thompson Archer Family Papers, BCAH.

law of a dedicated slave state, and violence, likely made a lasting impression on the mind of the formerly enslaved, especially one among them with whom he had ensured especially close contact. Indeed, it was possible that the animosity Patty received from her peers stemmed from their desire to confine such intimacy to the past, to distinguish their new lives from the antebellum era. Perhaps for them the relationship contradicted their idea of a race free and progressing. Whatever the motivations that underlay either side, it was enough for Patty be excluded from her community, or, to use Archer's words, "the black people." To claim membership of this group—to embody genuine blackness—such intimate connections to whites, especially former slaveholders, had to be severed.[47]

When Edward Blyden counseled black people throughout the Western Atlantic world to return to Africa, therefore, he entered a debate fraught with racial meaning. The race's physical place in the world, like its metaphorical place, was a subject of significant contention. From people like Frederick Douglass who expected full and equal citizenship in the US, to those who (believing such demands would never be met) sought independence in local national forms instead, colonization was no solution. Ownership of land where they already lived was heralded as the basis for community-centered, self-determined lives and the realization of racial destiny. Rev. W. J. Alston, for example, told a meeting of the Pennsylvania Equal Rights League in 1865 that while "a short time ago the word colonization raised the tiger in him … there had come over him a change, and he was now a colonizationist as it applies to the occupancy of the Southern States by the Colored People." James McCune Smith even saw this attachment to land as a

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[47] William Kaufman Scarborough, *Masters of the Big House: Elite Slaveholders of the Mid-nineteenth-century South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 28.

distinctly African trait. Opposition to colonization was "part of that innate love of the soil which our *forebears* brought from Africa." Thus, for many black people, racial identity was rooted in the land on which they lived.[48]

For Blyden, it was rooted in the land from which those forebears had come. Mirroring yet reversing Smith's formulation, Blyden suggested that the black people who would "realize their duties to the fatherland" and return to Africa, were "faithful to the instincts of the race." "Nothing is clearer to those who know anything of race instincts and tendencies than that this craving is a permanent and irrepressible impulse."[49] For Smith, at least so his statement implies, departure, even to return to Africa, was departure from black racial destiny. For Blyden, remaining where blackness was broadly and increasingly despised implied impurity. In this contrast lies the clearest statement of a racial politics of geography. The land with which someone identified or to which they felt a sense of belonging became a key determinant of the subject's claims of racial status. Depending upon one's vantage point in the debate, choice of destination could mark an opponent as inauthentic.

Yet Blyden's talk of racial "instincts" and "irrepressible impulses" suggests that, in his mind, race determined conduct more than *vice versa*. Indeed, Blyden's vision of racial destiny was teleological, in many respects a self-fulfilling prophecy. A black nation in Liberia was inevitable; Blyden wanted only "pure" blacks to move there and felt certain that an innate longing for Africa would compel them to do so. "Mulattos," a group he came increasingly to

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[48] "Mass Meeting of [Pennsylvania] State Equal Rights League," in *Proceedings of the Black State Conventions, 1840-1865, vol. I: New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio*, eds. Philip S. Foner and George E. Walker (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979), 159; James McCune Smith to Frederick Douglass, *Douglass Monthly*, 12 May 1854, in John Stauffer, ed., *The Works of James McCune Smith: Black Intellectual and Abolitionist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 101.

[49] Blyden, *The Origins and Purpose of African Colonization. Being the Annual Discourse delivered at the Sixty-Sixth Anniversary of the American Colonization Society* (Washington: American Colonization Society, 1883), 18, 16-17.

despise, would be left behind. At times Blyden actively worked to exclude them. "The only way to build up a Negro State" in Liberia, he informed the Secretary of the ACS, "is to keep the mulatto, and all who have claim to foreign blood in the United States." If they came, he argued, these "canker worms … will bring blight and destruction into everything" through their "natural disloyalty to the race." Mostly, however, Blyden expressed confidence that people of mixed race would not want to emigrate to the true home of pure blacks, and their corrupted constitutions meant they would not long survive if they did: "Persons having an admixture of foreign blood are very frail … and seldom recover from a severe attack of illness [in Liberia].… The admixture of the Caucasian and the Negro is not favored by Providence in inter-tropical Africa."[50]

Blyden's racialized view of colonization signaled a departure from the ideological stance held by most black Caribbeans and Americans concerning political action in their respective eras of emancipation. It was different from Charles Price's assailants, from the Republicans who policed the polls in South Carolina, or from the freedpeople who criticized Patty for nursing Richard Thompson Archer. In each of these instances, the behavior or allegiances that appeared in conflict with physical appearance were matters of choice. The punishments inflicted on a person who appeared black but voted a white supremacist ticket, or protected a white enslaver from harm, implicitly recognized that another option was available: one of loyalty in keeping with concepts of authentic blackness and nationalist racial destiny. When Blyden subsumed this

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[50] Hollis R. Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot, 1832-1912* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 105-139; Blyden to William Coppinger, 23 April 1879, vol. 12, 1 January 1879-3 October 1879, I. Incoming Correspondence, 1819-1917, B. Letters from Liberia, 1833-1917, American Colonization Society Collection, LOC; Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation*, 37; Blyden, "On Mixed Races in Liberia" (1869), in *Black Spokesman: Selected Published Writings of Edward Wilmot Blyden*, ed. Hollis R. Lynch (New York: Humanities Press, 1971), 187, 189. On the rare occasions Blyden found something admirable in people known to be of mixed race, he attributed their positive traits to blackness. Of Frederick Douglass, he wrote: "His genius and power come evidently from the African side of his nature. He reminds me more of some aristocratic African chief … than of any cultivated European" – quoted in *Ibid*, 111.

choice beneath ideas of nature, he returned to a more commonly recognized form of racial ambiguity defined entirely by biology. In his argument that contamination of black blood with white produced a social threat, Blyden approached the scientific racism that increasingly defined white views of social difference—liberal and conservative—from the mid-nineteenth-century onward. As whites retreated from racial equality, so did Blyden with them. Though certain that "pure" blacks could flourish in Africa, he believed that an inherently servile nature ("the genius of the Negro is service") prevented them from doing so in the Americas. After all, blacks "belong[ed] to the genus homo, but of a different species to that of the white man." Blyden was "delighted to endorse the view" of "trans-Atlantic writers" of racial science, "whether Darwinian or Swedenborgean," that "the Negro is related only remotely to the Human race." It was a concession to the logic of Jim Crow segregation at that time undoing the work of Radical Reconstruction in the US South. Indeed, of the black American, Blyden claimed, "He will not meddle with American politics for his instincts under culture congenial to him tell him that that is not his place. He will with the same earnestness and fervor as the white man denounce race admixture and will be as busy propping up the fence on his side as the white man is on his." So close was Blyden in his view to Southern whites that some African Americans accused him of being in the pay of white supremacists.[51]

Blyden's ideology seemed also to reinforce the racism that had justified Eyre's actions after Morant Bay, and the decline in British popular support for racial equality in its colonies. Though Blyden criticized Eyre's actions, his philosophy of race nonetheless mapped neatly onto

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[51] Blyden, "The Black Mammy," n. d., [probably 1909], Box 16; Blyden to J. C. Hemphill, 26 June 1909, Box 15; Blyden to John Roach Straton, 8 September 1900, Box 9; Blyden to J. C. Hemphill, 13 June 1910, Box 17, all in Hemphill Papers, DU. On the growing popularity of racial science and the retreat from liberal views of emancipation, see Hall, *Civilising Subjects*; Davis, *Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation*, 34-5; George M. Frederickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 49-96.

Samuel Ringgold Ward's interpretation of the event. We must recall that in Ward's view, it was the dangerous natural capacity of the "mulatto" Gordon to deceive the black masses—using their power for his own sinister ends—that necessitated Eyre's brutal reaction. Having attempted to emigrate to Africa, John Willis Menard might have appreciated Blyden's choice of destination for the fulfilment of the race's destiny. ("FREEDOM, RIGHT and LIBERTY / Upon thy plains are vying!" he wrote of Blyden's beloved Liberia, and he continued unsuccessfully to pursue a diplomatic post there after he settled in Florida). But in contrast to Ward and Blyden, Menard would never have accepted the view that racial makeup preordained one's choice of political action, whether emigration, voting, or rebellion.[52]

Like the protestors at Morant Bay who allowed brown people to swear allegiance to Paul Bogle's "black skin," Menard did not see identity as an immutable product of biology. He might have detested the conduct of blacks who undermined the "Negro nationality" of which he dreamed; he might have considered them to be, like Price, black men with white hearts. But for him, that inauthenticity arose from a choice, however misguided and wrong. The race's destiny, whether in Jamaica, Haiti, the US, or Liberia, had to be willingly constituted. It would not form by "instinct" or natural selection. Menard wrote in 1863: "To suppose that, because we are a distinct complexional race, we must float on the same tide of public opinion, political or religious, would be madness and insanity of the first magnitude." Such an assumption explained why "the imperious Anglo-American thinks a man must be a *cook*, *waiter*, or *barber*, because he happens to be black!" And Blyden's belief in black peoples' "servile genius" ran close to doing the same. The advent of Blyden's ideology signaled the end of the postemancipation era just as

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[52] Blyden to W. E. Gladstone, 3 February 1866, in *Selected Letters*, 71-2; Menard, "Liberia," *The Christian Recorder*, 7 March 1863; Beatty, "John Willis Menard": 128.

much as the rise of Jim Crow did in the South or Eyre's response to Morant Bay did in Jamaica.

All three events suggested that a time in which a black nationalist destiny could be made real by

the will of black people had, for the time being at least, passed.[53]

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[53] Menard, "A Reply to Frederick Douglass," *Douglass Monthly* (April 1863): 821.

CHAPTER 3: Sexual Morality

In 1831, debate over the abolition of slavery reached fever pitch in Britain. By the end of the year, when Jamaica would erupt in a rebellion that would add further fuel to both sides, a slave narrative, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave*, entered its third printing. Three years earlier, Prince had absconded from her enslavers, John Adams Wood and his wife, after they had taken her to England. With her slave status legally suspended on metropolitan shores, Prince took employment as a domestic servant for Thomas Pringle, secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society (ASS), while the organization attempted to secure her manumission. Meanwhile, Prince narrated her tale to another ASS member, Susanna Strickland, and Pringle published it.[1]

The book's popularity suggests the extent to which the abolition movement was gathering steam. Desperate to safeguard the system upon which they depended, Caribbean enslavers and their metropolitan agents retaliated. James McQueen, a former plantation manager in Grenada now returned to his native Scotland, took a lead role. He published two articles in his own newspaper, the *Glasgow Courier*, and one in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* that year. Accusations in the latter proved particularly scandalous. In barely disguised terms, he accused Prince and Pringle of engaging in a sexual relationship while they shared a residence. Prince was described as a "profligate slave … planted in Pringle's family, and at his washing-tub. From it she was frequently called to his closet." McQueen went further, implying that Pringle's immoral behaviors had a polluting effect on the "females of his family," whose "delicacy and modesty …

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[1] Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*, ed. Moira Ferguson ([1831] Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 86-94; Sue Thomas, "Pringle v. Cadell and Wood v. Pringle: The Libel Cases over The History of Mary Prince," *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 40, no. 1 (2005): 113-4, 115.

cannot be of the most exalted character." Pringle's "continued labour by day and night,"

McQueen wrote

> is to call for and nestle amidst all kinds of colonial immorality and uncleanness …
> everything that is groveling, despicable, and low, in the vices of semi-barbarians–
> and on every occasion to lay all these before the eyes, and impress them upon the
> minds, of the females of his family! This is his work, and truly such labours can
> neither tend to encourage nor to inculcate delicacy, modesty, or morality.[2]

Pringle sued the London publisher of *Blackwood's* for libel. He won the case but received only

£5 in damages plus costs, £1995 less than he sought. The court's decision was hardly the

vindication Pringle wanted. When Wood subsequently won a countersuit against him for claims

made in the narrative (because Pringle could not persuade witnesses resident in the Caribbean to

appear on his behalf), his reputation was further tarnished.

As key representatives of the abolition movement, Pringle and Prince's cause was

potentially undermined as well. So loud were the debates about slavery at the time that any issue

involving its actors, however tangential, took on greater significance. *The Times* report on the

hearings noted that "everybody was aware that on the one hand there existed a party in this

country who were endeavoring to effect the emancipation of the slaves at once, whilst, on the

other hand, there was a large body who were anxious to preserve interests in the colonies."

Indeed, McQueen was closely connected with the latter group. He had received gifts from

planters of Jamaica's St. Elizabeth parish in recognition of his work on their behalf, and

requested funds from the "West India Body" to help distribute his *Blackwood's* article. The

magazine already had a wide readership in the Caribbean plantocracy. It even looked for a time

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[2] James McQueen, "The Colonial Empire of Great Britain: Letter to Earl Grey, First Lord of the Treasury, &c. &c.,"
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (November 1831): 744-5, 751; The *Glasgow Courier* articles are "The Anti-
Slavery Society and the West-India Colonists" (26 July 1831) and "The Rev. Mr. Curtin and the Colonial Office"
(21 April 1832).

that the two rival organizations, the ASS on one side and the West India lobby on the other, might fund each side in the libel cases. Though ultimately neither did, the episode was a microcosmic form of the larger discursive battle of representation between anti-slavery and pro-slavery factions. In this case, the latter group arguably won; darker aspersions were cast upon their opponents. Unsurprisingly, the case garnered publicity back across the Atlantic. A letter to the *Jamaica Courant*, for example, took particular pleasure in propagating the image of an abolitionist whom, it was "*well known*, keeps in his house a black—hush! offend not the classic ear of Mr. Pringle, by giving utterance to a word of undoubted import."[3]

McQueen's attack on Prince and Pringle encapsulates many of this chapter's themes. It reveals the often unacknowledged fact that pro-slavery forces, connected across the Atlantic, engaged in a calculated, organized campaign to defend the system from which they derived their wealth and status. They renewed their efforts after emancipation in an attempt to retain control of their formerly enslaved labor force, an endeavor in which they continued to view white reformers as rivals. Throughout, these conservatives made effective use of print culture, particularly the popular press but fiction as well, to undermine their enemies. I contend that anti-reformer criticisms were often racialized and sexualized. McQueen's claims of a Pringle-Prince liaison indicate a tendency to emphasize sexually immoral behaviors reminiscent of black stereotypes when describing ostensibly white opponents. Proslavery writers played upon images of black promiscuity and predilections for interracial sex to depict abolitionists and missionaries as inauthentically white. Doing so narrowed the rhetorical distance between freedpeople and reformers, thereby undermining the authority of the latter to enforce liberal visions of

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[3] *The Times* [London], 21 February 1833; James McQueen to William Blackwood, 12 October 1831, MS 4030 Blackwood Archives, NLS, f. 165; Thomas, "Pringle v. Cadell," 117, 129; *JC*, 9 February 1832.

emancipation. Depictions of sexual behavior were informed by similar understandings of race in both societies. Pringle's response was an attempt to defend his claims to whiteness, and the authority to govern black people it supposedly provided. It was a pattern his colleagues, British, Caribbean, and American, would repeat, to similarly little avail.

Emancipation represented the overthrow of the plantation sexual order in which enslavers enjoyed constant sexual access to their "property." Maria Nugent found in 1802 that "no man" who wanted a "*chere amie*" in Jamaica "is without one;" likewise, South Carolina planter Mary Chesnut famously commented that "our men live in one house with their wives and their concubines … every lady tells you who is the father of all the mulatto children in everybody's household, but those in her own she seems to think drop from the clouds."[4] Charges that reformers engaged in practices of promiscuity and "amalgamation" or miscegenation were partly a response to the loss of this sexual control of the enslaved, and a growing sense of social insecurity it generated. If the mastery that informed their sense of whiteness and authority was defined by control over all aspects of enslaved black peoples' lives, including sex, enslavers

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[4] Maria Nugent, 1 October 1801, *Lady Nugent's Journal: Jamaica One Hundred Years Ago* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1907), 37; Mary Chesnut, 18 March 1861, *The Private Mary Chesnut: The Unpublished Civil War Diaries*, eds. C. Vann Woodward and Elizabeth Muhlenfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 42. On the sexual order of slavery, see Douglas Hall, *In Miserable Slavery: Thomas Thistlewood in Jamaica, 1750-86* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 1989); Trevor Burnard*, Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Hilary Mc.D. Beckles, "Property Rights in Pleasure: The Marketing of Slave Women's Sexuality in the West Indies," in *West Indies Accounts: Essays on the History of the British Caribbean and the Atlantic Economy in Honour of Richard Sheridan*, ed. Roderick A. McDonald (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 1996), 169-87; Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1985); Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives*; Kristen Fischer, *Suspect Relations*; Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Thelma Jennings, "'Us Colored Women Had to Go Through a Plenty': Sexual Exploitation of African-American Slave Women," *Journal of Women's History* 1, no. 3 (1990): 45-74; Edward E. Baptist, "'Cuffy,' 'Fancy Maids,' and 'One-Eyed Men': Rape, Commodification, and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (2001): 1619-50.

realized that emancipation would weaken their grip, removing once perpetual access to black women. Indeed, as soon as they could, black women left the slave labor camps of the Caribbean and US in huge numbers.[5]

Perhaps the only silver lining from the West Indian planter point of view was that the "flight from the fields" diminished their own association with sexual exploitation of black women, leaving the field open to apportion blame for Caribbean "licentiousness"—the islands were infamous in Britain for sexual impropriety—elsewhere. Missionaries presented an easy target. Unable to comprehend black women they viewed as naturally lascivious as also being capable of withholding consent, it was easy for planters to imagine them entering into sexual trysts with white preachers. Moreover, by blaming missionaries for bringing black peoples' innate sexual immorality to the fore, by showing that missionaries shared some of those "black" traits, planters distanced themselves further from their distasteful reputations, undermined the missionary's position in the process. To enslavers, turning the accusations that led to that loss back on their original authors likely appeared as a truly fitting revenge.

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[5] Debates concerning black women's withdrawal from the labor force tend to focus on whether women themselves or black men instigated the phenomenon, and whether desire to create a domestic family structure resembling whites, with supposedly separate spheres, or to labor on family-owned land was the true motivation. It resulted in a minimization of white sexual access to freedwomen regardless. In many cases, women were forced back into labor for whites by economic hardship. See Diana Paton, "The Flight from the Fields Reconsidered: Gender Ideology and Women's Labor after Slavery," in *Reclaiming the Political in Latin American History: Essays from the North*, ed. Gilbert Joseph (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 175-204; Mimi Sheller, "Quasheba, mother, queen"; Bridget Brereton, "Family Strategies, Gender, and the Shift to Wage Labour in the British Caribbean," in *The Colonial Caribbean in Transition: Essays on Post-emancipation Social and Cultural History*, eds. Brereton and Kevin Yelvington (Mona: Press University of the West Indies, 1999), 77-107; Holt, "Essence of the Contract"; Kerr-Ritchie, *Freedom's Seekers*, 116-20; Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Leslie A. Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Kate Dossett, "Black Women, Work, and Freedom," in *Reconstruction: People and Perspectives*, eds., James M. Campbell and Rebecca J. Fraser (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 135-60; Gerald David Jaynes, *Branches without Roots: Genesis of the Black Working Class in the American South, 1862-1882* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 228-31; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 85-7; Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy my Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 51-3; Carol Faulkner, *Women's Radical Reconstruction: The Freedmen's Aid Movement* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 138-9; Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 244-5.

Black Sexuality in the Enslaver Imagination

When McQueen attacked Pringle and his family, he employed a stock proslavery vocabulary concerning black female sexuality, one simultaneously grounded in tradition and of that moment. Dating back to the sixteenth century, Europeans fetishized black female bodies to depict African savagery in need of white discipline. In Deborah Gray White's words,

> [t]he idea that black women were exceptionally sensual first gained credence when Englishmen went to Africa to buy slaves. Unaccustomed to the requirements of a tropical climate, Europeans mistook seminudity for lewdness. Similarly, they misinterpreted African cultural traditions, so that polygamy was attributed to the Africans' uncontrolled lust, [and] tribal dances were reduced to the level of orgy.

If the image of hypersexualized black womanhood gained traction throughout the Atlantic World as a justification for the transatlantic slave trade, the "Jezebel" stereotype legitimized conditions of bondage for enslaved women beyond the middle passage and end of the trade.[6] It was what Saidiya Hartman terms a "ruse of power" that "dissimulates the violence of the law and the violation of the enslaved." It distorted the reality of sexual power relations under slavery, hiding sexual coercion of black women by shifting responsibility away from white enslavers. They became powerless to resist hypersexualized black women intent on conquest.[7]

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[6] Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women*, 12-49; White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?*, 30. As Barbara Christian notes, a stereotype is "one of the vehicles through which racism tries to reduce the human being to a nonhuman level" – *Black Feminist Criticism: Perspectives on Black Women Writers* (New York: Pergammon Press, 1985), 16. The reduction of black women to nonhuman levels, in such a reading, made enslavement and cruelty easier to inflict. It should be noted that while a stereotype served this public, discursive function as a justification of exploitation, it does not necessarily mean that enslavers actually viewed the enslaved as non-human. On this point, Walter Johnson argues convincingly: "Imagining that perpetrators must 'dehumanize' their victims in order justify their actions, inserting a normative version of 'humanity' into a conversation about the justification of historical violence, lets them—and us—off the hook. History suggests again and again that this is how human beings treat one another … The satisfaction [enslavers] got from violence—threatening, separating, torturing, degrading, raping—depended on the fact that their victims were human beings capable of registering slaveholder power in the pain, terror, grief, submission, and even resistance" – *River of Dark Dreams*, 207.

[7] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 8, 9 (quotations), 79-112. This was one of several ways in which enslaved women were denied the ability to consent to sex – see also Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*.

By the nineteenth-century, the idea was firmly rooted in the conservative white mind. As one resident of Jamaica wrote of the typical planter, "If this personage be not a married man, he has, as a companion, an over-grown black, or Mulatto woman, who … has obtained over him complete ascendancy and sway." A planter-authored novel depicted a black mother "requesting" that an overseer take her daughter "for his wife," with both women "chagrinned" at his refusal. Another planter spoke of sexual exploitation as "those fateful attachments that Young Men run into in the West Indies" as if the men in question took no part in the initiation. Elite white women offered similar explanations; in Jamaica they told Maria Nugent "strange stories of the influence of the black and yellow women," with one woman suggesting temptation of a biblical scale with the term "serpents." The figure of the "scheming black jezebel," cast black sexuality as naturally different from white, allowing "slaveowners to justify subjugation to a destructive social and material environment." Stereotypes were wheeled out after emancipation too to rebuff challenges to white male dominance by black women. The *Falmouth Post's* description of women protesting an eviction from the Florence Hall estate in 1859 as "prostitutes" and "profligate women" was typical.[8]

Black male sexuality was used in a different manner, but to the same ends of maintaining slavery. Omnipresent enslaver terror of rebellion was sexualized. White men assumed that if they were removed from power, white women would become victims of rapacious blacks. The

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[8] John Stewart, *An Account of Jamaica and its Inhabitants, by a Gentleman Long Resident in the West Indies* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808), 200; Anon., *Marly*, 80; George Turner to James Russell, 10 November 1791, 4/45/66 Tweedie Papers, JARD; Maria Nugent, 31 July 1801, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, 18; Henrice Altink, "Deviant and Dangerous: Pro-Slavery Representations of Jamaican Slave Women's Sexuality, c. 1780–1834," *Slavery & Abolition* 26, no. 2 (2005): 274; Hilary McD. Beckles, "Female Enslavement and Gender Ideologies in the Caribbean," in *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, 2nd ed., ed. Paul Lovejoy (London: Continuum, 2009), 171; *Falmouth Post*, 9 August 1859. On the jezebel in Jamaica, see also Barbara Bush, "'Sable Venus,' 'She Devil' or 'Drudge'? British Slavery and the 'Fabulous Fiction' of Black Women's Identities, c. 1650–1838," *Women's History Review* 9, no. 4 (2000): 761-89.

Haitian Revolution was a popular example. A beacon of nationalist hope for enslaved and freedpeople, conservatives saw it very differently. Within a year of its outbreak, the slaveholder-dominated Jamaican House of Assembly petitioned the House of Commons in Britain, warning warned that the trauma being "severely felt by the French Inhabitants of Saint Domingo" would soon be replicated in Jamaica, where "our Slaves [now] have such a Precedent of the Triumph of savage Anarchy over all order and Government." If the revolution spread, "one general Scene of Horror and Confusion. Murder, Robbery, Rape, Conflagration, would then prove inadequate Terms to depict our Calamities, as in that Event the blackest Crimes, *as if receiving a deeper Die from the Complexion of the Cruel and merciless Enemy*, would be perpetrated in the most savage and shocking Manner."[9] While white sexual violence committed on black bodies implicitly represented "order and Government," violence directed the other way signified "savage Anarchy," with sexual brutality itself racialized as the "blackest [of] Crimes." In paradoxical logic, the view that actions routinely employed by slaveholders took on a "deeper Die" when used against them staked an exclusive claim to the use of force on behalf of whites while simultaneously depicting that force as the natural province of "savage" blacks.

Thanks to a barrage of press coverage, "'the horrors of Santo Domingo' … became shorthand for the frightening prospect of black on white violence"—violence that was frequently sexual. Bryan Edward's historical narrative of the revolution, replete with images of "young women … first violated by a whole troop of barbarians, and then generally put to death," embedded black attacks on white femininity in the slaveholding imagination, becoming the "standard reference for later histories of the revolution," and other rebellions thereafter.[10] For

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9 MS 1731 Petition of Simon Fuller, Esquire, Agent for Jamaica, to the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, 4 November 1791, NLJ. My emphasis.

10 Brian Gabriel, "From Haiti to Nat Turner: Racial Panic Discourse during the Nineteenth Century Partisan Press Era," *American Journalism* 30, no. 3 (2013): 336; Bryan Edwards, *An Historical Survey of the Island of Saint*

example, Jamaican slaveholders saw the 1816 rebellion in Barbados as proof of an "attempt at the establishment of a black empire," with the commander of imperial forces claiming that participants were "reserving the [white] Females, whose lot in case of success, it is easy to conceive."[11]

Though it is unlikely that such plans were ever seriously considered—the only reference in court testimony came from a white militiaman who himself claimed to have heard it second-hand from slaves—the idea stuck. A London-based owner of slave estates in British Guiana, L. van Rossum, specifically reminded the Colonial Secretary of the fact fifteen years later in an argument against emancipation measures being debated in Parliament. Had rebels achieved freedom, he wrote, "all would have been lost, they would have killed all the whites, except the females." Though van Rossum stopped short of fuller explanation, a fellow planter to whom he showed his notes, William King, urged specificity, writing in an annotation: "What would have been done with the females? Why not state it?" The edits suggest how powerful the sexual threat of blackness was in white minds; King believed van Rossum's argument would be significantly strengthened by the allusion; van Rossum probably found the thought too disturbing to state

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Domingo, together with an account of the Maroon Negroes in the Island of Jamaica; and a History of the War in the West Indies, in 1793 and 1794 (London: John Stockdale, 1801), xx, 74; Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, 111. On fears of the Haitian revolution in Atlantic slaveholding societies, see Clare Taylor, "Planter Comment on Slave Revolts in Eighteenth Century Jamaica," *Slavery & Abolition* 3, no. 3 (1982): 243-53; Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, "The Specter of Saint-Domingue: American and French Reactions to the Haitian Revolution," in *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, eds. Fiering and Geggus, 317-38; Matthew J. Clavin, *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War: The Promise and Peril of a Second Haitian Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 55-76; Olwyn M. Blouet, "Bryan Edwards and the Haitian Revolution," in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, ed. David Patrick Geggus (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 44-58; Rugemer, "The Harrisons go to Jamaica."

[11] George Hibbert to the Committee of Correspondence of the Jamaican House of Assembly, 2 July 1816, 1B/5/14/14 Committee of Correspondence, Out-letter book of Agent in England, George Hibbert, 1814-1824, JARD; Colonel Edward Codd to Governor Sir James Leith, 25 April 1816, CO 28/85, f. 14, NAUK.

openly.[12] "Excessive fright" which gripped British Guianese whites in the 1823 rebellion was exacerbated when rumors circulated that John Hamilton, a plantation manager implicated in the plot, had decided which white women were to become wives of leading rebels.[13] Similarly, when a group of white women were abducted by Jamaican rebels in 1831, the leader of the rescue party envisioned "a revolting scene of polluting and murderous horrors."[14]

Through the British Caribbean transition from slavery to apprenticeship in 1834 proved far more peaceful than most conservatives imagined, the American Consul in Jamaica wrote repeatedly that blacks were preparing to "sweep everything like *a white or mulatto face* [off] *the island!*", making Jamaica "a second St. Domingo." He reported that white women were being encouraged to leave the island to avoid being attacked.[15] Even moderates who supported emancipation, like Sir Charles Elliott, Protector of Slaves for Demerara and Esquibio, saw in Haiti worrying proof that "the power really resides in the slave population." After the Morant Bay rebellion, many white Jamaicans remained convinced that only the brutality of its

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[12] "Notes to the Address to my Lord Goderich," [July] 1831, West Indies – British Colonies Folder, Box 10B, Miscellaneous American Letters and Papers Collection, SCRBC. For correspondence between van Rossum and King, see the British Guiana Letters Folder in the same box and collection.

[13] John Chevely, "The Demerara Rising. 1823. Extracts from the Journal of John. C. Chevely - Merchant in George Town," Box 1, British Guiana Journals, CWM/LMS Collection, SOAS, f. 14; Declaration of Paris, 29 September 1823, in BPP, *Demerara. Further papers, viz. return to an address of the Honourable House of Commons, dated 13th April 1824; (as far as it can be complied with) for copies or extracts of correspondence with the governors of colonies in the West Indies, respecting insurrection of slaves; from the 1st of January 1822 to the present time; with minutes of trials*, XXIII, 333 (1824), 54. David Brion Davis discusses the flimsiness of this evidence in *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 217. See also, Craton, *Testing the Chains*, 277.

[14] MS 878/4/2 "Statement of certain Services &c. &c. laid before Government by Governor Sir Henry Barkly, K. C. B., for its consideration," enclosed in Papers assembled by Lyndon Howard Evelyn, 1832-1868, Historic Collections, SHL.

[15] Robert Monroe Harrison to Edward Livingston, 12 August 1832; Harrison to Louis McLane, 24 July 1833; 14 November 1833, 3 December 1833, 4 February 1834, all in T31 Despatches from the US Consuls, NARA II. A planter reported a similar situation in St. Vincent eighteen years earlier, as rumors that "the plans at Barbados was [*sic*] to destroy the white male population, & keep the white women for the blacks" discouraged white settlement – E. Sharpe to William Manning, 4 April 1816, William Smith Papers, DU. On Harrison's fears of Haiti and the sexual threat of insurrection in Jamaica, see Rugmer, "The Harrisons go to Jamaica." On fears and peaceful reality of emancipation in 1834, see *Ibid*, 17, and Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 55-7.

suppression saved white women "from a fate worse than death," and prevented the island from

"conditions … equalled by those which obtained in Haiti after the French Revolution, when the

black people, after murdering all the white population under the most horrible circumstances,

practically reverted to barbarism and pure savagery."[16]

Slaveholders in the US shared these fears. Many who fled Haiti settled in cities like New

Orleans, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, bringing horror stories of the revolution with them. Some

American enslavers read letters from relatives and friends in the Caribbean that warned of

"insurrection among the Negroes" resulting from interaction with "the revolted Negroes of St.

Domingo." When rebellions did erupt in the US, memories of Haiti lent affairs an apocalyptic

tone. An uprising of over a hundred enslaved people near New Orleans in 1811 was seen as

"miniature representation of the horrors of St. Domingo." John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry

was interpreted as an attempt to "take possession of the Commonwealth and make it another

Hayti." And Images of Haiti continued to define conservative views after emancipation. Whites

established a "Conservative Party" in Butler County, Alabama in 1867 to prepare for a "death-

struggle" of "race conflict." "Looming up in the gloom," one member recalled, "appeared the

ghosts of the San Domingo massacre of 1814 and of the Nat Turner Insurrection in Virginia in

1831." Connection of these events to black sexual power in the white supremacist mind was

undoubtedly a significant motivation to act.[17]

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[16] Sir Charles Elliott, "Report Reviewing the Slavery Question, 1831-2," ff. 46, 47, MS 21220 (i) Minto Papers, NLS; William Shearer to Enos Nutall, 29 December 1865, box 2, envelope 117, folder 1, MS 209 Enos Nuttall Collection, NLJ; MS 1685 Reminiscences by the Right Hon. Viscount Elibank…, NLJ.

[17] George M. Frederickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Destiny, 1817-1914* ([1971] Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1987), 53-4; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 133-4; Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 57-61; J. Johnston to Robert Johnston, 11 March 1807, Box 44, Folder 1, Powel Family Papers, HSP; *New York Evening Post*, 19 February 1811; *Daily National Intelligencer* [Washington, DC], 2 November 1859; Hilary Abner Herbert, "How we Redeemed Alabama: A Chapter of Reconstruction History," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 85 (1913): 855; Hugh B. Hammett, *Hilary Abner Hebert: A Southerner Returns to*

So closely connected were the ideas of Haiti, black freedom, and sexual danger that just two years after emancipation, former slaveholders in the US claimed to see a second revolution in formation. When speculating upon its effects, South Carolina planter Charles Manigault recalled the "*Experiment* as a *Negro Nation*, in the large Island of '*St. Domingo*,'" after which, with "Laziness, & Vice predominating amongst" the formerly enslaved, "the Mass of these Negroes continued to sink lower & lower in Rags, Vice, & Misery." Looking at South Carolina, Manigault saw history repeating itself. "With *no moral control over* [black people] *now,*" something slavery had supposedly provided, "*their Habits & Deportment … have become Degenerate & disgusting*. They crowd together at night (*men & women promiscuously*) & *act thus* without *shame*, or *secrecy. And they en masse …* are *lapsing rapidly back to their Ancestral state of Savage Life in Africa*."[18] If, as white supremacists liked to claim, promiscuity was innate, a racial defect of "the African" that appeared when "moral control" was removed, its prevalence among the ostensibly white, who also lacked moral control, reframed their character too; no truly white man would exhibit the "degeneracy" Manigault witnessed in Haiti and the US.

Fears of black sexuality both produced and were reinforced by alarmist views in the colonial press of a dramatic increase in sexual crime after emancipation. One report of the Surrey Assize court in the *Cornwall Chronicle and County Gazette* in 1850 highlighted an "unusual amount of some one description of crime." A judge, Sir Joshua Rowe, was so alarmed by the "disgusting and revolting cases," including "five charges of unnatural offences, one of beastiality [*sic*], and five of rape," that he pondered aloud whether "the people of this country are naturally

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the Union (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976), 48. Though Herbert gives a date of 1814, the "massacre" to which he refers is probably the killing of all whites on the order of Jean-Jacques Dessalines in 1804. It cannot be mere coincidence that Arkansas' *Little Rock Daily Gazette* [AR] published accounts of Obeah-inspired "cannibal orgies" in Haiti and Jamaica so soon after emancipation came into effect (17 May 1866).

[18] Charles Manigault, "The Close of the War, the Negro, &c.," Folder 9, Subseries 2.1, Manigault Family Papers, 484, SHC, UNC.

more depraved than their fellow subjects elsewhere." Multiple newspaper issues followed suit

over the ensuing months, devoting articles to the subject of whether flogging was a better cure of

black "unnatural practices," decrying "conjugal infidelity" of the peasantry so rife that "scarcely

a week passes without some instance of faithlessness," and warning of "the growing frequency

of the crime of adultery among the working classes" as a result of obeah. Largely manufactured

by the planter class, it "constituted additional—and very graphic and powerful—proof that

freedom was not working," "squeez[ing] out much of the remaining credibility from the

missionary message" concerning eventual entry of freedpeople into the universal brotherhood of

mankind.[19] Even when refusing to blame missionaries, such reports solidified a vocabulary of

blackness around profligacy and perversion by which those missionaries would be described.

Willful misinterpretation of Radical Republican calls for political and civil equality as a

push for "social equality" of intermarriage reveals the extent to which the enslaving classes could

not understand black freedom or postemancipation white-black allegiances outside of sexuality.

Despite consistent refutations from African Americans and white allies—one freedman noted

that social equality was more likely to mean "danger of having some drunken white man at my

fireside, courting my daughters!" than black men pursuing white women—the connection

between Radicalism and "miscegenation" proved too powerful a political tool to relinquish. Even

worse than marriage was coercion; an epidemic of black sexual crime became the stock and trade

of conservative Southern journals as "white people more and more often named the political

rights of black men as catalyst to the rape of white women." In consequence of slavery's end, a

letter to the *Charleston Courier* proclaimed in 1868, "not a day passes over our heads that we do

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[19] *Cornwall Chronicle and County Gazette*, 15 January 1850, 15 March 1850; 30 April 1850, 10 May 1850; Jonathon R. Dalby, "'Such a Mass of Disgusting and Revolting Cases': Moral Panic and the 'Discovery' of Sexual Deviance in Post-Emancipation Jamaica (1835-1855)," *Slavery & Abolition* 36, no. 1 (2015): 154.

not hear of some theft, house burning, robbery, rape, or murder." The *Daily National Intelligencer* defined "NEGRO ATROCITIES—MURDER, RAPINE, INCENDIARISM" as the "FRUITS OF RADICAL RULE." Without the "proper restraint of a superior race," it claimed, true black "passions and faculties" were "bursting out" in "scores and scores" of "outrages and inhuman perpetrations" that "occur all over the South" and "extending into the North."[20]

Enslaver Sexuality in the Abolitionist Imagination

By emphasizing black promiscuity, male and female, and downplaying white sexual power, enslavers sought to answer abolitionist criticisms that had grown louder in the early nineteenth century. In this respect, McQueen's attack on Pringle was a product of the 1820s and 30s. At least as far back as Granville Sharp's writings in the 1760s, British antislavery writers had cited the sexual power slaveholders wielded as proof of the institution's "unchristian" nature.[21] But it was with the switch to immediate abolitionism that they "contended that all interracial sexual

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[20] Unnamed freedman quoted in Sarah Earle Chase to Mrs. May, 22 March 1867, Box 1, Folder 9, Chase Family Papers, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA; Hodes, *White Women, Black* Men, 175; *Charleston Courier*, 8 February 1868; *Daily National Intelligencer*, 14 September 1868 (quotations). On the increase in white accusations of rape by African Americans, especially to justify postbellum lynching, see Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race & Class* (New York: Random House, 1981), 172-201; Hodes, *White Women, Black Men*, 176-208; Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "'The Mind that Burns in Each Body': Women, Rape, and Racial Violence," in *The Power of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, eds. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 328-49; Peter W. Bardaglio, "Rape and the Law in the Old South: 'Calculated to Excite Indignation in Every Heart,'" *Journal of Southern History* 60, no. 4 (1994): 749-50; Robyn Wiegman, "The Anatomy of Lynching," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3, no.3 (1993): 446; Diane Miller Somerville, *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

[21] Granville Sharp, *A Representation of the Injustice and Dangerous Tendency of Tolerating Slavery* (London: Benjamin White and Robert Horsfield, 1769), 49, 86. See also Swaminathan, *Debating the Slave Trade*, 69; Mary Nugent, hardly an abolitionist, offered a similar view in 1802, claiming domestic slavery in Jamaica could replace the international trade if the enslaved would marry and reproduce. It was impossible unless "our white men would but set them a better example" and "a great reformation takes place on their part." As whites "of all descriptions, married or single, live in a state of licentiousness with their female slaves … neither religion, decency, nor morality, can be established among the negroes" – 8 April 1802, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, 118.

relations were the result of male force [in a] deviation from the metropolitan norm of male sexual restraint."[22]

If the black woman was a jezebel, so this logic ran, it was because slavery, which left her susceptible to a master's passions and depended on her ability to reproduce, made her so. Baptist missionary James Coultart's view of Jamaica's white population centered on this idea. They were the coarsest kind of devils," he wrote, having "cast off all restraint." There was "not a gentlemanly one amongst them, all acting as if they had but a very limited period to validate their most gross sensual appetites … The greatest part of the coloured female population and of the black too are held in the fascinating, but polluting, withering fangs of these encrusted demons." Decades after emancipation, liberals still invoked similar imagery of monstrosity; S. Copland claimed that white elites pursued blacks on plantations with "vampire genius and abominable licentiousness," imparting immoral habits to their targets in these "nurseries of iniquity." Here abolitionists made use of established discursive formulations that allowed white Europeans (and Americans) to "confront cultural differences" by justifying imperialism and slavery. If monstrosity once facilitated the "racialization of the European character" in its application to the African "other"; if it expressed anxiety concerning perceived sexual threat following abolition, it was now turned back against white supremacists. By painting enslavers as supernatural predators, abolitionists transferred to planters the responsibility for making black women "the counter-image of the mid-nineteenth-century ideal of the Victorian lady" by denying them the virtue that defined true womanhood.[23] In the process, slavery and its postemancipation remnants

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[22] Altink, "Deviant and Dangerous": 274.

[23] James Coultart to Rev. John Saffery, 8 May 1821, R13/8 Reeves Collection, AL; S. Copland, *Black and White; or, The Jamaica Question* (London: William Freeman, 1866), 59; Peter Burke, "Frontiers of the Monstrous: Perceiving National Characters in Early Modern Europe," in *Monstrous Bodies: Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Laura Lunger Knoppers and Joan B. Landes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 37;

were portrayed as incompatible with the gender norms upon which civilization rested, undermining enslaver claims of wielding a civilizing influence. It was a sympathetic message to a middle-class audience that fetishized ideals of male restraint and desexualized feminine purity.

The abolitionist message echoed throughout the Empire, casting the Caribbean colonies as the ultimate province of licentiousness, the opposite of British order, respectability, and self-restraint. The West Indies of reformer discourse were profoundly "'un-English,' aberrant spaces that required metropolitan humanitarian intervention."[24] In a typical example, Jamaica's *Christian Record* claimed that

> members of council, members of assembly, custodies of parishes, magistrates, common-councilmen, vestrymen, merchants, masters in chancery, doctors, judges, barristers, attornies [*sic*], proprietors and attornies of estates, overseers, bookkeepers, clerks, traders, whites, browns, blacks—all in short have every man his 'housekeeper'… established in open whoredom.

Adultery across racial lines was, the *Record* suggested, most prevalent among planters, of whom almost every one "systematically seduces every attractive object among his people." Reprinted by the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* in the metropole, this vivid portrayal of Caribbean immorality found a broad readership throughout liberal networks of the Atlantic world.[25]

These networks ensured that Americans understood the Caribbean's reputation as well as the British did, and American abolitionists who visited the islands helped to popularize notions

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Helen Deutsch and Felicity Nussbaum, "Introduction," in *Defects: Engendering the Modern Body*, eds. Deutsch and Nussbaum (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 8; White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?*, 30.

[24] David Lambert, *White Creole Culture*, 1. In a similar vein, see Christer Petley, "British links and the West Indian proslavery argument," *History in Focus* (2008), http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Slavery/articles/petley.html; Christa Dierksheide, "Missionaries, Evangelical Identity, and the Religious Ecology of Early Nineteenth-Century South Carolina and the British Caribbean," *American Nineteenth Century History* 7, no. 1 (2006): 63-88. On Caribbean enslavers' concerns about how they were viewed, and their attempts to portray themselves as respectable Englishmen, see Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 45; Kate Donington, *The Benevolent Merchant? George Hibbert (1757-1837) and the Representation of West Indian Mercantile Identity* (PhD Dissertation: University College London, 2013).

[25] *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 15 February 1831.

of West Indian sinfulness. US readers of James Thome and Horace Kimball's *Emancipation in the West Indies* (1838), for example, an investigation commissioned by the American Anti-Slavery Society, were reminded that in the British slave colonies, "the managers and overseers, commonly unmarried, left no female virtue unattempted … To the slaves marriage was scarcely known. They followed the example of the master." And Americans wrote of slavery at home in similar terms, showing the South effectively to be an extension of the Caribbean. "Slavery is a great system of amalgamation," one commentator claimed in a typical piece. "One undeniable effect of the licentiousness of white slaveholders" was "a mixture of color"; "in Kentucky and Missouri most of the colored children are the offspring of white fathers."[26] Testimonies by formerly enslaved women like Harriet Jacobs on the "trials of girlhood" under slavery connected with a powerful language of sentimentalism in American culture to bring Northern scorn upon Southern slaveholding. They created a similar rhetorical distance between a supposedly free, morally upright center and a slaveholding, morally corrupt periphery in need of intervention.[27]

Closing the circuit between regions, British critics of slavery turned greater attention to the US after Caribbean emancipation—their discussions of "universal concubinage," "universal prostitution," and enslavers' "licentious intercourse with female slaves" in the South read as if copied from earlier accounts of the West Indies. Thanks to novels by Mayne Reid, Mary

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[26] James A. Thome and J. Horace Kimball, *Emancipation in the West Indies: A Six Month Tour in Antigua, Barbados, and Jamaica in the Year 1837* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1838), 321; Charles Elliott, *Sinfulness of American Slavery: Proved from Its Evil Sources; Its Injustice; Its Wrongs; Its Contrariety to Many Scriptural Commands, Prohibitions, and Principles, and to the Christian Spirit; and From Its Evil Effects; Together with Observations on Emancipation, and the Duties of American Citizens in Regard to Slavery, vol. II* (Cincinnati: L. Swormstedt & J. H. Power, 1850), 65, 64. On transatlantic abolitionist print culture, see J. R. Oldfield, *Transatlantic Abolitionism in the Age of Revolution: An International History of Anti-Slavery, c. 1787-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 42-67; Rugemer, *Problem of Emancipation*.

[27] Harriet Ann Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Boston: Published for the Author, 1861) 44-8; Jean Fagan Yellin, *Harriet Jacobs: A Life* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2004), 205-6; Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 79-112; Margaret Washington, "'From Motive of Delicacy': Sexuality and Morality in the Narratives of Soujourner Truth and Harriet Jacobs," *Journal of African American History* 92, no. 1 (2007): 57-73.

Elizabeth Braddon, Olivia Fairchild, Dinah Craik, Lydia Maria Child, William Wells Brown, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Albion Tourgée, the "tragic Mulatta"—a living testament to slavery's sexual transgressions—became a staple of nineteenth-century fiction, providing a "transatlantic spectacle" that complemented travel narratives and investigations. Combined, these texts established a vocabulary of race that tied non-whiteness to sexual irregularity in both regions prior to their respective emancipations.[28]

Reformer Sexuality in the Enslaver Imagination

Though they may have sought to absolve enslaved women of the responsibility for sin, abolitionist texts reframed, but did not dispute, images of black promiscuity. Instead they solidified rhetorical links between people of color and deviance, producing unintended results in the longer term. James Morone notes that

> once slavery was finally gone, the familiar image [of sexual impropriety] would be twisted back to impeach black Americans struggling to make a new life. White leaders, snatching back their racial hegemony, found a familiar foundation on which to build their story … some abolitionists were building the foundations for future prejudices even as they thundered about the depravity of slave masters.

For example, Anthony Trollope, holder of far more conservative views on race than the average abolitionist, used the Caribbean's reputation for vice as a way subtly to criticize abolition. In his popular travel narrative, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (1859), Trollope claimed abolition had gone too far in elevating black people who "are still to us a servile race." "If any

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[28] Frederick Samuel Newell, *Newell's Notes on the Cruel and Licentious Treatment of the American Female Slaves* (London: W. Tweedie, 1864), 8. On the "Tragic Mulatta" and its international impact, see Kimberly Snyder Manganelli, *Transatlantic Spectacles of Race: The Tragic Mulatta and the Tragic Muse* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 6, 1-64; Eve Allegra Raimon, *The "Tragic Mulatta" Revisited: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Anti-Slavery Fiction* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004).

men are free" he said of poor blacks, "these men are so. They have been left without the slightest constraint or bond over them." To Trollope, as Catherine Hall notes, "a good society was one in which the classes, the races and the sexes knew their place and stayed in it." But Jamaica, "with its troubling combination of white settlement and black majority population, demonstrated through its sexual incontinence its fundamentally decadent character." Though Trollope conceded that slavery itself was immoral, he implied that freedom manifested in black sexual impropriety for which abolitionists presumably bore some blame, having removed all "constraint or bond." "To recede from civilization and become again savage," he wrote, employing a notion carrying fetishized undertones of hypersexuality, "has been to [the black man's] taste." With regression came the eruption of underlying sexual instincts. Not only would abolitionists' concessions about black habits be taken as biological fact to emphasize missionary failure, they would also provide a basis for attachment of inauthenticity to the white reformers too.[29]

This view undoubtedly shaped the outlook of American slaveholders: The *Charleston Daily Courier* encouraged Southerners to read Trollope's writings for insight on "how true the negro is to his own nature, once left to its nomadic indulgence," noting "how consistent were his developments of freedom in the West Indies with what we see here." Some of those who followed the *Courier's* advice or read *West Indies* under their own steam surely allowed Trollope's opinions of reformers as sponsors of black immorality to inform their own of

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[29] James A. Morone, *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 153; Anthony Trollope, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1859), 89, 221, 69; Hall, *Civilizing Subjects*, 219. Hall argues convincingly that Trollope actually held a more liberal view concerning race mixing than many Britons. However, while this allowed him to concede that brown people could attain respectability, he was nonetheless disturbed by black and brown women who appeared to flout English gender order (219-221). For this also, abolitionists could be blamed.

domestic abolitionists. Indeed, Trollope himself drew explicit connections between race in the

Caribbean and US in his survey of the latter, *North America* (1863).[30]

Trollope's travels and writings formed part of a transnational white supremacist network

by which the vocabulary of racialized sexual deviance was circulated throughout the Atlantic

world. Between 1806 and 1834, the *Mississippi Herald and Natchez Gazette*, *Raleigh Register*

and North Carolina Weekly Advertiser, *Daily National Intelligencer* (DC), *Louisville Public*

Advertiser (Kentucky), *Augusta Chronicle* (Georgia), *Louisiana Advertiser* (New Orleans), *The*

Liberator (Boston), and *Boston Courier* were just some of the publications that quoted or

reprinted the most virulent anti-missionary paper, the *Jamaica Courant*. In 1832, its articles on

reformers were reprinted in such volume by the *National Gazette* (Philadelphia) that the *New*

York Spectator criticized its Pennsylvanian counterpart's "unwise abuse of the Missionaries and

Clergymen of other sects than that of the Church of England." This commentary was in turn

reprinted in the *Observer & Telegraph* of Hudson, Ohio, ensuring that opinions on the

missionary's moral habits reached an ever greater American readership.[31] The fact that other

conservative journals like the *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette*, *Cornwall Courier*, and *Cornwall*

Chronicle were also excerpted on the North American mainland reveals a distribution of anti-

reformer writings potentially vast in breadth. It is hard to imagine that attacks on the

missionary's racially inauthentic sexual habits did not inform the American reaction against

white liberals closer to home.

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[30] *Charleston Daily Courier*, quoted in Matthew Pratt Guterl, *American Mediterranean*, 154-5; Trollope, *North America, vol. I* ([1863] Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2008), 67. On Trollope's views of American abolitionists, see John Halperin, "Trollope and the American Civil War," *Clio* 13, no. 2 (1984): 149-55.

[31] *Observer & Telegraph* [Hudson, OH], 5 April 1832.

What can be said decisively is that the regions shared an image of sexually deviant

blackness upon which the reframing of white reformer conduct could be based, and that Trollope

was far from the only author whose arguments concerning racial traits in the West Indies were

taken up in the US. Amid references to a "house of entertainment kept by a mulatto female,"

American racial scientist Samuel George Morton's Caribbean journal spoke of blacks in

Barbados as "singularly uncouth in their deportment. The women [are] I suspect degenerate to

the last degree; to which the philanthropist will justly reply, that these are the unavoidable

attributes of slavery; and that to improve the condition of the negro, we must first remove his

bonds." But while Morton conceded the point abolitionists made between slavery and black

licentiousness, he held little faith in emancipation to improve rather than exacerbate innate

tendencies. Morton's importance to racial science, Bruce Dain suggests, rests on invention of the

"idea that human diversity had a biological basis and could not be altered in any foreseeable time

span and that racial groups stood in a hierarchy of value, with black people on the lowest rung. In

other words, race was a fixed entity and racial inferiority a fact." Thus, Moreton could assert

with certainty in his most famous American publication (published in London simultaneously)

that Caribbean travels had revealed the unbending nature of "the Negroes" to be "fond of their

amusements, in which they engage with great exuberance of spirit; and a day of toil is with them

no bar to a night of revelry."[32]

Morton's disciples in the "American School" of Anthropology that developed in the

during the first two decades after British Caribbean emancipation took his ideas further, pitching

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[32] Samuel George Moreton, Caribbean Journal, f. 5, Samuel George Moreton Papers, APS; Bruce Dain, *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 198; Morton, *Crania Americana; or, a Comparative View of the Skulls of the Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America: To Which is Prefixed an Essay on the Varieties of the Human Species* (Philadelphia: J. Dobson, 1839), 87.

them in plainer language in support of polygenism. In a tribute to Morton published in 1849 in both Philadelphia and London, Josiah Nott and George Gliddon stated that "history affords no evidence that education, or any influence of civilization that may be brought to bear on races of inferior organization, can radically change their physical, nor consequently, their moral, characters." Combining Morton's "insights" with those of British scholar James Cowle Prichard's studies of South Africa, these men, who would define American proslavery science, asserted that "Tribes having what is called the Negro character … are the least civilized. [They] are the most savage and morally degraded …." Moderate improvements might be made by white discipline (i.e. slavery), and just as people like Manigault (who almost certainly read these texts) would later claim, Nott and Gliddon argued that "when released from restraint, as in Hayti, [blacks] sooner or later relapse into barbarism" of sexual excess.[33] The idea that liberalism unleashed innate black depravity found academic legitimacy in the US, but had firm roots in the Caribbean plantations Morton visited.

Ironically, Prichard, in contrast to Morton, Nott, and Gliddon, was a monogenist. Indeed, he founded the Ethnological Society of London (ESL) in 1843, the organization from which the Anthropological Society of London would break in 1863 specifically to propound the opposite view of polygenism favored by the "American School."[34] But the fact that Prichard's views on the "Negro character" could be appropriated by polygenists, that Prichard even spoke with authority of distinct characteristics among different racial groups, shows the underlying white

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[33] J. C. Nott and George R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind: Or, Ethnological Researches, Based Upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures and Crania of the Races, and upon the Natural, Geographical, Philological, and Biblical History*, 7th ed. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855), 189; James Cowle Prichard, quoted in Nott and Gliddon, *Types of Mankind*, 189, 461.

[34] Efram Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813–1871* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 21-52, 109-46. On the ideological similarities between the American School and the ASL, see Paul Erickson, "Racial Determinism and Nineteenth Century Anthropology," *Man* 9, no. 3 (1974): 489-91.

supremacy of even the most "liberal" scientific views in the nineteenth-century. The point here is not to judge which group or individual was more or less progressive, but to show how fully developed and deeply enmeshed the transatlantic white supremacist network was; even those whom historians distinguish from the worst racism absorbed and widely propagated a language of blackness that included notions of "moral degradation."[35] It was spoken in Britain, its colonies, and the US by monogenists and polygenists, supporters of slavery and abolitionist opponents, alike. Regardless of whether the traits assigned to "the Negro" or "the African" were said to be products of environment or nature—even the most radical white abolitionists accepted black inferiority as a temporary condition until slavery's effects were fully removed—the fact that black people were believed to behave *typically* in certain ways that contrasted with normative white conduct allowed imposition of inauthenticity by ascribing these "black" behaviors to ostensibly white people.

As if to prove the point, members of the Anthropological Society of London openly stated that they cared less about the origins of racial difference than the fact that clear difference existed. In his inaugural address, founder James Hunt claimed that "by whatever means the Negro … acquired his present physical, mental, and moral character, whether he has risen from an ape or descended from a perfect man, we still know that the Races of Europe have now much in their mental and moral nature which the races of Africa have not got." He developed his views on black moral tendencies in a presentation entitled "On the Negro's Place in Nature" ten months

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[35] For sympathetic readings of Prichard's racial theories, see Hannah Franziska Augstein, *James Cowles Prichard's Anthropology: Remaking the Science of Man in Early Nineteenth Century Britain* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999), xiv; Gregory D. Smithers, *Science, Sexuality, and Race in the United States and Australia, 1780s-1890s* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 44-69. Chris Manias argues that passing judgment on the worst offenders obscures the full impact of science on race in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – *Race, Science, and the Nation: Reconstructing the Ancient Past in Britain, France, and Germany* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 10-11. See also, Stoler, "Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth," *Political Power and Social Theory* 11 (1997): 183-206.

later, in November 1863. "Their life is a *purely* sensual one," he proclaimed, defined by "promiscuous concubinage" and "utter abnegation of that which we consider to be moral law." Expanding the scope of his lecture to US, Hunt commented on "striking proof" that blacks there were on moral as well as all other grounds "inferior to the white man."[36]

Captain Bedford Pim's celebrated lecture before the ASL on the "Negro in Jamaica" reinforced many of Hunt's arguments. He wrote of the "abandoned profligacy of the colored races" and "degraded position of the negress," described Port Royal and Kingston as "sinks of iniquity," and warned that "the unchecked depravity of the negro crops out on every side, details of which would be quite unfit for publication, and which must be seen to be believed." As the lecture was made to exonerate Eyre for his actions at Morant Bay, Pim attacked the Jamaican Governor's liberal adversaries, blaming them for the island's moral character. Despite the missionaries' supposed dedication, "Religion struck [him] as being at a very low ebb everywhere" on the island. He implied in none too subtle terms that Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) secretary and accused (by Eyre) Morant Bay conspirator Edward Underhill had transgressed boundaries of racial division and moral decency when visiting the island. Underhill "met with nothing but flattery from the negroes," Pim claimed, but did not mix with "the higher classes," i.e. whites. True whites of the planter class, whom Pim counted as friends, "cordially agreed with Mr. Anthony Trollope in 'hating Baptists like poison,' and would as soon think of admitting them to social intercourse as of allowing their black servants to drink at table with them." In Pim's world of discrete and hierarchically organized races, Underhill's exclusion from white company revealed his true racial character. His relationships with black people were even

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36 James Hunt, "Introductory Address on the Study of Anthropology," *Anthropological Review* 1, no. 1 (1863): 3; Idem, "On the Negro's Place in Nature," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London* 2 (1864): xlix, xxvii.

more damaging; Baptists and their allies in the metropole were "negrophilists" and "Negro-maniacs of Exeter Hall," implying sexual interest across racial lines that mirrored the "unchecked depravity" of their non-white paramours.[37]

When American white supremacists came to define carpetbaggers, therefore, they were already engaged in a conversation concerning black sexual conduct through institutions like the ASL and voluminous transatlantic newspaper and scientific print cultures. Writing just as emancipation came into effect in the US, Pim illustrated the connections between black populations of America and the West Indies by quoting Southern proslavery ideologues like George McHenry to reveal "the inferiority of the negro when removed from control … of the white man." This in turn led to yet another discussion of Haiti, the dire omen that shaped white fears of black sexuality throughout the Atlantic. The same lecture that quoted Southern defenders of slavery and expressed support for the Confederacy found an American readership. The membership rolls of the ASL, to whom its publications were distributed, included Southern historians of the Confederate Lost Cause like Albert T. Bledsoe, Secretary of the Confederate Diplomatic Commission to Paris, Henri Vignard, Confederate soldiers J. Valentine Smedley and Hamilton Hulcee, and Confederate surgeon Frank Alexander Ramsay.[38] They too could take inspiration from Pim's discussion of the Baptists.

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[37] Bedford Pim, *The Negro and Jamaica: Read Before the Anthropological Society of London, February 1st, 1866, at St. James' Hall* (London: Trübner & Co. 1866), 31, 34, 35, 38.

[38] *Ibid*, 22, 23. Hunt, and attendees at his lecture, also expressed admiration for the Confederacy in "On the Negro's Place in Nature," xvii, liv. See also the American edition: *The Negro's Place in Nature* (New York: Van Evrie, Horton & Co., 1864), 5, 24, 25. The strength of white supremacist sentiment in Britain by the time of Morant Bay is revealed in the popularity of Pim's lecture. The ASL have to rent a much larger venue than normal to accommodate the massive number of attendees (2 January 1866, A3.1 ASL Minutes of Council, ASL Collection, Royal Anthropological Institute, London [RAI]). Even then, requests came in for yet more tickets on behalf of friends. After the lecture, more letters eagerly requested a published copy to distribute to friends and congratulated the ASL on its discussion of the "negro question" – see A 5/269 Thurston Davis to ASL, 31 January 1866; A5 John Langdon Down to ASL, 29 January 1866; A 5/217 M. I. Clifford to My Dear Blake, 9 March 1866; Joseph Barnard Davis to James Hunt, 28 January 1866; A5/271 George Dilby to Carter Blake, 27 January 1866, all in A5

While Pim looked to McHenry, Hunt looked to John Van Evrie, an even more influential pro-slavery American writer, for insight and support. Van Evrie published the American edition of Hunt's *The Negro's Place in Nature*, and Hunt quoted Van Evrie's writings on the US throughout. In turn, Van Evrie used Jamaica, "rapidly drifting to the condition of Hayti" following emancipation, as evidence in his own condemnation of "amalgamation [that] can never occur in the South." Suggesting that Van Evrie had read and absorbed the ASL's view of missionaries, he described a Caribbean of correct moral and economic order when "controlled by the brains of the white man," but now returned to a "normal savagery" by a "fatal enterprise … under the mask or in the name of religion and philanthropy."[39] The connection between abolitionism and sexual degradation was further developed by Van Evrie in his popular 1864 pamphlet on the dangers of interracial sex, *Subgenation*, in which he accused Northern abolitionists of transgressing the "simple physiological law running through all organic life": "*the mixing of varieties of the same race improves the offspring, while the mixing of distinct species produces an inferior type, which, if not at once a hybrid, rapidly tends to extinction*." "Abolitionism and Miscegenetic" doctrines went hand-in-hand.[40] In short, white reformers were engaging in and encouraging typically black sexual practices. Clearly, the scientific conversation on black and reformist moral conduct crossed national borders to shape Britain, the Caribbean, and US. It centered on two different but often intertwined habits: promiscuity and miscegenation.

Letters to the Anthropological Society of London, ASL Collection, RA. Listeners were obviously won over by Pim's views on blackness, Baptists, and Eyre; the lecture ended with three cheers for the Governor, "loudly called for, and responded to most enthusiastically" (*Negro and Jamaica*, 72), and at least twenty-five ASL members contributed £167, 10s to Eyre's legal defense. Information on members and their contributions was gathered from the database compiled by Sarah Walpole at the RAI with help from Jack Webb.

[39] Hunt, *The Negro's Place in Nature*, 14, 21; J. H. Van Evrie, *White Supremacy and Negro Subordination; or, Negroes a Subordinate Race, and (so-called) Slavery its Normal Condition* (New York: Van Evrie, Horton & Co., 1868), 55, 154, 160. Van Evrie even argued that "the total slaughter of the white people of Jamaica would have been merciful in comparison to that forced upon them by the abolition of 'slavery'" (155)

[40] John H. Van Evrie, *Subgenation: The Theory of the Normal Relation of the Races; An Answer to "Miscegenation"* (New York: John Bradburn, 1864), 19, 5-6. The text quotes Morton and Nott (11, 15, 21).

Promiscuity and Hypersexuality

As the Pringle-Prince case shows, a tradition of defining abolitionists by "black" sexual

behaviors was already well established when Hunt and Pim gave their lectures in London and

Van Evrie elaborated upon them across the Atlantic. In both moments, the discourse served a

tactical purpose. Just six years before McQueen authored the *Blackwood's* article, he confronted

the notion that Caribbean "lasciviousness" existed in absolute opposition to respectable

metropolitan culture. "That there is more licentiousness than should be in the West Indies, I do

not mean to deny," he wrote, but

> Is there no licentiousness, no degrading, disgusting, promiscuous intercourse
> between the sexes in Great Britain [?] Is it all confined to the West Indies? No! …
> a London Society, if they were to take their stand in Fleet Street or Cranbourne
> Alley, would in one hour in any evening see more disgusting public scenes of
> licentiousness, vice, misery, and degradation, than they could perceive … in
> twelvemonths, in all the West India Colonies.

While just as unwilling to place blame for "promiscuous intercourse of the sexes" on Caribbean

enslavers as he would be in 1831, McQueen's 1825 argument placed the black female sex drive

on a par with that of its white working-class British counterpart. It was a familiar refrain of

slavery's defenders in the 1820s to talk of sexual excesses "perpetrated in the West Indies as well

as in Westminster."[41] But in 1831, when emancipation seemed far more likely, McQueen took a

different tack that would define the period analyzed; where once he denied significant difference

between the sexualities of black and white women, now he emphasized it, playing up black

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[41] James McQueen, *The West India Colonies: The Calumnies and Misrepresentations Circulated against them by the Edinburgh Review, Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Cropper &c. &c., Examined and Refuted* (London: Longman, Hurst & Co., 1825), 285; Alexander Barclay, *A Practical View of the Present State of Slavery in the West Indies; or, An Examination of Mr. Stephen's "Slavery of the British West India Colonies:" Containing More Particularly an Account of the Actual Condition of Negroes in Jamaica* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1826), 100.

stereotypes to impugn Prince and Pringle. The abolitionist desire to transgress lines of race and matrimony was now evidence of too close contact with the contagious immorality of blackness.

In the conservative Caribbean narrative, missionaries could at once exhibit "black" habits of sexual promiscuity and cause them. In the aftermath of the 1831-2 "Baptist War" rebellion, the *Jamaica Courant* labelled the missionaries "promiscuous preachers." The *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette* followed suit a day later, using the same exact phrase. Just as it had in Haiti, rebellion in Jamaica was inseparable from unrestrained sexuality. Though less immediately threatening than the black rebels of Bryan Edwards' narrative, the missionary's adultery nonetheless contravened social order, placing him in the same frame as the black people he sought to civilize.[42]

If planters could claim the position of victim in sexual relationships with seductive people of color, they could distance themselves further from blame by painting missionaries as responsible for enslaved peoples' sexual wiles. Anthony Davis claimed sectarians, "panders of the Negro's passions," encouraged congregants to raise money for chapels "by the prostitution of their persons." In some tales of this kind, a missionary's abilities were so potent that just a few words were sufficient to corrupt a black woman, much as a black woman could in turn influence an upstanding white planter. John Smith, the missionary accused of inciting the 1823 British Guiana uprising was said to command such powers. Writing amid the abolition debate in 1831, just three months before rebellion would erupt in Jamaica, the Tory stalwart *John Bull* claimed that Smith once bought a slave, Kitty. Under Smith's roof, "the *Reverend* Gentleman's teachings, it appears, literally turned the woman's mind, and she became so crazy as to commit indecencies in the presence of MRS. SMITH, such as we cannot venture here to describe." Though John

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[42] *JC*, 6 January 1832; *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette*, 31 December-7 January 1832.

"endeavoured to correct this indelicate habit, in which [Kitty] indulged whenever she saw MRS. SMITH," he "could not cure her of her vicious propensities," and sold her on. Implying that the racial defect was biological rather than environmental, that Smith had awoken some dormant but powerful instinct towards sexual impropriety, the author noted that "whenever she accidentally met MRS. SMITH" thereafter, "KITTY renewed the indecent practice which the missionary had in vain attempted to cure."[43] Only Mr. Kelly, Kitty's new owner, could sufficiently suppress the wayward girl's nature, revealing the difference between a political ideology and vision of whiteness that encouraged indecency and a conservative counterpoint that controlled it. It seemed that only slavery could keep a black woman's hypersexual inclinations in check.

To white supremacist, examination of a missionary's flock provided clear insight on his character. "Where will our readers imagine we were last evening?" asked the *Jamaica Courant:*

> [W]e were at the Methodist Chapel on the Parade of this City. The Chapel was full, but the congregation consisted chiefly of women of a certain age – few young ladies among them! On our appearance in the loft, every lady's bonnet was slued towards us but anchorite as we are known to be, the glances from eyes of Stale Maidens affect us not; but we must be permitted to express our astonishment at an exhibition.

Though ostensibly more a condemnation of the congregation than its leader, the passage spoke volumes about the kind of morality evangelical Christianity fostered. If reformers could describe plantations as "nurseries of iniquity," the *Courant* responded in kind about sectarian houses of worship, some of the few places on the islands beyond planter control. If slavery was pitched as the source of social order and decency, missions had to be the opposite. By depicting worshippers seeking sexual attention, the article implied that missions fostered promiscuity and

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[43] Anthony Davis, *The West Indies* (London: James Cochrane, 1832), 26; *John Bull*, 9 September 1831. Altink, "Deviant and Dangerous," argues that Davis portrays black promiscuity as "acquired" from missionaries rather than innate (273). To my mind, "the Negro's passions" to which missionaries pandered implied instead a pre-existing nature that missionaries call forth, meaning Davis fit with broader white supremacist views of the time concerning natural black deviance.

extramarital sex ("stale maidens" presumably being unwed). Perhaps the preacher encouraged them; just nine days earlier the same paper published a letter connecting McQueen's accusations against Pringle to a typical married missionary in Jamaica who "become[s] the promoter of *concubinage*."[44] While journalists could portray themselves as "anchorite" in refusal to be seduced, the *Courant's* readership was unlikely to believe the same of a missionary.

Even with emancipation well established, the reputation of Baptist missionaries remained a subject of scorn. Members of John Henderson's congregation who protested the results of 1849 elections in Trelawney were described by the *Falmouth Post* as "a number of loose women." More than a decade after emancipation, missionaries were still said to encourage social practices in contrast to their professed doctrines, and to corrupt the separation of spheres essential to Victorian expectations of gender.[45] In the 1860s, as the Pim lecture reveals, white supremacists were still discussing missionaries in terms of low morality and close connection to promiscuous blacks. Though the refrain was softer than it had been in the 1830s when black enthusiasm for missionary instruction was at its height, the fact that it was heard at all three decades later, when African Jamaicans had abandoned the missions in numbers and many formerly liberal whites had given up on racial equality suggests the strength of white elite desires to dominate Jamaican society, to reclaim their former status, and to remove even the smallest obstacle missionaries might pose. Furthermore, it proves the power of racialized images of sexual morality to determine levels of social power.

Promiscuity was equally informative of the carpetbagger's reputation. The *Chicago Times*, in an extension of its pro-Southern wartime view, reported an unnamed carpetbag

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[44] *JC*, 18 February 1832; 9 February 1832.
[45] *Falmouth Post*, 4 September 1849.

Congressman accused of bigamy with the assertion that that "A Radical Congress will scarcely consider this a crime … for it is simply a matrimonial application of a political practice inaugurated by the Radicals. If a member may live in one State and go to Congress from another, why may he not have two states of matrimony?"[46] Stories of the kind could justify violent resistance to reform. When several allies of the carpetbagger Marshall Twitchell were murdered in Louisiana in 1874 (see Chapter Four), Democrat papers, Northern and Southern, claimed the violence was a response to the carpetbagger's "betrayal and seduction of a young lady of a good family," not white supremacist desires to overthrow Reconstruction.[47]

Characterizations in fiction further popularized those of the press. Jonadab Leech, the carpetbagger antagonist of Thomas Nelson Page's reflections on Reconstruction, *Red Rock* (1898), is defined by the "unsavory story of the manner in which he had tried to get rid of his wife, and marry another woman." Driven by desire for wealth and power, he seeks an alliance with the Governor's daughter that "would give him complete control of the State." Though ultimately the truth is exposed and his plot foiled, his willingness to engage in bigamy proves that respectability for him is only a guise. His devotion to the Victorian family ideal becomes clear when he tells his first wife: "'I have no time to waste on you … I wish you were dead.'"[48]

Images of carpetbagger promiscuity became so popular that they even gained traction in small-town newspapers far from states under Reconstruction. In 1871, the *Weekly Arizona Miner* of Prescott described an unnamed "carpet-bag revenue officer in South Carolina" known to have

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[46] *Chicago Times*, reprinted in the *Georgia Weekly Telegraph and Georgia Journal & Messenger* [Macon], 11 January 1870. The reprint of a Northern story in a Southern journal, regardless of party lines, indicates the growing connection between regions on hatred of the carpetbaggers.

[47] The newspapers in question are the *Montpelier Argus and Patriot* [VT] and the Natchitoches *People's Vindicator* [LA] – see Ted Tunnell, *Edge of the Sword: The Ordeal of Carpetbagger Marshall H. Twitchell in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 279.

[48] Thomas Nelson Page, *Red Rock: A Chronicle of Reconstruction* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), 580, 500, 498.

engaged in bigamy. The article emphasized his status as "quite a friend to the colored people," suggesting the kind of second wife he found. Moreover, the racial identity of his abandoned first wife is left open to doubt. A letter from her describes the adulterer as a man who "tryes to make himself notable wherever he is he was a sesser of eternal revenaw before he wont to Kentuck" in an example of contemporary attempts to mimic black vernacular. Even if the wife was assumed to have been white, the charge of keeping multiple spouses carried racial undertones in a late nineteenth-century culture that associated the practice with "Mormon patriarchs, and Turkish harems, both of which stood as unrestrained symbols of sexual lust." The racial science examined above and its emphasis on promiscuity provided a further point of association with the "African." Similarly, when the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* ran the headline "How a 'Carpet-Bag' Congressman Married a Second Wife," views of blackness undoubtedly tinted the lens through which such a story was read. The press reflected and directed private views; Nellie Burt saw all "Yankees" who settled in Jackson, Mississippi in 1868, for example, as "pursuing pleasure or plunging into vice as recklessly as if the South had not been desolated by their rude hands."[49]

"Amalgamation"/"Miscegenation"

Within five days of the Baptist War's outbreak, the *Jamaica Courant* pointed out a supposed difference between sectarian rhetoric and practice concerning sexual morality: "There is not a set of hypocrites in the whole world equal to the pretended teacher" who claimed to inculcate chastity and monogamy. "We know that *their* morals consist in a practical, though secret

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[49] *Weekly Arizona Miner*, 7 January 1871; Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 72; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* [MO], 30 March 1879; Nelly Burt to J. C. Hyland, 22 February 1867, Chamberlain-Hyland-Gould Papers, BCAH.

contempt of their own professions"; in Shakespearian fashion, the sectarians "Play such fantastic tricks before High Heaven/ As make the Angels weep." Equally culpable, however, were political factions in Britain that supported mission work: the abolitionist movement and Whig Party. The transgression of "natural" social divisions favored by these reformers manifested, so the argument went, in transgression of moral laws and racial divisions back across the Atlantic: "We hate, indeed, the stupid *liberality* which professes no party, or will amalgamate with all." "Amalgamation," a blending of naturally distinct races was cast as the inevitable byproduct of ideologies that gave no respect to social divisions and rested on "untenable notions of bettering a class of persons they are ignorant of." Racial mixture was as much the result of metropolitan "liberality" as "conventual intimacies" in the colonies.[50]

However, with slavery still in place, West Indian publications found the moral high ground concerning interracial sex difficult to assume. Accusations like those made in the *Courant* might easily recall the sexual abuse rife on Jamaican plantations. Even when missionaries such as Charles Venning of the AMA or Methodists Walters and Rowden wed people of color, the press gave it less attention that might be expected. Perhaps because consecrated marriages actually took place, as opposed to the adulterous amalgamation common on plantations, planters let the issue lie.[51]A safer tactic was to associate advocates of black freedom with attacks on white womanhood so frequently heralded in the late slave rebellions. Anthony Davis took this course by asserting that evangelicals were known to promise that "if

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[50] *JC*, 1 January 1832.
[51] Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 205; Stewart, *Religion and Society*, 75-9. Stewart does show however that missionary societies, especially the Methodists, often looked unfavorably upon such marriages. Despite claims of belief in a universal brotherhood of humanity, "not once were [missionaries who married people of color] successful in acquiring or maintaining full standing as district missionaries. No cases are revealed of any 'respectable' Methodist missionaries marrying outside of their own color" (77). The fact that a marriage across racial lines was not respectable belies the significant link between moral character and racial association.

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free, every Negro would possess all the advantages now monopolized in the single persons of their masters—with white wives into the bargain!"[52]

Charges of abolitionist-missionary miscegenation always echoed louder therefore in British print culture than its Jamaican counterpart. There conservative writers could more easily emphasize improper black-white relationships without it reflecting their own. Just months before the McQueen-Pringle dispute went to court, *John Bull* focused on female abolitionists. When the Peckham Ladies African and Anti-Slavery Society resolved to support abolition by reporting the real effects of the institution as widely as possible, whether in "public meetings, *private conversation in the family circle*, [or] the distribution of tracts," one commentator leapt on this single seemingly innocuous phrase to highlight sexual misconduct: "There is no accounting for taste, and if the Ladies of Peckham like to make black men and their brutalities as the subjects of private conversation in their family circles, why, in the name of delicacy and decency, let them do it." In one statement, the author reminded readers of innate black male "brutality," separated abolitionist femininity from Victorian domestic ideals of familial conduct, and implied an unhealthy fascination with black sexuality among female reformers. A few months later, when a lecturer affiliated with the Anti-Slavery Society spoke at a girls' school in Lincolnshire, the same periodical pressed the point again with similar incredulity: "A lecture, of two hours and a half, descriptive of the characters, habits, and peculiarities of black men, seems to be an odd sort of entertainment for the young ladies of a boarding school."[53]

By August, attacks of this kind formed a trend, as the magazine next assailed the Ladies Anti-Slavery Society for the Emancipation and Relief of Negro Slaves for Battersea, Clapham,

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[52] Davis, *West Indies*, 26.
[53] *John Bull*, 6 February 1832, 2 July 1832.

and their Respective Neighborhoods for "philanthropy" toward black men that appeared "somewhat startling in these days of delicacy and decorum." Riffing on the society's statement that slavery was "'entirely opposed to the Spirit of that Gospel whose pervading principle is LOVE,'" and which "'commands us to do unto others as we would they should do to us,'" the author could only "presume they mean 'now we have made you free, you may make free with us.'" Having already sinned against idealized gender roles by engaging in public political work—leaving "stockings undarned, their children unnursed, and their husbands' dinners uncooked"—they now sinned against the racial order. In the pro-slavery narrative, such determined interest in a race defined by sexual promiscuity must denote similar predilections in the abolitionist character. Black slaves and ostensibly white reformers alike were separated from celebrated visions of white Britishness grounded in monogamy and self-restraint.[54]

Female reformers in the US were accorded similar treatment, and again the conservative press played a central role. Yankee "schoolmarms" only travelled South so that "buck niggers will welcome them with ebony arms to African couches," claimed the *Talladega Sun* in a simultaneous restatement of black male hypersexuality and white reformer's shared indulgence. Political speeches claiming that female teachers bore black children and murdered them to hide the shame added weight to the public discourse. As Joe Richardson notes, "maligning the [AMA] teachers' characters and motives was a favored method of discrediting them." Teachers had to guard their reputations jealously. Sarah Stansbury refused the offer of an escort home from black male pupils—insurance against white vigilantes—because she "aimed to give these Southerners not so much as a shadow of a chance to say aught truthfully against me" regarding illicit contact

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[54] *John Bull*, 10 August 1832.

with the formerly enslaved. Similar thoughts likely motivated at least in part the decision of "Miss D.," who refused to be boarded in a black family in North Carolina.[55]

Perhaps the most vivid indictment of amalgamation predated the 1831-2 anti-abolitionist flashpoint. In 1816, as discussion of the Imperial Registry Bill in Parliament and the Barbadian rebellion enraged the pro-slavery faction, Joseph Marryat, a London based merchant (with Caribbean plantations) published one of several anti-abolition pamphlets.[56] He imagined a "Dinner of the Society for relief of Africans and Asiatics," which as a reference to the Anti-Slavery Society was thinly veiled (rendered thinner by the naming of William Wilberforce, James Stephen, and Prince Saunders as attendees). Amid the entertainment, "a black man led in a white woman, with a party-coloured child, the fruit of their mutual loves. This interesting group paraded round the room as a proof of the happy result of that union of colours and races, which all true philanthropists are anxious to promote." This brand of thinking struck chords throughout the Caribbean and US. The *Daily National Intelligencer* of DC reprinted a *Jamaica Courant* article in 1823 celebrating Marryat's writings against abolition.[57]

George Cruikshank, future illustrator of Charles Dickens' novels, provided an even more vivid portrayal in his 1819 illustration, *The New Union Club* (Figure 1). Inspired by Marryat, whose son Frederick was Cruikshank's close friend, the cartoon depicted a dinner attended by

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[55] *Talladega Sun* [AL], 19 April 1870, quoted in Joe M. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1865-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 217; Ibid, 216; Sarah W. Stansbury to E. M. Cravath, 6 February 1871; S. S. Ashby to Rev. S. Hunt, 22 January 1866, AMAA, ARC.

[56] On the rebellion, Registry Bill, and criticisms of abolitionism, see Beckles, "The Slave-Drivers War"; Idem, "Emancipation by War or Law? Wilberforce and the 1816 Barbados Slave Rebellion," in *Abolition and Its Aftermath: The Historical Context, 1790-1916*, ed. David Richardson (Abingdon: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1985), 80-104; Matthews, *Caribbean Slave Revolts*, 28-57; Craton, *Testing the Chains*, 254-66.

[57] Joseph Marryat, *More Thoughts Occasioned by Two Publications which the Authors Call "An Exposure of Some of the Numerous Misstatements and Misrepresentations Contained in a Pamphlet Commonly Known by the Name of Mr. Marryat's Pamphlet, Entitled Thoughts &c.", and "A Defence of the Bill for the Registration of Slaves"* (London: J. Ridway, 1816), 99, 105; *Daily National Intelligencer*, 28 June 1823.

emancipated slaves, black radicals like Robert Wedderburn and prominent abolitionists like

Wilberforce (far left). The scene is one of violent, debauched excess in place of British order.

Drinking, brawling, and unambiguous suggestions of interracial sex reveal "a world turned

upside down." "Blacks are sensual, drunken, violent and vindictive," Marcus Wood notes. But

they are also "obsessed with the destructive pursuit of everything that is white: white

ceremonies, white sexual partners, white dress codes, white employment – in the end the print is

a gibbering assault on the very concept of whiteness itself."[58] By corrupting sacred rituals,

ostensibly white abolitionists have joined the assault.

Figure 1. George Cruikshank, *The New Union Club, Being a Representation of what took place at a celebrated Dinner, given by a Celebrated Society* (1819), 1859.0316.148, British Museum.

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[58] Jenna M. Gibbs, *Performing the Temple of Liberty: Slavery, Theater, and Popular Culture in London and Philadelphia, 1760-1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 122; Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 166-7.

Not only are white Englishmen and -women shown to have adopted traits associated with nineteenth-century stereotypes of blackness—drunkenness, promiscuity, lack of self-restraint—in the immediate term, but the inevitable future results of this Dionysian orgy are prominently displayed. Marryat's couple and their child are positioned just to the right of Wilberforce, who presides over the chaos of his creation. As visions of the nation frequently centered on the figure of the child—the symbol of its future and vehicle of its continued survival—the half-white, half-black divided baby offered a nightmarish prophesy of white Britain's downfall.[59] The joining of pure whiteness and polluting blackness, bound together in the infant's appearance, warned of the social body's appearance should abolition be achieved and abolitionist sexual desires fulfilled. "Black" behaviors already practiced by white reformers would be forever racialized, confined to biology, never to be expunged; Britain's purported whiteness would be permanently tainted. The effect is magnified in another child held by a turban-wearing black woman, positioned just behind the first couple. This baby is light with dark spots rather than divided evenly, but again the message is clear: abolitionist proclivities risk permanent alteration of the white race.

Perhaps the most forceful portrayal of inauthenticity comes in the representation of James Stephen. Several other prominent white activists, including Granville Sharp (front center), are locked in intimate embraces with black women. But Stephen, just behind and left of Sharp, reveals the most. The black woman, "portrayed in hideous simian distortion," has marked the reformer's face with burnt cork, the traditional makeup of blackface. If the white abolitionist would associate sexually with a black woman, if he would adopt the unrestrained passions of her race, if he would follow her in blurring racial boundaries, the result would be an inauthentic

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[59] On children as symbols of national-racial destiny, see Lloyd Kramer, *Nationalism in Europe and America: Politics, Cultures, and Identities Since 1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 111-113; Mary Niall Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child: Black Children and Visions of the Future after Slavery* (New York: New York University Press, 2010).

whiteness symbolized in the cork markings. In the contrast between his original whiteness and the imposed blackness lies his true identity.[60]

The ball as a venue of interracial sexual disorder recurred as a theme in the US half a century later. Charles Manigault expected the full effects of emancipation to be evident

> when *'Cuffy'* (the Beau of Ebony Belles) will be seen *Dancing with the Governor's Daughter*. When old *Mama 'Sucky,'* so highly Esteemed by her Color'd Brethren for the fine *pan-cakes* she made, will in *their opinion*, not only be received in the best society, but *courted & flattered* by distinguished *White Gentlemen. She* having generally *with her* the best drest *Young Black Ladies* in the ball room, Most *of whom carfully [sic] provided* with a *Smelling Bottle of some strong Essence*, so as to neutralize effectively any *personal effluvium*, which might spontaneously Emanate During the *Warmth of Dancing*.

Like the visions of Marryat and Cruikshanks, Manigault's understanding of black freedom was one of dangerous sexuality unleashed, with degraded whites, whether the governor's daughter or Sucky's admirers, enjoying the fruits of their activism. The anatomical detail with which Manigault described the dancers' "personal effluvium" reveals the simultaneous revulsion and fetishization of black bodies. A similar fascination defined white European understandings of Saartjie Baartman, the "Hottentot Venus" brought from Africa and exhibited in Europe just a few years before Cruikshank took on the abolitionists. The black woman who occupies the front and center of *The New Union Club* bears a resemblance to Baartman, with the same emphasis in the caricature that contemporary observers placed on "abundant buttocks."[61] Both the Cruikshanks and Manigault narratives eroticize black bodies while portraying them as unattractive,

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[60] Wood, *Blind Memory*, 169 (quotation). Wood refers to Stephen as "stern and affronted" (169), and argues that whites in the image are "victims of unbridled black hedonism" (166), making them unwilling participants in the event. While some whites certainly seem unsure, perhaps even uncomfortable, none is shown as resisting. At most it could be argued that they did not realize the full impact of their actions in unleashing black sexuality.

[61] Charles Manigault, "The Close of the War"; T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 25. On the white fetishization of Baartman, see Ibid; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 42; Carole E. Henderson, "AKA: Sarah Baartman, 'The Hottentot Venus,' and Black Women's Identity," *Women's Studies* 43, no. 7 (2014): 946-59.

emphasizing the sexual strength of black women evinced in overdeveloped physical characteristics—buttocks and "effluvium"—alongside their lack of appeal to upstanding white proslavery men. While intending to imply that only those obsessive about black freedom are motivated by sex, the level of attention paid in these scenes to black women's bodies belies well documented practices of enslavers that Manigault and Cruikshank sought to obscure.

Fears over what Southerners called "miscegenation" after the Civil War have been well documented by scholars, with particular emphasis placed on accusations of rape made against black men as a justification for the lynching epidemic that gripped the US during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras. Less attention has been paid to how participation in miscegenation reflected on the white reformer. Just as conservative British-Caribbean print culture emphasized this form of sexual transgression, so did its US counterpart. The governor of Manigault's imagination who allows his daughter to be courted by "Cuffy," likewise the white gentlemen who dote on "Mama Sucky," are undoubtedly framed as Northern. After all, as one former Confederate Congressman wrote, when it came to the "miscegenation of the races" that threatened "civilization," with the "people of the North," "*and not with us, lies the fearful responsibility.*" If there was any doubt that only a Yankee could foster a culture in which the lines of race were crossed with such ease, Manigault discussed the white Northern officers who oversaw military occupation of South Carolina in distinctly racialized ways. General Daniel Sickles, for example, exhibited "great interest with the immense low population in New York"— which Manigault elsewhere defines primarily by its black inhabitants. Sickles is repeatedly referred to as a "Satrap," a governor of ancient Persia, calling up Orientalist images of sexual decadence. And his attitude toward the South is compared to the rapist, the black figure that

preyed on white women in the unreconstructed Southern mind; he "forced the People to submit to humiliations of *all kinds,* which they were powerless to resist."[62]

Professional racial theorists aligned with Manigault's amateur efforts. On the American side of the white supremacist scientific network, Van Evrie was especially prominent. His pamphlet on miscegenation portrayed it as particularly Northern liberal habit, because Yankees failed to grasp the dangers of race mixing: "That which abolitionists call a 'foolish prejudice' against negroes is a God-implanted instinct, running through all forms of creation, to preserve intact its own distinctive organism." Contravening the principle meant denigration of the white race, and it had already begun: "Ever since the North abolished subgenation [for miscegenation], her statesmen have been slowly but surely degenerating." Like the British-Caribbean context, this argument constituted a deliberate reversal of charges made against enslavers during slavery, and an about-turn of the white supremacist's own preemancipation position. The principal antebellum Southern attitude was willful communal ignorance; "interracial sex became scandalous," Joshua Rothman notes, "only when it was made public, meaning that whites involved in such liaisons had to rely on others to adhere to a cultural code of public silence."[63] When the whites in question were opponents rather than supporters of slavery, however, the more publicity the better.

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[62] Manigault, "The Close of the War"; J. G. Ramsay to Maj. William M. Robbins, 4 November 1867, Series 1.2, Folder 12, 1568 J. G. Ramsay Papers, SHC, UNC. Sickles' reputation for frequenting "brothels that catered to interracial sex" in New York remains part of popular history. See Thomas Keneally, *American Scoundrel: The Life of the Notorious Civil War General Dan Sickles* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002), 6. On sexual decadence as in Orientalism, see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* ([1978] New York: Vintage, 1994), 167, 188, 309; Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation* (London: Psychology Press, 1996).

[63] Van Evrie, *Subgenation*, 21, 35; Joshua D. Rothman, "James Callender and Social Knowledge of Interracial Sex in Antebellum Virginia," in *Sally Hemmings and Thomas Jefferson: History, Memory, and Civic Culture*, eds. Jan Ellen Lewis and Peter S. Onuf (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), 96.

The press took up the task with gusto, popularizing the views of Van Evrie and colleagues (and through them in turn ideas propagated by British analysts of the West Indies), providing a broad base from which the carpetbagger's whiteness could be assailed. Exhibiting willful amnesia concerning slavery's sexual exploitation, postbellum white supremacists defined sex between races as a singularly black objective. One Georgian journalist noted that "when [races] become blended and hopelessly mixed … the lower grade may be improved, yet it is at the expense of the superior class." In this view, only the "less civilized" "negro" had something to gain. Despite efforts of black legislators to highlight white rape of black women, the fiction of white innocence was maintained. If a white man were to sleep with a black woman, therefore, he was not truly white at all. For this reason, the same paper could argue that the carpetbagger "polluted human records" while the Southern white would never do so.[64] Claims made of carpetbagger miscegenation at the very moment whites "methodically conjured up … the Myth of the Black Rapist," drew clear parallels between uncontrollable lusts of former slaves and their Northern instigators.[65]

The growth of social Darwinism over the ensuing three decades reinforced obsessions with maintaining biological boundaries of race, providing further ammunition for press attacks. According to this ideology, miscegenation was a retrograde step for the white race; "civilization denoted a precise stage in human racial evolution—the one following the more primitive stages of savagery and barbarism," and blacks occupied this lower rung. But the anti-Reconstruction press attributed the same status to white carpetbaggers alongside them. They were said to have gained office "on the backs of black savages," and were themselves charged with being "the

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[64] *Georgia Weekly Telegraph & Georgia Journal & Messenger*, 17 June 1869, 25 April 1871. On black politicians' discussion of miscegenation, see Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally*, 31-33; Rosen, *Terror in the Heart*, 87-175.
[65] Davis, *Women, Race & Class*, 174.

degraded instruments of barbarism." Because of the carpetbagger's devolution, the South

witnessed "cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages [and] totally

unworthy of a civilized nation." Savagery was catching, putting carpetbaggers outside of an

"advanced" racial designation.[66]

Northern Republicans were associated with miscegenation as soon as they could wield

power in the South. At the 1868 North Carolina state constitutional convention for example, a

Southern Democrat claimed "Northern leaders evidently want to force social equality …

whatever they may say to the contrary," and referred to the Radical coalition of blacks and

whites as the "mongrel connection." Newspapers concurred; the *Raleigh Sentinel* referred to a

"mongrel" convention in which "negro supremacy" and "equality in all areas" were the presiding

ideologies. The next logical step was depiction of carpetbaggers personally engaging in "social

equality"; a letter from Alabama to a Democratic paper in Indiana defined them as "a different

class of whites—such as will make themselves on a level with negroes—in a word, live in the

same house with them." A Georgia paper described Northerners in New Orleans as "soaked in

whiskey, living with negro women, and smelling of wet dogs as they elbow about the lobby

openly selling their votes." And the machinations of a carpetbagger thief described in the *New

Orleans Commercial Bulletin* were exposed by a black woman with whom he lived "as his wife

for about a year."[67]

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[66] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 25; *Hinds County Gazette* [Raymond, MS], 30 December 1874; *Daily National Intelligencer*, 8 July 1868; *Vincennes Weekly Western Sun* [IN], 7 November 1868. On the emergence and impact on Social Darwinism, see Robert Bannister, *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979); Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[67] Goodloe to Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick, 27 March 1868, Box 7, Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick Papers, DU; *Raleigh Sentinel* [NC], 8 January 1868; Mont. Patton to William A. Graham, 30 March 1868, Folder 232, 285

At times, carpetbaggers were just a single step removed from the black rapist taboo that haunted the white South. Not content with engaging in miscegenation themselves, they conspired with black men to prey on white women. The *Daily National Intelligencer* attacked Governor Henry Wells of Virginia for his "remission of the sentence of death of a negro who held the mother of a young lady living near Norfolk, while a carpet-bagger named Perkins ravished her daughter in her presence." "Read [this story] gentlemen," the author commands, "to your mothers, wives, and daughters, and ask them what they think of it and your reconstruction system." Carpetbaggers were yet another menace to white feminine virtue.[68]

Perhaps the most sexually deviant, racially inauthentic carpetbaggers were those of Thomas Dixon's *The Clansman* (1905). Chief among them is Austin Stoneman, a thinly veiled disguise for Radical Republican Philadelphia Congressman Thaddeus Stevens, whose sexual practices have corrupted his claims to whiteness. His actions threaten to taint the entire nation as well: his orchestrated push for black suffrage represents an attempt to "Africanize the 'conquered provinces.'" One key step is the introduction by Radicals he appoints of bills "to permit the intermarriage of whites and blacks; and to inforce social equality." Moreover, his imposition of black supremacy results from a sexual relationship with "mulatto" housekeeper, Lydia Brown. He confesses at the novel's close to falling "victim to the wiles of the yellow vampire who kept my house." Pitched "into the black abyss of animalism," he has regressed in evolutionary terms; doubt has been cast on his very humanity by his miscegenatory contact. He is closer to blackness than any character, save "mulattos" and the formerly enslaved.[69]

William A. Graham Papers, SHC, UNC; *Vincennes Weekly Western Sun*, 19 June 1868; *Georgia Weekly Telegraph and Georgia Journal & Messenger*, 25 April 1871; *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, 25 September, 1865.

[68] *Daily National Intelligencer*, 20 October 1868.

[69] Thomas Dixon Jr., *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* ([1905] Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 136, 268, 371. Though concentrating on mulatto characters Lydia Brown and Silas

Works of fiction could just as easily invite charges of miscegenation as make them. Carpetbagger Albion Tourgée's first novel, *Toinette* (1874), was cited by North Carolina's Democrat press as proof of his interracial desires. The *Charlotte Observer* saw the novel as evidence that his purpose was to "POPULARIZE INTER-MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE RACES." Through his "thrilling negro social equality romance," which exhibited "all the revolting features" of British and American abolitionist fiction like "Harriet Beecher Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' and Capt. Mayne Reid's 'Quadroon,'" Tourgée supposedly "illustrate[d] the intimacy and sympathetic bonds that *ought* to exist between poor white people and the negroes."[70]

A relationship between enslaver, Geoffrey Hunter, and the enslaved Toinette, a woman "scarcely of darker integument than her … master," forms the central plot, and the story concludes somewhat happily with the pair married in a "cozy home." But to claim the novel celebrated miscegenation was a stretch. Rather, the relationship is best viewed as an allegorical representation of Tourgée's philosophy at the time concerning postemancipation racial harmony. Under slavery, Hunter's interest in Toinette is defined by sexual desire as much as his aim to "fit her for freedom" through education. Written amid Tourgée's Reconstruction-era labors, the novel suggests that the slaveholding class owes a debt to freedpeople payable only by providing education. However, only after that education allows Toinette to live independently, raising the couple's child, and passing as white—a symbol of social and intellectual elevation—in the

Lynch, Mason Stokes argues that *The Clansman* reveals fears concerning a loss of whiteness in *The Color of Sex: Whiteness, Heterosexuality, & the Fictions of White Supremacy* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 133-57.

[70] *Charlotte Observer* [NC], 24 September 1874. Tourgee's own scrapbooks (1883-4) reveal that the *Observer's* charges were reprinted in the *Raleigh Sentinel*, though no date is provided – see #2428, Albion Winegar Tourgée Papers, Chautauqua County Historical Society, Chautauqua, NY [AWTP – viewed on microfilm at Davis Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]; Richard N. Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers: A Reinterpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 284-5.

North; only once Hunter is blinded fighting for the Confederacy during the Civil War—an embodiment of Lincoln's assertion that "every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword"—are they reunited. Once Hunter must rely on Toinette for physical care as much as she relied on him for intellectual nourishment; once his weakness determines that "the elements of sexual coercion underwriting master-slave relationship" to quote Sharon D. Kennedy-Nolle, no longer define the couple; once the white elite relinquishes his dominant position, does Toinette attain "social and sexual equality" with Hunter.[71]

Even then, this new co-existence is fragile; while Toinette nurses Hunter at a Virginia Field Hospital, he momentarily treats her as the slave she once was to him, revealing her racial identity to the public. Her hard earned post-slavery status is "brushed away in a second …. The free, white, intelligent, beautiful Mrs. Hunter was lost for the moment. In her stead was the poor, abject, timid, pretty 'nigger gal.'" Thus, contrary to the *Charlotte Observer* and *Raleigh Sentinel*, the fulfillment of miscegenatory desire is far from celebrated in the novel. Being subjected to it defines the status of "nigger gal" for which, Tourgée shows, Toinette is too good. It is a badge of slavery to be shed, along with the designation of "mulatto," by leaving the South. Moreover, Hunter is punished for making her his concubine and fighting in defense of an institution reliant on sexual abuse. Toinette's ultimate acceptance of her racial identity is only made possible by the end of the coercive relationship in favor of a (supposedly) equal marriage. In the author's utopian imagination, passing is no longer necessary because slavery's unequal sexual power relationships are gone. While under the old system a single drop of black blood was significant

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[71] Albion Tourgée (as Henry Churton), *Toinette: A Novel* (New York: J. B. Ford & Company, 1874), 26, 509, 51; Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address," (1865), in *Speeches and Writings*, 686; Sharon D. Kennedy-Nolle, *Writing Reconstruction: Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the Postwar South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 110; Theodore L. Gross, *Albion W. Tourgée: Critic of Society* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1963), 42.

in defining Toinette's race, color, when mitigated by education, self-sufficiency, and sexual independence, is no longer a mark of inferiority. Its insignificance is symbolized in the literal inability of the sightless Hunter, and by extension those of his class, to perceive it after emancipation.[72]

Of course, none of this mattered to Tourgée's enemies, especially those with access to a printing press. They overlooked or willfully misread the novel's nuances. Showing a longing to return to slavery's racial order, the *Charlotte Observer* article expressed outrage at how the novel "ridicules the *antebellum* laws, judiciary, and bar of North Carolina." Yet with a set of opponents so desperate to tie carpetbaggers to charges of miscegenation in any way, Tourgée can hardly have been surprised by the response his novel received. He had already been accused of miscegenatory desire when adopting a formerly enslaved woman, Adaline Patillo (see Chapter Five). The *Raleigh Sentinel's* report on the arrangement stated: "We understand that the judge formed such a partiality for a 'yaller gal'… that he prevailed on her mother to let her take her home with him and 'educate' her … very generous! Is Tourgée a married man?"[73] Whether in person or on the page, any suggestion of closeness to black people, especially in a domestic space, could be used to imply absorption of inauthentic sexual habits.

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[72] Tourgée, *Toinette*, 377-8. If the importance to Tourgée of Toinette's freedom from Hunter's lust requires further proof, it should be noted that when republishing the novel in 1881, after his hopes for Reconstruction had faded, he removed the marriage, the happy ending, and the promise of even consensual sexual contact. Instead, Toinette leaves Hunter to fend for himself, pursuing greater autonomy as a freedwoman—see Idem, *A Royal Gentleman and Zouri's Christmas* (New York: Fords, Howard, & Hulbert, 1881). Richard Current argues that Toinette evinces Tourgée's sexual desires for his adopted racially mixed daughter, Adaline, in *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 196-7. Elliott skillfully disproves this argument in *Color-Blind Justice*, 348, n. 57.

[73] *Charlotte Observer*, 24 September 1874; *Raleigh Sentinel*, 20 April 1869.

Sexual Conduct and Reformer Authority

Ironically, on the rare occasions when reformers *did* engage in behaviors of which they were so often accused, the island's elite often missed or declined opportunities to gloat. In 1839-40, the Scottish Missionary Society found itself embroiled in scandal in Jamaica. One of its agents, James Watson, appeared as a witness in a slander trial. Brought by plantation attorney and magistrate Alex Grant against Rev. John Stainsby, Anglican rector of Hanover Parish, and Samuel Oughton, Baptist missionary, the case divided the island. The accusations Stainsby and Oughton had made against Grant were considered too scandalous to publish by most newspapers.[74] Only the *British Emancipator* of London and *Falmouth Post* of Jamaica broke the silence. Even the latter had initially determined "not to throw the report into general circulation, as we fear doing so may be pernicious to the morals of society."[75]

Ultimately, the *Post* published excerpts of trial testimony in Jamaica in October 1839, providing SMS directors with their first knowledge of Watson's involvement. But it was the *British Emancipator*'s coverage that disclosed the charges, and Watson's testimony, to the broader British public, thereby threatening to undermine metropolitan support and much needed funding for the society. The *Emancipator* captured the gravity of the case when explaining the

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[74] Even the usually meticulous officers of the imperial government's surveillance machine felt unwilling to record specifics. In a confidential letter to the Colonial Secretary, Governor Metcalfe stated his "unwillingness to trouble you with the evidence taken, because whether true or false it is filthy and disgusting, and not fit to be submitted." One of the letter's readers at the Colonial Office in London, concurred, annotating the letter "disgusting" without explanation. See Metcalfe to Lord Russell, Confidential Letter, 27 March 1840, CO 137/248, NAUK. Having received a petition from the BMS, Metcalfe wrote to inquire whether the Crown should indict Grant. Although Oughton and Stainsby were defendants in the defamation case, the Jamaican Attorney General believed sufficient evidence existed to prove their original accusations against Grant. The charges were serious enough for the Colonial Government to consider risking the ire of the Assembly and local courts by indicting. Only fear that a new case would exacerbate "party spirit, the existence of which is much to be lamented" between missionaries and planters, prevented them. Officials in London expected the BMS to protest the issue, as a guilty verdict for Oughton would render the society "infamous" in reputation. The Governor considered bringing suit against Grant since at late as November 1839. See Metcalfe to Russell, no. 21, 14 November 1839, CO 137/240, NAUK.
[75] *Falmouth Post*, 24 July 1839.

rationale behind its decision to publish: "It is absolutely loathsome, and we grudge to meddle with it at all. Reluctant as we are, however, and disgusting as it will be to our readers, a sense of imperative justice to all parties … constrains us to cater a little way into the details elicited on the trial." Stainsby and Oughton accused Grant, the *Emancipator* reported, of sexually abusing several laborers on estates he managed. What seemingly distinguished this case from myriad other instances of sexual exploitation before and after emancipation was the fact that many victims were male.[76] In one example, Edward Morris testified that Grant "felt" his "privates" without consent. In a testament to how unfathomable homosexuality was to most at the time, Morris had clarified for Grant: "I am not a girl." Charles Towton experienced similar abuse, and knew of at least "five or six" "boys" who had been suffered the same. In response, Grant's lawyer argued that his client "could not have been guilty of the abominable crime imputed to him for he has a kept mistress on almost every estate for which he is concerned, and by these women he has upward of twenty children."[77]

Though perhaps the insistence on a homosexual-heterosexual binary corresponded with dominant Victorian understandings of sexual orientation, the *Emancipator*, the *Post*, and much of the abolitionist public defended Stainsby and Oughton. After all, they produced in Morris and Towton witnesses willing to back the charges, despite the considerable social stigma attached to public admission of abuse. (No discussion was made of whether the relationships with women

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[76] Homosexual abuse of slaves has garnered relatively little scholarly attention, but work that has been done suggests that it may have been more common than indicated by silences in source material. See Thomas Foster, "The Sexual Abuse of Black Men under American Slavery," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 3 (2011): 445-64; Maurice Wallace, "Constructing the Black Masculine: Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and the Sublimits of African American Autobiography," in *Subjects and Citizens: Nation, Race, and Gender from Oroonoko to Anita Hill*, eds. Michael Moon and Cathy N. Davidson (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 245-70, especially 251-5; Vincent Woodard, *The Delectable Negro: Human Consumption and Homoeroticism Within US Slave Culture*, ed. Justin A. Joyce (New York: New York University Press, 2014).

[77] This issue of the *Falmouth Post* (9 October 1839) seemingly no longer exists. But the *British Emancipator* states that the *Post* devoted forty-two columns to the case, from which its own reporting is derived (10 January 1840).

were consensual, with only men seemingly accorded the right to refuse). However, because those witnesses were black and the courts heavily favored the planter class, Stainsby and Oughton were found guilty and ordered to pay costs plus damages of £2,500 and £2,000 respectively. Unable to pay in full, Oughton was jailed for a time.

For the planters, the verdict was a resounding victory, met, so the papers claimed, with "a loud burst of vulgar triumph" when announced. In response, the BMS petitioned the government, seeking to absolve their agent from the stain brought upon his character. They considered the evidence of Oughton and Stainsby's innocence incontrovertible; the verdict could only have been reached if "Negro evidence is unworthy of credit."[78] The *Post* concurred, attacking "the demoralized [pro-planter] press of Saint James" for "denounc[ing] [Stainsby and Oughton] as individuals who deserve to be for the remainder of their lives 'outcasts from the world.'" The only shame should be attached to Grant, whom the society considered

> bankrupt in reputation—a plague spot on the community in which he lives … all the money in the world can never remove the load of infamy under which he labours. Write what they like … his friends will never be able to establish his innocence of the filth and abominable practices which have been so clearly and substantially proved against him.… [A]fter the exposure of his disgusting propensities … a society must indeed be lost to all sense of decency and propriety which could receive him as one of its members.[79]

Even for an island famous for its "licentious" social atmosphere, the scandal was massive. The BMS reaction shows how desperate missionaries were to appear unconnected with it unless on the side of indisputable righteousness. Thus, when the SMS discovered that Watson had supported Grant at the trial, they grew frantic. "In the whole course of my Correspondence

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[78] *British Emancipator*, 10 January 1840; "Resolutions of a meeting of the Baptist Western Union, Mount Carey, 14 August 1839," encl. in Metcalfe to the Marquis of Normandy, no. 30, 1 October 1839, in BPP, *Papers Relative to the West Indies. 1840. Part I: Jamaica* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1840), 65-6.

[79] *Falmouth Post*, 24 July 1839.

with [you and] other brethren in Jamaica," William Brown, corresponding secretary, wrote to Watson, "I have never had so painful a Communication to make." Not only had directors read the press coverage, but their attention had been called to it "from several quarters" of the public. "The whole complexion of the case, as stated in both papers, is calculated … in persuasing [*sic*] them to make a very unfavourable impression regarding you; and through you to injure the great Cause in which the Society is engaged." Fears of losing favor with the Christian public seemed justified when the *Liverpool Mercury* highlighted Watson's role, stating that a Christian missionary's complacency about Grant's habits "speaks volumes as to the state of society in Jamaica." The *Emancipator* could not believe that SMS secretaries "who are even now about to make their appeal to the liberality of Christians in England, will continue the labours of Mr. Watson in Jamaica or any where else." In Jamaica too, the Christian community found Watson's behavior perplexing; a letter to the *Falmouth Post* asked Watson directly how "[you] could reconcile yourself to act so inconsistently?"[80]

To the society's dismay, the trial revealed that Watson had originally planned to join Stainsby and Oughton in accusing Grant, but was persuaded to take the opposite position by friends in the planter class. Worse still, Watson fraternized with such morally questionable characters at social events in which "*there was a good deal of laughing & giggling*" about Grant's conduct. The *Emancipator* placed particular emphasis on the missionary's delight, prompting the society to remind him that "although you may not be able to avoid intercourse with such men," "you should strenuously have avoided every thing like intimacy and friendship with them." On the witness stand, Watson said of Grant: "I always looked upon him as a most

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[80] Rev. William Brown to James Watson, 18 February 1840, MS 8014 Scottish Missionary Society Letterbook of the Secretary, SMS Collection, NLS; *Liverpool Mercury*, 13 September 1839; *British Emancipator*, 10 January 1840; *Falmouth Post*, 7 August 1839.

respectable member of society" with the qualification that he might make this judgment of someone in Jamaica "whom I would not consider a respectable member of society in England or Scotland." On this point, the SMS admonished, "Morals are … stable, unalterable," "not affected by lines of longitude or latitude." Though most white Jamaicans might hold to laxer ideals, "a Christian missionary might never for one moment acknowledge or countenance that false standard. It is his duty to set a firm front in opposition to it, to hold up the Scriptural Standard of morals." Failing to do so, Watson left his own whiteness open to public doubt.

Defending licentiousness as "respectable" lost the SMS ground to other societies, especially the Baptists, in contests for metropolitan support and authority over emancipation in the colonies. While missionaries rarely articulated leadership claims in terms of race when dealing with one another, they knew exhibiting difference from black congregants was crucial. If that distinction was diminished in racial terms, the power to govern diminished with it. If missions used the black reputation for licentiousness as a foil for their own conduct in justification of authority, if their agents sought to reform racialized habits and make blacks "like white people" through introduction of monogamous marriage, they had to condemn sin out of hand to appear white themselves.[81] Here Watson failed. Plantocrats would have had no such problem engaging race, but were prevented from capitalizing on Watson's misdeeds by the

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[81] Brown to Watson, 18 February 1840, MS 8014 Letter-book of the Secretary, SMS Collection, NLS; *British Emancipator*, 10 January 1840. On racial difference and sexual purity as the basis of missionary authority, see Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 235; Idem, "White Visions, Black Lives: The Free Villages of Jamaica," *History Workshop Journal* 36, no. 1 (1993): 110. Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). On immorality as proof of racial difference in imperial contexts, see James Epstein, *Scandal of Colonial Rule: Power and Subversion in the British Atlantic during the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Deana Heath, *Purifying Empire: Obscenity and the Politics of Moral Regulation in Britain, India and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

greater crimes of Grant, one of their own. His actions would have invited darker aspersions on

their claims to racial authenticity if an attack against missionaries was made.[82]

No such obstacles remained when a scandal with the potential to ruin the American

Missionary Association's (AMA) work in Jamaica developed. However, a lack of coverage in

the colonial press suggests the Association managed to keep the affair under wraps more

successfully than the SMS. In 1849, reports began to circulate in private correspondence

concerning the peculiar beliefs and practices of Dr. John S. Hyde, a US-born teacher assigned to

the Providence out-station. Hyde's professed antinomianism—including beliefs that "faith was

all one needed in order to achieve salvation," and "God existed in everyone and gave individuals

the right to make their own choices"—sharply conflicted with mission principles of discipline

and improvement through instruction. "I do not believe that man can devise any plan of

preparing men for the gospel that Christ has not given," Hyde informed the AMA's

corresponding secretary, George Whipple.[83] Before his teachings could corrupt freedpeople,

however, they would influence white missionaries themselves.

By May 1850, other missionaries worried that Hyde was "in the darkness of heathenism,"

with all the racial and sexual connotations that phrase implied. "I cannot understand," one of

Hyde's colleagues wrote, "how any Christian Society can acknowledge or support [such] an

individual." Hyde's initially theoretical opposition to missionary moral codes were put into

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[82] The SMS exonerated Watson, accepting his claim that when calling Grant "respectable," "he did not mean to apply it in reference to Moral character, but only to Mr. Grant's standing in Society." The secretaries decided against a public show of support, perhaps realizing the thinness of Watson's excuse or fearing more attention on the matter and further damage to the society's standing. They did, however, seek to reassure supporters in private. See Minutes of the Scottish Missionary Society, 14 July 1840, DEP 298, no. 201 Scottish Missionary Society Minute-books, 1838-1848, SMS Collection, NLS.

[83] Barbara Fuller, "Christian Morality in 'Heathen' Jamaica: The American Missionary Association and the Case of Dr. Hyde, 1847-1858," *Journal of Caribbean History* 36, no. 2 (2002): 233; J. S. Hyde to George Whipple, 11 November 1849; Mary Dean to George Whipple, 27 May 1850, AMAA, ARC. See also Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 100-28.

practice by July. Hyde had told church members that they need not observe the ten commandments, and he too began to ignore edicts concerning adultery and coveting his neighbor's wife. By now living at the Brainerd station with AMA missionaries Harry and Lucy Evarts, Hyde, his wife, a Baptist missionary named Teal and his wife, and AMA teacher Urania Hunt all swam together naked. Hunt was alone with the male Teal while both were undressed, and she got in the bed with John Hyde in full view of another missionary, Herman Hall. "I saw her several times during that day & the next," he wrote, "and she was there [with him] most of the evening with no other person in the rooms and no lights in the rooms." Lucy Evarts "seemed to think that she was led by the Spirit to do as [Hunt] did," and her husband "allowed" Lucy "to remain on [Hyde's] bed." Hyde defended the swimming incident flimsily, noting that no proof existed of participants actually seeing one another's bodies. But he left the charges concerning Lucy Evarts, Hunt, and the bed undefended. The nearest he gave to an answer was that he "never supposed a man's morals to be in his *pantaloons* or that of a female in her *petticoats*."[84]

Exposing deep lying double standards within missionary culture, the only person punished at this stage was Hunt. The sole single woman in the scenario, she was recalled to the US.[85] "Possibly seeking to minimize scandal," Barbara Fuller suggests, the AMA claimed the departure resulted from "impaired health." Unperturbed, the Hydes and Evartses continued to live outside the mission's gender structure. In the Spring of 1851, reports flooded in to the society that any semblance of monogamy within the marriages had been abandoned. "Dr. Hyde has taken Mrs. Lucy A. Evarts to be his wife, conducts towards her as such, takes to *bed* with her, dresses in her room," wrote one missionary. Another claimed "Dr. Hyde has secretly *beaten*

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[84] Julius Beardslee to George Whipple, 29 May 1850; Herman Hall to George Whipple, 1 July 1850; J. S. Hyde to Thornton Penfield, 30 December 1850, all AMAA, ARC.

[85] Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 108, elucidates the position Hunt and Dean occupied in the mission by virtue of gender and unmarried status.

his lawful wife, & holds illicit intercourse with Mrs. Evarts, in broad daylight, *before the family & with his door wide open!* It is too horrible to be believed, but nevertheless is true."[86] John Hyde was now viewed as a "disturber of the peace & purity of families, corruptor of public morals," while Lucy Evarts had "abandoned herself to a life of infamy." In a metaphor for the racialization resulting from her actions, "A Stain – a deep, dark & foul stain [was] indelibly stamped upon her character." The AMA decided to excommunicate all four. Their annual report informed supporters that "for some time strange reports have reached us of strange views being entertained by these persons, involving vital errors in sentiment and practice," but little else was revealed to the public. Only the vague admission that they "seem to have become Antinomian perfectionists" followed.[87]

These few terse comments were probably intended to assuage US backers who heard rumors of the affair and to avoid any potential exodus of supporters. The danger was obvious to those on the inside; Hyde himself knew that "If facts were known by the churches at home the great mass of income to the societies would cease at once. To stimulate their benevolence, the society must publish encouraging things." Herman Hall concurred, writing to Whipple that there would be an outcry "*by the majority of those who contribute to the support of the mission were they acquainted with the facts as they are*." Hall would not abide people who teach "sentiments which are directly opposed to the Word of God & tend to infidelity" and "maintain that they are

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[86] *American Missionary* (September 1850): 91; Fuller, "Christian Morality": 235; Thompson to Whipple, 11 April 1851; Richardson to Whipple, 6 June 1851, both in AMAA, ARC. Other reports came in Seth Wolcott to Whipple, 10 March 1851; Thompson to Whipple, 10 March 1851, 19 June 1851; Hall to Whipple, 25 March 1851.

[87] Thompson to Whipple, 11 May 1851, AMAA, ARC; *American Missionary* (November 1850): 5; *Fourth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York: American Missionary Association, 1850), 23-4.

under no obligation to meet the expectations of the Home Comm[ittee]. and of those that contribute to support them." Neither would the AMA's benefactors.[88]

The society was seemingly determined to obscure details and minimize publicity while portraying its own conduct and those of all missionaries—Hydes and Evartses aside—as the epitome of liberal Christian whiteness. It could still be said that their employees, the annual report claimed, "continue sound in the faith of the gospel, and walk as it becometh saints." Restating the AMA's authority to enact its vision of emancipation via moral instruction, the article reassured readers that the mission would remain "an example of everything that is pure and excellent" so that "their labors may be eminently blessed to the emancipated people who have been so long ground to the earth by the oppression of man, and subjected to deep degradation." This purity, and the corruption fallen agents represented in opposition, was imagined in racial terms, as "what once had been accusations levelled against [black] Native Baptists had now become the popular gossip about the [white] American missionaries." As if to cement the connection, Harry Evarts and Mrs. Hyde had reportedly said that they held "no prejudice against color and would as freely take colored persons as any other" when seeking new partners.[89] Lines of race were crossed as easily as those of matrimony.

The relatively small size and typically rural location of AMA operations, coupled with stronger preexisting hostility toward Baptist and Methodist societies, ensured the matter never

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[88] J. S. Hyde to Penfield, 5 January 1851; Herman Hall to Whipple, 26 June 1850, AMAA, ARC.
[89] Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 124; Thompson to Whipple, 11 April 1851, AMAA, ARC; *Fourth Annual Report*, 23-4; *American Missionary* (November 1850): 5. The drama continued after the AMA severed ties with Hyde. Missionary correspondence reveals protracted attempts to evict them from Brainerd and to remove the Evarts children from their parents. John Hyde broke with Lucy Evarts when she became pregnant in 1852, but A.M. Richardson to Whipple, 21 January 1852, AMAA, ARC, reported that Hyde had taken up with other women. In 1853, Harry Evarts died in mysterious circumstances. Urania Hunt, having returned to Hyde in Jamaica then died at the same time as unnamed man. Both were buried hurriedly and without inquest, for which Hyde was briefly jailed. In all cases, foul play was suspected. Hyde supposedly returned to the US with Lucy Evarts in 1858.

pricked the ears of the Jamaican press and its proslavery American counterpart. If it had, the fallout could have been disastrous for any society, let alone one only established on the island in 1837. Considering the joy *John Bull* and the *Courant* took in depicting missionaries as sexually promiscuous, any attack for which evidence existed would have run for years. Missionaries' fears and the association's efforts to contain the story suggest the extent to which an air of immorality undermine the reformer's emancipation program.

Hyde was so dangerous because his individualist philosophy democratized moral authority, devolving it to average congregants or even those outside the church. It was the polar opposite of mission structures that concentrated authority in the male, white, British or American minister, or to a much lesser extent his wife or single female colleague. Only by virtue of training, scriptural knowledge, and more civilized habits (by which "race" was partly defined), could they claim the ability to civilize others. If the planters publicized Hyde's activities, making similarities between them and actions of black "sinners" evident, black AMA congregants might question the validity of white missionary authority. Even without that publicity, the Hyde affair weakened that authority so severely that it "allowed black Jamaicans to step in and take on leadership roles so that the mission's schools and churches would not collapse."[90] And for their part, conservative plantocrat opponents of missions would have been better able to position themselves as the truly qualified, virtuous leaders of emancipation when passing laws that required approval from metropolitan government and British public opinion.

Even in 1865, when many AMA missionaries were beginning to doubt that black Jamaicans could be civilized, fears of scandal persisted. Already having lost significant numbers

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[90] Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 101.

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of followers to the Native Baptist revival in the early 1860s, the death of one missionary, Mr. Scott, promised to potentially weaken the Brainerd station beyond repair. Fellow agent Seth Wolcott harbored "serious apprehensions for the future" even before Scott's demise. But when the will was read at graveside, and all possessions bequeathed to an illegitimate child, outrage spread throughout AMA stations. It was the perception of black congregants ready to leave the church "that Bro. Scott lived vilely & openly so," Wolcott informed Whipple, "but because he had money you and the church have winked at his sins … if you had cared half as much as you have said on the subject of bastardy, you would have reproved Scott." While again the fallout seems to have been confined within the mission, Wolcott felt that the AMA's "forces" were "weakened" by the affair, leaving room for "the enemy" to take "the occasion to be revenged."[91] Whether the "enemy" constituted white supremacists, other societies, or rivals within the mission is unclear.

The Watson, Hyde, and Scott affairs reveal how accusations of sexual impropriety could undermine missionary authority. Appearing as anything less than monogamous, restrained, and interested in keeping bloodlines pure, especially as racial scientific views of black inferiority gained currency in the mid-nineteenth century, brought to mind the very characteristics of black people whites claimed to reform. The result was not only potential loss of popular and financial support from the British public, but also the declining numbers of black Jamaicans who still looked to the missions for guidance by the 1850s. Implication in adultery, hypersexuality, and miscegenation destroyed the missionary's power as a moral example. Evangelical societies worked frantically to retain that power. But diligent efforts to portray themselves as

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[91] Wolcott to Whipple, n. d., included in September 1865 letters, AMAA, ARC.

quintessentially upstanding, morally pure, and authentically white bore little reward. The missions were by the 1860s a shadow of what they had been two or three decades before.[92]

Enthusiasm for liberal reform was on the rise in the US just as it was declining in the West Indies. Organizations like the AMA turned its attention to the former Confederate states in 1865, but they remained keenly aware that their authority rested on claims of moral purity, and, therefore, the need to avoid providing any substance to opponents' claims. Indeed, memories of the Hyde case among the society's directors undoubtedly shaped institutional procedure during Reconstruction. After all, George Whipple, the corresponding secretary who received all the alarming reports from Jamaica remained in the position until his death in 1876. He would have known, as would his fellow committee members, how close the Hyde case came to destroying the Jamaica mission. Lessons of the Jamaican scandal were well observed among missionaries to the US South. The AMA did not publish its instructions to missionaries, but it publicly lauded the Methodist policy that "any member of your society who may relapse into his former habits and become a Polygamist or an adulterer … shall be put away after due admonition." It obviously applied the same rule to its white instructors. As the examples of female teachers who would not live or even walk publicly with black men show, by Reconstruction, at least some of its agents became better than Hyde and Evarts at fulfilling the society's expectations.[93]

The end of emancipation in the US in some ways paralleled the British Caribbean. Though the reasons for Northern Republican abandonment of Reconstruction are manifold, it can be attributed at least in part to loss of faith in Northerners who occupied the South. Seeking to hold back the tide, Albion Tourgée devoted space in *A Fool's Errand* to answer criticisms made

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[92] On the decline of the missions, see Hall, *Civilising Subjects*; Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*.
[93] *American Missionary* (March 1847): 37.

of his own character. If the Tourgée of the Southern imagination supported miscegenation in writing, fostered it through political work, and engaged in it privately with his adopted daughter, the Tourgée of his own construction was a paragon of white virtue. While the novel cannot be taken as entirely autobiographical, it should be viewed as an attempt to vindicate his own actions concerning emancipation. The main character is how Tourgée wanted the public, including its Southern constituents, to see him. As such, Comfort Servosse is an architype of civilized Victorian respectability. Knowing that "the South may greet him as cordially as the Orient greets the Caucasian trader, but like the Orient, still makes him feel that he is an outside barbarian," Tourgée depicts Servosse as a "man of fine qualities" like "self-possession." Even for a radical like Tourgée, maintaining authority required putting distance between himself and the formerly enslaved. Though an advocate of civil equality, he pointedly denied that most black people were civilized, noting that "the African" carries "an inherent inferiority … an utter incapacity for the civilization to which the Caucasian has attained." "Ebon skin" is shown to be a "terrible affliction," but one the author does not share.[94] While perhaps more an attempt to mitigate criticism than a representation of Tourgée's true beliefs, the temporary equivocation on black character indicates the strength of desire among reformers to be seen as authentically white, and to claim the social authority derived therefrom. For carpetbaggers, just as for missionaries, this effort to retain jurisdiction over emancipation proved the true fool's errand. Because even where print attacks on reformers did not weaken their position, redeemers could always resort to violence—the subject taken up in the next chapter.

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[94] Tourgée, *Fool's Errand*, 402, 382, 61, 134, 337.

CHAPTER 4: Punishment

Late on a winter's night in 1869, five masked members of the Ku Klux Klan shattered the back door of Alonzo B. Corliss' woodland home, near present-day Burlington in North Carolina's Alamance County. The men entered Corliss' bedroom, seized him by the arms and legs, and marched him to a thicket a mile and half away. Described as a "slender man and a cripple," unable to walk without crutches, Corliss was powerless to resist. (In contrast, his wife, Frances, attempted to tear the mask from an intruder, ripping out part of his mustache, before she was overpowered.) The "band of ruffians" subsequently administered "thirty lashes with raw hide and knotted hickory" until Corliss fainted. They then "shaved the hair from one side of his head, and painted one side of his face black." The torture continued. "When they pulled the ligament from my diseased joint," Corliss recalled, "they beat on my head with a revolver to hush my screams." Before leaving, the Klansmen threatened further violence if Corliss did not leave the state within ten days. He might have died in the woods had Frances and a search party of local freedpeople not heard his cries. Corliss returned to the North within days.[1]

To his attackers, torture and exile were proportional punishments for the crime Corliss committed. A Vermont Quaker who ran a school for the formerly enslaved, he was charged with "teaching niggers and making them like white men"—an accusation that revealed white Southern anxieties produced by rapid postbellum social restructuring. Fear that schooling would reduce the distance between black and white was itself a sign of the times. There was a Southern

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[1] H. C. Vogell to O. O. Howard, 14 December 1869; Alonzo B. Corliss to Vogell, 15 December 1869, both in Box 1, Folder 3, William Woods Holden Papers, DU; Testimony of Alonzo B. Corliss in US Congress, "Journal of the Select Committee of the Senate to Investigate Alleged Outrages in the Southern States," *Index to Reports of the Committees of the Senate of the United States for the First Session of the Forty-Second Congress and the Special Session of the Senate, 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), 144-50. See also Foner, *Reconstruction*, 428; Blum, *Reforging the White Republic*, 79.

tradition of punishing whites who taught slaves to read; an AMA teacher was tarred and feathered in the region in 1849, while Carolyn Briggs was vilified in the press for "raising the colored people, putting them above the whites" by teaching school in Missouri during the Civil War.[2] But when laws prohibiting black literacy were removed, alarm increased. Bolstering freedpeople's chances of securing economic independence and better equipping them to engage in Reconstruction politics, new postemancipation opportunities to learn explicitly challenged concepts of racial difference upon which slavery had rested, and diminished the "wages of whiteness" redeemers hoped to retain after slavery's demise.[3] Black education and the teachers who provided it were perceived as direct threats to the unreconstructed white Southern way of life. Violence against them was lauded as a defense of racial order.

For all their handwringing over the disintegration of racial boundaries, opponents of Radical Reconstruction capitalized on the social flux emancipation brought to depict reformers like Corliss as racially inauthentic. Transgression of white supremacist codes of behavior, the attempt to raise black people to social parity, the formation of allegiances with freedpeople, had moved the teacher closer to blackness. It was inscribed on his face in paint, and marked on his body with punishments reminiscent of racial slavery. Flogging and head shaving—a common

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[2] E. C. Smith to George Whipple, 23 August 1849; C. A. R. Briggs, to My dear Friends, 3 April 1865, both in AMAA, ARC. To one editor, Brigg's actions suggested that she had "negro on the brain" in a suggestion of miscegenatory proclivities. Despite its support of the Union, schools for black people were continually threatened by "Copperheads" in Missouri during the Civil War. See J. L. Richardson to S. S. Jocelyn, 30 April 1863 and 16 May 1863, 5 June 1863, AMAA, ARC.

[3] The view that whites gained a psychological "wage" from racial difference is taken from David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of American Working Class*, 2nd ed. (New York: Verso, 2007) and Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 39-64.

initiation into slavery for Africans—proved that Corliss no longer registered as entirely white to the local unreconstructed community.[4]

The present chapter considers cases like Corliss', in which deployment of symbolic punishments on recognizably white reformers served to mark them as inauthentic. Measures ranged from the non-physical—ostracism, destruction of property—to the distinctly corporeal—floggings, burnings, hangings.[5] They recalled the abuses of slavery, the punitive rituals by which an enslaved black person was defined as different from, and socially below, free white society. Just as images of sexual immorality imposed new racial identities on missionaries and carpetbaggers, violence wrote those identities onto skin. For the imposition of inauthenticity in the era of emancipation, the whip was the near equal of the pen. Both the US and Caribbean were sites of daily racial violence under slavery, and while for many formerly enslaved people it continued after emancipation, that violence also found new victims. For their perceived support of black social advancement, missionaries in the Caribbean became targets of white planter retribution. This was especially true following late slave rebellions in 1823 and 1831. In the US, organizations like the Ku Klux Klan made violence key to the South's "redemption" from

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[4] Albion Tourgée listed head shaving was a common feature of Ku Klux Klan cases he investigated, in AWT to William Woods Holden, n. d. #11041-A, AWTP. On the importance of hair in enslaved communities and its removal as a form of castration or degradation, see Shane White and Graham White, "Slave Hair and African American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of Southern History* 61, no. 1 (1995): 45-76; Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 8-9, 60; Michael Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen: Human Bondage in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 131; Alex Bontemps, *The Punished Self: Surviving Slavery in the Colonial South* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001) 211-2, n. 13. That enslavers and their sympathizers were aware of distinction a shaved head made between slave and free, and therefore between black and white, is made clear by the fact that pro-slavery writers like James McQueen explicitly discussed the practice in this light – *West India Colonies*, 310.

[5] Tourgée said of KKK violence committed in his North Carolina jurisdiction: "it may perhaps be said that whipping is the most usual form which it assumes. Sometimes, however, it is beating with clubs, shooting, tying up by the thumbs, hanging, arson, and in one instance the compelling the sexual act between two of their victims" – AWT to William Woods Holden, n.d. #11041-A, AWTP.

carpetbagger politicians, as well as Northern soldiers, teachers like Corliss, and "scalawags" (Southern Republicans).

The racial meanings of physical punishment refracted differently on the bodies of reformers. When whites were marked with violence once largely confined to black bodies, the effect was less severe and more temporary. White bodies did not become black when flogged or hanged. But conservative violence against both whites and blacks after emancipation served a common purpose: the overthrow of progressive emancipation projects. If print discourse surrounding reformers provided a theoretical basis for this work, the use of violence put theory into practice. Albion Tourgée perhaps never realized the full import of his statement to North Carolina Governor William Woods Holden that "the crimes in question are marked with a deliberateness of purpose."[6] Not only did violence terrorize its victims into voting a certain way or leaving a region; not only did it slow or reverse black social advancement if a school or business was destroyed. In its less studied form—acts committed against ostensibly white reformers deemed sympathetic to racial equality—it marked its targets as inauthentic, unworthy of equal treatment with true whites, not significantly different from the recently enslaved uncivilized black masses, and therefore lacking authority to oversee the emancipation process.

In New World slave societies, violence served more than purely practical disciplinary or deterrent functions. Both on private estates and in planter-sympathetic legal systems, corporal punishment was the physical manifestation of an enslaver's authority, grounded in racial difference.[7] As noted in Chapter One, Kristen Fischer contends that "the visible marks that

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Vincent Brown notes that punishments meted out by courts mirrored plantation practices, "demonstrat[ing] to the enslaved that in most cases the will of their masters and the law were one and the same" – *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 140.

corporal coercion imprinted on the bodies of slaves came to connote to whites an underlying physical difference in victims—a nonwhiteness—that in turn served to justify violence perpetuated against them." And as Dickson Bruce notes, white "Southern writers … were all agreed that blacks needed discipline and that whites had to give order to every area of black life. The Negro [was] always needing a guardian or master to coerce him to exertion,' and this pretty much summarized the official line on African and Afro-American character."[8] Thus, violence distinguished the civilized from the uncivilized, the superior from the inferior, and the white from the non-white. Moreover, experiencing it defined blackness as much as the stereotypes attached to some whites after emancipation. Like those supposedly black behaviors, racialized punishments became associated more and more with carpetbaggers during Reconstruction.

In Jamaica, violence was similarly valued as the best means to modify supposedly "incorrect" "black" behavior. Therefore, when the *Jamaica Courant* recalled "the day when it was no crime to send all the furniture of a Methodist Chapel into the sea; and that a hint which was promptly taken by a Preacher saved his person from a similar emersion!!," when it hoped that "these days may return, unless the Consecrated Cobblers now among us will change their conduct and improve their habits," it suggested the same correctional practices for white reformers as enslaved blacks. A typical Jamaican enslaver shared with American counterparts the belief that "violence against blacks … was part of a natural order." It signaled that slaves "were not like whites, who should be treated as 'parts of his Family,' but alien creatures, excluded from polite discourse."[9]

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[8] Fischer, *Suspect Relations*, 160; Dickson D. Bruce Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 122.
[9] *JC*, 20 January 1832; Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, 130.

Punishment continued to inform the construction of race after slavery's end. "It enacted racism … through reserving some punishments such as flogging for black people. It also became a key topic through which elites … debated the nature of groups of people they referred to as 'the Negro' or 'the African.' In so doing, they also implicitly defined the ways in which 'whites' or 'Europeans' differed from these others." Thus punishment remained "at certain moments a very important means through which racial hierarchy, both within the colony and between colony and metropolis, was maintained."[10] When such disciplinary acts, historically reserved for black bodies, were subsequently employed against whites, the racialized symbolism produced in the distinction between punisher and punished was diluted but nevertheless endured. Its potency remained strongest when resulting in death.

Lynchings

Killing symbolized the ultimate exclusion of reformers from what their attackers imagined as an exclusive community of whites. At first glance, however, lynching can appear non-racialized. Almost regardless of historical moment in colonial North American and US history, people of all racial designations were killed in public by self-appointed groups of extralegal executioners. Yet by the antebellum era, lynching had undoubtedly taken on a racial dimension. It was most common on the "resource extraction frontiers" of the South, West, and Midwest, where the absence of a strong central state engendered distrust of the government's ability to enact criminal justice and maintain a racialized social order. As a result, "white planters, farmers, and miners stepped outside of formal law to execute slaves, free blacks, Indians, and Mexicans who

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[10] Paton, *No Bond*, 15-16.

challenged white authority." Of these places and peoples, enslaved blacks in the South were most likely to be lynched, their deaths resulting from the "inability of slaveholders to ever achieve mastery of African Americans."[11]

Similar conditions existed in Jamaica. As part of the same British colonial Atlantic from which the US came, it shared a common heritage in the "ubiquitous Anglo-American tradition of crowd violence," imported by migrants to Kingston and Port Royal as well as Boston, New York, and Charleston. Like the antebellum South, nineteenth-century Jamaica constituted a "resource extraction frontier." Moreover, it was marked by more frequent and larger slave insurrections, arguably creating an even more urgent perception that racial order had to be shored up by force.[12] And Jamaica was defined by an equally weak central state. Bullish resistance to centralized colonial government power by creole institutions like the Jamaica Assembly, coupled with a general, if inconsistent, tendency of that colonial government toward more lenient treatment of the enslaved (in comparison to most of the island's plantocracy), ensured that local whites placed little trust in London to safeguard them from the racial threat they constantly perceived.[13] Correspondence between the Jamaica Assembly and its representatives to Britain reveal widespread belief that members of parliament at best exhibited "indifference" to the "destruction of the Whites" on the island, and at worst engaged in "tyrannical Exercise of Superior power" by enacting legislation that limited planter authority. As such, racialized lynchings were viewed as necessary measures of self-defense.[14]

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[11] Michael J. Pfeifer, *The Roots of Rough Justice: Origins of American Lynching* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 32, 34.

[12] *Ibid*, 8; Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution*, 1-50.

[13] On planter opposition to British Parliament and Governors, see Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 85-102, 121; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 5, 16-17; Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 16, 104-5, 120-1, 126, 186, 190.

[14] George Hibbert to the Committee of Correspondence, 5 November 1823, 1B/5/14/14, House of Assembly Committee of Correspondence, Out-letter book of Agent in England, George Hibbert, 1814-24; Committee to

In both regions, when inhabitants believed the law did not go far enough in establishing white superiority, or that the state was unable or unwilling to enforce it to a satisfactory extent, they assumed responsibility for enforcing racial difference. Lynching became a way for communities to define internal structure and external boundaries, to reinforce white dominance, exclude transgressors of racial hierarchies, and secure the place of conformers. For members of a lynch mob, killing served publicly to claim status and authority; "one of the fastest ways to establish whiteness was through violent racial oppression."[15] In the postemancipation era, when the need for racial control arguably seemed worse than ever, white supremacists expanded the scope of their murderous activities to ostensibly white reformers. They claimed white status through the definition of victims as something else.

Michael Pfeifer ties lynchings to the same values of morality that reformers lacked according to the transatlantic white supremacist press. White Americans "justified summary executions," he observes, "through racial and class republicanism, that is, through their notion of their superiority as virtuous, productive American citizens with a responsibility to ensure the safety of whites and the viability of recently planted and complex socioeconomic orders that included purported racial inferiors and dangerous criminal classes." In this light, violence simply extended the press campaigns discussed in Chapter Three. By establishing the carpetbagger's reputation as a deviant of questionable whiteness, newspapers and novels rendered him worthy of punishment, justifying the extralegal violence to which redeemers turned with increasing frequency. The *Raleigh Sentinel*, for example, celebrated the "sublime spectacle" of the "fiery cross … borne aloft within [the state's] borders by the swiftest runners of her clans, and from

William Burge, 13 December 1833, 1B/5/13/1, House of Assembly Committee of Correspondence, Out-letter book, 1794-1833, JARD. On vigilantism in Jamaica, see Paton, *No Bond*, 176-8; Brown, "Spiritual Tower," 32.
[15] Cynthia Skove Nevels, *Lynching to Belong: Claiming Whiteness through Racial Violence* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2007), 8.

highland and lowland [as] they rally to the rescue … We accord them our admiration, and salute them with honest pride." Members of the Klan were the authentic "WHITE MEN of North Carolina!" because they answered the call to "action! action! action!" In even clearer terms, a newspaper in Fayette, Mississippi "suggested that white teachers of black schools should be hanged without benefit of judge or jury" in 1865, and the *Mobile Register* delighted that "the counter revolution" would require "more bloodletting."[16]

Even the lynching of an ostensibly white reformer, however, did not reflect the belief that the subject was black. Significant differences between killings of blacks and whites remained. The former were so common in slave societies that accounts routinely conveyed an air of stark casualness, even in moments of rebellion. When one militiaman engaged in suppressing the 1831 uprising in Jamaica noted that "we had the poor blackies for targets and in firing on them we have done gloriously," he displayed a nonchalance in contrast to the deliberateness with which missionary deaths were described. Likewise, while, a South Carolinian enslaver admitted most like him "would shoot a Negro with as little emotion as he shoots a hare," and an AMA agent described five black men "shot like dogs in the street[s]" of Columbus, Mississippi after emancipation, greater care usually informed the murder of carpetbaggers.[17] People of color remained far more likely to suffer violence during Reconstruction; of sixty-five Klan "outrages"

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[16] Pfeifer, *Roots of Rough Justice*, 32; *Raleigh Semi-Weekly Sentinel*, 8 April 1868, 15 April 1868; Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 217; *Mobile Register* [AL], quoted in *Shall Capital Own Labor? The Rebel Democracy the Enemy of the People: Seymour and Blair's Nomination Means Revolution, Repudiation and Slavery* (Washington: Union Republican Congressional Committee, 1867), 6.

[17] Samuel Whitehorne to Elizabeth Whitehorne, 13 February 1832, MSS Eur D1203/27 Elizabeth Lady Malkin Correspondence, BL; Benjamin West, quoted in Philip D. Morgan, "British Encounters with African and African Americans, circa 1600-1780," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, eds. Bernard Bailyn and Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 176; J. N. Bishop to Rev. M. E. Strickly, 9 November 1875, AMAA, ARC. One correspondent for the *American Missionary* (October 1866) wrote that "there is a class in the South who would rather shoot at a negro than at a fox or squirrel. They think it sport. They have no regard for his life or limbs" (223).

documented by Tourgée in Chatham county, North Carolina, only fifteen (twenty-three percent) were explicitly listed as committed against whites.[18]

The Corliss example indicates the ease with which redeemers resorted to cruelty, but in attacks on black Americans it was almost a matter of course. Reformist publications like the *American Missionary* reported an array of crimes committed against white agents, but accounts like that of a woman "found with her throat cut from ear to ear, and a little child less than a year old, eating the clotted blood from the wound," or of another "in a 'delicate condition' … beat to death, and the child beat out of her," revealed a level of sadism seemingly reserved for freedpeople. White women were undoubtedly subjected to white supremacist punishment but rarely in such a deadly or vicious manner. Edmonia Highgate, a teacher in Vermillion, Louisiana, was shot at twice, for example, but her black students were fired on much more often and actually struck. Highgate remained physically unscathed. Similarly, in mass outbreaks of white violence at New Orleans (1866), Memphis (1866), Meridian, Mississippi (1871), and Colfax, Louisiana (1874), African Americans were the main targets and killed in the greatest numbers.[19]

In the British Caribbean too, white missionaries were subject to significant abuse but rarely if ever killed. Nor were they attacked anywhere near as often or viciously as their prospective black congregants. In the 1831 uprising in Jamaica, for example, not a single missionary was killed or even successfully prosecuted by the enraged plantocracy. Some 344 black Jamaicans were executed, not counting those killed during the suppression of the rebellion.

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[18] Tourgée, "Ku Klux Klan Outrages, Chatham County," n. d. #11071, AWTP. Tourgée gave no timeframe for these acts. 39 of the victims were listed as "colored" or "negro." In the remaining cases, no racial identity was provided.
[19] *American Missionary* (February 1867): 36; *Ibid* (March 1867): 57. On these "massacres," see Foner, *Reconstruction*, 262-5, 428, 437; Hahn, *Nation under our Feet*, 281, 292-5; Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 281. For more detailed accounts, see Rosen, *Terror in the Heart*, 61-83; Tunnell, *Crucible of Race*, 103-7, 189-93; George C. Rable, *The Colfax Massacre: The Untold Story of Black Power, White Terror, and the Death of Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Joel M. Sirpress, "From the Barrel of a Gun: The Politics of Murder in Grant Parish," *Louisiana History* 42, no. 3 (2001): 303-21.

And despite Eyre's best attempts to attach blame for Morant Bay to Underhill and the Baptists, again no white missionary was injured or prosecuted; out of the 500 plus killed in the suppression, almost all were of African descent. It became known as the "killing time" because of what happened to black and brown Jamaicans, not white preachers.[20] But the difference between violence marking blackness and inauthentic whiteness in postemancipation societies is best demonstrated by comparison of two murders committed in the same region where Corliss was attacked and the *Sentinel's* anti-Reconstruction rhetoric prevailed. The deaths of Wyatt Outlaw and John W. Stephens provide clear evidence of the limits of racial inauthenticity.

Wyatt Outlaw was born into slavery near Graham, Alamance County, the town in which he settled after fighting with the US Colored Infantry during the Civil War. He found work as a carpenter and took an active role in politics. He became prominent in the 1866 freedmen's convention, the Republican Party, and the Union League—through which he helped fund the construction of Graham's AME Zion church and first black school. Governor Holden appointed him Town Commissioner and Constable in 1868. From these positions, Outlaw organized balck resistance to stem the tide of local white violence. His "political acumen, determination, and ties to white Republicans" represented provocation to the unreconstructed white community. In the early hours of February 26th, 1870, he was murdered.[21]

A white native of Rockingham County, John W. Stephens was a tobacco agent in Guildford County before the Civil War. He served the Confederacy, recruiting troops and

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[20] Craton, *Testing the Chains*, 315; Heuman, *"Killing Time,"* xiii, 131-143. The "Killing Time" quotation came originally from *The Morning Star* newspaper, 13 February 1866, quoted in Heuman, *"Killing Time,"* 143.

[21] William Murray Vincent, *Historic Alamance County: A Biographical History* (San Antonio: Historical Publishing Network, 2009), 55-6; Carole Watterson Troxler, "'To look more closely at the man': Wyatt Outlaw, a Nexus of National, Local, and Personal History," *North Carolina Historical Review* 77, no. 4 (2000): 401-33; Hahn, *Nation under our Feet*, 275 (quotation).

commandeering supplies in Greensboro. In peacetime, he became an avowed supporter of

Radical Reconstruction, rising from poverty to become justice of the peace for Caswell

County—appointed by Tourgée—and state senator. Because he "committed the dual breach of

being poor *and* openly associating with blacks in political and fraternal societies," and because a

switch from Confederate to Republican sympathies represented treason against Dixie, he was

killed just a few months after Outlaw on May 21.[22]

The two murders shared more than geographical and chronological proximity. Both

victims overcame humble beginnings to secure influential positions in local Republican politics.

Both advocated racial equality, and ran afoul of local white conservatives for their troubles. And

in both cases, extremists among the conservative population were responsible for the killings.

The main initial difference was the recognized racial identity of the victims. Variations in how

Stephens and Outlaw were treated developed therefrom.

Outlaw's murder was committed under cover of darkness by masked men, but in many

ways it was a public, deliberately provocative, affair. Around a hundred members of a

paramilitary organization known as the White Brotherhood rode openly down Graham's main

thoroughfare to Outlaw's home. Despite the spirited resistance of his mother, Jemima Phillips,

the nightriders marched Outlaw, half-dressed, back down the same central street "shrieking the

rebel yell." The whole ritual was calculated for maximum spectacular effect. A tree in front of

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[22] Elliott, *Color-Blind Justice*, 136 (quotation). See also *Charlotte Observer*, 31 January 1897, John W. Stephens File, North Carolina Biographical Clippings through 1975, North Carolina Collection [NCC], UNC; Gregory Downs, *Declarations of Dependence: The Long Reconstruction of Popular Politics in the South, 1861-1908* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 110; Jim D. Brisson, "'Civil Government was Crumbling Around Me': The Kirk-Holden War of 1870," *North Carolina Historical Review* 87, no. 2 (2011): 137. Though his origins in the South mean that Stephens was technically a scalawag rather than a carpetbagger, his perceived betrayal of the Confederacy arguably made him subject of even greater aggression than most carpetbaggers. Stephens was actually remembered as a "carpetbagger" in the North Carolina press sixty-five years after his death. See Raleigh News & Observer, 2 October 1835, John W. Stephens File, North Carolina Biographical Clippings through 1975, NCC, UNC.

the county courthouse was chosen, and from it Outlaw was hanged. A note pinned to his corpse read "Beware you guilty both white and black," suggesting that white reformers could theoretically be punished in the same manner. The next day, "indignities were offered the dead man by parties proffering the dead body a cigar."[23]

Stephens' death was a more clandestine affair. Found guilty *in absentia* in a Ku Klux Klan "trial," Stephens was lured away from a meeting of "Negro Republicans" at the Caswell County courthouse in Yanceyville. Entering a small room in the basement to discuss a run for sheriff with the former office holder, Franklin Wiley, Stephens was surrounded by Klansmen. They slipped a noose around Stephens' neck, disarmed him of his three pistols, and stabbed him in the neck and chest. They departed, leaving the noose in place, as Stephens bled to death upon a pile of wood. His body was not displayed in the open for all to see. It was not offered a cigar or otherwise toyed with. No written message was attached. Instead, the killers locked the door from the inside and snuck out a window, ensuring that the corpse was not discovered until the next day. In stark contrast to the parade through Graham preceding Outlaw's lynching, they had concealed their robes, and with them their purpose, beneath their saddles on the rides into and out of town. The assassins diligently observed an oath of silence for sixty-five years until one among them confessed on his deathbed.[24]

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[23] Mark L. Bradley, *Bluecoats and Tarheels: Soldiers and Civilians in Reconstruction North Carolina* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 218 (quotation); Testimony of Jemima Phillips, in *Trial of William W. Holden, Governor of North Carolina, Before the Senate of North Carolina, on Impeachment by the House of Representatives for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, vol. II* (Raleigh: "Sentinel" Printing Office, 1871), 1363-9; C. P. McTaggart to Col. S. H. Hayman, 4 March 1870 in US Congress, *Report on the Alleged Outrages in the Southern States by the Select Committee of the Senate, 10 March 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), xci; Ulysses S. Grant, *Message of the President of the United States Communicating in Compliance with the Resolution of the Senate of the 16th of December, 1870, Information in Relation to Outrages by Disloyal Persons in North Carolina and other Southern States* (Washington: N. p., 1870), 60.

[24] *Raleigh News & Observer*, 29 February 1892; 2 October 1935; *Charlotte Observer*, 31 January 1897, all in John W. Stephens File, North Carolina Biographical Clippings through 1975, NCC, UNC.

Differences between the lynchings say much about the racializing practices immanent in postemancipation punishment. Though Stephens was perceived to have allied with black people and therefore severed ties with what redeemers considered true whiteness; though his punishment marked a very final exclusion from the imagined community of the white race, it was not an imposition of blackness. The secretive nature of the killing, the refusal to use it as a public warning, in comparison to the macabre spectacle of Outlaw's death, suggests an unwillingness to cast Stephens and Outlaw as equals. The tacit acknowledgment of guilt in concealing the body suggests a form of reverence, however limited, for Stephens that Outlaw was not accorded. White Republicans followed suit. While Outlaw's death was cited as a cause of Governor Holden's crackdown on redeemer violence, it was not until Stephens was killed that the "Kirk-Holden War" began. The Stephens murder may have been the straw that broke the camel's back, but the fact that Outlaw's death did not weigh heavily enough for the purpose indicates that black lives were valued less than white. While some locals quickly forgot or chose to ignore the Outlaw murder—one local redeemer even questioned whether it had occurred—the Stephens killing provided a reminder even after the worst violence subsided. In 1872, Tourgée received warning that if he continued his longstanding investigation of the Klan, the region would witness "another Stephens affair before the morning."[25] No such message was necessary for most freedpeople, who knew that by virtue of race, violence was a constant possibility. And

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[25] Joseph A. Graham to William A. Graham, 16 March 1870, Folder 250, 285 William A. Graham Papers, SHC, UNC; Thomas Settle to Tourgée, 7 September 1870, #1472, AWTP. On Tourgée's campaign against the Klan and assassination attempts in retaliation, see Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 199-213; Elliott, *Color-Blind Justice*, 133. See *Ibid*, 156-7 for the Kirk-Holden War, as well as Brisson, "Civil Government"; Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 205-6; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 440-1. The threat against Tourgée, sent via the scalawag judge Settle, led the latter to predict that the Kirk-Holden suppression of the Klan in 1870 had "by no means" achieved its aim. Indeed, testimony taken from Klan accomplices by Tourgée revealed two further planned attempts to hang him. See Albion to Emma Tourgée, 30 March 1872, #1612, AWTP.

yet, when treatment of ostensibly white reformers, even in death, *approximated* that of black people, when a noose was left around a neck, it cast doubt on that whiteness.

The rope around Stephens' neck was not the cause of death. Its decorative purpose suggests it was invested with symbolic purpose by the killers. It is difficult to connect a hanging *prima facie* to slavery or blackness alone; it was far from unheard of as a punishment for whites. And when an enslaved person was deliberately killed by whites, it was often in more brutal fashion. Punishment for open rebellion in the British Americas offers several examples. Motivated by fear of further outbreak, enslavers would employ the cruelest and most spectacular punishments imaginable as deterrents. Almost as soon as the English took control of Jamaica in the seventeenth century, it became common for rebellious slaves to be "staked to the ground and burned from the feet to the head." After a 1712 uprising in Manhattan, Governor Thomas Hunter took advantage of the latitude granted by colonial law to torture to death three rebels indicted for killing a master; Clause had every one of his bones broken, Robin was strung up until he died of thirst, and Quaco was slowly burned alive.[26]

On the other hand, analysis of one of the few British Atlantic locations for which comprehensive records exist—Virginia—suggests that hanging nonetheless remained a key feature of slave punishments alongside these more spectacular forms.[27] Indeed, there was a slight increase in the number of hanging sentences for enslaved people over the nineteenth century.

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[26] Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640-1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 169 (quotation); Anne Farrow, Joel Lang, and Jennifer Frank, *Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery* (New York: Ballantine, 2005), 81. On these practices in the Caribbean, see Brown, "Spiritual Terror."

[27] This likely mirrored a broader national trend, as the Eighth Amendment prohibited cruel and unusual punishment after 1791 and the First Congress of 1790 restricted all capital punishment in the US to hanging. However, as Harriet C. Frazier notes, it was not a linear trend. Because "if any state sentenced a slave to death, the federal Constitution did not apply," meaning, for example, that enslaved people were burned to death under South Carolina State law at least as late as 1830 – *Slavery and Crime in Missouri, 1773-1865* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2001), 90. These cases likely grew less common over the nineteenth century.

While on average 7.2 were sentenced to hang per year between 1706 and 1784, 7.9 were hanged per year between 1785 and 1865.[28] Coupled with the facts that the "sine qua non of the Old Dominion's criminal justice system was that the general level of judicial punishments for slaves must be more severe than that for whites"; that, adjusting for proportion of population, enslaved people were twelve times more likely to be hanged than whites over the second period; and that, in broader terms, capital punishments decreased for whites while increasing for non-whites after American independence, hanging carried racial meaning in slave societies.[29] Continued hangings of black people like Outlaw ensured the significance remained just five years after emancipation.

In the Stephens case, the noose connected to blackness by recalling Outlaw's murder, just three months old at the time. On another level, it promised resolution of a general crisis in racial order. Reconstruction, viewed as a world turned upside down with the "bottom rail on top," was often associated with memories of slave insurrection, especially Haiti, in the minds of white supremacists.[30] And with hangings a "familiar" practice to which enslavers instinctively resorted in such "moments of crisis," foregoing less final, more disciplinary punishments, Stephens' noose mimicked reinstatement of what antebellum enslavers considered a necessary measure of white control over unruly non-white populations. In this view, Stephens was implicated alongside Outlaw in fomenting the racial disorder Reconstruction represented. By destabilizing

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[28] Figures are taken from tables 3.1 and 3.4 in Philip J. Schwarz, *Slave Laws in Virginia: Studies in the Legal History of the South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 66, 69. For the 1706-1784 period, records show only sentences handed down, not whether they were actually carried out.

[29] *Ibid*, 64 (quotation), 65-9; John J. Navin, "Intimidation, Violence, and Race in British America," *Historian* 77, no. 3 (2015): 496-7.

[30] Clavin, *Toussaint Louverture*, 162-80; Rugemer, *Problem of Emancipation*, 291-302. For an alternative view in which African Americans celebrated Reconstruction as an equivalent of emancipation in Haiti, see Brandon R. Byrd, "Black Republicans, Black Republic: African Americans, Haiti, and the Promise of Reconstruction," *Slavery & Abolition* 36, no. 4 (2015): 545-67. The metaphor of the "bottom rail on top" became a staple of anti-Reconstruction expression. See Page, *Red Rock*, 321; Bruce E. Baker, *What Reconstruction Meant: Historical Memory in the American South* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 73-4; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 205-34.

the position of "true" whites in the South, he had made himself little better than the blacks he promoted, and worthy of similar exclusion from a restored white supremacist hierarchy. The same was true of a Chicago-born teacher dragged from his home near Seguin Texas in June 1874. Only the intervention of his sister throwing her arms around his neck, prevented the attackers getting a rope around it. Despite her tenacity, the family was soon "flying for their lives" from the "Ku Klux wrath." That she was "thrown against the house, tearing her clothes, and bruising her," while the teacher's father was left with "severe wounds all over his back, sides, [and] hips" shows that a carpetbagger's family could be pushed beyond the boundaries of authentic white society merely by association.[31]

The racial connotations of the noose prompt reconsideration of the *Jamaica Courant's* proclamation after the 1831 rebellion that "Shooting is … too honourable a death for [missionaries] whose conduct have [*sic*] occasioned so much bloodshed, and the loss of so much property. There are fine hanging woods in St. James and Trelawney, and we sincerely hope that the bodies of all the Methodist Preachers who may be convicted of sedition, may diversify the scene." The statement was republished verbatim but with the word "Baptist" substituted for "Methodist."[32] The "honor" of being shot was undoubtedly a mark of whiteness, at least in relative terms; hanging was offered as a particularly "black" punishment. By its use, the Jamaican plantocracy distinguished all sectarian missionaries from whites, even white criminals. In gleeful tones, the paper called for more dramatic exhibitions of racializing punishment: "we are happy to state [that] the first preacher who again attempts to seduce [the enslaved population]

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[31] Paton, *No Bond*, 30; *American Missionary* (September 1874): 209; A. G. Marment to E. M. Cravath, 4 July 1874; C. W. Washburn to Cravath, 24 July 1874, both AMAA, ARC.

[32] *JC*, 6 January 1832; Postscript to the *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette*, 24-31 March 1832. This passage was frequently cited by missionaries and their allies as proof of the antagonism they faced – see Bleby, *Death Struggles*, 140; *New Baptist Miscellany* 6 (1832): 126; *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 10 March 1832, 107; *Baptist Magazine and Literary Review* 24 (1832), 130.

from their obedience will be made a *spectacle* of, and as many negro heads have been stuck upon poles, [we] are determined to have a Preacher among them the next time *they* create a rebellion." In punishment, missionaries were not distinguished from slaves. Six years after the rebellion, plantocrats still wished they could put missionary William Knibb's "neck in a noose."[33]

The *Courant's* interventions make clear how directly the press legitimized the physical imposition of inauthenticity. Like the *Sentinel* in North Carolina*,* the *Courant* directly urged violence, as did the *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette* and *Cornwall Courier* by printing: "As to the Rooks—the Preachers—we would recommend the advice of our staunch friend J. McQueen, to be observed towards them: 'tar and feather them, wherever you meet them,' and drive them off the island, excepting always those who may merit a greater elevation—a more exalted distinction."[34] Editorials justified destruction of places of worship, and encouraged formation of the Colonial Church Union (CCU), a paramilitary group of proslavery whites. They informed Jamaicans of the organization's founding, published its manifestos, and advertised the low cost of membership.[35] Editors provided a forum in which plantocrats throughout the island could call one another to arms: "IF ANY REVEREND BAPTIST COME [*sic*] HERE AGAIN," one letter to the *Courant* urged, "*pops the word—knock him on the head—burke him*." Another correspondent asserted that "Jamaica's sons must rouse themselves from their lethargy, and fearlessly do their duty." The CCU would provide "salutary vigour" for the "extraordinary

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[33] *JC*, 29 February 1832; W C MacDougal to Robert Johnson, 13 August 1838, box 46, folder 4, Powel Family Papers, HSP. On displays of decapitated slaves' heads, see Brown, "Spiritual Terror."

[34] *Cornwall Courier*, reprinted in Postscript to the *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette,* 11-18 February 1832. The J. McQueen in question was likely James MacQueen, author of the proslavery tract *The West India Colonies* and accuser of Thomas Pringle concerning a sexual relationship with Mary Prince (Chapter Three).

[35] See for example: *JC*, 3 February 1832, 13 February 1832, 18 February 1832, 22 February 1832, 28 February 1832, 3 March 1832, 16 March 1832, 17 March 1832, 20 March 1832, 31 March 1832; *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette*, 18-25 February 1832, 24-31 March 1832. Of the CCU chapter in St. Ann's Bay, the *JC*, 3 February 1832, wrote: "The annual subscription is so small that it will be in the power of every individual, however humble his station in life, who wishes well to his country, to enroll his name in the ranks."

energetic measures" that now constituted the only way to prevent the island becoming a "wild, black, barren waste." Through these measures, the colonial press expanded the Union's scope to act. Methodist missionaries decried the powerful effect newspapers had on the crowd. "[E]ven in Kingston and Spanish Town," they reminded the society's secretaries a year after the 1831 rebellion, "we were threatened every day, and held forth in some of the public Journals as the evilest of men, and as not fit to live, as only worthy of execution and ignominious Death."[36]

Newspapers even provided precedent for anti-missionary violence in 1831 by recalling the prosecution of John Smith, the London Missionary Society agent accused of inciting rebellion in British Guiana in 1823. The *Courant* depicted Thomas Burchell, the missionary most insistently accused of inciting the Baptist War and then standing trial on the charge, was cut from the same cloth as Smith, similarly promoted "discontent and dissatisfaction in the minds of the negro slaves," and deserved the same death sentence. Pressing the point, the paper republished excerpts of Smith's journal, cited in 1823 as evidence of guilt.[37] By refreshing its readership's memory of an event eight years in a separate colony, the *Courant* sought to tar Burchell with Smith's brush. By citing the only instance of a missionary found guilty of the charge then filling columns of proslavery press, the voice of the plantocracy depicted Burchell as equally culpable.

Many planters were only prevented from carrying out the most racially symbolic of lynchings by missionary resistance or the intervention of allies. In a note signed "Mob," Henry Bleby, Methodist preacher at Falmouth, was ordered to leave town or be tarred and feathered. The same night, a party of eighty to a hundred local whites broke into his home and beat him,

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[36] *JC*, 17 February 1832, 15 February 1832. Original emphasis. Jamaica District Letter 1832-3, District Meeting, January 1833, West Indies Synod Minutes, Box 149, WMMS Archive, SOAS.
[37] *JC*, 10 March 1832, 12 March 1832. On the accusations made against Smith, see da Costa, *Crowns of Glory*. On the blame placed on Burchell, see Craton, *Testing the Chains*, 299; Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 164, 167-8.

calling him a "'preaching villain' and … many other abusive epithets." "Whilst several men held me firmly by the arms and collar against the window frame," Bleby recalled, "others brought a keg of tar into the room … and plastered it over my head and face and all the upper parts of my person, rubbing it into my eyes, apparently with the intention of blinding me." It is also possible that the tar, much like the paint applied to Corliss' face, was meant to signify loss of whiteness. The ultimate purpose, however, was not as an adhesive for feathers or to blind, or to reconcile perceptions of skin and heart. Instead, the "rioters" twice attempted to set Bleby alight; twice they were stopped by his wife, who knocked the candles out of the would-be murderer's hands. For her defiance, she was thrown "with violence on the floor" and "trampled." Her husband was finally released as "several black and coloured men" fought off the "white ruffians."[38]

The immolation intended for Bleby was itself a racialized punishment in the British Atlantic world, routinely practiced on perceived black criminals in seventeenth-century Barbados, witnessed on plantations of lowcountry South Carolina, and a common response to eighteenth-century slave revolts. The aforementioned burning of Quaco during the suppression of the 1712 Manhattan rebellion is a case in point, as are two participants burned after being implicated in a "conspiracy" on the island of Nevis in 1725. The same fate met multiple actors in Tacky's War in Jamaica (1760), and 77 of the 88 executions carried out to suppress a 1736 uprising in Antigua involved victims being burned alive. Even the bodies of enslaved people killed in other ways—whether by themselves, masters, or the state—were often burned

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[38] Having already shown the same courage that Frances Corliss and Jemima Philips mustered on their male relatives' behalf when fighting the Klan, Mrs. Bleby, whose first name is not recorded in accounts of the event, then saved her baby son by snatching him from the intruders and fleeing the house, just before the crying child was to be thrown through a window. Bleby, *Death Struggles*, 197-200. Quotations are from 199 and 200. See also Jamaica District Letter 1832-3, West Indies Synod Minutes, WMMS Archive, SOAS.

postmortem as a warning to others.[39] With capital punishments of free people in Europe and the

colonies generally limited to hanging by the nineteenth century, spectacular burning and

displaying bodies was increasingly associated with blackness. As Bertram Wyatt-Brown

suggests in his analysis of lynching by fire in the South, the practice carried particular religious

meanings that manifested racially:

> to visit upon the sinner the fires of hell was simply to carry out on earth the fate awaiting him on the other side. Such a rite of complete exorcism—the total obliteration of a victim's remains—was seldom if ever performed on a white, but a member of the alien race was not even allowed the burial of a dog. For those outside the sacred white circle no absolution, no opportunity to live, even in disgrace was considered fitting if the crime was considered fiendish.[40]

Had Bleby burned at his attackers' hands, he would have been marked in a similar manner,

signaling ultimate exclusion from the white community.

When, as in Bleby's case, vigilantes were not afforded time or opportunity to fully

administer their punishment of choice, they pursued other means of imposing inauthenticity. At

St. Ann's Bay, home of the CCU, Methodist missionaries Woods, Nichols, and Whitehouse were

"hanged in effigy upon a gallows erected for the purpose in the market place," in a public

performance of racialization that lacked only bodies. The missionaries knew well that through

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[39] Morgan, "British Encounters," in *Strangers within the Realm*, eds. Bailyn and Morgan, 174, 176; Richard Gott, *Britain's Empire: Resistance, Repression, and Revolt* (London: Verso, 2011), 32; Douglas Hall, *The Caribbean Experience: A Historical Survey, 1450-1960* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1982), 58; Idem, *In Miserable Slavery*, 97, 102, 107, 113, 129, 142, 161; Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, 103, 104; Gaspar, *Bondmen and Rebels*, 209, 29, 24; John Newsinger, *The Blood Never Dried: A People's History of the British Empire* (London: Bookmarks, 2006), 12. For other examples of slaves being burned pre- or postmortem as punishments, see Lowry Ware, "The Burning of Jerry: The Last Slave Execution by Fire in South Carolina?" *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 91, no. 2 (1990): 100-6; Manfred Berg, *Popular Justice: A History of Lynching in America* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 11, 40-1; Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan* (New York: Vintage, 2006), xii, xvii, 58, 60, 119, 120, 132, 157, 164, 192; Brown, "Spiritual Terror," 27, 28, 32.

[40] Paton, "Punishment, Crime, and the Bodies of Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica," *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 4 (2001): 939; V. A. C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People, 1770-1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 457. The victim, Robert Coleman, had "confessed" to killing a white woman.

the ritual, proslavery activists contributed to a discourse of religion and race, describing it as an "exhibition" which "these infatuated creatures" "regarded [the act] as a complete triumph over what they call sectarianism."[41] The missionaries also knew, however, that very real violence underlay the threats, that it was lack of means, not will, that kept them alive; Woods and Whitehouse relocated to Kingston lest they be next upon the scaffold. Like enslaved people publicly burned for their resistance, effigies served as spectacular reminders that racial order must be maintained.

In the absence of more symbolic options, plantocrats settled for murder in any form; permanent exclusion of missionaries from the imagined white community was good enough. When a mob came for Burchell following his acquittal, an armed guard made it impossible to construct a tableau in the vein of the Outlaw or Stephens killings. So pressed were vigilantes by the desire, as one exclaimed, for "Mr. Burchell's heart's blood," that calls to "s[h]oot him" and "hang him" echoed with equal ferocity. One even "struck at the missionary with a dagger, which pierced the breast of his coat, but glancing off did no other mischief." The racial meaning of spontaneous violence is equally clear in the US. When "returned [Confederate] Rebels" attacked a religious camp inhabited by white and black reformers near Baltimore in 1866, one participant proclaimed: "Methodists were not as good as negroes, that the G—d d—d Abolitionist Methodist preacher ought to be shot." "It is evident," said one witness, "that murder of blacks was only part of the arrangement and that whites were not to have been spared if they made any resistance." Indeed, "one white man, while at prayer, [was] shot in the head and killed."[42]

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[41] W. Wood to WMMS, 17 March 1832, Box 131, West Indies General Correspondence, WMMS Archive, SOAS; MS 1764 WMMS Statement to Lord Goderich, 12 July 1832, NLJ.

[42] William Fitzer Burchell, *Memoir of Thomas Burchell: Twenty Two Years a Missionary in Jamaica, by his Brother* (London: Benjamin L. Green, 1849), 194, 197; *American Missionary* (October 1866), 223-4.

The white supremacists of Jefferson, Texas had no need of effigies in October 1868. They were not restrained by guards. Yet even an organized group of 100 to 250 could not adequately inscribe racial inauthenticity onto the carpetbagger George W. Smith with rope or torch. Smith, a New Yorker and US veteran of Gettysburg, assumed leadership of the city's Union League chapter, worked for the county Republican Party, and was elected to the state constitutional convention. He supported black civil rights, enraging most of the local white population.[43] When a dispute with former Confederate Richard P. Crump turned violent, two of Crump's compatriots were injured. Smith and freedpeople who came to his defense escaped unscathed. After the commander of the nearby Federal military post refused protection, the carpetbagger, alongside four African Americans, Cornelius Turner, Anderson Wright, Lewis Grant, and Richard Stewart, were arrested by the white city authorities who considered Smith their enemy. That night, members of the local Klan offshoot, the Knights of the Rising Sun, entered the city calaboose by force. Unable to overcome Smith's spirited refusal to leave, they shot him dead in the cell and continued firing into his lifeless body. Grant and Stewart were gunned down in the same manner, suggesting that all three were viewed, though likely to varying degrees, as distinctly different from the whites who killed them. Had the Knights succeeded in removing Smith, he may well have met a more spectacular fate.[44]

Like the Klan in North Carolina and the CCU in Jamaica, the Knights of the Rising Sun found inspiration and justification in the region's conservative press. Reflecting on the killing, the *Dallas Herald* described Smith as

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[43] Donald Campbell to Elisha Marshall Pease, August 25 1868, Records of Elisha Marshall Pease, Office of the Governor, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Austin.

[44] Christopher B. Bean, "Death of a Carpetbagger: The George Washington Smith Murder and Stockdale Trial in Jefferson, Texas, 1868-1869," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 112, no. 3 (2009): 262-92. Wright and Turner escaped.

> a man of infamous character, whose career in Jefferson had been one of violence and unbridled licentiousness; who lived and cohabited with negroes; who had frequently been known to walk the principal streets almost in a state of nudity … and who was so notoriously gross and immoral that there was not even a white radical family in the place who would associate with him or permit him to enter their house.[45]

Smith's moral failings, stemming from close interaction with freedpeople, were cast in the familiar terms of stereotypically non-white "licentiousness." He, like black people of the unreconstructed Southern imagination, had engaged in promiscuity and miscegenation, and the lack of civilized whiteness revealed in his behavior legitimized his death at white hands. That even other corrupted whites had ostracized Smith in this narrative indicated the depths to which he had sunk. The distance between his skin and heart was greater than that of even the worst carpetbagger stereotype.

The scalawag's character was little better than the carpetbagger's in many regions of the postemancipation South. He was just as prone to the immorality, and equally deserving of the punishment inauthentic whiteness invited. The murder of George Ashburn, a wartime Unionist and postbellum Republican judge in Columbus, Georgia, bears striking similarities to the killing of Smith it predated by just seven months. Like Smith, Ashburn served as a delegate of a Radical-leaning state constitutional convention and publicly supported freedpeople's civil rights. Like Smith, Ashburn was shot multiple times by white supremacists—the Ku Klux Klan's first recorded killing outside of Tennessee—just as Radical Republicans sought to take control of pro-Confederate regions in 1868.[46] And like Smith's, Ashburn's death was justified by and served as

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[45] *Dallas Herald*, 17 June 1869. This passage and similar descriptions appeared in other local papers – see Bean, "Death of a Carpetbagger": 268, n. 9.

[46] William A. Link, *Atlanta, Cradle of the New South: Race and Remembering in the Civil War's Aftermath* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 86-110; Elizabeth Otto Daniell, "The Ashburn Murder Case in Georgia Reconstruction, 1868," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (1975): 296-312; Allen Trelease, *White*

proof of his inauthenticity. Shunned by conservative whites, and therefore denied access to the

white-run boarding houses of Columbus, Ashburn rented rooms from a black woman, Hannah

Flournoy. This decision, coupled with Ashburn's general support for the political equality his

opponents refused to separate from the "social equality" of miscegenation, was enough to tarnish

his reputation. A white judge told the Congressional investigation into the murder that Ashburn

was "said then to be living in a state of adultery with a negro woman in Columbus" and "that he

abandoned his family in defiance of public sentiment." Another local Democrat described

Ashburn as "a man of very low morals." And a pro-redeemer publication loudly stated that a

"death in a negro brothel of the lowest order renders comment upon his life unnecessary."[47]

While Ashburn's killing lacked the racializing symbolism of a more spectacular lynching, the

accompanying accusations achieved what violence alone could not. Charges of promiscuity and

miscegenation ensured that murder appeared not just as deserved punishment for an individual

instance of inauthenticity, but also as a further reminder of general Republican character.

Yet the redeemer preference for violence also provided fodder for reformer defenses.

Acutely aware of how opponent's criticisms and violence reflected upon them, surviving

reformers often exhibited remarkable determination to salvage their reputation. "To give up

now," the Maine-born carpetbagger John Emory Bryant wrote, "is, I fear, to leave Georgia …

with a cloud over my name, one that would never be removed." Bryant knew well how willing

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Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction ([1971] Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 76-8.

[47] Testimony of Augustus R. Wright in US Congress, "Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire Into the Conditions of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, vol. I: Georgia," *Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives for the Second Session of the Forty-Second Congress 1871-2* (Washington: Government Printing Office: 1872), 136; Benjamin H. Hill, quoted in Trelease, *White Terror*, 76; *Radical Rule: Military Outrage in Georgia: Arrest of the Columbus Prisoners with Facts Connected with their Imprisonment and Release* (Louisville: John P. Moreton & Co., 1868), 3. Black Americans, including Henry McNeal Turner, vociferously denied claims of immorality made against community members and Ashburn – see Rosen, *Terror in the Heart*, 197.

some Southern whites were to use deadly violence; while working for the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865, his assistant, Capt. Alex Heasley, had been shot and stabbed to death by three former Confederates.[48] Perhaps the memory informed his decision to repudiate "the Southern code" that demanded a violent reply to those who questioned his whiteness. "This is not the Northern way of proving one's self," Bryant wrote in the *Loyal Georgian*. Instead, the article reminded readers that "he has served three years in the army and his record will speak for him," a record supplemented with published testimonies of his moral rectitude.[49] By refusing to engage opponents on their terms, by refusing to respond with the violence that defined opposition to Reconstruction, Bryant may have lost further face. His honor, a notion inseparable from violence and whiteness according to the "Southern code," was probably cast in further doubt.[50] But likely seeing Northern Republican support as more important than Southern Democrat co-operation— Bryant's actions in Georgia were well documented in Northern journals—he sought to reaffirm whiteness and authority before sympathetic allies rather than opponents whose good will he would never earn.[51]

Missionaries' descriptions of the 1831 post-rebellion backlash were equally defiant of inauthenticity imposed by violence. Like Bryant, they knew they had little chance of changing

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[48] John Emory Bryant to unnamed, October 1866, Folder 2, John Emory Bryant Papers, DU; Paul A. Cimbala, *Under the Guardianship of the Nation: The Freedmen's Bureau and the Reconstruction of Georgia, 1865-1870* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 75.

[49] *Loyal Georgian* [Augusta], 21 July 1866.

[50] On white southern codes of chivalry and honor as safeguards of white male race and gender privilege, especially in the case of lynchings, see Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "'The Mind that Burns." Ritchie Wilson, "'The Difference of Race': Antebellum Race Mythology and the Development of Southern Nationalism," *Southern Literary Journal* 35, no. 1 (2002): 1-13, shows that white Southerners connected race and honor so deeply that they defined themselves apart from white Northerners along racial lines. In this logic, the biological ancestors of Northerners were "Saxon-descended Puritans … people of vigorous intellect, but they possessed no honor," while Southerners were descended from "Norman aristocracy and manifesting that culture's generous, honorable, and aristocratic nature" (11). For the basis of Wilson's analysis, see "The Difference of Race between Northern and Southern People," *Southern Literary Messenger* 30 (1860): 401-9.

[51] See, for example, *New York Times*, 13 October 1866, 9 November 1867; *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier* [ME] 12 May 1866, 16 July 1866; *North American and United States Gazette* [Philadelphia, PA], 13 June 1866, 16 July 1866, 3 September 1866; *Boston Daily Advertiser* [MA], 11 April 1866.

the minds of conservatives in the immediate vicinity. Even in other islands of the Caribbean, planter hostility became insurmountable as soon as news of the rebellion spread. "To reason on the subject now," a Wesleyan agent in Trinidad wrote in January, "is like reasoning with men without ears; they cannot hear; they will not be convinced; and are determined to have nothing to do with the saints and Methodists; such is the temper and feeling of nineteen twentieths, if not ninety nine hundredths of the inhabitants of this colony." Instead missionaries targeted their efforts toward the metropolitan government and public, petitioning the former for protection through publicly circulated memorials, and regularly appealing to the latter in missionary publications and memoirs.[52] In one such BMS account published in response to print criticisms of the society, Burchell wrote of the attempt on his life:

> the most savage and ferocious spirit was manifested by some of (what are called) the most respectable white inhabitants that ever could have occurred amongst civilized society. They began to throng around me, hissing, and groaning, and gnashing at me with their teeth …. Had I never been at Montego Bay before, I must have supposed myself among cannibals, or in the midst of the savage hordes of Siberia, or the uncultivated and uncivilized tribes of central Africa. Some cried out "Have his blood:" others "Shoot him:" others "Hang him." … I am fully persuaded, had it not been for the protection afforded me by the coloured part of the population, natives of Jamaica, I should have been barbarously murdered, –yea torn limb from limb, by my countrymen, –yea by *enlightened!* RESPECTABLE! CHRISTIAN BRITONS!!!

In contrast to Bryant, Burchell and the BMS fought fire with fire. They appropriated the racialized language of the attacks against them, turning it back upon opponents. The racial meaning of phrases like "savage," "cannibals," and "the uncultivated and civilized tribes of

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[52] John Fletcher to WMMS, 17 January 1832, Box 131, West Indies General Correspondence, WMMS Archive, SOAS. Examples of missionary memorials include "The Humble Memorial of the Undersigned Baptist Missionaries to His Excellency the Governor" (1832) in CO 137/187; "The Humble Memorial of Certain Baptist Missionaries residing in the Parish of St. James, Jamaica" in Eyre to Cardwell, no. 257, 28 October 1865, in CO 137/393; "Memorial from Evangelical Missionaries and Ministers in St. Ann's Parish to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty" in Eyre to Cardwell, no. 10, 8 January 1866, CO 137/399; MS 15 Memorial of the Jamaica Baptist Union to the Right Honorable E. Cardwell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 22 March 1866, NLJ,

central Africa" are blatant. The animalistic imagery evinced in the crowd's "hissing, groaning, and gnashing … with their teeth" further cemented the view that the vigilantes were less advanced than the missionaries who appeared whiter by comparison. Even the "natives of Jamaica" are shown to possess more markers of civilization. The parenthetical clause "(what are called)" exposes the ironic distance between image and reality of planter whiteness, as does the crescendo of emphasis in the final sentence. Speaking of this passage, Catherine Hall argues that "Britishness, and whiteness, in the discourse of the missionaries and their allies, should mean order, civilization, Christianity, domesticity and separate spheres, rationality and industry. When it carried another set of meanings, it was deeply disturbing: white people then became 'savages,' uncultivated, and uncivilized."[53] In the missionary narrative, the qualities Hall lists, the traditional markers of middle-class whiteness that reformers sought to instill in freedpeople, were shown to be absent from the plantocrat character.[54]

Burchell's account was republished over the ensuing decades when hatred against missionaries, and suggestions of their inauthenticity, spiked. In 1842, when planters accused Baptists of inciting labor unrest among freedpeople, and again in 1865, as publication of a letter by BMS secretary Underhill protesting freedpeople's suffering and the black political "Underhill" meetings that followed brought the mission under renewed suspicion, Baptist-authored histories sought to remind the public that missionaries, not their assailants, were racially authentic.[55] Just like their responses to press attacks, these attempts to reclaim whiteness

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[53] *A Narrative of Recent Events Connected with the Baptist Mission in this Island, Comprising also a Sketch of the Mission, from its Commencement, in 1814, to the end of 1831, by the Baptist Missionaries* (Kingston: Edward Jordan and Robert Osborn, 1833), 48; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 113.

[54] On this Victorian definition of whiteness, see Hall, "White Visions, Black Lives"; Idem, "Missionary Stories: Gender and Ethnicity in England in the 1830s and 1840s," in *White, Male, and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 205-54.

[55] See Rev. F. A. Cox, *History of the Baptist Missionary Society, from 1782 to 1842, to which is added a Sketch of the General Baptist Mission, vol. II* (London: T. Ward & Co., and G. & J. Dyer, 1842), 103-4; John Clark, W.

and authority seemingly did little to slow the decline of white reformer influence in postemancipation societies.

Flogging

Perhaps no single object, let alone means of punishment, was more consistently associated with slavery than the whip. As Thomas Holt suggests, "the most visible and compelling symbol of the difference between a free society and a slave society was the latter's reliance upon the whip to control human behavior." So frequently was it used, one Antiguan planter noted, that the sound of British Caribbean slavery was "'*whip—whip—whip incessantly*.'" And the missionary John Smith provided a similar glimpse of a typical day on a plantation: "The first thing as usual which I heard was the whip. From ½ past 6 until ½ past 9 my ears were pained by the whip." Orlando Patterson notes in his discussion of the "constituent elements of slavery" that "there is no known slaveholding society where the whip was not considered an indispensable instrument."[56]

The whip's frequent use on black skin imbued it with racial meaning. The analyses by Fischer and Paton quoted above both specifically addressed its role in constructing race. And in every location Patterson studies, a master's power rested at least in part in the ability to inflict physical pain. (Sectarian Christian instruction appeared so subversive to enslavers in the British Caribbean because it "provided the slaves with a new model of authority, authority based not the

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Dendy, and J. M. Philippo, *The Voice of Jubilee: A Narrative of the Baptist Mission, Jamaica, from its Commencement; with Biographical Notices of its Fathers and Founders* (London: John Snow, 1865), 204. On the labor strikes and Baptist involvement in them, see Wilmot, "Emancipation in Action"; Idem, "The Peacemakers: Baptist Missionaries and Ex-Slaves in West Jamaica 1838-40," *Jamaica Historical Review* (1982): 42-8.

[56] Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 105; Antiguan planter quoted in James A. Thome and Joseph Horace Kimball, *Emancipation in the West Indies*, 58; John Smith, 14 September 1817, John Smith Journal, CWM/LMS Archive, SOAS; Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 4.

whip but on example and persuasion."[57]) Beyond coercion to work, Patterson notes, flogging

served to attach dishonor—the universal condition of enslavement—to its victim. And in New

World slave societies dishonor was inseparable from notions of blackness, investing the whip

with the facility to inscribe race. When used against ostensibly white people, it questioned that

whiteness. Manisha Sinha outlines the effect with the example of Southerner Preston Brook's

infamous attack on Northern abolitionist Charles Sumner on the US Senate floor in 1856:

> According to the southern code of honor, a duel could be fought only between equals. Whippings, canings, and other forms of physical chastisement were reserved for social inferiors. Brooks had chosen to beat Sumner precisely as he would a slave or a slave's ally. The lesson that slaveholders wanted to instill was fairly simple: to take up the slave's cause was to suffer like a slave, to have no honor, to be condemned to a "social death," and to be virtually outside the rule of law.

The symbolic potency of a flogging, distilled over centuries of slavery, was strong enough so

survive the demise of the labor system through which it developed. When adherents of Brooks'

ideology whipped, caned, or beat carpetbaggers—perceived as a "slave's all[ies]" by virtue of

Northern origins and Republican sympathies—the effect was similar. The lack of honor and

social death inherent in aligning with black people undermined the target's whiteness. Northern

liberals were the equals of true white Southerners; they were not subject to the protections

typically afforded by their color and "white man's law." [58]

Each use of the whip strengthened its symbolic force, its importance in distinguishing the

supremacy of those who wielded it from the inferiority of those who felt it. By 1899, when

liberal visions of racial equality had truly been abandoned in the US, one law student could still

note that "in civil life … to the grown man, [a whipping] is and always was a mark of

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[57] Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 94.

[58] Manisha Sinha, "The Caning of Charles Sumner: Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War," *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 2 (2003): 245.

degradation in the eyes of the community." It marked the slave apart on account of his race, physically proving his dishonor, and did the same for the formerly enslaved after emancipation. As Tourgée wrote in *A Fool's Errand*, the "whipped, the mangled, the bleeding, the torn!" were "despoiled of manhood" in the view of the community.[59]

In the British Caribbean, where planter dominated legislatures and courts offered legal avenues through which to persecute missionaries, extralegal physical attacks typical of the Reconstruction-era South were less common. Even the CCU's signature response was destruction of places of worship, not wholesale corporal punishment of individuals. Yet the attempted murders of Bleby and Burchell show that exceptions were made when the opportunity arose or public prosecutions were not forthcoming. The beating of Bleby, like the caning of Sumner and floggings of carpetbaggers, conveyed inequality between victim and perpetrators.

In Jamaican proslavery fiction created to "validate a world [enslavers] believed they would imminently lose," authors connected racial authenticity to the wielding of a whip. In *Hamel, the Obeah Man* (1827) by Cynric Williams (likely a pseudonym for Charles White Williams, Jamaican coffee planter and "owner" of 300 slaves), the missionary antagonist Roland preaches to enslaved blacks on the daily punishments and humiliations of slavery:

> Brethren, you know the white people well … They brought you here, and made you work, and flogged you. Then they took your wives and your daughters for their mistresses, to live with them; and you know they flog *them*, if they like … You will perhaps say that I am a white man. So I am outwardly—my skin is white; but my heart is like yours; and if that is black as your skins, so is mine. I am an exception to the white men; I have never flogged you or ravished your daughters.[60]

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[59] Simon E. Baldwin, "Whipping and Castration as Punishments for a Crime," *Yale Law Review* 8, no. 9 (1899): 376; Tourgée, *Fool's Errand*, 251.

[60] Tim Watson, *Caribbean Culture and British Fiction in the Atlantic World, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 67. Watson identifies Charles White Williams as the likely author of the novel. Cynric Williams, *Hamel, the Obeah Man, vol. I* (London: Hunt & Clarke, 1827), 110-1.

If Williams' depiction of Roland can be taken as somewhat representative of broader plantocrat opinion, the unwillingness of missionaries to wield the whip marked them apart in the British Caribbean. If racial identity was distinguished by the difference between an active and a passive relationship to physical coercion, sectarians came down on the wrong side. By their own admission in this construction, they had white skin and a black heart. They were closer in nature to black slaves than "the white people" because unlike the latter, they would not flog the former.

In the planter imagination, unwillingness to inflict physical pain was a telling sign of racial inauthenticity. After all, as Thomas Carlyle would state emphatically on behalf of planters in his "Occasional Discourse," it was a white man's duty to employ the "beneficent whip" on lazy blacks. In the Carlylean view, Thomas Holt writes, black people were "incapable of self-direction and inner restraint," meaning that "they must be subjected to external controllers. Having failed to master themselves, they must have masters."[61] And that mastery was proof of whiteness; as James Hunt informed the Anthropological Society of London: "The white man, therefore, must be a superior man, because he has exhibited that peculiar kind of ability that tyrannises over his [non-white] fellows." When missionaries not only refused to oblige, but actively protested corporal punishment, they shirked the duties of true white men, and aligned themselves again with the blacks who required regular physical reminders of their racial status. In 1824, when they supported amelioration measures that made whipping of enslaved women illegal in the colonies; in 1832, when they expressed unease at the brutality of post-rebellion punishments; and in 1865, when they registered disgust at gratuitous use of the lash under Eyre's direction, missionaries lent greater weight to the inauthentic designation in planter eyes.[62] When

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[61] Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse": 535; Hunt, "On the Negro's Place in Nature": xlii; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 280.

[62] For examples of missionary society opposition to corporal punishment, see *Missionary Register* (November 1824): 486; Minutes of the SMS, 11 December 1832, Dep 298 no. 200 Minute-book of the Scottish Missionary

after emancipation Baptist William Knibb continued to criticize flogging as a punishment for laws aimed to control black labor, he cemented his status for the planter class. "The white man, or the white female, who is taken as a vagrant" he stated in a speech commemorating emancipation in 1839, "is to be fed, lodged, and accommodated with comparative comfort; but the black man, or the black female, is to be subjected to the withering influence of cruelty, and to all the agonies that may be inflicted by the cart whip." "This law makes the distinction of complexion the rule for the measure of punishment," he continued, perhaps not realizing that more than skin color alone informed constructions of race and the punishments accorded it. By attacking corporal punishment and the reinvention of the slave system intended by its use, Knibb potentially increased the likelihood that his own punishment thereafter would be measured in different, more racialized, way. He certainly *did* realize that conditions for corporal punishment were not unique to Jamaica. Hopeful that emancipation would make a lasting difference for black Jamaicans, Knibb proclaimed, "this law was never for freemen; it was made for slaves. Send it to Cuba, send it to America; but it won't do for Jamaica!"[63] In fact, it suited Jamaica as much as it did the America. In both locations, floggings offered fast routes to inauthenticity.

Society, 1824-34, NLS; D. Kerr to WMMS, 13 February 1832, West Indies General Correspondence, Box 131, WMMS Archive, SOAS; Knibb, *Facts and Documents*, 23; Evidence of the Rev. William Knibb, in *Analysis of the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons on the Extinction of Slavery with Notes by the Editor* (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1833), 105-23; *Special and Authentic Details of the Inhuman Butcheries & Ruthless Atrocities Recently Perpetrated in Jamaica, being a Thrillingly Horrible Narrative of Revival of the Days of Revolutionary Terror in 1865: Five Thousand Men, Women, and Children Murdered in Cold Blood!! Eight Miles of Road Strewn with Dead Bodies, Concluding with the True Story of George William Gordon* (London: F. Farrah, N. d.), in BMS Pamphlets 1865-67, vol. II, AL; Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 102-5; Matthews, *Caribbean Slave Revolts*, 123. However, a small minority of enslavers were willing to concede to abolishing flogging of enslaved women in the hope of delaying abolition of slavery itself, or at least securing compensation. See, for example, Augustus Hardin Beaumont, *Compensation—Manumission, and Abolition of Flogging Females, Considered in a Letter to the Jamaica Legislatives* (N. p., 1831), encl. in Belmore to Goderich, Confidential, 21 November 1831, CO 137/179, NAUK. And yet, flogging, even of women, remained a common and distinctly racialized punishment even once the right to practice it transferred from private planters to the state-employed stipendiary magistrates with emancipation in 1834. See Paton, No Bond, 109-112.

[63] Quoted in John Howard Hinton and William Knibb, *Memoir of William Knibb, Missionary in Jamaica* (London: Houlston & Stoneman, 1847), 315-6.

In the US, Tourgée's fiction repeatedly emphasized the racial symbolism of the whip. His main character in *A Fool's Errand*, Comfort Servosse, is threatened with it, and is first awakened to the true dangers of the Klan when a freeman is beaten:

> Apparently, after having cut the flesh with closely-laid welts and furrows, sloping downward from the left side towards the right, with the particular skill in castigation which could only be obtained through the abundant opportunity for severe and deliberate flagellation which prevailed under the benign auspices of slavery, the operator had changed his position and scientifically cross-checked the whole. That he was an expert justified [the victim's] remark – "Nobody but an ole oberseer eber dun dat …" – was evident even on causal inspection.

Having established the connection between postemancipation floggings, blackness, and the redeemer yearning for a return to the "benign auspices of slavery"—Servosse tells his opponents that their violent tendencies are "all the fruit and outcome of two hundred years of slavery'"—Tourgée reveals the racial meaning of "black" punishment transposed onto a white body. When one of Servosse's Southern neighbors supports carpetbagger policies, his identity is remade. Whipped for being a "'nigger-loving radical,'" the scalawag is treated, so his father informs Servosse, "just like a common nigger!" Like a lynching, however, a flogging approximated blackness; it did not confer it.[64]

Social realities mirrored literature. Stories of white Northerners being whipped in the South abounded. Journalists at the *Charleston Courier* delighted when the proprietor of the *Savanna News* "called on [a] carpet-bag official and gave him a sound thrashing." Just as newspapers encouraged murder as punishment of carpetbagger immorality, they were known to state openly that "carpet bag thieves … deserved cropping and branding for their audacity." The *Atlantic Monthly* remembered in 1901 of Klan violence that "Negroes were often whipped, and

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[64] Tourgée, *Fool's Errand*, 71, 184, 94-5, 198, 200. African Americans were far more likely to be beaten than white radicals. Of twenty-one cases documented in Lincoln County, North Carolina, around October 1870, for example, sixteen (seventy-six percent) were committed against blacks, and five (twenty-four percent) against whites – J. B. Keating to William Alexander Hoke, 17 October 1870, 345 William Alexander Hoke Papers, SHC, UNC.

so were carpet-baggers … incidents related in such stories as Tourgée's *A Fool's Errand* all have

their counterparts in the testimony before congressional committees and courts of law."

Tourgée's description of terrorism does indeed reflect testimony from Congressional inquiries

and trials. One Klansmen defendant in South Carolina claimed he had planned to "'whip

carpetbaggers and make them change their politics.'"[65]

Though violence against carpetbagger office-holders was common, they could often

secure aid from troops stationed nearby. (Potential military support might partly explain why

people like Capt. Heasley and George Ashburn were killed instantly and without ceremony,

leaving no for the literal cavalry to arrive). For teachers, Federal protection could often not be

secured so swiftly. They were whipped more commonly, especially men. Rev. J. P. Bardwell was

beaten almost to death for teaching Mississippi freedpeople, while an AMA instructor in Virginia

wrote: "We are in trouble. Five men disguised in Satanic garb … dragged me from my bed, bore

me one-and-a-half miles to a thicket, whipped me unmercifully, and left me to die. They

demanded of me that I should cease teaching niggers, and leave in ten days or be treated worse

… I shall never recover from all my injuries."[66] Similarities to the attack on Corliss—the

distance marched from the residence, reason given for the attack, the victim being left to die, and

the time given to leave—points to a concerted policy throughout different branches of the Klan.

Yet such practices continued long after the Klan was largely suppressed. In June 1874,

fifteen masked men in Guadeloupe Co., Texas, entered the house of C. W. Washburn while he

slept. Washburn, a "teacher of the public school in the colored settlement" was taken from his

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[65] *Charleston Courier*, 4 September 1869; *Hinds County Gazette*, 30 December 1874; William Garrott Brown, "The Ku Klux Movement," *Atlantic Monthly* 87 (1901): 641-2; Kirkland Gunn, quoted in Williams, *Great South Carolina Ku Klux Klan Trials*, 78.

[66] Christopher M. Span, *From Cotton Fields to Schoolhouse: African American Education in Mississippi, 1862-1875* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 111; *American Missionary* (January 1870), 9.

bed and escorted for two miles into the woods. Despite murderous intentions, one attacker had second thoughts. The group instead "inflicted one hundred lashes will a bull whip, and gave him six days in which to leave the country … They told [Washburn] that they would kill or drive off every white teacher … who taught the negro; that this was a white man's country, and no negro should be taught; and that they meant to have him back in his old condition." Connections to the "old condition" are especially clear in the use of a bullwhip, just as they were in the Klan's decision to tie white reformer William I. Ward to a tree in North Carolina before flogging him. Louis Hughes, formerly enslaved in Virginia, recalled that it was typical on a plantation "to tie the slave to a tree, strip off his clothes, and then whip him with a rawhide, or long, limber switches, or the terrible bullwhip." As in the slave's experience Hughes remembered, restraints in postemancipation whippings put a victim "entirely at the mercy of his tormentors." It was equally true that a beaten person was "often left bleeding and helpless on the ground."[67] In the particular mechanics of a flogging (though not the effect), the only significant difference, and even then in the minority of overall cases, was the color of skin struck by the whip.

Even when Klan organization was absent, racializing traits of postemancipation violence proliferated. Whether it was an AMA agent flogged with a cane by a lone Mississippian—before a crowd for spectacular effect—or the teacher robbed, threatened, and partly beaten by a posse in Wilmington, North Carolina, the very ability to inflict violence was proof of a vigilante's honorable whiteness compared with a victim's dishonorable inauthenticity. Successful resistance mounted by the teacher in the latter case, owing to skills learned in military service, allowed him to maintain a degree of honor and racial integrity according to the "southern code." In many

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[67] *American Missionary* (September 1874): 209; John Walter Stephens to Tourgée, 20 April 1870, #1270, AWTP; Louis Hughes, *Thirty Years a Slave, from Bondage to Freedom: The Institution of Slavery as Seen on the Plantation and in the Home of the Planter* (Milwaukee: South Side Printing Company, 1897), 45.

cases however, a flogging was enough to overthrow local radical rule or close a school for freedpeople. When Corliss returned North, his students lost a crucial opportunity to realize meaningful freedom. And when J. M. Jones, the only other prominent local white radical was publicly whipped and fled shortly before Stephens was killed, he left Caswell County open to "redemption."[68] Alongside the intimidation bound up in redeemer violence, the dishonor of being treated as a non-white, of enduring the partial social death of losing legal protection, contributed to such decisions.

Ostracism

Like physical abuse, ostracism of reformers missionaries, teachers, carpetbaggers, and scalawags, practiced with near universal devotion by conservative whites, formed a powerful symbolic association between the white reformer and racial slavery. It recalled, without fully replicating, the condition of social death defined by Patterson: "the slave is violently uprooted from his milieu, he is desocialized and depersonalized. This process of social negation constitutes the first … phase of enslavement. The next phase involves the introduction of the slave into the community of his master, but it involves the paradox of introducing him as a non-being." Redeemers introduced white reformers to the "community of the master," or nearest version of it they could create after slavery, through the violence discussed above. Approximating social negation, the "natal alienation" in which a slave was "denied all claims on, and obligations to, his parents and living blood relations [and], by extension, all such claims and

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[68] Rev. J. P. Bardwell to George Whipple, 28 April 1866, AMAA, ARC; *American Missionary* (March 1867): 51; A. C. Thompson to Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick, 24 May 1870, box 7, Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick Papers, DU; Stuart McIver, "The Murder of a Scalawag," *American History Illustrated* (1973): 18.

obligations on his more remote ancestors and on his descendants" was the next objective. To render a missionary or carpetbagger "a genealogical isolate … in social relations" as much as was possible proved a harder task than the alienation of enslaved people.[69]

Because the property rights of enslavers that facilitated easy breakup of enslaved families did not apply to whites, because full natal alienation was therefore impossible, violence and ostracism were the only means by which a *kind* of social death could be inflicted. Even that violence, though commonly practiced, was not as easily wielded or legally justified as it had been on enslaved people, making the social death imposed on whites even less complete.[70] Moreover, as James Sweet notes, "Enslaved Africans relied on their flexible understandings of kinship in their construction of new communities," so that even for those on "the precipice of social death," "the strands of social belonging were always there to seize and claim one's personhood." Those strands were generally more numerous for white reformers. Some were able to create new communities in the South, if only for a time. The Vermont carpetbagger Marshall Harvey Twitchell, for instance, married into a prominent Southern family in the Red River Parish of Louisiana, winning their loyalty and support. He further bolstered his new community by forming friendships with other carpetbaggers and bringing Northern family members South.[71] But near complete ostracism by Southern elites was a typical experience, though even then a return to the North allowed reformers to renew old kinship bonds, an option few victims of

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[69] Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 38, 5. Patterson's concept of social death is developed from Claude Meillasoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold*, trans. Alide Dasnois (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[70] In "Social Death and Political Life," Vincent Brown shows that even under slavery, the ability of enslaved subjects to reform and create new kinship bonds meant that full social death was always more of an enslaver's ideal, only ever partially realized: "Social death was a receding horizon—the farther slaveholders moved toward the goal of complete mastery, the more they found that struggles with their human property would continue, even into the most elemental realms: birth, hunger, health, fellowship, sex, death, and time" (1241).

[71] James H. Sweet, "Defying Social Death: The Multiple Configurations of African Slave Family in the Atlantic World," *William & Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2013): 257; Tunnell, *Edge of the Sword*.

international and domestic slave trades ever had. Thus, social death of whites in the South was always a less permanent and destructive version of that imposed on the enslaved.

The purpose of social death in each case further magnified these differences. While it was enacted to undermine the social authority of its targets, when practiced on enslaved subjects, the ultimate aim of the process was creation of a permanently docile labor force; its use for carpetbaggers, scalawags, and missionaries was more temporary, meant to signal inauthenticity, challenging the authority of its victim only as long as they chose to associate with black people or advocate racial equality. Though temporary, it often proved effective. When even Albion Tourgée, viewed by allies to have "stood up like a hero" to the Ku Klux Klan, considered relinquishing his North Carolina judgeship in 1870 in favor of a position in Washington, his decision was likely informed as much by the belief that he could do more good where he retained standing and authority, where society accepted him more, as it was by personal unhappiness resulting from "slanders and persecution." As William Baker, AMA agent in Missouri, informed his superiors, "A teacher may ingratiate herself into the favor of inferior military officers who will stand up [for] her" in the event of a physical threat, "but if the sentiments of a community are against her, the prospects for success are unfavorable."[72]

Perhaps because of the need to conform publicly to repeatedly stated ideals of chivalry, or perhaps because of a gender ideology that dismissed women's capabilities as political actors, white Southern critics of Reconstruction generally reserved physical abuse for male opponents. They also seem to have avoided much of the sexual violence constantly employed against

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[72] Thomas Settle to Tourgée, 7 September 1870, #1472 AWTP; William Baker to George Whipple, 9 March 1865, AMAA, ARC.

women of color.[73] While physical harm was rare, it was not unusual for Northern white women to receive death threats. "Many individuals have sworn to shoot us, when they get a good chance," Sarah Chase, a teacher in Georgia, wrote. Chase believed that only "policy" of the local "leading Secessionist," who feared the repercussions of killing a white Northern woman, prevented the "plots" coming to fruition. Female carpetbaggers, who, like Chase, most commonly travelled from the North to teach in freedpeople's schools, were more likely to be ostracized. Anti-Reconstruction activists employed a wide range of strategies to make the hated "Yankee schoolmarm" feel disconnected from Southern communities. In Georgia alone, whites

> evicted Yankee teachers from their rented quarters, still others scribbled obscenities on classroom blackboards at night. Carriage drivers declined to transport school superintendents around town and postmasters and bank tellers refused to perform routine services for them. Tax officials levied inordinately high assessments against school buildings, employers threatened to fire all black workers unless their northern-sponsored teachers left town, creditors promised to recall mortgages if white farmers allowed schoolhouses to be built on their property.[74]

While seemingly trivial, such quotidian acts of exclusion, coupled with the deliberate snubbing by local white society, made clear that a female teacher could not expect the treatment accorded a true white woman under much vaunted codes of Southern gentlemanly conduct.

These measures could prove ineffective, however, unless observed by an entire local community. In Brandon, Mississippi, Mary Close was ostracized for taking black students. "The citizens do not recognize me," she informed the AMA, "nor will they board me. I am obliged to board with a mulatto family." By shutting their doors and forcing Close to enter the private

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[73] See Rosen, *Terror in the Heart*; Laura F. Edwards, "Sexual Violence, Gender, Reconstruction and the Extension of Patriarchy in Granville County, North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 69, no. 3 (1991): 237-60.

[74] Sarah E. Chase to Mr. May, 7 March 1866, Box 1, Folder 9, Chase Family Papers, AAS; Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 155-6. Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 81-2. Jones notes that "a different standard existed for northern whites, especially white women. It is possible that even 'country roughs and crackers' (as one AMA superintendent called them) hesitated to stoop so low as to harm a white woman. To black women, of course, they extended no such courtesies" (82-3).

domains of African Americans, unreconstructed Mississippians created more evidence for their beliefs that white reformers formed unnatural racial associations. Yet while Close was unable to construct (white) social bonds in Brandon, she was able to secure formal protections. When pupils at the nearby white school threw stones at her and the culprits' teacher refused to help, Close appealed to the mayor, who swiftly put an end to the harassment. Her isolation was only ever partial; she enjoyed rights and courtesies accorded no true socially dead individual.[75]

Even in the face of blanket ostracism, many women persisted. They showed remarkable courage in the face of what Sarah Chase described as "intensely bitter" feeling against "anything Northern." In Columbus, Georgia, she faced daily reminders of her lack of belonging, as locals never "hesitate[d] to say that those who favor the North shall not live in their communities." Even the threat of violence might not prove enough to dislodge a teacher from her work. And though Close was forced out of Grenada Mississippi when Freedmen's Bureau agent, Lt. J. B. Blanding was shot and killed without warning (a "committee of citizens" warned the Sub Commander of the Bureau that "the teachers must leave town" or "he would be shot next"), but she moved only to Brandon and continued her work.[76]

Over time, however, even seemingly minor aggressions could accumulate, creating an unbearable sense of alienation. Close was eventually forced to shutter her school in Brandon in 1866 because of the ostracism she experienced. General opposition from "the press and people," the refusal of any whites to sit next to her in Church, the stoning of her home and school, and warnings from the local editor that "if I continued my night-school, the consequences be upon

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[75] Close to Hunt, 31 May 1866, AMAA, ARC.
[76] Sarah E. Chase to Mrs. May, 5 February 1866, Box 1, Folder 9, Chase Family Papers, AAS; Close to Hunt, 31 May 1866, AMAA; J. P. Bardwell to George Whipple, 4 May 1866, AMAA, ARC; Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 156; Span, *Cotton Fields to Schoolhouse*, 111.

my head," all took their toll. If she was a "person of any refinement," the newspaperman told her, she would "not remain in a society where everyone looked upon me with loathing and disgust." Feeling the "wearing effects" of her work in such a hostile environment, Close left, presumably for somewhere where she could enjoy the full benefits of social inclusion whiteness usually guaranteed.[77]

Emma Tourgée and Emma Bryant both returned North earlier than their carpetbagger husbands in part because of the loneliness they felt in the South. In Albion Tourgée's impressions of his and Emma's experience, depicted through the characters of Comfort and Metta Servosse in *A Fool's Errand*, they were "regarded either as enemies, intruders, or inferiors by those whose culture rendered their 'society' desirable." That the fictionalized Emma, "acting upon her husband's advice, had calmly and proudly accepted the isolation thus imposed upon her" reveals more about the author's wishes than Emma's true feelings. In reality, she became demoralized by life in North Carolina, and left North Carolina with the couple's daughter Lodie long before Albion.[78] Bryant also found life as a pariah in Augusta too isolating, especially when her husband travelled in pursuit of his political goals. Yet looking back after her return North, very much in contrast to Tourgée, the South still seemed like "home to me, notwithstanding the many unpleasant features of our life there." She often thought of the "teachers, pupils, black and white" with whom she had become acquainted, revealing the limits of social death when imposed on the legally free. Though excluded from "polite" white society, Bryant was able to form lasting social relationships with other reformers and some of those she sought to reform. Perhaps it was this scenario, a product of her work as an editor and teacher—while Emma

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[77] *American Missionary* (September 1866): 200; Close to Hunt, 27 June 1866, AMAA, ARC; Virginia Lantz Denton, *Booker T. Washington and the Adult Education Movement* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 46-7.
[78] Tourgée, *Fool's Errand*, 249. On the effects of ostracism on Emma, see Elliott, *Color-Blind Justice*, 139-40; Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 64-5.

Tourgée was largely confined to her house—that allowed Bryant to remain resolute in her ideals. Though she hoped a time would come when "we shall be on friendly terms with the Southern people," she would only be happy if it came "without any concession of principle on our part."[79]

White male teachers fared little better than their female counterparts. "Men were excluded from the Lord' Communion," Albion Tourgée recalled, simply "establishing sabbath schools for colored people." To guarantee that ostracism was observed throughout Southern white society, "[t]hose who did not curse [black education], its authors, and the government by which it was administered, were henceforth shunned as moral and social lepers." Ostracism often left teachers vulnerable to more physical punishments too. Two disappeared in Corinth, Mississippi, in 1866, and the fact that they slept in the school house because "they could find no white family who would board them," left no witnesses to their disappearance.[80] With results like this in mind, redeemers went to considerable lengths to ensure that carpetbaggers were fully ostracized. R. H. Gladding, another northern-born AMA teacher, was thoroughly "Ku Kluxed" near Atlanta in 1869. Not only was one of few white people who would board him beaten, but Gladding soon noticed "a change for the worse in the streets; boys more abusive, jeers & insults from the men, & a coolness on the part of those who had been tolerably civil." Shots were fired into the house of a black woman with whom Gladding boarded, while masked men visited the room of a "Tax Collector (a Radical)" who aligned with the carpetbagger. When Klansmen came for Gladding himself, he went into hiding, effectively fulfilling demands that he "clear out" or be

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[79] Emma Byant to John Emory Bryant, 30 December 1866, Folder 2, John Emory Bryant Papers, DU.
[80] Tourgée, *Fool's Errand*, 142; *American Missionary* (October 1866): 222. That the men received threats and went missing the night that heavy gunfire was heard in the vicinity of the school indicates their likely fate.

killed. The combination of violent and non-violent harassment reveals the willingness of redeemers to employ any means at their disposal.[81]

Social exclusion of political opponents had antebellum origins. Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick, for example, was chased out of a professorship at the University of North Carolina, and out of the South altogether, for expressing abolitionist sympathies in 1856. But the practice was adopted wholesale when Northerners came to the South in numbers during the Civil War. Union soldiers regularly found themselves ignored, harassed, or physically attacked by the local whites under occupation, and the common Southern view that Radical Reconstruction extended occupation into peacetime determined that carpetbaggers experienced similar treatment.[82] Mississippi planter Kate Foster, who even considered some "Yankee" soldiers gentlemen, could not "bear to be nearer than three or four pews" to them in church. Any Southern woman who condescended to receive a soldier's attention, she believed, "shows so little character"; the social life some women provided accorded soldiers undeserved status and comfort.[83]

No location witnessed greater animosity towards US troops than New Orleans, an economic, cultural, and symbolic powerhouse of the antebellum racial order. Occupied early in the war in 1862, the "*indomitable* Spirit of the South" manifested, one General stationed there recalled, in "spite and affected hatred" toward his troops, with "women and clergyman [*sic*]" especially hostile. So determined was the resistance of "secesh ladies" in the city—insults,

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[81] R. H. Gladding to Rev. E. P. Smith, 27 September 1869, AMAA, ARC; Gladding only escaped physical punishment temporarily, see Jonathan M. Bryant, *How Curious a Land: Conflict and Change in Greene County, Georgia, 1850-1885* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 131.

[82] Michael Thomas Smith, *A Traitor and a Scoundrel: Benjamin Hedrick and the Cost of Dissent* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003). On Reconstruction as a military occupation, see Gregory P. Downs, *After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); Mark Grimsley, "Wars for the American South: The First and Second Reconstructions Considered as Insurgencies," *Civil War History* 58, no. 1 (2012): 6-36.

83 Kate D. Foster, 20 September 1863, Kate D. Foster Diary, DU.

slighting in church and streets, even fecal missiles, were just a few measures employed—that commander of Union forces in the city, Benjamin Butler, issued the now infamous General Order no. 28. But while the insult bound up in treating a defiant subject "as a woman of the town plying her avocation" may dominate political memory of the occupation, the order reveals, as Stephanie McCurry points out, that women who inspired it had become influential combatants. So unwelcome did they make their opponents feel, so alienating were their practices, and so potentially damaging were they to Northern morale, that suppression of the counteroffensive became a military necessity. Excluded from service, the "secesh" ladies of the Crescent City and their counterparts throughout the South upheld slavery's racial ideology in other ways.[84]

In the postbellum era, white supremacist women continued to claim this new political influence in their treatment of carpetbag politicians and teachers. Generally excluded from the lynch mobs and paramilitary organizations by which physical punishments were inflicted, they nonetheless contributed significantly to the imposition of inauthenticity and degradation of liberal emancipation projects. Whether it was the women in Missouri who refused to rent one teacher a room, those who shunned Emma Bryant and Emma Tourgée, or those who cut ties to the one white woman who accommodated teacher Esther Douglass in McLeansville, North Carolina in 1871, imposing limited forms of social death became a public statement of resistance against Reconstruction and a claim of greater power.[85]

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[84] John Wolcott Phelps, 20 March 1862, Diary, John Wolcott Phelps Papers, NYPL; McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 106-16. The order is quoted in Lisa Tendrich Frank, *The Civilian War: Confederate Women and Union Soldiers during Sherman's March* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 29. On memory of the order, see Alecia P. Long, "(Mis)remebering General Order No. 28: General Butler, the Woman Order, and Historical Memory," in *Occupied Women: Gender, Military Occupation, and the American Civil War*, eds. LeeAnn Whites and Long (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), 17-32. See also Jacqueline G. Campbell, "'The Unmeaning Twaddle about Order 28': Benjamin F. Butler and Confederate Women in Occupied New Orleans, 1862," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 2, no. 1 (2012): 11-30.

[85] *American Missionary* (March 1867): 55; Esther Douglass Diary, 1871, f. 37, Esther Douglass Papers, ARC.

This "near universal" ostracism represented the crucial daily policing of racial community borders. Tourgée captured redeemer sentiment in the words of a character in *A Fool's Errand,* who asserts that "'we can't help thinking that one that comes from the North, and associates with niggers—can't—well can't be of much account at home." While Tourgée/Servosse disagrees, believing teachers of blacks to be "ladies of character, fit associates of my wife, and fully the equals of any lady in the state," his was a minority opinion in the region. Echoing Tourgée's Southerner, the *Memphis Advocate* celebrated when a mass violence in 1866 forced several teachers to flee the city: "Another lesson has been taught the white fanatics. It is that we want none of their 'school-marms' among any of our population white or black. A happy riddance we have. They were nuisances. Women who could come down South to teach negroes are unfit for any but negro society." Fitness for "negro society" was itself proof of inauthentic whiteness. In the typical Southern view, a true white woman did not associate socially with black people. AMA agents in Alabama soon became aware of reality when they failed to find any "competent Southern ladies who would be willing to undertake to teach a colored school." To most whites, the Northern associate and educator of blacks seemed so racially tainted as to be infectious, requiring quarantine of true whites from the contagion of inauthenticity. As Douglas reported, the women who shunned her alongside her landlady did so for "fear of losing caste."[86] By casting out the racially suspect teacher, unreconstructed Southern women maintained claims to honor and whiteness.

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[86] Tourgée, *Fool's Errand*, 52, 53; Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 218; *Memphis Advocate*, reprinted in the *American Missionary* (August 1866): 174; J. Silsby to E. M. Cravath, 9 April 1874, AMAA; Douglass to Dear Niece, 30 January 1874, Esther Douglass Papers, ARC.

As isolating as ostracism could be for Northerners, it lasted only while they remained in the South. (For scalawags who had no other home, it might last longer). However, a more permanent form of alienation could be achieved by the destruction of a reformer's kinship networks. Marshall Harvey Twitchell, a Vermont Republican who married into the prominent Coleman family of Louisiana's Red River parish and brought Northern relatives there to support him, might seem an unlikely candidate for such a fate. More than most Northerners in the South, he developed a large, stable social network. In addition to family ties, he formed a close alliance with another carpetbagger, New Yorker Edward Dewees, who succeeded Twitchell at the Freedmen's Bureau station in nearby Sparta. Twitchell became an influential political actor in the region, helping to organize the black majority into a formidable Republican bloc. For a while, his white opponents confined their animosity to ostracism. Dewees, Twitchell, and the once respected Colemans were snubbed and criticized in church. But when a paramilitary organization known as the White League began to terrorize the region, murdering over a hundred black people at Colfax in 1873, terrifying several liberal whites into fleeing the state, and forcing the resignation of several local Republicans in Natchitoches in 1874, Twitchell and Dewees went to Washington in search of Federal support. While away, the White League stepped up the "simple extermination of the Carpetbag & Scalawag element." For these redeemers, it was a "necessity" that all white Republicans be "killed or driven out." Having murdered three black activists in Coushatta—two were hanged; the other, Eli Allen was shot, had his limbs broken, and was burned to death—the League imprisoned Twitchell's brother Homer, brothers-in-law M. C. Willis and Clark Holland, Dewees' brother Robert, Frank Edgerton (the sheriff), and F. W. Howell (the parish attorney). All were forced to resign, and agreed to leave the state forever. But

these measures were a ruse; after leaving town, all six were ambushed by a lynch mob and shot. With them into a mass grave went Radical Reconstruction in the parish.[87]

Bereft of influence and security, without Federal support, Twitchell returned to Vermont in 1875. On a brief trip back to Louisiana the next year, he was shot six times. He survived the assassination attempt but lost both arms and the use of a leg. His remaining brother-in-law, George King, was killed. Twitchell left the South forever, but his sister, Helen, fell ill and died on the journey, just as his wife, Adele, had shortly before the White League campaign. Only his mother remained from the Louisiana social circle. Finally, after years of defiance, Twitchell's spirit was broken. When informed that "the last of my family was gone, the only hands I could trust to do my bidding powerless in death, I fully recognized that justice for the murder of my family would never be done, and for the first time, tears came to my relief."[88] By misfortune and murder, he had been rendered a near genealogical isolate. Social death was perhaps more complete for him than any other white reformer. Of those examined, he came closest to the scenario of alienation described by Patterson and lived to a greater extent by black slaves.

Probably no missionaries in the Caribbean endured an ordeal akin to Twitchell's, but they nonetheless suffered alienation at planter hands. Unlike the South during Reconstruction, British Caribbean justice systems were almost exclusively dominated by the planter class and their sympathizers, providing opponents of sectarians different means of imposing limited forms of

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[87] Tunnell, *Edge of the Sword*, 132-3; Idem, *Crucible of Reconstruction*, 185; Frank S. Edgerton, quoted in *Ibid*, 197; F. W. Howell, quoted in US Congress, *Louisiana Affairs: Report of the Select Committee on that Portion of the President's Message Relating to the Condition of the South* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), 773; Ricky Sherrod, "Beyond Coushatta: The 1874 Exodus Out of Red River Parish," *Louisiana History* 52, no. 4 (2011): 440-72.

[88] Marshall Harvey Twitchell, *Carpetbagger from Vermont: The Autobiography of Harvey Marshall Twitchell*, ed. Ted Tunnell (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 200. Not only did his mother survive but Twitchell remarried, showing that even he, who lost so many from his kinship network, was not rendered completely socially dead. On the "Coushatta massacre" and assassination attempt, see Tunnell, *Crucible of Reconstruction*, 173-209.

social death. They made particular use of incarceration. After the 1831 rebellion in Jamaica, one Baptist was removed from his home, marched fifteen miles, and, without charge, locked "in a filthy dungeon." He was "debarred all intercourse with his friends," and "denied the use of pen, ink, and paper." William Box was placed in Spanish Town Jail, and Isaac Whitehouse, Francis Gardener, William Knibb, and Thomas Abbott were all jailed before being granted bail. Thomas Burchell, who arrived in the middle of the anti-missionary backlash after eight months abroad, was not so lucky. He remained effectively imprisoned on a ship in Montego Bay. Prevented from coming ashore, he was encouraged to "at once return to England," ostensibly "for his own safety, and the safety of the colony." Burchell recognized the potential racial implications, replying that "he had not only a private character to maintain but a public one also, as connected with a public religious society; and that, therefore, he could not leave the island in any way that might be considered or represented dishonourable." On the ship, "still being treated as a prisoner," he was "not suffered to hold any intercourse with his friends on shore."[89] His dislocation from kin was more temporary than Twitchell's but still an effective form of alienation.

Here Jamaican planters imposed more stringent restrictions on Burchell than their British Guianese counterparts had on the missionary John Smith. For a time during Smith's imprisonment, "no person was allowed to visit him except the sentinels & Officers; nor was he permitted to have any communication with any person, or in any way, except them." But once the trial began, Smith was allowed visits from legal counsel and a sympathetic Anglican clergyman. The fact that he had access to legal advice separates him from the majority of more

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[89] Annual Report of the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1832 (London: J. Haddon, 1832), 26, 27; William Box to WMMS, 14 January 1832, Box 131, West Indies General Correspondence, WMMS Archive, SOAS; Belmore to Goderich, no. 152, 10 February 1832, CO 137/181; Thomas F. Abbott, *A Narrative of Certain Events connected with the Late Disturbances in Jamaica and the Charges Preferred Against the Baptist Missionaries in the Island* (London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1832), 64-8; Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 165-70.

socially dead subjects. Moreover, his wife, Jane, was subject to a "rigorous imprisonment of thirteen weeks with him." Though she was also prevented from communicating with the outside world, the Smiths were seemingly able to maintain a certain connection, however limited, during their joint incarceration.[90] If complete desocialization is a key aspect of social death, it was not one to which the Smiths were subjected. When Jamaican authorities placed missionaries in solitary confinement, however, they came closer to achieving it.[91]

Conservative control of island legislatures enabled further infliction of alienation. By 1831, Jamaican enslavers had for decades been attempting to enact laws that excluded missionaries figuratively from civil society or physically from the island. The pattern of colony government attitude to mission work from the turn of the nineteenth century was one of "uneasy tolerance … giving way in times of political stress to overt hostility." These moments included 1802, when, fearing a second Haitian revolution in Jamaica and the unrest missionaries might spur, planters like Simon Taylor pressured the Jamaica Assembly to pass a law classing preachers not "duly qualified" as vagabonds. In 1807, the Wesleyan society's support for abolition of the slave trade prompted passage of a statute effectively outlawing all missionary teaching and stipulating that enslaved people receive instruction only from the slavery-sympathetic Anglican church. At least one Methodist who defied the ruling was imprisoned. The imperial government overruled the assembly, preventing either act from coming into permanent

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[90] Richard Elliott to the LMS, 12 March 1824 [misdated 1823], Box 3, British Guiana Demerara Incoming Correspondence, 1823-9, CWM/LMS Archive, SOAS; Jane Smith to the Secretary of the LMS, excerpted in *The Case of John Smith, one of the Missionaries at Demerara, as Given by the Directors of the London Missionary Society, with some Prefatory Remarks* (Newcastle: J. Clark, 1824), 18-21; da Costa, *Crowns of Glory*, 215-6.

[91] On solitary confinement and incarceration as social death, see Lisa Guenther, *Solitary Confinement: Social Death and its Afterlives* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2013); Lisa Marie Cacho, *Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected* (New York: New York University Press, 2012). Though these scholars focus on the present day criminal justice system, not that of the nineteenth century, infliction of social death through imprisonment can be traced back to the earlier period. See Stephen S. Sowle, "A Regime of Social Death: Criminal Punishment in the Age of Prisons," *New York University Review of Law and Social Change* 497 (1993): 498-565.

effect. The 1802 law did establish a precedent, however, in which missionaries had to secure licenses from magistrates—generally opponents—before preaching, a requirement that led to several incarcerations. (The colonial office was often called on to overturn sentences; as late as 1828, the Governor was forced to intervene in a case concerning Methodist Isaac Whitehouse.)[92] In each instance, the Assembly aimed to make the missionaries pariahs, separating them from the congregations through which their authority was derived. By limiting the sectarians' ability to preach, planters simultaneously hoped to render life in a community of true whites unlivable, to silence the ideology by which an alternative view of whiteness, based in Christianity and respectability, was professed. Though depiction of racial inauthenticity relied on the connection between missionaries and black subjects, the ultimate goal of punishment, legal or extralegal, was the separation of emissaries from church members, leaving the field free, so planters imagined, to reassume control of black labor.

After the 1831 rebellion, opposition to the missionaries unsurprisingly took on a more severe tone, with proposals of complete expulsion echoed with greater frequency and volume. The *Courant* urged whites to join the CCU and "rid Jamaica of these men who have caused more misery and distress in her bosom … Unions of this description in every parish will tend to put an effectual stop to the progress of Sectarianism, and relieve the country of those men who go about like wolves in sheep's clothing." Seeking to protect the missions from such a fate, the new Governor, Earl Mulgrave, dissolved the oppositional Assembly and began suppressing the CCU. Yet the colonial office was forced to reassure Mulgrave of his authority over magistrates who denied licenses, and the Governor himself, who shared the missionary view that the proslavery

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[92] Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 15 (quotation), 16, 118; "The Sectarian. Ms. Jamaica, Grand Court, 24 October 1828," Box 662, WMMS Special Series – Anti-Slavery 1774-1891, WMMS Archive, SOAS; Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 123-4. The Assembly also successfully garnered the Governor's approval of three new clauses in the slave code that restricted sectarian in 1826 – see Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 100.

colonials and their newspapers were "the most measureless liars," had to issue a proclamation defending the right of missions to exist.[93]

With London seemingly unwilling to countenance the passage of the measures most proslavery activists preferred, the CCU took the initiative. In addition to a campaign of violence, members who sat as magistrates revoked licenses and closed Wesleyan chapels in Montego Bay, Port Maria, and Machioneal. Despite Mulgrave's efforts, missionaries were imprisoned in the latter two cases. Even after the CCU was suppressed in 1832, missionaries faced legal strife. "The spirit of persecution still rages against the poor Baptists," the missionary Mary Ann Hutchins wrote in 1834, as her colleagues Thomas Abbott and John Hutchins were hauled before magistrates. Abbott was imprisoned for refusing to swear loyalty to the House of Assembly.[94]

One of the key tenets of the CCU's platform required that "every possible exertion [be taken] to prevent the dissemination of any religious doctrines at variance with those of the English and Scotch churches." For this it was celebrated by papers like the *Courant* which, utilizing racialized imagery of tainted blood, proclaimed happily that this new organization would "expel the poison of sectarianism" from the island's "veins."[95] Nor was this rhetoric confined to the proslavery Jamaican creoles. Governors less sympathetic to the missionaries than Mulgrave would support measures in keeping with the CCU's goals. In the late 1830s and early 1840s, Charles Metcalfe saw Baptists as intent on fomenting unrest amongst black laborers and believed they should be expelled. He became seen as a "willing ally" of planters, trusted to keep

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[93] *JC*, 3 Feb 1832; Mulgrave to Goderich, no. 14, 24 August 1832, CO 137/183; Mulgrave to Goderich, no. 105, 30 April 1833, no. 107, 30, April 1833, no. 110, 12 May 1833, CO 137/188, all in NAUK; Mulgrave to Goderich, 23 February 1833, Add MS 40863 Ripon Papers, 1833-42, BL; Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 186-8.

[94] Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 181; *Youthful Female Missionary*, 106

[95] Resolutions of the St. Ann's Chapter of the CCU, quoted in *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette*, 18-25 February 1832; *JC*, 3 March 1832; The phrase "poison of sectarianism" was taken from militant proslavery ideologue and key founder of the CCU, George Wilson Bridges – see Bridges, *Annals of Jamaica, vol. II* (London: John Murray, 1828), 269; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 101, 106.

"every person in his proper place." Indeed, they expressed regret that the Governor never

succeeded in "driv[ing] the Baptist Ministers from our shores."[96]

Ironically, it would be after Morant Bay in 1865, a rebellion for which far fewer people in

Jamaica and Britain were willing to blame the missionaries, that a Governor would take the

hardest line against the BMS. Eyre blamed Underhill and the Baptists for black discontent,

reminded the public several times of Metcalfe's judgment that missionaries were "wolves in

sheep's clothing," had three Baptist and one independent Methodist missionary arrested under

martial law, and successfully prosecuted one BMS pastor, Edwin Palmer, on conspiracy charges.

Imprisonment for eight years resembled a form of social death, but as Palmer was black, the

potential broader symbolic effect on white reformers was diminished.[97] Seeking a more

comprehensive solution to the Baptist problem, Eyre supported the passing of the Jamaica

Religious Worship Bill, designed to "preserve the public worship of God from scandalous abuses

superstitious practices and seditious purposes." Returning to the 1802 law, it required all

religious groups except "Episcopalians, the Church of Scotland, Roman Catholics, Jews,

Quakers, and Plymouthists" to register for a license, "revocable at pleasure," and threatened any

person who preached without one with up to two years in prison. Drawing condemnation from

multiple missionary societies, this new attempt at suppression went the way of previous ones.[98]

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[96] Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 185; Isaac Jackson to Edmund Gardiner, 4 December 1839; Jackson to Gardiner, 25 March 1840, both in Isaac Jackson Letterbooks, vol. I, APS. For other examples of a planter expressing support of Metcalfe and his policies, see Andrew Cooke to Sir Henry Fitzherbert, 19 December 1839, Sir Henry Fitzherbert Papers, DU. For Metcalfe's attitudes toward the missionaries, see Metcalfe to Elgin, no. 8, 16 October 1839, CO 137/240; Metcalfe to Georgiana Theophila Smyth, 10 May 1840, MSS Eur F656/1 Metcalfe Papers, Private Letters, 1831-1845, BL; Metcalfe, *The Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe, ed. John William Kaye*, revised ed., vol. II (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1858), 241-88; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 201-2.

[97] Regina v. Edwin Palmer, 18 February 1866, in BPP, *Jamaica Disturbances*, 333-5; BMS Committee Minutes, 5 December 1865, 20 March 1866, Minutebook P (1864-8), Baptist Missionary Society Minutebooks, BMS Collection, AL; Underhill, *Tragedy of Morant Bay*, 165-6; Gordon, *Our Cause for his Glory*, 109-11; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 261.

[98] Eyre to Cardwell, no. 253, 23 October 1865, no. 251, 20 October 1865, CO 137/393; Eyre to Cardwell, no. 13, 24 January 1866, CO 137/399; Metcalfe to Elgin, no. 8, 16 October 1839, CO 137/240, all in NAUK; BPP, *Jamaica*

But it also showed that as late as 1865, when some missionaries had even lost faith in the promise of emancipation, white conservatives in Jamaica were concocting plans to label them as dangerous pariahs and make their positions untenable. Eyre hoped to go further and introduce "a law in the colony authorizing the deportation of all persons who, leaving their proper spheres of actions as ministers of religion, become political demagogues and dangerous agitators." In this respect, Robert Stewart notes, the Governor pursued "a measure that had been a goal of the Colonial Church Union." His recall in 1866 prevented its completion.[99]

Ultimately, however, legislative measures never proved as effective as violence, in which field the CCU excelled. Destruction of places of worship were the method of choice. In the early months of 1832, chapels and other mission properties, Baptist and Methodist, were razed in Montego Bay, Falmouth, Stewart Town, Lucea, Savanna-La-Mar, Ridgeland, Brown's Town, Rio Bueno, St. Ann's Bay, Ocho Rios, Oracabessa, Botany Bay, Green Island, and Hayes Savannah. In many cases, magistrates and militiamen refused to intervene or actively participated. £23,000 of damage was done to BMS holdings alone, much of which the society was still seeking to recoup four years after the rebellion. (Property belonging to the Scottish Missionary Society, an organization seen as more closely aligned with white planters, and therefore more racially authentic, than Baptists or Methodists, escaped almost unharmed—a single failed attempt was made to burn one of its churches).[100] Planters in other islands were

Disturbances, 185; J. Edmonson to WMMS, November 1865, Box 199, WMMS Jamaica Correspondence, WMMS Archive, SOAS; Minutes of the United Presbyterian Church Mission Board, 30 January 1866, DEP 298, no. 63 United Presbyterian Church Minutebooks, 1857-66, NLS; BMS Committee Minutes, 12 December 1865, 23 January 1866, both in Minutebook P (1864-8), Baptist Missionary Society Minutebooks, BMS Collection, AL.

[99] Eyre to Cardwell, no. 253, 23 October 1865 CO 137/393; *The Spectator*, 10 February 1866; Underhill, *Tragedy of Morant Bay*, 173; Stewart, *Religion and Society*, 160.

[100] Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 167; *Youthful Female Missionary*, 111. *Annual Report of the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1835* (London: J. Haddon, 1835), 30; *Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register* (July 1832): 291-2. On destruction of the chapels, see also Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 117-34. On the closeness of the SMS and enslavers, see J. H. Proctor, "Scottish Missionaries and Jamaican Slaveholders," *Slavery*

inspired by the campaign. In Antigua, for example, a plantation manager forcibly ejected a preacher from the property in September 1832, in a microcosmic iteration of the social exclusion destruction of chapels symbolized.[101]

The war of demolition fulfilled a multitude of purposes. At one level, it was "fit but trifling retribution," as one paper termed it, for damage missionaries had done to planter property by inciting rebellion. While destruction of private property in rebellions was laid at missionaries' door as proof of racially inauthentic economic behavior, the enslaving classes were content to engage in similar practices if it suited their purposes, seeing no connection to their own racial identities if the end result buttressed white supremacy. Attacks were depicted in the press as the actions of "justly-incensed inhabitants." Though the *Courant* claimed to "deplore" the violence, it also termed the chapels "dens of infamy," noted that events were "nothing more than was expected," and hoped thereby that "every such dissemination of blasphemy may be obliterated from the recollection of good Christians."[102]

At another level, the attacks signaled an attempt to reinforce the racial order that black rebels had temporarily undone. Missions "provided [enslaved people] with the basis for a new language of opposition to white rule," appearing as a direct threat to plantocrat "control over enslaved people," "these acts of destruction were designed to remind slaves and missionaries of the political and social dominance of slaveholders and to eviscerate edifices that symbolized another form of hierarchy than slavery and alternative communities to those of plantations."[103]

    & Abolition 25, no. 1 (2004): 51-70; Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 214-24.

[101] Joseph Liggins to C. B. Codrington, 4 September 1832, C/38, Codrington Family Papers, Oxford.

[102] *St. Jago de la Vega Gazette*, 11-18 February 1832; *Cornwall Courier*, reprinted in Postscript to *the St. Jago de la Vega Gazette*, 11-18 February 1832; *JC*, 13 February 1832; 18 February 1832.

[103] Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica*, 119-20; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 105.

As alternative communities, missions subverted white supremacy, entailing a rival vision to the planter ideal of whiteness based on subjugation of non-whites. Assaults on chapels restated this enslaver view with force. Moreover, in tearing down the main sites of black congregant-white preacher interaction in such a public manner, the CCU drew attention to the inappropriate racial contact in which missionaries engaged, thereby attaching inauthenticity and punishing it in the same act. The attacks also recalled the burning of one of the few other spaces of partial black autonomy—slave quarters—a typical planter response to rebellions in the Caribbean, thereby drawing further connections between missionaries and slaves.[104]

Finally, CCU activists hoped that the sheer level of violence exhibited in demolition of entire buildings and removal of the physical site of missionary work would force preachers to abandon the island forever. There was a clear precedent of success. In 1823, proslavery Barbadians had destroyed a Methodist chapel after false rumors circulated of the sect's role in the British Guiana uprising. Its chaplain, William Shrewsbury, immediately left for St. Vincent with his wife, informing the WMMS that they must "flee for our lives"; demolition of the chapels succeeded in physically removing the couple from the imagined community of white Barbadians where verbal abuse, pistols fired outside the church, and appearances by armed masked men had failed. In destroying a place of worship, the stated aim of the crowd had been "eradicate[ion] from this soil, the germ of Methodism" and members of the island's plantocracy claimed a "GREAT AND SIGNAL TRIUMPH." They circulated the news "throughout the different Islands and Colonies" in the hope that "all Persons who consider themselves true Lovers of Religion will follow the example of the BARBADIANS, in putting an end to

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[104] See Craton, *Testing the Chains*, 200, 264. On slave quarters as autonomous spaces, see Angela Y. Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," *Black Scholar* 3, no. 4 (1971): 2-15.

Methodism and Methodist Chapels throughout the West Indies." "True Lovers of Religion"—people who followed appropriate slavery-sympathetic Anglican doctrines—effectively stood in for the phrase "true whites." By choosing a Methodist path and adopting practices toward slaves that generated inauthenticity, Shrewsbury had forfeited his place among whites. Thomas Fowell Buxton raised the Shrewsbury case in the House of Commons, ensuring that the enslaving classes throughout the metropole and colonies found an example to follow.[105]

The same aims were pursued by arsonists in the US South. AMA schools, sources of dangerous black-white interaction in the redeemer imagination, offered similar targets to Caribbean missions. In Clumfort Creek, North Carolina, the new schoolhouse was burned "by white families in the vicinity" following threats of violence intended to "extort a promise from the teacher that she would never again teach 'niggers' to read." In Talladega, Alabama, the Association was forced organize an armed guard to save its buildings from the torch. In St. Louis, Missouri, the Ohio-born Isaac Gibson's school was robbed and destroyed within days of its completion in 1867. Edmonia Highgate's school in Louisiana was threatened but never actually burned. Yet attacks on AMA property in New Orleans became so common that by 1877, the Continental Insurance Company cancelled the Association's policies.[106] Like a noose or gun, fire punished racially inauthentic behavior and rendered it impossible in the future.

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[105] William Shrewsbury to WMMS, 18 October 1823, 24 October 1823, General West Indies Correspondence, Box 119, WMMS Archive, SOAS; *Missionary Chronicle* (January 1824), 32; Anon., *Great and Signal Triumph over Methodism, and Total Destruction of the Chapel!!!* (N. p: 1823), encl. in Henry Warde to Earl Bathurst, no. 60, 23 October 1823, CO 28/92, NAUK; *Bermuda Gazette*, 15 November 1823; *Riot in Barbados and the Destruction of the Wesleyan Chapel and Mission House* (n. p., c. 1823), Box 3, Printed Materials, William Smith Papers, DU; Lambert, *White Creole Culture*, 150-6; da Costa, *Crowns of Glory*, 277-8. There was further precedent in Jamaica, where George Wilson Bridges organized the destruction of a Wesleyan chapel in St. Ann's Bay in 1826. See Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 104; Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 118-9.

[106] W. T. Briggs to George Whipple, 13 December 1864; *American Missionary* (October 1865): 221; J. J. Strong to E. M. Cravanth, 14 August 1871; 21 August 1871; *American Missionary* (March 1867): 55; J. L. Richardson to S. S. Jocelyn, 4 July 1875; *American Missionary* (March 1867): 57; B. C. Townsend to the Trustees of the AMA, 21 February 1877; J. N. Brown to Rev. C. W. Cravanth, 19 September 1870. All letters from AMAA, ARC.

Conclusion

Scholars place significant emphasis on the role of violence in the undoing of emancipation, especially in the US. Typically emphasizing continuities between slavery and freedom, this work, though crucial, understandably emphasizes white abuse of freedpeople.[107] If punishment kept black people in forms of bondage, this chapter asks what effect it had on whites.

In its most successful forms, from an opponent's perspective, an attack on a missionary or carpetbagger might hobble a local emancipation project. If a George Washington Smith could no longer help black people vote, if a chapel's destruction removed an alternative community to the Caribbean plantation, at least for a time, the prospects of the formerly enslaved securing meaningful forms of freedom were further diminished. In this respect, violence against whites buttressed and complemented more widespread and severe attacks on people of color.

But in many ways, and unlike violence against freedpeople, this was not a continuation of a pre-existing situation. Whites were never attacked in either region until emancipation looked a near certainty or had actually been achieved. The end of slavery greatly expanded the scope of white reform activities, bringing teachers, soldiers, Freedmen's Bureau agents, and Republican politicians into new territories of the US South, and removing many restrictions on missionary work, not least prohibitions against black worship, in the British Caribbean. As such, opportunities for interaction with the formerly enslaved, new allegiances, occupations, and behaviors, developed, both necessitating attachment of inauthenticity and making it easier to do

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[107] See Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*; Rosen, *Terror in the Heart*; Emberton, *Beyond Redemption*; Nicholas Lehmann, *Redemption: The Last Battle of the Civil War* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2006); George C. Rable, *But there was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction*, 2nd ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007).

so. It put new, ostensibly white bodies at the whip's end of the enslaving classes. A flogging may long have constructed race in slave societies, but the racial identities under creation were novel.

The effects were telling. Just as print depictions of sexual immorality narrowed the distance between "civilizers" and their subjects, so too did violence, proving that missionaries and carpetbaggers were no more deserving of leniency than the new class of free blacks. While violence risked enraging the British and US Northern publics, potentially bringing greater support for liberal visions of emancipation—the Stephens killing sparked suppression of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina—it might also receive a more favorable reception, undermining popular support for missions and carpetbag rule when most needed. In 1832, the *Bristol Mercury* republished the *Courant's* calls to hang missionaries, suggesting that even amid a highpoint of abolitionist sentiment, punishments implying inauthenticity were favored by some in England.

The pattern would be repeated after Morant Bay in 1865. The *Church Times*, an Anglican paper, accused the BMS of using "its funds to foster rebellion and Obeah worship in Jamaica." Referencing 1831 as well as 1865, it claimed that "two fruitless insurrections accompanied by the usual massacres of the white population, are tangible evidence of [missionaries'] success."[108] The accusation at once excluded missionaries from the "white population" and tacitly demanded punishments befitting their inauthentic status. Likewise, *The Times* of London published and supported Eyre's criticisms of the missionaries, including his call to exclude them permanently from the island, and similarly rehashed once discarded notions of Baptist complicity in 1831. It even published letters stating that the missionary was "mainly and directly responsible" for what

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[108] *Bristol Mercury*, 29 February 1832; *Church Times*, 25 November 1865. After debate, the BMS declined to publish a reply – see BMS Committee Minutes, 12 December 1865, Minutebook P, BMS Committee Minutebooks, AL. See also Timothy Larsen, *Contested Christianity: The Political and Social Contexts of Victorian Theology* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2004), 179-87.

occurred at Morant Bay. No better than black rebels, the logical extension of such a view was that Baptists deserved similar treatment. In the metropole as well as the colonies, the suitability of the missionaries to oversee emancipation had been judged wanting. "The experiment has failed," one correspondent wrote with finality, effectively dismissing any value of missionary work out of hand. Letters to the *Pall Mall Gazette* agreed, claiming that the formerly enslaved would resemble a docile labor force if not for the "ill-judged humanitarianism of sectarian religionists."[109] The history of exclusion and repeated acts of violence against white missionaries made such a judgment possible. In turn, the judgment validated any punishments handed down to missionaries thereafter, further cementing inauthentic status.

In the US North as well, tales of punished, inauthentic reformers grew in popularity, providing common ground for national reconciliation alongside print claims of immorality. In contrast to the socially promiscuous "schoolmarm," the figure of the racially pure Southern belle shunning Yankee advances fit so neatly within proclaimed gender and racial codes of the region's former slaveholding elite that it became a powerful image in popular memory of Reconstruction. The heroines of Thomas Nelson Page's *Red Rock* (1898), for example, exhibit the virtuous response of genuine white womanhood to Northern invaders—soldiers stationed in the South during Reconstruction—when they "turned aside whenever they met them, and passed with their heads held high, and their eyes straight to the front, flashing daggers." One Northerner found that the woman he most admired "took no more notice of him than if he had been a dog." "'They all look at me, or *by* me,'" he complains, "'as if I were a snake!'" So admirable was this

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[109] *The Times* [London], 23 November 1865, 13 December 1865 (quotations). See also 17 November 1865, 20 November 1865. *Pall Mall Gazette* [London], 11 December 1865.

woman's conduct to both Northern and Southern readers that Page and his New York editors

chose it for illustration (Figure 2).

THE GIRLS OF THE PLACE TURNED ASIDE, WHENEVER THEY MET THEM,
AND PASSED BY WITH THEIR HEADS HELD HIGH.
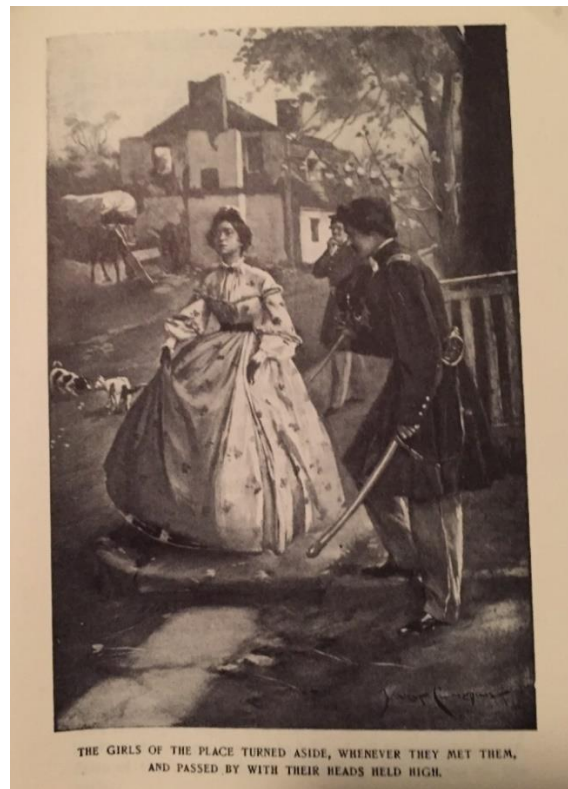
Figure 2. B. West Clinedist, "The girls of the place turned aside, whenever they met them, and passed by with heads held high." Illustration in Thomas Nelson Page, *Red Rock: A Chronicle of Reconstruction* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), 97.

As Nina Silber has shown, such gendered behavior was celebrated in the North as proof of a true

Southern whiteness that should be adopted on a national scale. The implied inauthenticity of

even Northern soldiers and the appropriateness of their exclusion from the white community was

accepted as part of the equation. It was even easier to exclude carpetbaggers than soldiers. The

national popularity of *The Clansman* (1905) and *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), with its

celebration of racially impure carpetbaggers purified by Klan violence, made clear that

punishment as an inscription of and cure for inauthenticity had gained significant Northern favor by the early twentieth century.[110]

In 1832, Baptist missionaries proclaimed with unblinking faith the belief that as "the servants of God have been shot, or hung, or flogged to death, merely because of their fidelity to their Master in Heaven … [God's] right hand shall, in due time, find out all his enemies." Whether He would "give them, in this life, the cup of righteous retribution, or reserve the just reward … till the day of final account," they knew not.[111] But that was all they doubted. Whether that faith remained in 1865, or whether AMA teachers and other devout Northerners like the Tourgées shared it as they witnessed Reconstruction overthrown around them, is questionable. Surveying the ruins of progressive emancipations in these moments, it would have been hard to deny that redeemer violence had been generally effective in at least supplementing the imposition of inauthenticity and the weakening of reformer authority that followed. If punishment was to go in the other direction, if former enslavers and their allies were to feel something of the pain they inflicted, it would seemingly be not in this world but the next.

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[110] Page, *Red Rock*, 96, 130, 132; Silber, *Romance of Reunion*. On the popularity of the Clansman's racial views in the North, see Akiyo Ito Okuda, "'A Nation Is Born': Thomas Dixon's Vision of White Nationhood and His Northern Supporters," *Journal of American Culture* 32, no. 3 (2009): 214-31. On the popularity of the film and its proof of postbellum reconciliation, see Melvyn Stokes, *D.W. Griffith's the Birth of a Nation: A History of "The Most Controversial Motion Picture of All Time"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Rogin, Michael. "'The Sword became a Flashing Vision': D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation," *Representations* 9 (1985): 150-95.
[111] *Annual Report of the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1832*, 33.

CHAPTER 5: Adoption

Exactly what transgression Mary Ann Lamb committed is unknown, but her adoptive parents Loren and Nancy Thompson considered them serious "things which we had to reprove her for." Lamb, a young black woman of "about 20," had visited the city of Kingston, Jamaica to bid the Thompsons farewell as they departed for their native home in the US. They would leave her behind, not returning for more than a year. Perhaps the Thompsons caught Lamb "drinking rum with friends." Perhaps she flirted, or perhaps she "rebuked the Thompsons for leaving her." Whatever she did, it contravened the gendered etiquette by which the Thompsons, white emissaries of the American Missionary Association in Jamaica, lived, and sought to cultivate among their congregants.[1]

In 1875, another daughter rebelled. Writing to her guardian, Albion Tourgée, nineteen-year-old Adaline Patillo announced her intention to withdraw from the Hampton Institute, where she had been enrolled for four years. She would instead return to Yanceyville, North Carolina, where her biological mother, Louisa, and sister, Mary, remained. Motivated by guilt and loyalty, Patillo had decided to devote her time to them. Tourgée's own designs for Patillo's future were very different. They included completion of her education, attainment of middle-class respectability, and possibly a permanent move North to pass for white. He had moved Patillo into his North Carolina home in 1869, directed his wife, Emma, to educate her, and sent her to Hampton, with this result in mind. But Patillo's own mind was made up. "I do want," she underlined, in an unequivocal expression of insistence, "a home of our own & I will not feel

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[1] Loren Thompson to George Whipple, 24 November 1858, AMAA, ARC; Kenny, Contentious *Liberties*, 192.

content until I get one." Appropriating funds set aside for her education, she made good on her proposal.[2]

Though separated by seventeen years and nearly two thousand miles, these two acts of rebellion reveal what was potentially a common outcome of transracial adoption in postemancipation societies. Historically, the family has been a primary site in which the racial and gender ideologies of its members, including children, are formed. The phenomenon holds true for the end of slavery in the Anglophone Atlantic. Concepts of race throughout the nineteenth-century relied in part on the notion that "the filiation of individuals transmits from generation to generation a substance both biological and spiritual and thereby inscribes them in a temporal community known as 'kinship.'" Thus, the disruption of this "genealogical scheme" by the transfer of subjects from black households to those of white reformers raises questions concerning how the racial and gender subjectivities of freedchildren were affected. Transracial adoptees lived on the cusp of two families, included fully in neither. By examining these two arrangements from the perspectives of children, adopters, and, where sources allow, biological mothers who sought to reclaim their offspring; and by analyzing similar examples Caribbean and US at large, the present chapter argues that children experienced conflicted identities defined by an ambiguous sense of place within categories of gender and race.[3]

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[2] Adaline Patillo to Albion Tourgée and Emma Tourgée, 18 July 1875, #1822, AWTP (quotation). On Tourgée's expectations for Adaline, see Elliott, *Color-Blind Justice*, 149-51, and Naurice Frank Woods Jr., "Adaline and the Judge: An Ex-Slave Girl's Journey with Albion W. Tourgée," *Elon Law Review* 1, no. 5 (2013): 216.

[3] Étienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," in Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, and Class: Ambiguous Identities* (New York: Verso, 1991), 100 (quotation). On the role of families in cultivating gender ideology in Atlantic emancipation moments see, Pamela Scully and Diana Paton, eds., *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005). Lamb's status at birth is unclear. The age Loren Thompson gives suggests she was born the year full emancipation came into effect in Jamaica. Her biological parents were almost certainly former slaves. I include her under the term "freedchildren" because even if she was never technically enslaved, the conditions of possibility for her life were no different in the decades immediately following emancipation than they were for former slaves.

Unlike the other cases examined in this dissertation, creation of inauthenticity in children was largely inadvertent. It was not deliberately imposed by outside forces like rebels attacking Charles Price at Morant Bay, or Klansmen assaulting Alonzo Corliss in the North Carolina woods. While Price was certainly aware that his blackness was doubted, and Corliss may well have realized the racial implications of the violence inflicted on him, as far as we can discern, neither actor viewed themselves as inauthentic. In the cases examined here, however, I argue that changes in children's racial identities were instead felt internally, subjectively. It was a view of themselves they created. And yet, this subjective development was still a result of external processes closely linked to political visions of how freedom would work. Reformers like the Thompsons and Tourgées adopted children as a way to enact their emancipation projects directly. In spite—or, more likely, *because*—of conservative challenges to their authority, they pressed ahead with social programs, making children the center of their efforts. Youth represented the future of the race and the nation (in terms of how black people would fit within it after slavery). If reformers could raise black children to a level of "civilization," they could, dispel the doubts raised by conservative press depictions, restate their ability to govern freedpeople, and enact liberal visions of emancipation in contrast to the white supremacist emphasis on subjugation. However, while reformers would not necessarily have acknowledged it, the attempt to civilize was inherently racialized and a form of subjugation in its own right. While "raising" a black child to a level of whites may have been a way for missionaries and carpetbaggers to prove their own authentic whiteness, the child in question nonetheless felt their own sense of communal and racial belonging challenged. And in the attempts to answer those challenges, to find that belonging, the defiance adoptees showed to adopter authority often undermined the whiteness upon which it rested.

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Making Adoption Arrangements

Loren and Nancy Thompson arrived in Jamaica in 1844. Recently graduated from Ohio's Oberlin College, the training ground of the AMA, they came to the island as committed abolitionists intent on civilizing a recently freed population still bearing, in their view, the badges of slavery. Bondage had cultivated in its victims a debased sense of morality. Prevention of marriage, demand for demographic increase of laborers, and the sexual appetites of masters had fostered widespread promiscuity, placing the souls of the enslaved in jeopardy. The situation was compounded in many cases by masters denying slaves access to proper Christian teaching. Central to the AMA's work was the creation of a new gender order; through mission education centered on scripture and manual labor, slaves would learn "proper gender roles and the importance of religious piety and moral behavior." Missionaries expected that they would soon "form families and become darker-skinned versions of their white abolitionist teachers." In Lamb's case, white family life served as more than an example. Her adoption provided the Thompsons power over her that extended beyond the classroom or chapel.[4]

Lamb's life is only documented in two letters written by Loren Thompson in 1858 to the AMA's corresponding secretary. The later one, written after his arrival in the US, includes an excerpt of a letter Lamb wrote to her adoptive father, to apologize for her behavior in Kingston. We can only wonder therefore when or how Lamb came to be under the Thompsons' care, but it was not uncommon for missionaries to take students into their homes when difficulties of travel otherwise prevented attendance at mission schools. The letters do reveal that Lamb's biological mother was still living at the time, but nothing else about this unnamed woman's life or how she

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[4] Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 44-5. Missionaries from Oberlin first went to Jamaica in 1837. The AMA was formed in 1846. The existent mission operations were incorporated into the organization's official structure.

viewed the adoption, is known. Similarly, there is no mention of a biological father. It *is* clear that the Thompsons elevated Lamb to a position above other black children within their household. It was only she they referred to as "our little adopted daughter."[5]

Lamb's reaction to the Thompsons' departure suggests she had come to think of the missionaries in some significant way as her parents. "I never anticipated such a parting," she wrote. It was a "burden," and she felt "crushed." The degree of affection she had developed for them was not reciprocated, and her anxiety was likely exacerbated by rumors that circulated in among AMA black congregants that the Thompsons would never return. The Thompsons' own sense of loss was not sufficient to make them remain in Jamaica or take Lamb with them to the US. Instead, they arranged for her to live with another missionary, Charles Venning. She would "assist [Venning], as a member of *his family* … till we return." In her new situation, Thompson determined, Lamb would continue her training as an AMA teacher, with a possibility of "going to Africa." One missionary home was as good as another in his mind, but not in Lamb's. She threatened to return "home" (her word) to Thompson's now vacant mission station or her biological mother's house, but ultimately obeyed the missionary's wish.[6]

More is known about the American example. Born and raised in Ohio, Albion Tourgée, accompanied by Emma, moved to Greensboro, North Carolina in 1865. Having sustained injuries fighting for the North in the Civil War, he hoped the South's climate would improve his health, and that its society would afford him the chance to shape the state's postbellum reintegration into the Union. As a radical Republican newspaper editor, delegate to the 1868

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[5] Loren Thompson to George Whipple, 30 April 1858, 6 November 1859, AMAA, ARC.
[6] Thompson to Whipple, 24 November 1858, AMAA, ARC. The Thompsons returned to Jamaica in late 1859, and Lamb may have reentered their home, but I could find no evidence of it in Thompson's correspondence. I also failed to locate any record of Lamb working as an AMA agent in Africa or elsewhere.

"mongrel" state constitutional convention, and a state Supreme Court judge, he championed black civil rights, earning him the ire of the local conservative white population. When Reconstruction was overthrown, Tourgée left the South, later living in Colorado, upstate New York, and France.[7]

Adaline Patillo was born in North Carolina's Caswell County in 1856, inheriting the slave status of her mother Louisa. Both were the legal property of Albert Atkinson Patillo, whom Naurice Frank Woods Jr. argues convincingly was probably her biological father. There is no evidence that the slaveholding Patillo maintained contact with Adaline, Louisa, or the youngest daughter Mary, after emancipation. How Tourgée met Adaline is unknown, but at some point in 1869, when she was thirteen, he took her, and for a time Louisa and Mary too, into his home. "It is clear," Mark Elliott notes, "that [he] considered [her] intellectually gifted and sympathized with her 'unfortunate' financial circumstances."[8]

Transracial Adoption in the Postemancipation Context

Before emancipation, abolitionists had frequently criticized the effects of bondage on slave families, but held little to no power to directly intervene. Slavery's demise provided reformers like the Tourgées and Thompsons a degree of access to black children that the property rights of slaveholders had hitherto prevented. Moreover, the adoptions occurred when racial hierarchies that many had once assumed stable were undone. Transracial adoption, Mark Jerng argues, was most common amidst "large-scale national traumas focused on the formation of … citizenry and

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[7] On Tourgée's later life, see Elliott, *Color-Blind Justice*; Otto Olsen, *Carpetbagger's Crusade: The Life of Albion Tourgée* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965).
[8] Woods, Jr., "Adaline and the Judge," 205; Elliott, *Color-Blind Justice*, 137.

the question of national and racial belonging." In such moments, when the power of law and custom to define "black as slave and white as master" was undermined, racial identities were increasingly destabilized. When the end of slavery placed the meanings of blackness in a state of greater flux, associations—including familial ones—took on great significance. When they transgressed recognized racial categories, as transracial adoptions did, the sense of inauthenticity that resulted was magnified.[9]

Black families in both societies had been subject to break-up at the whims of slaveholders, but the war that ended slavery in the US compounded the fragility of black kinship networks. As black people fled to Union lines, died in combat, or succumbed to widespread disease that broke out during and after the war, US reformers grew alarmed at "national orphan crises." Many reformers reacted by trying to find black children homes in the North. These arrangements usually centered on extracting the child's labor power, marking them apart from the Tourgée-Patillo case. But in at least some instances, the formation of kinship based on mutual affection comparable to present-day adoption practices was the primary goal. During the Civil War, for example, Harriet Jacobs regularly brought Southern black children to anti-slavery meetings in Boston where "persons in the audience" found the orphans' distress "touching," and "at once offered to take" the children home.[10]

While reformers in both locations were motivated to adopt by concerns about the potential dependency of black children on government and charity, and both societies witnessed

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[9] Mark Jerng, *Claiming Others: Transracial Adoption and National Belonging* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xii; Chris Dixon addresses abolitionist discussions of slave families in *Perfecting the Family: Antislavery Marriages in Nineteenth-Century America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 21-45.

[10] Downs, *Sick from Freedom*, 139. The adoptions in Boston are documented in *The Liberator* [Boston], 5 June 1863 and *National Anti-Slavery Standard* [New York], 6 June 1863. Both are quoted in Jean Fagan Yellin, *Harriet Jacobs*, 169. Also, see *Ibid*, 168.

a significant increase in the amount of influence government officials and benevolent institutions sought to wield over black families, the amount and nature of documentation produced by these institutions varied by location. The primary non-government institutions concerned with children's welfare in Jamaica were missionary organizations. The protestant Victorian gender order to which they broadly subscribed placed childrearing squarely within the domestic sphere—a "woman's domain" (though many examples examined here show that male missionaries frequently extended their authority into this arena). The same gender doctrines also dictated that female missionaries' opinions were rarely welcomed or published; their views were most commonly recorded when male missionaries were unable to write. As such, the inner workings of missionary households, and the lives of freedchildren within them, are generally obscured. Where such documentation is found, it is usually in rare cases of personal letters being kept. Even then, the discussions of children, or the voices of children themselves, do not always survive. This should not necessarily be taken as evidence that transracial adoption was less common in the British Caribbean. In the US, female reformers also often took the lead in the governance of freedchildren, but benevolent associations were more willing to publish their writings. Furthermore, the massive archive of records produced by the Freedmen's Bureau, a much greater bureaucratic operation than any equivalent in Jamaica, provides further insight.[11]

The nineteenth century witnessed a redefinition of the legal relationship between parent and child in the US. English common law traditions that recognized only children born inside of wedlock and considered them a species of property gradually gave way to emphasis on "the best

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[11] On reformers' concerns regarding dependency, see Downs, *Sick from Freedom*, 120-145; Faulkner, *Women's Radical Reconstruction*, 9-25; Eudell, *Political Languages of Emancipation*, 67-100; Holt, "Essence of the Contract"; Catherine Hall, "White Visions, Black Lives." On gender inequality in missionary society, see the silencing of female missionaries' voices, see Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 95-7. The AMA's Oberlin roots made it more open to gender equality, even employing single women. Yet it still prioritized the views of its male missionaries – see Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 10, 156-180.

interests of the child." The shift coincided with greater investment of power in the state to intervene if those interests were not met. Beginning with Massachusetts in 1851, states ensured that adopted subjects received the same rights within families as natural born children.[12] Because of an "especially intense preoccupation with bloodline" cultivated by Southern whites to obscure slavery's sexual exploitation and maintain fictions of purity, adoption laws that expanded kinship beyond biological descent typically came to Southern states only after slavery's formal end.[13] Emancipation made Patillo's entry into the Tourgée household possible by dissolving the chattel property rights of her enslaver, but, crucially, the arrangement was initiated sometime in 1869, three years before passage of North Carolina's first adoption law.[14] As no evidence exists of the adoption being formalized thereafter, it seems likely that Adaline's relationship with the Tourgées remained legally undefined.[15] Without the influence of the legal reforms, adoption remained a looser "socially understood contract" in which longstanding traditions defined by common law support of patriarchal authority held sway.[16]

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[12] For a more detailed explanation of the social conditions that informed what he terms the "liberalization" of U.S. adoption law, see G. Edward White, *Law in American History, vol. II: From Reconstruction through the 1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 212-6.

[13] Peter Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, & the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 106. See also Michael Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth: Law and Family in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 271-3.

[14] This law established "the relations of parent and [adopted] child … with all the duties, powers, and rights belonging to the actual relationship of parents and child" – *Battle's Revisal of the Public Statutes of North Carolina, Adopted by the General Assembly at the Session of 1872-3* (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton & Co., 1873), 72-3. See also Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*, 166.

[15] None of Tourgee's or Patillo's biographers has found evidence of a formal adoption in personal papers or local and state government records. Woods, a great grandson of Patillo with access to the family's private records, has also found no proof. Considering the completeness of the Albion Tourgée papers and how meticulously both Albion and Emma collected and maintained documents concerning their lives, it seems highly unlikely that any legal arrangement was made if no record of it can be found.

[16] Marilyn Irvine Holt, "Adoption Reform, Orphan Trains, and Child Saving, 1851–1929," in *Children and Youth in Adoption, Orphanages, and Foster Care: A Historical Handbook and Guide*, ed. Lori Askeland (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), 21. On the practice of informal adoption in early American history, see Askeland, "Informal Adoption, Apprentices, and Indentured Children in the Colonial Era and the New Republic, 1605-1850," in *Ibid*, 3-16; Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth*, 269-71; Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*, 107-9.

By virtue of its continued colonial status, those traditions carried even greater weight in Jamaica. As a result, adoption in a form recognizable today was not codified until 1926 in the metropole and 1958 in the colony. As such, Lamb's legal status was no better defined than Patillo's. This lack of parameters invested Loren Thompson and Albion Tourgée with a degree of authority reminiscent of pre-modern guardianship. The significant vulnerability of freedchildren, especially girls, further limited Patillo and Lamb's autonomy of self-definition.[17]

Blurred Lines between Slavery and Adoption

Precedents for quasi-adoptive practices were well established in both societies prior to abolition. Responding to a pamphlet written by BMS missionary Hannah Phillippo—a rare venture into the public sphere for a woman, though only published through her husband James—a female abolitionist group from the British town of Reading funded the manumission of twelve-year-old Mary MacVicar in Jamaica in 1829. Chosen for adoption because of her intelligence, like Patillo would later be by Tourgée, this "unusually interested child … of good capacity" then entered the Phillippos' home to be educated. A poem sold to raise money for the purchase reveals how abolitionists understood their relationship to black children. Of MacVicar it states:

> Poor little Girl! Her ebon skin
> Is darker than the autumn sloe;
> And yet she has a mind to know
> And has a heart to feel within:
> And God who judges all at last.
> Asks not their colour, nor their caste.

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[17] The Jamaican House of Assembly did introduce a law concerning orphans in 1851, but, as missionaries protested, it was effectively an attempt to compel children to labor as apprentices on plantations – *The Laws of Jamaica Passed in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of Queen Victoria* (Spanish Town: William J. Pearson, 1851), 287-295; Walter Dendy to Rev. Frederick Trestail, 24 May 1851, MS 378 BMS Correspondence 1844-54, NLJ.

While calling up ideas of the post-racial in the allusion to God's view of the child, the abolitionists themselves fetishize MacVicar's appearance, particularly her color. While noting the distance between her skin and her heart and soul to suggest the necessity of MacVicar's improvement, that very contrast reinforces notions of race that, the poem suggests, Christianity is meant to negate. MacVicar's prospective course to civilization, like the course of any non-white child imagined by the white reformers examined here, is pitched as an elevation to whiteness. Of course, no thought is given to the conflict that might result in MacVicar's racial subjectivity under the process of whitening.[18]

Four years later, the reform-minded Governor of Jamaica Earl Mulgrave adopted three enslaved African children, two sisters and another boy, after the ship carrying them to Cuba ran aground near Kingston. Though they were treated "like members of his family," the act of adoption exemplified the destruction slavery wrought on black families; a third sister, whose subsequent history is not recorded, was separated from the two girls.[19]

While enslavers' property rights prevented most black children from joining reformers' households in the Caribbean, a small number entered them as servants. The nature of these arrangements was much debated among and between missionary organizations. In 1833, the board of the SMS was troubled by criticisms of one of its agents, George Blyth, for "having slave servants," and being heard to say by Baptist William Knibb (by this time an active

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[18] *Interesting Case of a Slave Girl, whom it is proposed to Redeem* (1829) enclosed in J. M. Phillippo to My Dear Sir, 5 October 1857, Sol Feinstone Anti-Slavery Collection, APS; J. Bowring, *The Little Slave Girl. Written for the Slave at Reading for the Redemption of Mary MacVicar* (N. p., N. d. – probably 1829), located in BMS Collections, AL. This arrangement occurred despite accusations a year earlier that James had owned slaves, a charge to which he was forced to respond – Phillippo to My Dear Sir, 22 November 1828, WI/2 West Indies Correspondence, BMS Collection, AL.

[19] Maureen Warner-Lewis, "Catherine Mulgrave's Unusual Transatlantic Odyssey," *Jamaica Journal* 31 no. 1-2 (2008): 32-43. Warner-Lewis states that the boy was taken to England with the Mulgraves when they left Jamaica in 1834. The sisters continued their education in a Moravian mission on the island. Ngeve (renamed Catherine) trained as a teacher and returned to Africa as a missionary. Susan married; what became of her after is unknown.

abolitionist) "that [Blyth] would not take the gift of free persons for such." The rumor had "cooled many" among the British Christian public, who "contrast[ed] the conduct" of Bltrh with Knibb, who had "bought a slave in the market, brought her home, gave her her liberty & she of her own accord [had] paid Mr. Knibb a sum weekly until she had liquidated the purchase money."[20]

Helping a woman achieve manumission may have distinguished the BMS from other societies in the competition for support from metropolitan Christians. It could be argued that the act of purchase and recouping costs nonetheless made Knibb, if only temporarily, a slaveholder. The SMS was not alone in keeping slaves on a more permanent basis, or drawing the ire of fellow reformers for doing so. Though they may not have recognized themselves as owners, emphasizing instead "personal ties" to those they bought, Moravians held property in Jamaican people as early as 1754, increasing the number throughout the years before emancipation. The arrival of AMA missionaries on the island after emancipation, and their commitment to abolition from the start, begs the question of whether its agents would have purchased slaves. The actions of many of their antecedents reveal that the line between reforming black Jamaicans and owning them was not always clearly defined.[21]

US reformers also actively intervened in the lives of enslaved children. J. M. Duffield, a lawyer in Natchez, Mississippi arranged for the unnamed "unfortunate child" of an enslaved woman, Maria, enslaved by trader Rice C. Ballard, to be sent north for education. And

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[20] Joseph Brown to Hope Waddell, 14 June 1833, MS 8984 Scottish Missionary Society Letterbook of the Secretary, 1829-1838, SMS Collection, NLS. BMS missionary Phillip Cornford documents two African girls living in Knibb's Jamaican home in 1841. Rescued from a slave ship, Kate and Annie—named after Knibb's biological daughters—were "rather feminine retainers than actual servants" – Cornford, *Missionary Reminiscences; or, Jamaica Retraced* (Leeds: J. Heaton & Son, 1856), 12.

[21] Oliver Furley, "Moravian Missionaries and Slaves in the West Indies," *Caribbean Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (1965): 6, 5

abolitionist Wendell Phillips arranged for the adoption of Bernardo, a "bright Cuban boy, some twelve years old." Having advertised for adoptive parents in the *Liberator*, Phillips eventually placed Bernardo in the home of a Mrs. Drake, who stated her desire to give "our dear adopted one" "a mother's care & kindness." Bernardo's living relatives were subsequently located, but because they could not financially support him, he was never informed of their existence. The familial fragmentation of slavery was again replicated.[22]

The ambiguities of adoption are become clear in a letter sent from George Turner in Britain to Duke Hodgson in Jamaica. Turner informed his correspondent that "Poor Simon," a young black black boy, would be returning to the island. His brief stay in England was at an end, his body having proven "unfit to stand the severity of this Climate owing to a tenderness on his lungs." Simon's ill-health had been compounded by "his great anxiety of being [away from] Jamaica." This "hankering for going back" that weighed "on his spirits," convinced the reluctant Turner to relinquish his charge. The letter overflows with concern for Simon. Turner hoped "He may get better in getting [*sic*] into a Warmer Climate." He stipulated a special diet to be fed to Simon aboard the vessel that would carry him home, arranged for a comfortable berth, and for the Steward to prioritize Simon above other passengers, so that he would "have every chance of recovering his health." Upon Simon's arrival, Turner demanded, Hodgson was to find him a comfortable home, stating: "You must let him have a little indulgence that way."[23]

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[22] J. M. Duffied to Rice C. Ballard, 29 May 1848, 4850 Rice C. Ballard Papers, SHC, UNC; The Liberator, 1 October 1852; Mrs Drake to Wendell Phillips, 17 November 1856; Mrs. Drake to Wendell Phillips, 8 September 1856; Mrs Smith to Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 29 August 1856; E. Johnson to Wendell Phillips, N. d.; Wendell Phillips to Mrs. Smith, 4 September 1856, all in Wendell Phillips Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[23] George Turner to Duke Hodgson, 24 January 1792, 4/45/66, Tweedie Papers, JARD.

The homesickness Simon felt was typical of what we might expect of a black child transported to a new home in a different continent, adopted by a white family, with his previous familial associations severed. The care Turner apparently showed also seems an appropriate attitude for a substitute parent to adopt. It is easy to imagine such a letter being written by a missionary. But other details in the letter cast the arrangement in a different light. Simon's new role was to be as a "House servant," similar to the position he had occupied "in the Family Way" with Turner in London. Turner's Jamaica residence was the Dry Harbour plantation in Saint Ann parish, Hodgson was his estate manager, Turner was a slaveholder, and Simon his legal property. Turner's concern, like that driving other exhibitions of slaveholder "benevolence," was the maintenance of a valuable commodity. His main regret was not Simon's "anxiety," but the fact that had his health not declined, "He w[oul]d have made us a very trusty Servant." Records do not reveal whether Simon was able to reform the kinship connections in Jamaica that likely drove his urge to return.[24]

The Ohio Western Reserve and Adoption Ideology

As the Lamb and Patillo adoptions were informal, the absence of legal parameters significantly empowered both sets of adoptive parents. It also left them without concrete guidelines concerning how Patillo and Lamb should be raised. They found inspiration in a perfectionist theology particular to their backgrounds in the Ohio Western Reserve. This northwest corner of

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[24] *Ibid.* Even if Simon was not able to reconnect with biological relatives, he may well have found a sense of belonging through renewal or creation of substitute kinship networks with other enslaved people at Dry Harbour. On children's formation of such networks when separated from biological parents, see Calvin Schermerhorn, "Left Behind but Getting Ahead: Antebellum Slavery's Orphans in the Chesapeake, 1820-1860," in *Children in Slavery Through the Ages*, eds. Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 204-24.

the state was home to a large community of migrants from New England, many of whom brought with them their birthplaces' growing commitment to abolitionism. Most moved because they would not inherit family property, a scenario that diminished adherence to established notions of social deference. When the Second Great Awakening burned over Ohio in the first half of the nineteenth century, a relatively egalitarian culture was compounded by religious thought that prioritized individual conscience over traditional hierarchies. By the 1850s, the region was a "veritable cauldron of radicalism" on matters social, political and religious. The Thompsons and Tourgée cultivated their attitude to freedpeople in this atmosphere. Nancy and Loren's education at Oberlin, the region's most significant institutional representation, imbued them with its philosophy; Albion found it in his upbringing by an increasingly fanatical Methodist father in Ashtabula County. From here they exported to Jamaica and the South faith in doctrines of individualism—the belief that one's own conscience was the primary guide in all matters, above church or secular authority—and perfectionism—the idea that humankind could achieve freedom from sin on earth through good works.[25]

Ironically, the individualist tendency that justified Western Reserve opposition to slavery—the refusal to abide by a proslavery government because it contravened higher laws of personal morality—also justified assumption of power over others. In their quest to create a sinless world, both adoptive fathers shared a commitment to accept guidance only from within. *Their* plans for Lamb and Patillo were correct, and *their* authority to enforce them absolute. In North Carolina, Emma expressed reservations about adopting a former slave in a state already hostile to the family. In addition to ostracism from elite white Southern society and regular death

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[25] Elliott, *Color-Blind Justice*, 47 (quotation). The ideology of the Western Reserve and its effects on reformers is discussed in *Ibid*, 43-72 and Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 15-20.

threats, she was horrified when the local press accused Albion of harboring sexual desires for his new ward (see Chapter Four). He dismissed his wife's concerns completely. "I cannot say that I feel inclined to give up my ideas respecting [Adaline]," he wrote, "I know that the course I have marked out—in the main—is for Ada's benefit, and *is right*. … I shall not ask my neighbors to define my duty for me, nor to dictate my course." His resolve extended even to the quotidian minutiae of Patillo's education; while away from home he ordered that Emma "tell Ada to be careful about her writing. Make her hold her pen right and not write so fast and carelessly."[26]

In the Jamaican case, no direct evidence survives to illuminate Nancy Thompson's role as an adoptive mother, or whether she shared her husband's expectations of Lamb. But Loren's interactions with another female AMA missionary, Sarah Penfield, reveal much about him, especially a Tourgée-like, unquestioning, self-righteous approach to black children. Penfield described Thompson as having "departed very far from Oberlin principles … in no way acknowledging [children] as equals." On matters of parental authority he was decidedly "conservative." Thompson even gave Penfield "such a talking to about our treating of the native children. He said we were losing the confidence of the rest of the mission, … [that] we should ruin the children." That the adoptive fathers in both scenarios involved themselves so directly in the "women's work" of childrearing reveals the extent to which individualism strengthened patriarchal authority.[27]

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[26] Albion Tourgée to Emma Tourgée, 14 May 1869, #1108; Albion Tourgée to Emma Tourgée, 28 April 1869, #1091, AWTP (quotations). Elliott notes that Emma found life in Greensboro so stressful that she departed for the North in 1870, leaving Albion behind but taking their recently newborn daughter, Aimée – *Color-Blind Justice*, 140. Adaline may, therefore, have been under Albion's sole care until she left for Hampton.

[27] Sarah Penfield to Mother, 4 March 1859; Penfield to Mother, 3 March 1860, in *Letters from Jamaica 1858-1866*, ed. C. G. Gosselink (Silver Bay: Boat House Books, 2005), 37, 68. On Victorian middle-class ideology concerning women's role in childrearing, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850* ([1987] Abingdon: Routledge, 2002) 321-354.

If individualism validated adoption, perfectionism made it a moral necessity. Through the civilizing influence and material nourishment they offered adoptees, adopters believed they moved a step closer to God, mirroring his shepherding of the flock. New England migrants brought to the Western Reserve notions of childrearing steeped in Puritan culture. Cotton Mather in particular had highlighted adoption as a means of doing God's will. The Thompsons and Tourgées may well have read texts by Mather or his intellectual descendants, such as theologian Horace Bushnell, who argued that a dependent's true perfection could only be achieved by a Christian upbringing beginning in infancy. The best hope of saving a child's soul relied on he or she having "loved what is good from his earliest years." George Walker's pamphlet went further, explicitly connecting childrearing to the relationship between white Christians and slaves. Using the parent-child bond as an illustration, Walker justified reformism: a parent's "duty, and the ground of his moral responsibility to discharge it, is the need of the child and the fitness and ability of the parent to remove it." Though the metaphor conflates the child with an entire race, it also reveals perceptions that black children were particularly helpless; they were vulnerable by virtue of race *and* youth—gender too in the case of the adoptions—and were, therefore, especially needful of white supervision. Here rested the adopter's charge; by removing the wants of Lamb and Patillo, by protecting them from sinful influences as only white men could (the pronoun "his" is telling), Thompson and Tourgée felt they were "imitating that perfection of the divine being." The paternalism espoused by Mather, Bushnell, and Walker provided an ideological roadmap for the adopters in their approach to freedpeople in general, and adoptive children in particular.[28]

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[28] Horace Bushnell, *Views of Christian Nurture, And of Subjects Adjacent Thereto* (Hartford: Edwin Hunt, 1847), 6; George Walker, *An Answer to the Question: Who is my Neighbour? Or the Objects and Extent of Christian Benevolence Defined and Applied to the Emancipation of the Slaves in the West Indies: A Sermon* (Leeds:

The region's particular brand of interventionism is evident in the children's literature it produced. One of nation's most radical abolitionist publishers, the American Reform and Tract Book Society (ARTBS), based in Cincinnati, was co-run by James A. Thome. The son of a Kentucky slaveholder, Thome became an abolitionist. In 1837, the year the first Oberlin missionaries went to Jamaica, he was commissioned to visit the British Caribbean and observe the progress of emancipation by the American Anti-Slavery Society, who published his findings in *Emancipation in the West Indies* (1838). Based on observations of the different post-abolition social plans of Antigua, Barbados, and Jamaica, the text advocated for immediate emancipation, celebrated the workings of freedom where such a plan had been followed (Antigua), and testified to freedpeoples' capacity for civilization. For many abolitionists it formed a direct connection between emancipation in the British Caribbean and the US, becoming central to AMA understandings, and misconceptions, of Jamaican society. Thome further developed an abolitionist stance through his involvement with Oberlin. He married an alumnus, Ann T. Allen, accepted a professorship in 1838, and served on the board of trustees from 1851.[29]

In his work for the ARTBS, Thome commissioned texts that taught its child readership the value of the kind of direct intervention in enslaved children's lives that Tourgée and Thompson exhibited. Lois' *Harriet and Ellen: Or, The Orphan Girls* (1865), published the year of emancipation in the US, tells the tale of two orphans. Ellen is another "mulatto." Her mother dies while fleeing from slavery. Two white Ohioan abolitionists, Jeremiah and Catherine Boyd, shelter her during the escape and adopt her orphaned daughter. Harriet becomes the ward of her white grandparents when her parents die. The children grow up and are educated together,

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Robinson and Hernaman, 1824), 15-6, 21. On Mather's views of adoption, see Carol Singley, *Adopting America: Childhood, Kinship, and National Identity in Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4-15.

[29] Thome and Kimball, *Emancipation in the West Indies*. On the text's influence on Oberlin missionaries further afield, see Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*; Rugemer, *Problem of Emancipation*.

Harriet always treating Ellen as an equal, and most people unable to realize that the light-skinned Ellen is not white. Julia Donald, a schoolmate jealous of the friendship, learns the truth and arranges for her parents to enslave Ellen. By a typically Victorian literary coincidence, her parents were the legal owners of Ellen's mother, and, therefore, Ellen herself. The Boyds take the Donalds to court to reclaim their daughter, but lose, allowing the author to state explicitly one cornerstone of Western Reserve Perfectionist Individualism. On the validity of the Donalds' claim of ownership, the narrator admits the technical "lawfulness" of the suit, but denies its validity by the "eternal law of right, which God has given to man." Enslavement instead constituted "acts that have been passed by the rulers of this, so called, land of liberty. To call such law right would be an insult to the goodness of our Creator." From a young age, children of the Western Reserve were taught to look within to God for guidance, potentially ignoring any exterior social or legal influence, much as Tourgée and Thompson would.[30]

The book ends with Ellen sold to a New Orleans slave trader as a fancy girl. In a moment of rage, he hits her, dealing her a mortal blow. She dies in the arms of her adoptive father, who has tracked her movements south. On hearing the news, Harriet dies of a broken heart. The selfless devotion of the Boyds, in contrast to the selfish and vicious slaveholding Donalds, provides the example of how adoptive parents should act. Moreover, the fact that many characters cannot discern Ellen's racial status until her origins are revealed speaks to the level of civilization—near-whiteness—she is able to achieve under suitable white care. As adults wrote, purchased, and read such a text to their children they acted as a point of cross-generational

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[30] Lois, *Harriet and Ellen: Or, The Orphan Girls* (Cincinnati: ARTBS, 1865), 77.

transfer for the dominant Western Reserve beliefs concerning transracial adoption, informing a rising generation of their moral duty to shape black children's lives.

An even more powerful statement of Western Reserve ideology, E. J. P. Smith's *Little Robert and his Friend*, was published four years earlier, when the Civil War made emancipation appear more possible than ever before. The text focuses on the relationship between Robert, a young "mulatto" boy, and the white child Frederick, who dreams of becoming a missionary in Africa. He turns his savior's zeal to Robert, rescuing him from "desolate and wretched" drunken parents, bullying classmates, and a suicide attempt. In the last instance, the narrator observes, Frederick had "sown the first seeds of [Robert's] reformation." Frederick becomes sick and dies a Christ-like death, having reformed the entire town through his pious example. On his deathbed he implores Robert to become the perfect child of reformers' imaginations, to "never grow weary in well-doing" and "devote all the energies of [his] life to the advancement of [God's] holy cause." Frederick compels his own mother to adopt Robert in his place. Like a good missionary, she pledges herself to "do my duty by the child." Flashing forward fifteen years, the book ends with Robert as a preacher, about to set out as a missionary. Adoption's civilizing influence on black children is made crystal clear.[31]

The reality of adoptions differed from the rosy picture painted in fiction. By initiating these relationships, Tourgée and Thompson made a particular psychological investment in Patillo and Lamb. To an extent, transracial adoptions merely followed a near universal nineteenth-century custom, one shared by both Jamaica and the US, that granted men an "almost unlimited"

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[31] E. J. P. Smith, *Little Robert and his Friend; or the Light of Brier Valley* (Cincinnati: ARTBS, 1861), 21, 46, 47, 97, 103. Deborah De Rosa notes that the ARTBS was one of few publishers to address questions of slavery amid the heightened tension surrounding it in the US in the 1850s – *Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature, 1830-1865* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 1-12.

power over their sons and daughters. Children were effectively deemed "assets of estates in which fathers had a vested right." However, in a certain regard, adoptions were ironically reminiscent of the slave system the Thompsons and Tourgées vehemently opposed. It would be misleading to draw equivalence with slavery in most ways; the legal status and daily experiences of the dependents in each case were drastically different. But when adopters acquired children, like slaveholders, they attained visions of themselves as benevolent masters, and their wards as grateful beneficiaries. It was in expressions of paternalism that slavery was often most powerful. Missionaries in particular often cultivated what one scholar, in the context of slaveholder ideology, terms a "fiction of reciprocity." It is evident in Sarah Penfield's belief that "the children love me very much." And when BMS missionary Ann Hutchins' died in 1838, her husband's eulogy commemorated what he unhesitatingly interpreted as sincere affection from her pupils. "Here she would be among eighty or ninety children," he wrote, "patting one on the head, and kissing another … The dear children loved their 'Sweet Buckra [white] Misses:' and she loved the 'sable sons and daughters of Africa.'" US reformers made similar assumptions. When teaching freedchildren in Virginia and South Carolina, Sarah Earle Chase marveled at "how truly [her pupils] love me." The fact that she found her work "intoxicating" suggests just how much whites felt they had to gain from governing black children.[32]

Just as under slavery, the head of household's sense of masculine independence was informed by "mastery" of dependents. Loren Thompson and Albion Tourgée's own gender identities were shaped by desires to protect a ward whose supposed helplessness, and attendant

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[32] Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth*, 235; Dal Lago, *American Slavery, Atlantic Slavery*, 73; Penfield to Sarah Cowles, 14 March 1849, *Letters from Jamaica*, 41; John Hutchins to T. Middleditch, quoted in *Youthful Female Missionary*, 140-1. Sarah Earle Chase to Mr. May, 5 February 1866, Box 1, Folder 9, Chase Family Papers, AAS. On slaveholders' self-definition through slave ownership, see Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul*. Saidiya Hartman discusses the ways paternalism bolstered slaveholder power in *Scenes of Subjection*.

psychological gain for the patriarch, was magnified by the intersection of her youth, femininity, and, most importantly for this discussion, race. When Tourgée discussed "the course I have marked out" for Adaline, and Thompson pondered Lamb's "prospects of future usefulness," they felt the full emotional payoff that accompanied their power over adoptees. As Laura Edwards shows, slavery was an "extreme manifestation of a dynamic that characterized the … legal order more generally." It viewed white men as "paradigmatic legal individuals," solely invested with "the capacity for independence necessary to head households, which entailed the assumption of economic and moral responsibility for their dependents." In an era in which the epitome of manliness was depicted as an independent, economically productive head of household upon whom his family relied, adoption offered access to an especially powerful iteration of the ideal. The adoption, in the authority it accorded a patriarch over a dependent defined by racial difference and legal vulnerability, occupied a place on a continuum of legal relationships between slavery and emancipation. And the degree to which the adopter's authority rested on the racial difference from his adoptee, and the civilizing discourse attendant on it, marked such authority apart from typical parent-child relationships.[33]

Like all children, Lamb and Patillo had few means by which to resist a father's authority. But unlike in all-white adoptions, the conditions of possibility for Lamb and Patillo's biological mothers were calibrated by the material realities of postemancipation society. In both locations the end of slavery brought no property for freedpeople, and, in labor markets that severely circumscribed black women's employment options, potentially no means of support at all. In

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[33] Laura F. Edwards, *A Legal History of the Civil War and Reconstruction: A Nation of Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 124. On slaveholders' self-definition through their dependents, see Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches*, 319-366; Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 37-91.

both also, mothers often preferred agricultural subsistence to wage labor, knowing that the latter risked bringing their families under the influence of their former masters. But on frequent occasions when the economy made self-sufficiency impossible, absence of biological fathers potentially placed freedwomen in positions of considerable vulnerability. Ambivalent governments and hostile white populations compounded their difficulties. With poverty, illness, sexual abuse, and death distinct possibilities for the recently emancipated, accepting sponsorship, thereby relieving Louisa and Lamb's mother of the immediate burden of their upkeep, was barely a choice at all. Often, free will was hardly a more useful concept with which to understand freedpeoples' actions after emancipation than before.[34]

New Gender-Racial Orders

Though it evinced individualist philosophy, the authority Thompson and Tourgée claimed was also part of a larger pattern of white reformers increasingly intervening in the lives of black children in postemancipation societies. Missionaries saw emancipation as a crucial moment in which they and they alone had the ability and moral authority to set the tone of behavior not just for former slaves, but for all subsequent generations of the black race. The secretary of the SMS informed missionaries that "your future labours will … have I trust a powerful influence in forming the negro character & moulding the future frame of West Indian Society. Methinks it is no small honour and privilege to live at such a time & in such circumstances & yet it involves at the same time such a high responsibility." Central to this work was the redefinition of freedpeople's gender relations. Many reformers, AMA missionaries, and Albion Tourgée came

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[34] On the challenges facing freedwomen see Holt, "Essence of the Contract"; Downs, *Sick from Freedom*; Rosen, *Terror in the Heart*.

originally from the working classes; as Catherine Hall says of the Baptists, they "occupied a liminal space in Jamaica; white, yet allied with the enslaved and free coloured peoples, coming from a very different class background to that of the planters." Thus, to remedy their deficiencies of class, they claimed authority as civilizers of freedpeople by advocating a distinctly middle-class Victorian ideal of domesticity. (The liminality was also more racial than Hall suggests, and imposition of gender behavior on children was simultaneously a way to mitigate deficiencies of whiteness). Marriage and fidelity were essential. Husbands were expected to be "the head of the family, the main bread-winner, responsible for family support and endowed with authority over wives and children." Wives were to be "dependent and domestic"; they would "rear children and provide a decent, comfortable, Christian home."[35]

From the moment emancipation came into effect, missionaries sought to enforce their ideals. In a speech to his congregation at Hanover, SMS agent James Watson warned the men that "Liberty … is not idleness. [It] is ruinous to families, and subversive of what contributes to human happiness." By cultivating ideals of masculinity grounded in industry and thrift, men could provide for their families. They could replicate the middle-class homes of England: "thousands of little things that contribute to the comfort of civilized men," Watson stated, "these you will have the means of obtaining. A bench is a very good seat, but a chair is better… to lie down and sleep on a naked floor may do very well for a slave, but it is not becoming in a free man. A comfortable bed is most conducive to health and infinitely more respectable in appearance." In keeping with notions of domesticity, freedpeople must "Let the women who are married and have children attend to their house, and their husbands, and their children. See that

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[35] William Brown to George Blyth, 7 January 1835, MS 8985 Scottish Missionary Society Letterbook of the Secretary, 1824-1838, SMS Collection, NLS; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 89; Brereton, "Family Strategies," 102.

their children are kept clean, decent, and tidy, and sent to school." A husband would in turn "work harder than ever," finding "the reward in a clean and comfortable house, and his food properly dressed and prepared." Whether his advice was followed had implications beyond individuals, families, and even the nation. Well aware that slaves, masters, and reformers abroad looked to Jamaican as an example of how freedom would work, he held the formerly enslaved responsible for its success. Failure would "fulfill all the predictions of your enemies, and do more to perpetuate slavery than any thing that has been done for many years."[36]

When many freedpeople initially appeared to conform to such expectations, missionaries enthusiastically proclaimed their success. "The attendance at publick [sic] worship throughout every part of the Island," one Baptist wrote, "is altered amazingly for the better since slavery was destroyed." Greater access to the missions had seemingly begun to produce the desired effect over freedpeople's domestic discipline. "It is *now* considered disrespectable to be living in a state of concubinage, not so when missionaries first visited the different parts of Jamaica." "Crime [was] decreasing," as freedpeople absorbed advice on thrift and industry, so that the instructors expressed "good hope that a real change has taken place in their hearts."[37] The BMS representative for St. Ann's Bay, Thomas Abbott, echoed Clarke's sentiment in 1839, informing the British public that though "the majority of our members are admittedly deficient in Christian knowledge," "the zeal and liberality of very many of them … should make more intelligent and prosperous Christians blush." Eagerness for instruction fostered a congregation which "lives[s] as orderly, peaceably, and holily, as any body of professing Christians." It was in stark contrast to the slave era, when "the Christmas, and other holidays were spent by the negroes, instigated

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[36] *Morning Journal*, 4 August 1838.
[37] John Clarke, "Notes on the Moral and Religious Improvement in Jamaica since August 1834" [undated, likely 1839], Langton Collection/Jamaica & Cameroon Missionary Papers, AL.

and supported by the whites, to drown care and induce contentment with slavery, in riotous and bacchanalian scenes of the most barbarous and disgraceful character; drunkenness—the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes—fighting, and almost every evil were the result. But now how changed!"[38]

Yet because missionaries were keen to justify their position in Jamaica, stories of freedpeople embracing monogamy and nuclear family structures in Jamaica are easily found; taking them at face value risks "flattening out enslaved people's gender ideologies and overestimating the effects of missionary activity on them." Indeed, just as the civilizing mission was proclaimed a triumph, its leaders increased surveillance of black families in a manner that belied their optimism. As early as 1839, initial evidence of a decline in native enthusiasm for missionary ideology crept into reports; the Christian public began to read about a rising tide of sin that missionaries struggled to withstand. It was because young women were not adopting practices of monogamous marriage and attendant spousal duties in the home that James Watson began to discuss the "lamentable carelessness of mothers," and, in consequence, "numerous examples" of daughters "becoming, at a very early period, the victims of immorality." At his wife's suggestion, he instituted a Maternal Association in November of that year. At monthly meetings, Mrs. Watson offered advice to seventy such "victims," as well as their twenty four mothers. That the latter attended was especially crucial because they, "if not accessories to the sin and shame of their daughters" or gaining some "reward from their infamy— [were] far from exhibiting that sorrow and grief which an event so pregnant with sin and shame should have awakened in their breasts." The association aimed to "arouse mothers to a sense of responsibility—to lead them to the exercise of proper authority over their children, and to furnish

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[38] Thomas Abbott to BMS, 3 January 1839, in *Missionary Herald* (April 1839): 185.

them with the best means of training up the younger branches of their families." Mrs. Watson drew up a list of rules, and only those who "agree to regulate their conduct by them," were included. After fitting passages of scripture were read, she led discussions "tending to promote maternal faithfulness."[39]

The AMA largely agreed that black parents could not be trusted to raise their children. In 1848, missionary Stewart Renshaw despaired of "young girls" frequently becoming "unwed mothers. They lose no standing by it among their neighbours." Even those who married before conceiving often failed as parents, disciplining their children "at the prompting of passion … and in the most primitive forms." Renshaw noted a cross-generational legacy of parental deficiency: "The degradation of the parent lives on in the child, except as it may be modified by external agencies and influence." Missionary intervention was thus deemed crucial. Thompson may well have felt that his adoption of Lamb was her best chance of avoiding the fate Renshaw decried.[40]

Reform in the US took a similar tone. The AMA published a letter in the Children's Section of the *American Missionary* in 1868 meant as an example to the black juveniles in its Southern schools. The author, George Wells, "a little black boy" who had been sent from Alabama to a white home in Michigan implored his fellow orphans to accept wholeheartedly reformist doctrines. "I like praying a good deal, don't you?" he asked, while emphasizing the benefits of white civilizing influences. While his own aunt "beat me and knocked me about," he

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[39] Scully and Paton, "Introduction: Gender and Slave Emancipation in Comparative Perspective," in *Gender and Slave Emancipation*, 7; James Watson to SMS, 22 January 1840, in *Scottish Missionary Register* (May 1840), 70. Mrs. Watson's first name is not mentioned in this article, and I have been unable to find it elsewhere. This kind of racialized maternal education became common in Jamaica hereafter – see Juanita de Barros, *Reproducing the British Caribbean: Sex, Gender, and Population Politics after Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 94-125.
[40] *Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register* (May 1840): 70; *American Missionary* (December 1848): 18.

now had "a nice little home with Ms. W"; while before he "used to sit on the floor and eat with my fingers and get grease and molasses all over myself," now he ate "with a fork." He was an avowed "temperance boy," yet still doubted he would "ever become white," an admission that reveals that transformations of envisioned as the result of reform extended even to a child's race. The AMA further trumpeted its success in the form of "exhibitions" of children it would take to the North. White sympathizers turned out in numbers to hear them "sing and recite pieces." Audience testimony proclaimed joyous amazement at "Robbie, nine years of age" and "Bennie, eleven years" giving "declamations that would have done credit to much older white children."[41]

The route to such ends was mapped out by Freedmen's Bureau official Clinton Fisk in his published advice to freedpeople. Monogamous marriage was again paramount; though slavery had rendered it impossible, freedpeople were now expected to "begin life anew … on a pure foundation." "God is angry," Fisk warned "with a man who has two or three wives, and with a woman who has several husbands." "Fathers must provide for their families" by "industry and economy," while "a woman must take good care of her person," of the home, and of children. Parents must set examples: "if father and mother swear and drink and steal the children will not be slow in doing the same." The inner workings of black households again fell under the gaze of white authorities. Sarah Earle Chase, for example, made it her business to have a "thorough knowledge of the familys [*sic*] of [my] pupils." When courts became involved, failure to adopt

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[41] *American Missionary* (July 1868): 163; *Ibid* (October 1869): 228. On gendered visions of reform in the US, see Mary Farmer-Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen's Bureau: Race, Gender, and Public Policy in the Age of Emancipation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010); Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child*; Faulkner, *Women's Radical Reconstruction*.

appropriate habits could prompt the removal of children, meaning that, in contrast to white families, "the rights of African American parents to their children became conditional."[42]

The "new gender order" under construction by reformers, was inherently racialized. Jamaican missionaries hoped that black men they perceived as sinful and indolent would soon "be like white men," specifically those of "the abolitionist movement, responsible, industrious, independent, Christian," while supposedly promiscuous "black women would be like … the white women of the middle-class English imagination, occupying their small but satisfying separate sphere, married and living in regular households." The corollary was that black children would also be like white children, middle-class Englishwomen- and men-in-training, chaste, obedient, devoted to their education, and dependent upon their parents. A visitor to an AMA school in Jamaica in 1854 exhibited such expectations when she praised the AMA's initial success, noting that well-behaved pupils "appear like white children."[43]

Reconstructing Black Families

Though some freedpeople in each society followed certain tenets of reformer ideology, it was rarely a wholesale acceptance. Rather, they came to it on their own terms, utilizing aspects of middle-class domesticity only when it did not conflict with their own ideals. The reformist stipulation that women take the lead in raising children, for example, conformed to common practices within enslaved and freed communities; it "paralleled African-derived cultural

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[42] Clinton B. Fisk, *Plain Counsels for Freedmen: In Sixteen Brief Lectures* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1866), 31, 32, 36-7; Sarah Earle Chase to Mr. May, 18 November 1864, Box 1, Folder 9, Chase Family Papers, AAS; Laura Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 39.

[43] *American Missionary* (April 1854): 44. On the "new gender order," see Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 331; Hall, "White Visions, Black Lives," 110.

patterns" that had survived across generations in both Jamaica and the US. Moreover, Mimi Sheller suggests that black women used their position as mothers to claim greater authority within postemancipation Jamaica. Exploiting the British Christian public's influence over metropolitan and colonial authorities—the same public drove the mass movement that forced the Abolition Act through parliament and backed the missionaries—black women appealed to white Victorian ideals of motherhood to generate criticism of, and gain greater freedom from, planter oppression. Thus, the priority freedwomen placed on childcare should not necessarily be taken as an appreciation of missionary teachings. It was instead a syncretic combination of two cultural views possible only because they overlapped neatly in this one respect.[44]

In other ways, the same traditions also conflicted with missionary gender mores. Familial practices brought from Africa, coupled with the need to survive slaveholders' exploitation of women's reproductive meant that for freedwomen, mother-child relationships "superseded those between husband and wife." Black mothers therefore deemed it acceptable to refuse to marry a man they considered incapable of supporting their children. As the SMS's Maternal Association and Stuart Renshaw's fears reveal, the resulting high incidence of children born out of wedlock was anathema to white reformers. Furthermore, African family customs "had at their core the extended kinship group rather than the two-parent family. Generally, the conjugal unit was not centered but functioned as an element of a larger family." Many of the people missionaries sought to convert found the idea of the nuclear family restrictive. Belief in the value of "fictive" kinship had survived middle passages and centuries of New World enslavement in part because slave and ex-slave parents instilled it in their children. Louisa Patillo and Lamb's mother almost

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[44] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 52; Sheller, "Quasheba, Mother, Queen": 91-8.

certainly continued the pattern with their own children. When it came to family structure, both adoptees were caught in the crossfire of two competing ideologies that varied by race. A child's sense of racial belonging was tied to her decision of which path to follow. As long as she sought to satisfy both sets of parental expectations and sought to inhabit both families, her racial identity was in conflict.[45] When black parents sought to reclaim control of their children, those children were faced with a difficult choice.

Freedpeople recognized legacies of slavery in white reformers' intervention, and in both societies they fought to retain control of their children. Jamaicans viewed AMA interference in their lives with suspicion. When Renshaw traveled to the US around 1842, he took Angelina, daughter of a black AMA deacon Thomas Livingston, with him to care for his children. When she failed to return, her absence threatened to "very seriously injure the mission." Six years later, Thompson reported: "many believe she is sold and nothing but her [reappearance will] ever convince them" otherwise. Concerns were only subdued when Thompson, at Livingston's urging, successfully arranged Angelina's return. Lamb's mother was unable to do the same.[46] Given that the disappearance occurred as legally free Jamaican children were being kidnapped and sold back into slavery, usually in Cuba, it is perhaps unsurprising that black resistance was so strong to missionary practices that resembled aspects of enslavement.[47]

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[45] Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?*, 159; Elizabeth Regosin, *Freedom's Promise: Ex-Slave Families and Citizenship in the Age of Emancipation* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 2002), 117. On reformer misunderstandings of freedpeople's gender ideologies, see Kenny, *Contentious Liberties*, 66-7; Edwards, Gendered Strife, 24-66. On fictive kinship, see Dylan Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

[46] Stewart Renshaw to George Whipple, 28 September 1847; Loren Thompson to George Whipple, 15 February 1848, both AMAA, ARC. Kenny discusses this episode in *Contentious Liberties*, 111-2.

[47] On illegal slave trade in Jamaican children and determined attempts by parents to reclaim those lost, see Jenny M. Jemmott, *Ties that Bind: The Black Family in Post-Slavery Jamaica, 1834-1882* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 2015), 77-112. For a similar narrative concerning black American children, see Adam Rothman, *Beyond Freedom's Reach: A Kidnapping in the Twilight of Slavery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

The difficulty Livingston faced in retrieving his daughter from a foreign land was potentially not unique. Though the Thompsons left Lamb behind, other missionaries were willing to remove black children from Jamaica if it suited their purpose, thereby diminishing the power of their kin to claim them. In 1846, Hope Waddell—now a member of the United Presbyterian Church under which the SMS was subsumed—took Frances Morton from Jamaica to his new mission in what is today Nigeria. A "mulatto of about twelve years," Morton worked as a "nurserymaid" to Waddell's children. How willing she was to go or what kin she left behind is unclear, but it is known that she was almost imprisoned *en route* in New Orleans under laws prohibiting the entry of foreign free people of color to the US. She returned to Jamaica in 1848, at Waddell's personal expense. Despite having been for several years "a servant to Mrs. Waddell" she seemingly found Jamaica a hard place to leave.[48]

Parents further demarcated the boundaries of reformer involvement in their children's lives by seeking to claim control of the institutions their progeny utilized. Charles Venning, the same AMA agent who would provide Lamb's second mission home, reported "dissatisfaction" among his congregants at "the general management of the school" at his Brainerd station. So many "Parents came out openly & made their complaints directly" that Venning was forced to hold a public meeting to hear their grievances. "Several attended and opened their minds freely." Objections included the fact that "their children made too slow progress – instead of being kept at their studies they were employed a part of the time in labor," and that parents "ought to have the control of things more in their own hands." Venning and his colleagues "could say bit little in explanation," and were forced to close the school. "Arrangements [were then] made among

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[48] Hope Masterston Waddell, *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A Review of Missionary Work and Adventure, 1829-1858* (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1863), 219-220; United Presbyterian Church Minutes, 3 October 1848, DEP 298 no. 62 United Presbyterian Church Minutebooks, 1845-1857, NLS.

[freedpeople] themselves for opening & carrying [it] on as soon as possible." The black community nominated trustees, selected a teacher, and devised the means of supporting their now autonomous institution financially. Venning claimed that the new school was already failing, but even if his claim is believed, the protests suggests that black people were determined to retain authority to determine the course of children's lives.[49]

In the US, black parents similarly fought to limit reformer authority. They petitioned the Freedmen's Bureau for the return of children forcibly relocated by employment agents. And they contested in Southern courts the authority of whites to whom children had been apprenticed. Viewing the Tourgée-Patillo adoption as part of this pattern explains actions by Adaline's mother that confused Tourgée. Dismayed by Louisa' insistence at staying in their home, he wrote: "the idea that [she] should propose to dictate as to who should be in the house and whether we should have a greater or less family is too absurd. I'm afraid that she got the idea that she was to have the complete swing of the premises while she saw fit to live there whether we liked it or not." Though Tourgée could not understand why, Louisa seemingly considered it her right to maintain direct contact with her daughter; if Adaline was to be part of the "greater family," so was she. Tourgée's confusion is surprising considering work he did in 1867 helping North Carolina freedman Washington Watkins retrieve his son Robert from a labor apprenticeship.[50]

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[49] Charles Venning, Report of the Brainerd School, July 1850, AMAA, ARC. Jemmott shows that black Jamaicans widely believed that they held the right to determine their children's education and broader future after slavery, and jealously guarded that right from white interference – *Ties that Bind*, 113-40.

[50] Albion Tourgée to Emma Tourgée, n.d., #1879, AWTP; See "Washington Watkins: Petition for release of his son Robert Watkins," 29 June 1867, RG 105 Records of the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands [BFRAL], M1909 North Carolina Field Office, Greensboro (Subassistant Commissioner), Records Relating to Court Cases, February 1865-December 1868, NARA I. On freedpeople's attempts to reclaim their children from employment agencies and apprenticeships, see Faulkner, *Women's Radical Reconstruction*, 117-131; Edwards, *Gendered Strife*, 24-66; Rebecca J. Scott, "The Battle Over the Child: Child Apprenticeship and the Freedmen's Bureau in North Carolina," *Prologue* 10, no. 2 (1978): 101-13.

While Louisa remained close, the tension between competing sources of racial identification were heightened. As Jennifer Ritterhouse has shown, parental instruction and childhood experiences were "fundamental to the interior process by which individuals came to think of themselves and others in distinctly racial terms." Thus, what Patillo learned of race from white parents might differ significantly from what she learned from her biological mother.[51] If it did, it could only have compounded her confusion about where she belonged in familial and racial terms.

Louisa was far from alone in the direct role she took in her child's life in the postemancipation US. In a manner reminiscent of the black takeover of the Brainerd mission school in Jamaica, black parents in the US sought to retain control of their children's education. A petition sent to the AMA's hierarchy "In behalf of the Committee of Colored Citizens" of Macon, Georgia, demanded that the Association take more seriously the "educational welfare of our children." The AMA Superintendent of Education had removed Northern teachers from Lewis High School, relinquishing control to conservative Southerners. The new school authorities deprived black pupils at Lewis of all resources, meaning previous "labor spent upon the children" was now "largely wasted." Black children at the AMA university had also been "set aside" in favor of white scholars. Black parents felt "swindled," and threatened to move their children to Catholic educational institutions, where "there was no discrimination made on grounds of race," unless the AMA directly intervened.[52]

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[51] Jennifer Ritterhouse, *Growing Up Jim Crow: How Black and White Southern Children Learned Race* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 4. On the childrearing practices of enslaved and formerly enslaved parents as different from those of whites, see Colleen A. Vasconcellos, *Slavery, Childhood, and Abolition in Jamaica, 1788-1838* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 60-78.

[52] W. A. L. Campbell to Rev. H. E. Striby, 1 July 1875, AMAA. ARC.

Closer to (Tourgee and Patillo's) home, an AMA operative in North Carolina state, H. S. Beals, was struck by the case of a freedwoman who, though a widow, "support[s] herself, three children, and two orphan nieces" on $1.50 a week by taking in washing. She pointedly refused to request that the AMA assume care of her charges. Beals perhaps should not have been surprised; in his work at the Brewer Orphan Asylum in Wilmington he found that, contrary to the hopes of Bureau superiors who planned to send black children to white Northern families, where one biological parent still lived "you will find more here who would rather take their children than have them go North." Nor did children imagine themselves belonging under white care: "half … would [prefer to] find places among their friends." Extended kinship networks were at odds with AMA and Freedmen's Bureau visions of the nuclear family, but whenever possible, black Americans fought to limit white influence over families big and small.[53] Just as in Jamaica, freedpeople in the US exhibited a distinct moral economy concerning the rights and opportunities available to their children.

Children who did come under reformer supervision could find it similar to slavery. The religious zeal that often undergirded white-run orphanages and households did not necessarily prevent abuse. If claims made by BMS British abolitionist Joseph Sturge can be believed, Wesleyan missionary Isaac Whitehouse was particularly cruel to those under his care. In 1838, Sturge published accusations made by BMS missionary John Clark in the *British Emancipator* asserting that Whitehouse mistreated the apprentices he hired from former enslavers. Charges centered on Whitehouse's treatment of a "servant Boy" named William Bigham. When Bigham committed "some trifling offence," Whitehouse had him flogged by a Stipendiary Magistrate.

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[53] H. S. Beals to Rev. E. P. Smith, 17 September 1868; Beals to George Whipple, 24 January, 1866, both in AMAA, ARC.

This "cruel and degrading punishment" was not "sufficiently severe to the Christian Minister," who had Bigham whipped a second time. Moreover, Whitehouse watched the entire scene to see the punishment enforced to his satisfaction. In Clark's view, Whitehouse treated black people under his supervision as if they were "*his slaves*." Blacks who worked for Whitehouse's land had told Clark that Whitehouse "is worse than if they had been under him in the days of slavery" and that "they would have fled from him and taken refuge in the woods."[54]

Whitehouse strenuously denied the claims. An internal Wesleyan hearing was held, at which Sturge and Clark refused to appear, deeming it inherently biased and as such, in the former's words, it "will not have any weight with me in removing the conviction of accuracy of the facts." In their absence, Whitehouse was found not guilty, but witness testimony did reveal that he had hired Bigham and other apprentices from former enslavers and, like those former enslavers, had looked to Stipendiary Magistrates to punish perceived wrong doings. Moreover, the fact that the Wesleyan hierarchy initially admitted with "regret" the possibility that the accusations might have some foundation in truth suggests that among missionaries, the idea of inflicting violence on black children was not foreign. Sturge and Clark remained convinced in their opinions, noting that though the Wesleyan Missionary society proclaimed their missionary's innocence, they nonetheless "admit that [he] … held his brethren in bondage, and enforced their uncompensated toil by appeals to the authority of the Special Magistrate."[55]

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[54] Statement of John Clark, enclosed in Elijah Hoole to Chairmen, 15 September 1838, 5/6/10/2, Extracts and Copies of Letters from the Wesleyan Missionary Committee to the Chairmen of the Jamaica District, 1834-1841, 1864, JARD. On the apprenticeship system, see Douglas Hall, "The Apprenticeship Period in Jamaica, 1834-1838," *Caribbean Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (1953): 142-166; Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 55-112.

[55] Joseph Sturge to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 27 September 1838 (quotation); "A Meeting of the Preachers of the London Districts, held 18th March and by adjournment on the 19th March 1839"; Elijah Hoole to Chairmen, 15 September 1838 (quotation). All sources located in 5/6/10/2, Extracts and Copies…, JARD. *Falmouth Post*, 8 May 1839.

Freedchildren in the US were no strangers to white reformer violence. Mrs. Brown, matron of the Asylum for Freedmen's Children in Brooklyn, New York, was reported to the Freedmen's Bureau as "a woman of violent temper." As a result of "several instances of revolting cruelty" towards the "helpless orphans," justified by Brown because her victims were "'accustomed to it at the South,'" she was removed. Similar rumors, centered on refusal to provide adequate warmth to pupils during winter, surrounded a Farm School established near Washington DC by H. de Mariel. They. When the Bureau closed the school in 1867, de Mariel's wife and colleague Leonie announced her "heart [was] broken to leave those dear children, which I did love like mine." Her husband, however, stated openly that as the pupils were being "raised to work in the fields," they "must not have and be used to all the comforts of rich people." One of the inmates, John Armstead, implored his mother to retrieve him from the farm, stating that there would be "no complain" from any students if the school should close.[56]

The sense of inauthenticity that could result from such treatment is evident in Harriet E. Wilson's 1859 novel, *Our Nig*. Almost entirely autobiographical, it narrates childhood of Frado, a free black girl adopted by a white Massachusetts family. Constantly abused her adoptive mother, Mrs. Bellmont, and sister, Mary, yet unable to leave their home, Frado's liminal existence on the cusp of a white family is constantly reinforced by the punishment she receives, and the contrasting affection of the other white family members. She struggles to define her position "in some relation to white people she was never favored with before," while Mrs. Bellmont worries constantly that any kind of privilege, including familial love, might make Frado white, a thought that disgusts her. "Had [Frado] known where her [biological] mother was,

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[56] Charlotte Thrawl to O. O. Howard, 2 January 1868, Letters Received vol. 4: 171; Leonie de Mariel to "Madam," 8 June 1867, Letters Received vol. 3:976; H. de Mariel to Charles Howard, 23 December 1866, Letters Received vol. 2: 558; John Armstead to Caroline Armstead, 8 June 1867, Letters Received vol. 3:976. All documents are from M1055 Records of the Assistant Commissioner, BFRAL, NARA I.

she would have gone to her at once." Unable to do so, she can only compare herself to her abusive new mother, feeling cheated that God "made her white, and me black." "Why didn't he make us both white?" she asks. The nickname the family gives to Frado—"Our Nig"—speaks to her status as simultaneously family member and racialized other, two conflicting existences forced together in one child. That Wilson identified the author, i.e. herself, as "Our Nig" suggests her own identity was defined by such experiences.[57]

Children often longed for the black familial associations that had informed their identities. Accounts of children, published as proof of one benevolent organization's success, nonetheless revealed their struggles. A series of letters written from children adopted from the "Colored Home" in DC are illuminating. A "Blind Girl" reported from her new home in Baltimore that a fellow adoptee was struggling to adapt to her new environment. This girl of "about seven" was "all the time talking about her mother, and wanting to go home." Caught between the black kinship group from which she came and the new white one she was made to join, she was overcome with nostalgia: "'I wish my mother would come,'" she stated, "'all the older children is done home but me.'" Other children longed for contact from their friends at the orphanage. "Tell Mary P. I wish she would write me a letter right away," Katy B requested, "I have been looking for one but it never comes." She similarly longed to hear from her mother, whom she had written two weeks earlier but "never got an answer." Even R. K., who stated that he had "a good [adoptive] father and mother," wished to know how "my little brother is," as well as "all the boys at the home." Adoptive parents might deliberately increase a child's dislocation.

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[57] Wilson, *Our Nig*, 28, 30, 39, 51. Though Frado was defined as a "mulatto," Wilson herself was always described as "black." Wilson may have changed this detail as a physical representation of the ambiguous racial identity Frado is made to inhabit. Though the story takes place before slavery's end in the US South, its setting, Massachusetts, is effectively a postemancipation society. Though Frado is never enslaved, Wilson deliberately truncates the distance between the racial ideologies of Northern whites and Southern slaveholders, and of the experiences of black children born free and those enslaved.

Not only were adoptees' behaviors and familial relations forced into a reformist framework different from black kinship networks, in at least one case, a parent sought an even more dramatic alteration of a child's identity, changing his name "to William, because one of his son's name is Edward."[58]

Conclusion

The Lamb and Patillo adoptions show that when reformer expectations of gender and race conflicted with those of black parents, the clash could cause confusion even for children whose physical environments were less distressing. When Thompson a defined Lamb's position in his own, and then another missionary's, family; when he "reproved" her rebellious actions in Kingston, he enforced both his reformist ideology and his patriarchal authority, couched in claims of whiteness and civilization. In her dissent, Lamb signaled, temporarily, a refusal to embody Thompson's ideals of gender and race, by "giv[ing] up the idea" of "being good, or trying to do good." In that moment, black did not "become white" as Thompson hoped.[59]

Tourgée's emphasis on attainment of typical markers of white civilized status, combined with hopes that Patillo would pass for white (as she did on occasion), suggests he imagined her development as an elevation to whiteness more than as a redefinition of what whiteness or blackness meant. Even if we accept that Tourgée simply hoped education and gentility would

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[58] *Fifteenth Annual Report of the National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children* (Washington, DC: J. E. Beardsley, 1878), 11, 12; *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children* (Washington, DC: Judd & Detweiler, 1892), 23. The letters featured in these annual reports were written from rehomed children to the institution's matron, Miss Heacock. Oberlin's influence extended even to the Colored Home. One of the few black activists directly involved in its operations, Charles Burleigh Purvis, was an alumnus.

[59] Loren Thompson to George Whipple, 24 November 1858, AMAA, ARC.

prove a woman of color the equal of whites, the fact that most people Patillo encountered likely

thought differently would have compounded her confusion. When, for example, Tourgée made

Patillo a test case of his political program by seating her in an all-white North Carolina church,

local outrage and the rejection from genteel white society it symbolized surely sharpened the

contrast between the life to which Patillo had supposedly been born and the one Tourgée

imagined for her.[60]

As Elliott notes, Patillo found Tourgée's expectations stifling. Like Lamb, she found

herself caught in the crossfire of two competing claims on her future. Some scholars note the

generative potential of respectability politics; others show that for many working-class African

American women, kinship networks that extended beyond nuclear family models and community

building offered more attractive possibilities. Patillo seemingly fell into the latter category,

perhaps appreciating that "black claims of class differentiation [could be] self-serving in

accepting oppressive constructions equating racial difference with pathology and placing moral

stigma on poverty," particularly as her blood relatives were struggling financially at the time.

Her return from Hampton suggests a partial rejection of Tourgée's plan and broader

philosophy.[61]

The tension in Patillo's identity is manifest in the 1875 letter. Explaining her departure

from Hampton, she expressed discomfort at Tourgée's insistence on attainment of respectability,

writing

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[60] Woods, "Adaline and the Judge": 215-6; Elliott, *Color-Blind Justice*, 138-9, 159.

[61] *Ibid*, 151; Kevin Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 45 (quotation). On respectability as empowering, see Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). Tera Hunter reveals alternatives to respectability in *To 'Joy my Freedom*. Woods Jr. discusses Patillo's later life in "Adaline and the Judge": 221-2.

I regret so much that I have the wrong ideas of independence. I don't know of showing my independence in but one way and that is in living as a lady. I do feel independent in that respect because there are few of my position that are ladies … there are not so many girls of my class (no not class for I haven't any) but, position (that is the word) that have had such opportunities for improvement that I have had.

When Patillo defined herself by "position," she exhibited awareness of the conflict between her origins and the aims of her adoptive upbringing, and her reluctance to be defined in terms of "class" was a tacit rejection of elitist racial and gendered impositions. In contrast to Mark Elliott's suggestion, when Patillo acknowledged that she could only secure independence by acting a "lady," she did not view such an approach as the sole path to autonomy but instead expressed regret that it was the only one open to her at the time.[62] In this light, a photograph of Adaline from the Tourgée papers (Figure 3) reads less like evidence of her own middle-class aspirations, as Elliott suggests, and more like a staged production of Tourgée's aspirations for her. An archetypal image of domesticity, it resembles the second half of abolitionist before-and-after portraits that, as Mary Niall Mitchell has shown, allowed Northern reformers to cast themselves as purveyors of white civilization, but said little of the will of the child.[63]

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[62] In *Color-Blind Justice*, Elliott argues Adaline's discussion of class signaled a plan to "rededicate herself to middle-class respectability" (149), while for Woods, Adaline left Hampton to relieve Tourgée of the costs of her upkeep and because her path towards becoming a "lady" was effectively already complete – "Adaline and the Judge": 217-9. To my mind, both views overlook the constrictive elements of respectability, and as a result, misread Adaline's statements concerning independence.

[63] Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child*, 120-133. For Elliott's different interpretation of the photograph, see *Color-Blind Justice*, 150.

Adaline and Mary Patillo, ca. 1873, shown here as the picture of middle-class respectability, reflecting their own aspirations for upward mobility and middle-class assimilation. Courtesy of the Chautauqua County Historical Society, Westfield, NY.

Figure 3. Adaline and Mary Patillo, c. 1873. In Elliott, *Color-Blind Justice*, 150 [original in AWTP]. Elliott's caption reads "Adaline and Mary Patillo, ca. 1873, shown here as the picture of middle-class respectability, reflecting their own aspirations for upward mobility and middle-class assimilation."

Adaline did not entirely reject ideas of respectability, as later letters show. But the fact that she diverted money from her education to her mother and sister, returned to their home, and later ran a business in a black neighborhood with an African American husband, suggests that the expectations of her white family came second to the material concerns of its black counterpart. Back in North Carolina, she found another, much less stifling source of autonomy while maintaining connections to the family and race with which she more comfortably identified. While living with Tourgée, Adaline had often returned home to Louisa and Mary; ultimately that

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is where she felt she belonged. She chose a gender ideology focused more on her black family and community than her adoptive father's integrationist ideals. Adopted daughter and adoptive parents maintained contact for several years, her correspondence with them expressing gratitude and affection. But while she remembered her time in the Tourgée household fondly, but never expressed regret at the path she chose for herself.[64]

In Jamaica, Lamb seemingly chose a different path. She considered returning to her biological mother, but financial concerns—she pondered, but discounted, making "my living the best way I can" in such a scenario—proved prohibitive. She found succor in Christ's "guidance & protection" but dreaded life in her new home. The last line of her letter reads: "I am in the world just like a little boat on the mighty deep, knowing not where and when a storm of sin & temptation may be coming from." To the extent that can be known, she continued to live uneasily within the mission. Her fear of backsliding reveals both the oppressive impact of the new gender-racial order on her life and a degree of indoctrination into it.[65]

Both acts of dissent challenged the reliance of adopter philosophies on patriarchal power, racial difference, and class distinction. However, whether such defiance changed their new parents' outlooks, or those of other reformers, is unclear. But as black children became "muse and metaphor" in debates around what course freedom should take, the symbolic weight they carried means the possibility cannot be discounted. It *is* clear that these moments of rebellion were attempts to resolve conflicts in the identities of their actors. The difference in degree of success could mean that Patillo's education outside Tourgée's household instilled greater

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[64] Adaline Patillo to Albion and Emma Tourgée, 18 July 1875, #1822, AWTP; Elliott, *Color-Blind Justice*, 149; Patillo mentions that she has sent money earned for schooling to her mother in the same letter. For an example of Patillo's later expressions of gratitude, see Patillo to Emma Tourgée, 27 October 1893, #7425, AWTP.
[65] Loren Thompson to George Whipple, 24 November 1858, AMAA, ARC.

confidence that she could support her family. Or perhaps Lamb's mother was less able to offer a family life independent of white intervention than Louisa Patillo was.[66]

Adopters imposed middle-class values of gender and race that seemingly conflicted with enslaved and postemancipation black working-class cultures in which the children were initially raised. The resultant sense of inauthenticity was potentially debilitating. Patillo found resolution in reunion with biological relatives; Lamb's subjectivity remained in a more liminal state. The divergence in outcomes suggests postemancipation moments were defined by both continuity and change; by the possibility of black female independence, and the ongoing vulnerability of freedpeople, especially women and children. Such vulnerability made Lamb's and Patillo's defiance of adopter authority all the more remarkable.

For reformers, the authority to civilize and sense of whiteness they claimed from adoptions proved fleeting. As black communities increasingly resisted white intervention in the decades after emancipation, they found fewer and fewer opportunities to state their case before the public. Unable to instill the new gender and racial orders they imagined, many saw the cause of reforming black people as lost. As time wore on and liberal emancipation projects stalled, their protagonists increasingly conceded to white supremacist views that racial difference was immutable, that black people were inferior, and that subjugation of them was necessary.

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[66] Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child*, 5, 6.

CONCLUSION

Despite the vigorous efforts of protestors at Morant Bay, despite the oaths sworn and the white hearted blacks excluded, the rebellion could not ensure black autonomy. Any hopes that the planter-dominated Assembly's decision to concede to direct Crown rule would bring greater black self-government were quickly dashed. It would not be until 1884 that even the minimal levels of black suffrage accorded in 1865 would be enjoyed again. In South Carolina eleven years later, the same was largely true. Attacks on Martin Delany and the banishment of other admitted black Democrats could not delay the return of a racial regime that would systematically disenfranchise and segregate black Americans until the second Reconstruction several decades later. It cannot be said that imposition of inauthenticity was to blame, but neither did it prevent the return of white supremacists to official power. At best it garnered a few votes for the Republicans or prevented some protestors from abandoning the cause; at worse it widened fissures in black communities when solidarity was most needed. But perhaps there was no other way of securing that support; in the desperate moments of 1865 and 1876, proponents of black autonomy likely saw no other option. Resignation to playing a longer game was reflected in one black newspaper's statement after the 1876 election: "we say let the rebels come into power, let them say to the man in blue, Give place to the man in gray … If [black people] cannot do else, we can be the sore spot to the nation; and eventually Sampson-like prove the death of it."[1]

The effect of inauthenticity on white liberal emancipation projects is clearer. In the US, reformers complained not only of the attacks made upon their character in the Southern press but, increasingly, of the acceptance of these views outside the former Confederate states. In

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[1] *Christian Recorder*, 9 November 1876.

Albion Tourgée's view, "the most amazing thing connected with this matter … was the fact that the press of the North, almost without exception, echoes the clamor and invective of the Southern journals." Wartime Copperhead papers like the *Vincennes Weekly Western Sun* of Indiana and *Newkirk Advocate* of Ohio were joined in persecution of carpetbaggers during Reconstruction by a broader group of Independent and even Republican papers. By the time Northern troops left the South, articles questioning the morality and whiteness of reformers had appeared in the *New York Globe*, *St. Louis Globe*, *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, *National Intelligencer* of DC, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, and *Harper's Weekly*. Two years after the *Christian Recorder* noted "a vast majority of former republicans, (white) who clammored so loudly to 'free the slave,' are full fledged democrats and are more rigid in their excoriations, and anathemas against the negro than the wartime democrat," the *The Nation* described with "alarm" a "coalition of Republicans and Democrats in the North" on the subject of carpetbag rule.[2]

In both regions, white reformers were no longer seen as able to wield a civilizing influence over black people. The change was one of many new points of agreement that facilitated sectional reunion by the end of the twentieth century. Increasingly in concert on matters of religion, gender, amnesia concerning black American Civil War military service, and a desire to subjugate a non-white labor force, many Northern and Southern whites came to agree that those who had attempted to reform the former Confederate states lacked the character, whiteness, and authority to do so.[3] The *New York Times* noted in 1900 that "Northern men … no

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[2] Tourgée, *Fool's Errand*, 176; *Christian Recorder*, 21 December 1876; *The Nation*, 24 January 1878.
[3] On Northern press acceptance of Southern views of the carpetbagger, see Adam Thomas, "Writing Redemption: Racially Ambiguous Carpetbaggers and the Southern Print Culture Campaign against Reconstruction," in *Protest on the Page: Essays on Print and the Culture of Dissent since 1865*, eds. James P. Danky, James P. Baughman, and Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015), 29-56. On the other points of

longer denounce the suppression of the Negro vote in the South as it used to be in reconstruction days. The necessity of it under the supreme law of self-preservation is candidly recognized." Just two years earlier, the same paper's review of Thomas Nelson Page's *Red Rock* depictions of inauthentically white and grossly immoral reformers: "no book has thrown greater light upon the evils of Carpet-bag governments which were thrust upon the unfortunate Southern people after the war. The personality of [carpetbagger villain] Jonadab Leech … is probably not at all overdrawn." These two views were born of similar processes. Inauthentically white liberals were disempowered along with the black Americans they had appeared to support. In the case of carpetbaggers killed in Coushatta, Louisiana in 1874, Republican papers in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia ensured that "readers were left with the suspicion that the massacre victims had been done in by their own wicked misdeeds." They were seen as little more worthy of protection from violence than the formerly enslaved. "Perhaps there is no other instance in history" Tourgée concluded "in which the conquering power has discredited its own agents, denounced those of its own blood and faith, espoused the prejudices of its conquered foes, and poured the vials of its wrath and contempt upon the only class in the conquered territory who defended its acts, supported its policy, promoted its aim, or desired its preservation and continuance."[4]

While abolitionist papers in Britain would continue to defend missionaries in the Caribbean more rigorously than Northern Republicans did their reformist agents, the loss of missionary authority manifested in equally obvious ways. Decline in popular financial support for the missions was had the greatest impact, as the once sympathetic British public began to vote with their wallets. In 1848, the year of an attempted rebellion in Jamaica, the *Missionary*

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cross-sectional agreement mentioned, see Blight, *Race and Reunion*; Blum, *Reforging the White Republic*; Silber, *Romance of Reunion*; Michael Rogin, "'The Sword became a Flashing Vision'": 153-4.
[4] *New York Times*, 10 May 1900; 19 November 1898; Tunnell, *Edge of the Sword*, 234; Tourgée, *Fool's Errand*, 180.

Herald noted with alarm that contributions to the BMS had "fallen off during the last nine months to a very serious extent." Things would only grow worse; Samuel Jones wrote in 1852 that the mission's financial prospects had taken a "wonderfully downward tendency." It was mirrored in the experiences of other societies over time. In 1859, Methodist missionary William Tyson complained that "our finances will this year show a very general decrease." By 1865, his colleague J. Rowden was practically begging the home society for funds it was unable to supply, knowing that the interests of the mission were at the "lowest point of depression." That same year, the BMS created a "special fund" to remedy "the painful circumstances in which the Jamaica pastors have been placed, owing to their failure of resources," and sent requests for contributions to "every Baptist church in the Kingdom." While the society claimed that the missionaries' "character and labours entitle them to prompt assistance of the Baptist Churches of this country," there was a reluctance to oblige from congregants and the broader public.[5] Catherine Hall argues convincingly that the decline revealed a growing belief in Britain that black people could not be civilized. But coupled to that view, as the reference to missionary "character" reflects, was a suggestion that missionaries lacked the moral rectitude and authentic whiteness necessary for the task.

The attempts reformers made to resist these attacks came to little. Even the adoptions they enacted seem to have little boosting effect on their authority. Adaline Patillo successfully defied Tourgée's, and found resolution to her own feelings of inauthenticity in the process. Loren Thompson and Charles Venning may have considered their work remaking Mary Ann Lamb's character more successful, but on that point the archives are silent. We do know, however, that

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[5] *Missionary Herald* (March 1848): 43; Samuel Jones to Rev. Frederick Trestail, 12 April 1852, H/14 Home Correspondence, BMS Collection, AL; J. Rowden to WMMS, N. d. (probably November 1865); 6 November 1865, both in Box 199, Jamaica Correspondence, WMMS Archive, SOAS; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 243-264; *Missionary Herald* (December 1865): 807

by 1865, when the *The Times* labelled the entire of black Jamaica England's "spoilt children," many missionaries had given up on reforming even the youngest and most vulnerable black people. Just a year after Venning took over Lamb's care, he confessed to feeling "nigh overwhelmed" by "the bad conduct of some of the young people under our care." One London Missionary Society agent in Jamaica simply saw "multitudes of reckless characters … chiefly the young," among whom "there has been a growing up of want of respect for their superiors, and a dislike to the supervision and restraint of their Rulers, both civil and religious."[6]

The distance between Charles Price's skin and heart was deemed sufficient reason for his execution at Morant Bay in 1865. Within weeks, Bedford Pim took the stage before a packed London audience to revive accusations that white Baptists exhibited the same promiscuous sexual habits as black Jamaicans, and his white supremacist confrère Edward Eyre initiated legal maneuvers to banish Baptist missionaries from the community of Jamaican whites. Freedman Frank Adamson explained his role in the party of slavery's return to power in South Carolina in the same terms that Price's killer's used. That year, carpetbagger Marshall Twitchell, whose invented sexual impropriety was once cited as the reason friends and family were murdered in Coushatta, was shot multiple times in an assassination attempt. And when Reconstruction ended, Patillo had already informed the Tourgées of her plan to return to her biological family. Thus, in some ways, the history of racial authenticity reinforces the conventional periodization of the era of emancipation. The damage authenticity debates did to liberal and radical political programs

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[6] *The Times* [London], 18 November 1865; Charles Venning to George Whipple, 14 November 1859, AMAA, ARC; James Milne to Tidman, 6 November 1865, Box 9, West Indies, Jamaica Incoming Correspondence, 1864-1869, CWM/LMS Archive, SOAS.

represents one of several reasons why attempts to realize a universal brotherhood of man, or a "massive experiment in interracial democracy," came to little in the period examined.

But authenticity's influence was not confined to the immediate postemancipation moment. Two decades after the generally accepted end of Reconstruction, it operated forcefully in what has become known as the Wilmington "race riot." Rather than a riot, the events of November 1898 are better understood as a revolution, or counterrevolution, against the political equality that Radical Reconstruction promised. Just two days after a black-white coalition of populists and Republicans secured victory in local elections, white Democrats enacted a premeditated campaign of violence. They murdered unknown numbers of black people, burned the office of the city's black newspaper, the *Daily Record*, and took control of government. Thousands more African Americans fled the city, permanently abandoning homes and businesses. Capitalizing on fears of black domination, particularly of white women, the uprising's leaders recruited thousands of participants with ease. Black political power in the city was nullified instantly, with white supremacy replacing it entirely. By 1898, with Democrats in power in much of the South, anti-black violence had once again become a fact of life. Over thirty years removed from the Civil War, those sympathetic to racial equality in the federal government were in the minority, and little-to-no official protection was available to the formerly enslaved (some naval reserves even joined forces with the rioters).[7]

In some ways, Wilmington's fusion politics were an anomaly in their existence beyond the end of Reconstruction, yet they prove that black Americans could continue to claim some

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[7] H. Leon Prather, *We Have Taken a City: Wilmington Racial Massacre and Coup of 1898* (Rutherford: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984). One of the leading conspirators, who became mayor after the violence, referred to the event as a "revolution" – see Alfred M. Waddel, "The Story of the Wilmington, N. C., Race Riots," *Collier's Weekly*, 25 November 1898, NCC, UNC.

form of official power in the South after the 1870s. African American author and North Carolina native, Charles Chesnutt, claimed that until Wilmington forced him to "revise some of my judgments," he had "for a long time been praising the State for its superior fairness and liberality in the treatment of race questions." To the redeemers, of course, this liberality blurred lines between races that should have been distinct; the black-white coalition in Wilmington, like the "mongrel conventions" of 1868, epitomized inappropriate interracial contact, undermining the whiteness of carpetbaggers in its ranks. The uprising was "organized resistance," one participant, Harry Hayden, claimed, "on the part of the white citizens of this community to the established government, which had long irked them because it was dominated by 'Carpet baggers' and Negroes." Unwilling to include carpetbaggers in the category of "white citizens," Hayden instead emphasized sexual immorality to cement their exclusion, describing areas in Wilmington under fusion rule as "peopled by dusky harlots and frequented by degenerate whites." These men stood in stark contrast to genuinely white redeemers: "men of property, intelligence, culture." As in the 1860s and 70s, accusations of miscegenation built on a vocabulary of blackness. The sexual threat posed by African Americans was held up as justification for the coup. "[I]t became more and more dangerous for white girls and women to venture out of doors after dark," Hayden claimed, "for black rapists prowled the streets if the city and countryside at night." The spark for the uprising was provided by an editorial by black editor Alexander Manly in the *Record*, claiming that frequent cries of rape belied white female attraction to black men. The Democrat press, especially the *Raleigh News & Courier* under the editorship of Josephus Daniels, ensured

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that the offending piece was continually reprinted, whipping the white public into a frenzy between the original publication in August and the violence in November.[8]

Shared insatiable miscegenatory appetites narrowed the distance between carpetbaggers and the formerly enslaved, justifying violence that further reinforced notions of inauthenticity. US Commissioner H. R. Bunting and Republican mayor Silas Wright were banished from the newly reconstituted white supremacist city, imposing a limited form of social death. In an echo of John Walter Stephen's symbolic murder, the mob placed a noose around deputy sheriff Frank Stedman's neck before forcing him into exile too. John Melton, Chief of Police, would have been lynched had soldiers not intervened. He had a noose thrown at his feet. Though these white men were generally spared the kind of abuse inflicted upon the city's black population, the accusation "white nigger" was hurled at several of them in an indication of the distance between skin and heart. One witness claimed that Wilmington signaled the fact that "white people who are intelligent & who own property are not going to be ruled by negroes and a set of whites who are worse," suggesting the depths to which some of the ostensibly white had sunk in conservative eyes. Combined, these familiar tropes—accusations of immorality, virulent press attacks, violent and symbolic punishments, deliberate overthrow of progressive government—prove that racial inauthenticity remained operative in 1898.[9]

Responses to the massacre among some African Americans reveal further continuities; perceptions that some blacks submitted too readily to white force suggests that nationalist

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[8] Charles Chesnutt to Walter Hines Page, 11 November 1898, in *"To be an Author": Letters of Charles W. Chesnutt, 1889-1905*, eds. Joseph McElrath and Robert C. Leitz, III (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 116; Harry Hayden, *The Story of the Wilmington Rebellion* (N. p., 1936), 2, 3, 23, NCC, UNC; *Wilmington Record*, 18 August 1898; Deborah Beckel, *Radical Reform: Interracial Politics in Postemancipation North Carolina* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 196.

[9] Timothy B. Tyson, "'The Ghosts of 1898': Wilmington's Race Riot and the Rise of White Supremacy," *Raleigh News & Observer*, 17 November 2006, NCC, UNC; D. I. Craig, 10 November 1898, SV-5399/4 Diary, 5399 D. I. Craig Papers, SHC, UNC.

expectations of loyalty to, and self-defense of, the imagined community of the race still shaped worldviews. Some white witnesses voiced surprise that African Americans had submitted passively to the onslaught. Jane Cronly, daughter of one of the city's prominent former enslaving families, was shocked by the level of violence inflicted on what appeared to her a "helpless" black race. Her account emphasized black passivity repeatedly. Seemingly misremembering that the fusion ticket had triumphed at the polls before the counterrevolution took place, Cronly believed that "there was not a shadow of an excuse for what occurred after the election had been carried in favor of the Democratic party, and our coloured people had quietly accepted their fate." The local blacks had been "as good a set of people as could be found anywhere"; "under all the abuse which has been vented upon them for months they have gone quietly on and have been almost obsequiously polite as if to ward off the persecution they seemed involuntarily [to have] felt to be in the air." These assumptions, hard to credit as they are, could easily be dismissed as symptomatic of whites misreading African Americans' true attitudes (one leading redeemer convinced himself that "the negroes are as much rejoiced as the white people that order has been evolved out of the chaos"). The assumptions might also suggest that blacks decided to hide resistance behind a mask of obedience when violent realities rendered it necessary, or perhaps they reveal the growing turn-of-the-century attempt to reimagine African Americans as docile in the face of restored white supremacist order (crystalized most clearly in Ulrich B. Phillips' histories of slavery). All of these factors likely informed Cronly's view. But aspects of it were also reflected in the best known contemporary African American analysis of Wilmington: Chesnutt's novel, *The Marrow of Tradition* (1899).[10]

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[10] "Jane Cronly's Account of the Race Riot in Wilmington, 1898," Box 21, Folder 21, Cronly Family Papers, DU; Waddel, "Story of Wilmington." On the custom of masking, see Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African American Literary Criticism*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Houston A. Baker, Jr., "Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance," *American Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (1987): 84-97; Robin D. G.

Chesnutt's narrative, set in the fictional town of Wellington, combines a faithful history of 1898 with invention of characters through which the author meditates on the appropriate course of action for black people in the face of a white counterrevolutionary massacre. The old generation of African Americans who continue to serve former masters, institutionalized by slavery or hoping by their obedience to secure a measure of privilege, are rewarded with violent deaths.[11] Mammy Jane, the doting servant to the principal redeemer family, is one. Seeking to protect the whites "upon whose memory her heart was fixed," she ventures into the streets and is caught in the riot. "Not all her reverence for her old mistress," the narrator remarks, "nor all her deference to the whites, nor all their friendship for her, had been able to save her from this raging devil of race hatred." The white allegiance of Jerry, another member of the old guard, is revealed when he attempts to bleach his skin and straighten his hair. Though reminded by his master that "white people do not like negroes who want to be white," Jerry remains determined to be counted among them. Yet like Jane, his groveling does not save him from death. His "reliance upon his white friends … failed him in the moment of supreme need."

On the other extreme, and far more favorably viewed is Josh Green, a black "giant" driven to resist by the murder of his father at white hands. When the riot erupts, he organizes a nationalist group of armed black men in defense of the community. "'We're gwine ter defen' ou' lives," he proclaims, "an' we ain' gwine ter run away f'm no place where we've got a right ter be; and woe be ter de w'ite man w'at lays han's on us!'" Though the courage of Green and his

Kelly, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 17-100. For an example of Ulrich B. Phillips' views on African American docility during slavery, see *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918).

[11] Richard Yarborough, "Violence, Manhood, and Black Heroism: The Wilmington Riot in Two Turn-of-the-Century Novels," in *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and its Legacy*, eds. David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 235.

followers is portrayed as admirable, their stand is futile. In the end, "those who fought," like those who groveled, are "dead, to the last man."[12] Between these two extremes lies Chesnutt's ideal, the mixed-race main character, William Miller. A proud defender of his rights but unwilling to join Green's suicide mission, Miller survives the riot. Through medical training, he makes himself indispensable to the white community; the novel ends with him deciding whether to save the life of a child whose prominent white supremacist family has mistreated him throughout. Though ambiguous, the ending suggests at least this power over whites could compel a measure of acceptance. For Chesnutt, Miller, along with his "mulatto" wife Janet, symbolizes the best version of the race's destiny. By attaining education and asserting their rights through peaceful means, they can change white minds about their social value.

Chesnutt's aim in making Miller and Janet heroes was to break down the notion of a strict black-white binary—he hoped that through their intelligence, defiance, and moral respectability to weaken association between color, ability, allegiance, and behavior. However, for black Americans and Caribbeans who imposed inauthenticity, the question was never what members of the imagined community could do in relation to white society, but what they *should*. They would likely have concurred with Chesnutt's condemnation of those who valued white favor above the needs of black peers, but it seems unlikely that they would have placed the same faith in a talented tenth of mixed-race professionals as the solution to racial inequality. Instead they would have identified more with Josh Green. Chesnutt's alternate view indicates the extent to which

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[12] Charles W. Chesnutt, *The Marrow of Tradition* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1901), 297, 245, 246, 307, 281, 316; Yarborough, "Violence, Manhood, and Black Heroism," 235-7. Written under the pseudonym Jack Thorne, David Bryant Fulton wrote another novel a year after Chesnutt. *Hanover; or, The Persecution of the Lowly. Story of the Wilmington Massacre* ([1900] New York: Arno, 1969) celebrated Josh Green's brand of militancy in defense of the race, showing that nationalist ideals remained strong among black Americans. See William Gleason, "Voices at the Nadir: Charles Chesnutt and David Bryant Fulton," *American Literary Realism* 1870-1910 24, no. 3 (1992): 22-41.

nationalist options had receded by the turn of the twentieth-century, but it does not signal their end. As Laura Edwards says of black political struggle more broadly conceived, it "did not require the presence of the Republican Party or even the vote: it predated events in Wilmington, and would continue after Wilmington." Within black communities too, authenticity remained an important political tool long after the hopes of Reconstruction faded.[13] If we take emancipation to have ended at the turn of the twentieth century, racial authenticity outlasted the era.

It was evident in August 2011, when open rebellion erupted in the streets of London and other English cities. As members of the media and public searched frantically for an explanation, historian David Starkey offered one of the more bizarre readings of contemporary Britain. Speaking on the BBC's *Newsnight*, Starkey invoked Enoch Powell's infamous 1968 "Rivers of Blood" speech—a prediction of massive racial violence as the end result of immigration from colonies to metropole—to lay the blame at the feet of "black culture." Surprised that Powell's prophesy of "intercommunal" violence had gone unrealized, Starkey claimed that the so-called "rioters" were united across racial lines. In his view, "the whites have become black; a particular sort of violent, destructive, nihilistic, gangster culture has become *the* fashion, and black and white, boy and girl, operate in this language together. This language which is wholly false, which is a Jamaican patois that's been intruded in England, and this is why so many of us have this sense of literally a foreign country." Equally troubling to Starkey, black people had become white. "Listen to David Lammy," he stated, referencing the Labour Member of Parliament for

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[13] Matthew Wilson, *Whiteness in the Novels of Charles W. Chesnutt* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2004), 5-6; Dean McWilliams, *Charles W. Chesnutt and the Fictions of Race* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002), 103; Laura F. Edwards, "Captives of Wilmington: The Riot and Historical Memories of Political Conflict, 1865-1898," in *Democracy Betrayed*, eds. Cecelski and Tyson, 134.

Tottenham. When watching this "archetypical successful black man" on television, "if you turn the screen off so that you are listening to him on radio, you'd think he was white."[14]

Starkey's comments echo those of the white Jamaican plantocracy in 1831 and 1865 with remarkable similarity. Driven by the same urge to explain scenes of destruction for which black motives were unthinkable (to white conservatives); by the same refusal to acknowledge a political consciousness among rebels (Starkey defined the 2011 protests as mere "superficial … extended commercialism" and "shopping with violence"), by the same association of moral impropriety with blackness and the same certainty that this blackness corrupted whites, the logical extension of Starkey's twenty-first-century words was the same as that of *Jamaica Courant* or *John Bull* diatribes: the discrediting of radical or liberal movements for racial equality. Starkey assumed the role of a Bedford Pim or James Hunt with ease. His arguments— particularly his rendering of rebels as an unruly mob of violent "gangsta" thieves—implicitly justified the violent response of the English police just as members of the Anthropological Society of London overtly defended Eyre's prosecution of black protestors and white missionaries. By depicting a criminal Jamaican culture intruding on British order, Starkey's tacit approval of restorative white authority recalled nineteenth-century colonial settings, when slaveholder militias and British regulars were celebrated for crushing black rebellions with astonishing brutality.

How do we account for these similarities between the public discourse surrounding urban rebellion in the British metropole in 2011, and discussions of Caribbean slave rebellion and its aftermath in 1831 and 1865? It is partly the result of a sanitized popular memory of Britain's

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[14] A video of Starkey's comments can be found at "England riots: 'The whites have become black' says David Starkey," *BBC News*, 13 August 2011, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-14513517.

imperial and slaveholding past.[15] Prime Minister David Cameron recently described the nation as "an island that helped to abolish slavery" rather than one that led the slave trade for centuries, growing rich from its profits. The elision brings fresh relevance to Eric Williams' quip about British historians, that they "wrote almost as if Britain had introduced Negro slavery solely for the satisfaction of abolishing it." With the role of white abolitionists like William Wilberforce celebrated, and the work of black activists in uprisings of 1816, 1823, and 1831 in securing emancipation overlooked, it has become easy, Marcus Wood argues, to view freedom as a gift bestowed upon the enslaved rather than a right demanded and defended. In this narrative, rebellious blacks and their contemporary metropolitan descendants appear ungrateful, disloyal to and worthy of exclusion from the British state, incapable of civilization, and in need of white discipline. These themes, legacies of Pim, Eyre, and *The Times*, formed the basis of Starkey's rhetoric, particularly its emphasis on criminality and foreignness.[16] In this view, "a most cruel, unfounded, and unjustifiable persecution"—as Eyre termed the initial public outcry over his actions at Morant Bay—defined only the experience of whites like the former Governor, Starkey, and the imagined community of "Queen's loyal subjects" betrayed by black resistance across

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[15] A 2016 poll found that 44 percent of Britons remain proud of the nation's imperial past, with only 19 percent believing that the empire was "bad" – see "Poll: 44% of British Are Still Proud of UK's History, Which Includes Genocide, Slavery and Massacres of People of Color," *Atlanta Blackstar*, 25 January 2016, http://atlantablackstar.com/2016/01/25/poll-44-of-british-are-still-proud-of-uks-history-which-includes-genocide-slavery-and-massacres-of-people-of-color/.

[16] Quoted in "David Cameron's Love Actually moment as he defends Britain against 'small island' jibe," *Daily Telegraph*, 6 September 2013, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/10290835/David-Camerons-Love-Actually-moment-as-he-defends-Britain-against-small-island-jibe.html; Eric Williams, *British Historians and the West Indies* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966), 233; Marcus Wood, *The Horrible Gift of Freedom: Atlantic Slavery and the Representation of Emancipation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010). On Britain's inability to reckon with, and its deliberate obscuring of, its imperial and slaveholding past, see Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Georgie Wemyss, *The Invisible Empire: White Discourse, Tolerance and Belonging* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Bill Schwarz, *The White Man's World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). For recent attempts by scholars and activists to confront the atrocities of slavery and empire, see Hilary McD. Beckles, *Britain's Black Debt: Reparations for Caribbean Slavery and Native Genocide* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 2013); Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005).

time. Apparently it does not apply to the unknown numbers of slaves and freedpeople tortured and murdered in the colonies, nor the victims of persistent racial inequalities in Britain and its former empire after emancipation. It would seemingly be ridiculous to use it when describing the death of Mark Duggan, the unarmed black man shot by police in the event that triggered the 2011 uprisings.[17]

But more than memory was at work in Starkey's comments, particularly his discussion of social conduct and racial flux. Challenging the racial belonging of ostensibly white rioters served the same purpose for Starkey as it did for plantocrats who questioned the whiteness of missionaries. In both moments, these accusations served to bolster white conservative claims to authority and to reinforce the conservative political regimes under protest by liberal and radical activists in each instance. While we must not forget that race is a historical construction, defined differently according to social and temporal circumstance, the recurrence of authenticity tropes points to something approaching a constant.[18] When Starkey attacked young protestors just like Eyre, Pim, the *Courant* and others did to enslaved and freedpeople and white missionaries; when Wilmington counterrevolutionaries put nooses around the necks of "white niggers" and Chesnutt criticized Jane and Jeremy, just as the Klan killed Stephens in 1870 or black Republicans attacked Martin Delany's Democratic turn in 1876, each of these actions reinforced a bid for authority to define what freedom would mean for the formerly enslaved. The definition varied; it

[17] Edward Eyre to Sir Roderick Murchison, 10 October 1867, Add MS 46126 Murchison Papers, BL. On the role of race in the 2011 uprising, see John Solomos, "Race, Rumours and Riots: Past, Present and Future," *Sociological Research Online* 16, no. 4 (2011), http://www.socresonline.org.uk/16/4/20.html.

[18] On race as a historical construction, see Barbara J. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, eds. J. Morgan Krousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 143-77; Lucius Outlaw, "Toward a Critical Theory of 'Race,'" in *Anatomy of Racism*, ed. David Theo Goldberg (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 58-82; Martha Hodes, "Introduction: Interconnecting and Diverging Narratives," in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, ed. Hodes (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 1-9; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 1-14.

could be narrow or broad, typified by continued labor under white control, assumption of white middle-class definitions of gendered behavior, or the absence of white interference. But the justification for making that decision was always grounded in racialized claims of legitimacy. They always rested upon whether someone could portray themselves as worthy of belonging, as a genuine member of a community whose dominant source of identification was race. Frequently, that task required the delegitimization of an "other" for the sake of comparison.

The fact that these practices continue in the present suggests that the meaning of emancipation is still to be determined. If race was a product of racial slavery, its continued functionality is perhaps the most significant remnant of the so-called "peculiar institution." Authenticity debates may account for why it survived slavery's end. Whether you lived enslaved or free in the Atlantic world was not exclusively a matter of color, but it was always a matter of race—a category the enslaving classes generally defined by physical appearance. For plantocrats and white reform-minded opponents who already claimed the greatest freedom in the US and British Caribbean—rather than the in-between status of free blacks or "brown" people—it was usually skin that marked them apart. Southern redeemers referred to themselves as "white citizens" and reformers tried to make black people "like whites" because for either group, "phenotype" was the strongest indicator of superiority. Even amid discussion of the universal brotherhood, abolitionists assumed that non-whites would be raised to the level of whites. William Knibb said with certainty in 1834 that "the time [is] coming when men will be measured by their minds and not by the colour of their skin"; another Baptist even claimed with confidence in 1864, amid abundant evidence of dramatic racial inequalities that would prompt the uprising at Morant Bay a year later, that "now we see slavery abolished – civil disabilities removed – caste distinctions abrogated – equal rights, liberties, and privileges enjoyed by all … What a

might Revolution is this!"[19] But both assertions ignored an unresolvable paradox: the existence of the missionary project—the social authority upon which he and his colleagues relied for their livelihood and psychological self-definition—was predicated upon racial division and the particular ability of whites to civilize non-whites.

Though missionaries sought to narrow the divide, it seems unlikely that their proclaimed visions of full racial equality were ever possible. The only way in which they could imagine color not mattering was for the formerly enslaved first to resemble whites in all other ways; to become "civilized" according to the reformist definition. But such an eventuality was impossible because of the unbreakable tie between whiteness and civilization in the white imagination. The strength of the connection was only reinforced by white supremacist accusations of liberal inauthenticity. Depictions of the distance between missionaries or carpetbaggers and freedpeople as diminishing reminded reformers where social power lay. Making black Caribbeans truly "civilized," raising them to the level of whites, would mean that the categories of civilization and whiteness themselves, the basis of missionary power, would be meaningless and therefore no longer a guarantee of social and moral status. This was why reformers resisted the charges made against their reputation so vigorously—why missionaries wrote memorials to the government and published accounts of their conduct, why Tourgée wrote *A Fool's Errand*, and why influence over black dependents bound up in transracial adoption became so appealing. All of these moves were meant to reinforce the subject's claim of authentic whiteness, and all of them reinforced the

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19 Quoted in *Missionary Herald* (September 1834): 68; *Juvenile Missionary Herald* (February 1864): 20

integrity of race as a concept. Then, just as now, whiteness assured greater access to wealth, resources, and power. Then, just as now, it needed a foil to exist.[20]

The physical appearance of enslaved peoples was frequently cited as justification for their condition. It is unsurprising that the shared physical traits that undergirded common experience of oppression became a shorthand for the group identity and political consciousness necessary to enact large-scale resistance. Paul Bogle called his followers "my black skin" and they rallied to calls of "color for color" for a reason. As Paul Gilroy notes in his discussion of whether race could ever cease to operate, "people who have been subordinated by race-thinking and its distinctive social structures … have for centuries employed the concepts and categories of their rulers, owners, and persecutors to resist the destiny that 'race' has allocated to them and to dissent from the lowly value it placed upon their lives." From these "imperfect materials" they "built complex traditions, ethics, identity, and culture"; racial identity provides "important sources of solidarity, joy, and collective strength" which are "not to be lightly or prematurely given up."[21] In black communities too, appearing authentic was a source of social power, and because of the continuation of racial inequalities today, racial identities remain a powerful source of resistance. Thus, ideas of inauthenticity retain currency as means to secure the boundaries of group identities.

Whether the move beyond race that Gilroy imagined in 2000 is possible remains open to question, and is ultimately beyond the purview of this study. But it is worth noting that many of today's popularly held theories concerning race's eventual overthrow suffer from similar

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[20] See, for example, Cheryl I. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106, no. 8 (1993): 1707-1791; George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).

[21] Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 12.

immanent contradictions to those in the nineteenth century. "Multiracialism" celebrates what actors examined here called "amalgamation" or "miscegenation" as the basis for a new politics of identity. By blurring racial lines, proponents believe, race itself will become meaningless. What was once feared as racial suicide is now lauded by some as the next phase of the Civil Rights Movement. But "the herald of mixed-race"—including a return to popularity of "mulatto," a term one would have thought more at home in the 1860s than today—as a new or reclaimed identity category is, Hortense Spillers notes, in fact "taking us backward into the latest avatar of the reification of race." Going further, Jared Sexton argues that multiracialism serves to bolster antiblackness because, "in the register of contemporary racial politics, black identity appears as an antiquated state of confinement from which the 'multiracial imagined community' must be delivered; the negative ideal against which 'the browning of America' measures its success."[22] Thus, the power of blackness as a basis of a new Haitian Revolution, Sam Sharpe rebellion, or Radical Reconstruction is potentially lost.

The failure of multiracialism becomes clear in the case of US President Barack Obama. His victory in 2008 was celebrated by some as proof of a new phase in the history of race, but claims of a "post-racial society" quickly became a conservative tool to silence discussion of persistent racial inequalities that belied the term's veracity. Nothing has quite given lie to the post-racial claim as forcefully as black conservative Ben Carson claiming that Obama could not represent black Americans because he had been "raised white." By questioning Obama's authenticity, Carson (who admits to being considered an "Uncle Tom" for his own departure from the majority of black Americans in political terms), rendered the President as too white at

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[22] Hortense Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's, Too," *Trans-Scripts* 1 (2011): 3; Jared Sexton, *Amalgamation Schemes: Antiblackness and the Critique of Multiracialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 7.

the same time that many white conservatives opposed him on the basis of his blackness. All the while, as Elizabeth Abel has shown, claims of the post-racial have prevented Obama himself from engaging substantially on issues of race. Just like twenty-first-century appeals to "colorblindness"—another nineteenth-century term, first imagined as basis of racial justice by Albion Tourgée—multiracialism and the "post-racial" today obscure but do not remedy the socioeconomic divisions that give race meaning. The privileges accruing to whiteness were left equally unchallenged when racial regimes were overthrown c.1834, c.1865, and c.2008. The idea of the post-racial was equally fallacious in each moment.[23]

My point here is not to attribute the failure to overcome social division to those who identify by race as a source of belonging, at least not those for whom doing so is a source of succor in the face of racial oppression. Those who seek communal strength in these conditions cannot be blamed for doing so. Rather, the continued and seemingly unbreakable bonds between race and authority suggests that we should stop expecting real post-racial eras to arrive. As long as the idea of race determines the distribution of wealth, resources, and privilege, as long as it is invested with some kind of social power, it will remain, and ideas of authenticity with it.

However, this statement should read as an admission rather than a submission. Acknowledgement that the work of anti-racism may never be complete does not justify capitulation but demand rededication. It extends recent redefinitions of emancipation; it is not *just* a process (rather than event), but a process that requires constant renewal. Angela Davis, quoting a Civil Rights era-song, reminds us that "Freedom is a Constant Struggle" requiring acknowledgment of "continuities between nineteenth century anti-slavery struggles, twentieth-

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[23] "Ben Carson: Obama was 'raised white' and cannot relate to black experience," *The Guardian*, 23 February 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/23/ben-carson-barack-obama-raised-white-black-americans; Elizabeth Abel, "Racial Panic, Taboo, and Technology in the Age of Obama," *Trans-Scripts* 1 (2011): 5-15.

century civil rights struggles, [and] twenty-first century abolitionist struggles" toward ending

mass incarceration. Of the lyrics ("They say that freedom is a constant struggle/ They say that

freedom is a constant struggle/ They say that freedom is a constant struggle/ O Lord, we've

struggled so long we must be free"), she notes:

> I like the irony of the last line of each of the verses: we've struggled so long, we've
> cried so long, we've sorrowed so long, we've moaned so long, we've died so long,
> we must be free, we must be free. And of course there's simultaneously resignation
> and promise in that line, there is critique and inspiration: we must be free, we must
> be free but are we really free?[24]

In terms of race as basis of both domination and resistance, of division and solidarity,

authenticity debates in the nineteenth century and now ensure that resignation and promise come

as a package deal.

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[24] Angela Y. Davis, "Closures and Continuities: Speech at Birkbeck University (October 25 2013)," in *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundation of a Movement* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016), 61.

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