Notes

Notes to Introduction

1. The recent Andrea Yates case is quite different, since Yates had a long history of mental illness. For an examination of these issues in relation to the O. J. Simpson trial, see Ann duCille’s *Skin Trade*, in which she argues, “[I]t would be a mistake to underestimate the media’s ability not simply to inform the public but to shape its opinion. What needs to be addressed, then, is the ideological work of both the news and the entertainment media—and how race and capital can blur the line between the two. What needs to be examined is the extent to which the media function as what the Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser called ‘ideological state apparatuses,’ institutions that reinforce the views of dominant culture and capital and, in doing so, serve the interests of the State” (143). As will be discussed in chapter 1, the history of media’s functioning in this capacity extends back to the eighteenth century when print media were emerging as the most influential sources of cultural inscription.


3. Although I hereafter do not place “race” in quotation marks, the term should be understood as culturally defined over time, much as we now understand “gender” to be. Terms such as “black” and “white” will be used in the same sense: without repeatedly enclosing them in quotation marks but as constructed identities integral to the broader struggle for eighteenth-century political, social, and cultural identities and dominances.


8. Quoted in Zamora, 137.


13. As Berkofer has noted, Linnaeus’s “classification of all the earth’s living creatures into one system seemed an intellectual feat rivaling the great Newton’s” (*White Man’s Indian*, 40).

14. Buffon had asserted that a species was defined by its ability to reproduce with one another but not with any other species.
16. Quoted in Eze, Race and Enlightenment, 11.
18. Immanuel Kant, Physical Geography, 60.
19. Ibid., 63.
21. Ibid., 22.
25. Kant, Observations, 57.
28. Kant, Physical Geography, 63.
29. Eze, 79.
31. Haraway, Primate Visions, 11.
32. Blumenbach, On the Natural Varieties of Mankind, 85–86.
33. Ibid., 87–88, 95 (emphasis added).
34. Kant, Observations, 56.
35. Kant, Physical Geography, 64.
38. Ibid., 253.
39. Ibid., 248.
41. Quoted in Ronald Takaki, Iron Cages, 36.
42. Quoted in Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America, 43.
43. Quoted in Takaki, 36.

44. Rush was the first president of Philadelphia’s antislavery society, and he published texts against the slave trade, including An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America, upon Slavekeeping (1773). Like Jefferson, Rush’s opposition to the slave trade did not preclude his belief in white supremacy and exclusion. In 1789 Franklin also acted as first president of the newly legislated Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery.
45. For a similar assertion that Negroes are lower on the Chain of Being than Caucasians and that they have an intermediary role between Caucasians and apes, see Dr. Charles White, An Account of the Regular Gradation of Man (London, 1799).
46. Gossett, 40–41.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., 703.
50. Ibid.
51. Kant argued this idea in Observations when he praised the “mental character” of Native Americans and suggested that “if a lawgiver arose among the Six Nations, one would see a Spartan republic rise in the New world”; but “[t]he remaining natives of this
part of the world show few traces of a mental character disposed to the finer feelings, and an extraordinary apathy constitutes the mark of this type of face" (56).

52. See Berkhofer, 43–49.


54. Ibid., 476–77.

55. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 94.

56. For a discussion of how important the concept of legitimacy was to the new nation, see chapter 1.

57. Dwight Lowell Dumond, Antislavery, 27.

58. Fredrika T eute Schmidt and Barbara Ripel Wilhelm, "Early Proslavery Petitions in Virginia."


60. Ibid., 595.


63. Peter Charles Hoffer, Law and People in Colonial America, ix.

64. On Revolutionary era legal movements, including the impact of antislavery societies, see Hoffer; Dumond; Zilversmit; Lawrence M. Friedman, A History of American Law; and Finkleman, Slavery and the Founders.

65. Zilmersmit, 148–49. Zilversmit asserts that Burr was "adept at muddying political waters," and scholars have typically seen Burr's efforts as backfiring and delaying emancipation (148). While his measure did give proslavery advocates a renewed opportunity to voice their fears, such charges of "muddying” the political process blind us to the fact that the benefit of such legislation would have been to those enslaved, and the real delay came from supposed proponents of antislavery who feared that emancipation would mean equality for freed African Americans.

66. Friedman, 75.

67. Cornelia Hughes Dayton, Women before the Bar, 59.

68. Fliegelman, Prodigals and Pilgrims, 95.

69. Tapping Reeve, The Law of Baron and Femme . . . , 73. See Kerber, No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies, 13–15, on Reeve's influence as an educator of lawyers and through his writings in support of the conventions of pre-Revolutionary British laws of coverture, etc. The exception to the husband's legal protection of the wife was treason.

70. Letter dated June 17, 1782, from Abigail Adams to John Adams, in L. H. Butterfield et al., eds., Adams Family Correspondence, 4:328.

71. Quoted in Kerber, No Constitutional Right, 33.


73. For a study of consent as represented in early American novels, see Gillian Brown, The Consent of the Governed.

74. Marylynn Salmon, “Republican Sentiment.”

75. For an extended discussion of Martin v. Commonwealth and its implications, see Kerber, No Constitutional Right, 5–8, 23–32.

76. Quoted in Jordanova, 167.


Notes to Chapter 1

1. The term “infanticide” is used in this chapter in its eighteenth-century connotation. There is no distinction, therefore, between “neonaticide” and the murder of a child at a somewhat later stage of development.

2. In the recorded testimony at Smith’s trial, she “vehemently” charged Chesson with paternity and asserted that he had “Offered her Money to conceal it at least not to Charge him with it; All which he as vehemently denied” (trial documents, Superior Judicial Court Archives, Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, hereafter identified as “SJC”).

3. Goodwife Alline called several other women to Smith’s bedside when she began to suspect that the “illness” was really a birthing. Mahitabel Nims, Mary Catlin, and Elizabeth Smeade, who came to the house that January afternoon, testified at the trial.

4. The court’s right to assume guilt was written into the 1692 infanticide law; its predisposition toward assuming guilt is evident in several cases brought before the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut courts in which juries were asked to reconsider their not guilty decisions.

5. Book XII of Mather’s text addresses Smith’s case.


7. Friedman, 75.

8. Of the more than sixty volumes of execution sermons published before 1800, only two were published outside New England (Daniel A. Cohen, *Pillars of Salt*, 258n.11).

9. Looby’s premise in *Voicing America* is important here: “Nations are not born, but made. And they are made, ineluctably, in language”—written or oral (1). Language and nationalism will be an important consideration in subsequent chapters as well, both in the recognition of texts rendered orally (such as Belinda’s and Lucy Terry’s narratives) and in the politics of voice in print texts as well as in the cultural mythologies that are spread through vocal utterance and print media—including the stories of “savage barbarities” and of the histories of cultural icons such as Jane McCrea.


12. At least one of the ministers recognized for the publication of an influential execution sermon for a woman convicted of infanticide had been accused himself of witchcraft: the Reverend Samuel Willard.

13. Quoted in Ann Jones, *Women Who Kill*, 45. The law was reprinted several times over the next few years and was included as late as 1733 in the preface to Thomas Foxcroft’s sermon for Rebekah Chamblit’s execution for infanticide, *Lessons of Caution to Young Sinners*, and William Shurtleff’s text, *The Faith and Prayer of a Dying Malefactor*. See below for an extensive discussion of the Chamblit and Kenney cases.

14. Only one upper-class woman was executed for witchcraft—Ann Hibbins, widow of a prosperous merchant and sister of the former governor of Massachusetts Bay, Richard Bellingham. Hibbins was executed in Boston in 1654, long before the 1692 trials.

15. Five cases of infanticide are discussed in Mather’s account of twenty trials, indicating the considerable concern about this crime at the turn of the century.

The narratives in Williams's text will be cited whenever possible, because of its greater accessibility to scholars.

17. This ritual occurred at Patience Boston's trial in 1735 as well. As she purportedly stated to the ministers in her confession narrative: “I went forthwith, and informed the Authority, and when the Jury sat on the Body, I was ordered to touch it: This terrified me, lest the Blood should come forth, to be a Witness against me” (Samuel and Joseph Moody, A Faithful Narrative, reprinted in Daniel Williams, Pillars of Salt, 124).

18. Carol F. Karlsen, Devil in the Shape of a Woman, 148.

19. The 1705 law on mixed-race births reinforced the idea that lying about the death of a child was tantamount to murder. See below for an extended discussion of this law.

20. For the Reverend Hale's testimony against Bishop, see Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, The Salem Witchcraft Papers, I:8–9, 95–97.


22. Ibid., 18.

23. The exact date of her execution is unknown, but from Hale's records it appears to have been in the early 1650s.

24. Sarah Smith records, SJC, Grand Jurors' statement, August 18, 1698. Though this use of the phrase largely faded after the 1730s, it would continue to appear sporadically in various infanticide trial transcripts.


26. John Williams, Warnings to the Unclean, 12.

27. Martin was still being held captive when Sarah gave birth; his release was negotiated later that spring, and he returned to Deerfield in June, only to discover that his wife was about to be tried for infanticide. Court records do not indicate whether he attended the trial and execution.

28. For a fuller discussion of cultural responses to John and Eunice Williams's captivities, see chapter 6.

29. Sheldon, History of Deerfield, 1:263.


32. John Williams, Warnings to the Unclean, 6. Sarah Threeneedles was also resistant to the pressures of ministerial authority. In spite of the efforts of Cotton Mather, Increase Mather, and Samuel Willard, she did not confess and accept Christ. Daniel Williams terms her “the most recalcitrant of [Cotton] Mather’s anti-apostles” (Pillars of Salt, 92). See also Increase Mather's The Folly of Sinning and Samuel Willard's Impenitent Sinners.


34. Karlsen, 23.

35. Quoted in Karlsen, 23.

36. Daniel Williams, Pillars of Salt, 11. I am indebted to his collection and many pioneering articles in the field.

37. Alice Morse Earle, Customs and Fashions in Old New England, 37–39. Thornbacks were a common fish, a ray, noted for the rows of sharp spines on their backs and tails. The opprobrious use of “thornbacks” for a person began in the sixteenth century, if not earlier; but it was the New England Puritans who attached its derogatory sense specifically to unmarried women (OED).
38. Foxcroft, Lessons of Caution, 35
40. Hoffer and Hull, Murdering Mothers, 60–61.
41. Karlsen, 199–201.
42. Ibid., 200. In one unique case, a woman found guilty of bastardy appealed on the basis of another woman’s questionable reputation. Margaret Pasme asserted a “wrong verdict of the Jury” because of the prejudice against Pasme by “Mary Brissail (a persone of ill fame)” who was the only witness the state had against her. The court’s decision is unrecorded (SJC).
44. Daniel Williams, Pillars of Salt, x.
45. Sheldon, I:263.
46. In the published sermons for infanticide executions, the woman was sometimes named on the title page, but her name or details of her life are often absent from the text. Sometimes a narrative of her crime was appended to the sermon, but most often she is merely “this unhappy Woman” or “the Daughter of Death.”
47. Quoted in Stephen Botein, Early American Law and Society, 93.
49. See, for example, Samuel Willard’s comments in Impenitent Sinners and John Williams’s similar assertions in Warnings to the Unclean.
50. John Williams, Warnings to the Unclean, 4.
51. See, for example, Willard, iii.
52. John Rogers, Death the Certain Wages of Sin.
55. From the time of John Rogers’s published sermon through the 1740s, “the theme of the miraculous conversion dominated the criminal narrative genre, and thus contributed much to the rise of evangelical excitement which resulted in the Great Awakening” (Williams, Pillars of Salt, 8).
56. Williams, Pillars of Salt, 9–10.
57. Increase Mather, 38.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 38–39.
60. Ibid., 42–44.
61. Ananais, an early Christian, and his wife Sapphira committed the sin of lying to the Holy Spirit, resulting in their physical death (Acts 5:1–11).
63. Such options were real only when a defendant was of a certain economic status and could afford the higher fines as a means of escaping physical punishment, and since impoverished women were indicted far more often than well-to-do women, the opportunity to avoid physical punishment was largely a moot point for women.
64. Robert C. Twombly and Robert H. Moore, “Black Puritan,” 231. See also Robert E. Moody, ed., Province and Court Records of Maine, 4:47–49; 5:126, 169–71, 199–201. Typically, in cases where the father was white and the mother black, no such conviction
of the male was forthcoming. Lorenzo Greene cites a 1679 case of Kathalina, a Boston slave, and Lofton Loney, her white partner, in which the court “refused to fasten the paternity of the Negro child on the white man. . . . Lofton was acquitted. Upon the double charge of fornication and bastardy, Kathalina was sentenced to be whipped fifteen stripes and to be fined forty shillings” (204). If the white male were an indentured servant, however, he would typically be fined.

65. The three enslaved women were the well-known Tituba (“an Indian Woman servant,” as Tituba is identified in the trial transcripts; see Boyer and Nussenbaum, III:745), residing in the Reverend Samuel Parris’s household; Candy, an African American slave owned by Margaret Hawks of Salem-Village; and Mary Black, an African American slave owned by Nathaniel Putnam, also of Salem-Village.

66. Cited in Michael Fass, “The Use of Transference in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts.” For an extended examination of Knapp’s case, see John Demos, Entertaining Satan. Knapp’s father, James, was a far more socially disruptive figure than Elizabeth, but as a white male, he did not receive the same kind of public censure or condemnation as being labeled demonic. Between 1656 and 1658, James Knapp was charged with adultery, fathering an illegitimate child, and drunkenness. Yet he was never convicted; indeed, he was considered a respected member of the community in his later years.


68. John Williams, Warnings to the Unclean, 4.
70. Cotton Mather, Warnings from the Dead, 74; see also Jones, 51ff. For the text of Elizabeth Emmerson’s confession, see Daniel Williams, Pillars of Salt, 86–87.

71. Marcy Allen’s case.

72. As the Reverend Cooper asserted in one of the sermons presented at Rebekah Chamblit’s execution in 1733, “It may be there is no Place in the World, where such Pains are taken with condemn’d Criminals to prepare them for their Death. . . . The compassionate Judges always allow a considerable Time (commonly a Month at least) after the Sentence is pronounc’d, before the Execution is proceeded in. All this while they are visited, it may be every Day, by some or other of the Ministers of the Town, to instruct them, direct them, and pray with them. They have also the Liberty to attend to our publick Assemblies, on Lecture-Days and on Lord’s Days, that they may have the Benefit of those Ordinances which CHRIST has appointed and by the Working of His Spirit makes to be the effectual Means of the Conversion and Salvation of the Sinner” (Thomas Foxcroft, Lessons, i).

73. Hoffer and Hull, 47.
74. On Maria’s case, see Yasuhide Kawashima, Puritan Justice and the Indian, 152.
75. “For the Better Preventing of a Spurious and Mix’t Issue,” Acts and Resolves of the Massachusetts Bay 1692–1705, I:578–79. Samuel Sewall argued against the law, recognizing that it had as much potential to encourage infanticide, “murders and other abominations” as to discourage it (The Diary of Samuel Sewall, I:532).

76. Marcy Allen’s case.

77. See Douglas Greenberg, Crime and Law Enforcement in the Colony of New York, 117–18.
78. In 1786, however, mixed-race marriages between Native Americans and Anglo-Americans would be forbidden under Massachusetts law (Kawashima 98–99).
80. The same appears to be true in other northeastern colonies, except in one case in Connecticut. See the discussion of Katherine Garret below.
81. Moody, 122.
82. This is true of most infanticide narratives but especially so in Boston’s case because of the delayed writing of her narrative by the Reverends Moody. See below.
83. Moody, 120.
84. Ibid., 121.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., 122.
87. As with many of the infanticide cases, the defendant pled not guilty, but eventually she was persuaded to change her plea to guilty.
88. Moody, 123.
89. Ibid., 124.
90. Kawashima, 152. The most shocking incident, however, would occur in 1786 when twelve-year-old Hannah Ocuish, of African and Native American heritage, was executed for the murder of a white child. See Daniel Williams, Pillars of Salt.
91. Moody, 119.
92. Daniel R. Mandell, Behind the Frontier, 91.
93. Ibid., 92.
94. Quoted in Cohen, Pillars of Salt, 88.
95. Cohen, Pillars of Salt, 89.
96. For more on this issue, see chapter 3.
97. Moody, 124.
98. Ibid., 135.
99. Daniel Williams, Pillars of Salt, 141.
100. Ibid.
101. Moody, 128.
103. Ibid., 38.
104. Ibid., 41.
105. Ibid., 42.
107. Eliphalet Adams, 41.
108. Ibid., 4.
110. Rebekah Chamblit records, Suffolk court files, SJC.
111. The Reverend Cooper, “To the Young Readers,” in Foxcroft, Lessons, i.
112. Foxcroft, Lessons, 54.
113. Ibid.
115. Quoted in Karlsen, 163 (emphasis added).
117. Kneeland and Green were the primary publishers of criminal narratives in Massachusetts—so much so that the title page of their criminal narratives changed by mid-century from just identifying their location as “Queen-Street” to “opposite the Prison in Queen-Street.”


119. Ibid.

120. Fliegelman, 186.

121. Ibid., 188.


126. Friedman, 72–73.


129. Ibid., ii–iii.

130. Ibid., iii.


132. For a discussion of Browne’s contributions to this shift in attitude, see Cohen, *Pillars of Salt*, 89–90.

133. Browne, 5.

134. Ibid., 13.


137. The exception was Elizabeth Shaw, the daughter of a prosperous white family from Windham.

138. Dayton, 211.

139. Flora’s case, SCJ. The subsequent references to court documents in Flora’s case are from this source, unless otherwise noted.

140. A page of the document is apparently missing as the document ends here, with no concluding statements and no signatures of the court’s representatives.

141. See Josiah Quincy, Jr., *Reports of Cases*, 30n.2; Hull, 115–16; and Hoffer and Hull, 74.

142. Dayton, 283. One of the most popular of these “entertaining” rape accounts was that of Frederick Calvert, a seventh Baron Baltimore, who was acquitted in 1768 though he had raped a young milliner; his trial was widely covered by newspapers in the Northeast.


144. Quoted in Marlene Stein Wortman et al., eds., *Women in American Law*, I:57.


147. Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis No. 1*, 948.
148. Quoted in Fliegelman, 99.
149. Fliegelman, 122.
150. Ibid., 31–32.
152. Fliegelman, 131–32 (emphasis added).
155. Quoted in Fliegelman, 15–16.
156. Fliegelman, 16.
158. See Gillian Brown’s *The Consent of the Governed*, especially pp. 3–35, for a discussion of the importance of the idea of the consent of the child in early America.
160. See Tyler’s *The Algerine Captive* (1797) and especially Rowson’s *The Inquisitor* (1788); see also Cohen, *Pillars*, 34.
161. Dayton, 211.
162. On Spooner’s trial and the mythology which emerged after her execution, see Ann Jones, *Women Who Kill*, 49–50; see also Deborah Navas, *Murdered by His Wife*.
163. On Foster, see Sharon M. Harris, “Hannah Webster Foster’s *The Coquette*.”
164. As Dayton notes, “By 1740, the Puritan system of prosecuting and punishing men alongside women for fornication had collapsed. Lawyers, judges, and sexually active young men had brought off a coup: men would be exempted from confessing to philandering while women, still presented for the crime and convicted by both their confessions and their pregnancies, would continue to appear in public as repentant sinners until the end of the century” (60).
166. Ibid., 235.
168. See Dayton, *Women before the Bar*, concerning the changing interest in the reliability of evidence, “not just in debt litigation but also when marital trouble and crimes involving women’s bodies were at issue” (59).
172. Docket Books, October 31, 1787, SJC. The same punishment was meted to Martha Brooks when she was found guilty of “concealing” in Worcester County on April 27, 1793.
175. Masur, 4–5. Even imprisonment itself came under fire, as seen in essays such as “On Imprisonment,” published in The New-York Magazine (2 Dec. 1791, 699–701). The anonymous author of the article asserted that the “most deplorable evils are those which occur to a human being as a result of imprisonment.” He concludes that although confinement cannot be eliminated, its “horrors” can and should be alleviated (701).

176. Minnick, 87.

177. Masur, 49.

178. Quoted in Masur, 65. See Rush’s two major works on this theme, An Inquiry Into the Effects of Public Punishments Upon Criminals and Punishment (1787) and Considerations on the Injustice and Impolicy of Punishing Murder by Death (1792).


183. “The Trouble with Susan Smith,” 22. It is notable that this essay appeared in The Economist, thus projecting a capital murder case as a threat to the national economy.


185. As a few commentators noted, no such national response occurred over the loss of several African American children who were killed in the same time period.

186. “Sign of Tragedy to be Dismantled,” 3.


Notes to Chapter 2

1. Joanne Braxton, Black Women Writing Autobiography; Harris, American Women Writers to 1800; Joycelyn Moody, Sentimental Confessions; and Vincent Carretta, Unchained Voices.

2. Harris, American Women Writers to 1800, and Joycelyn Moody, respectively.


7. Ibid., 85–86.

8. Cited in Greene, 183–84; see also Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the American Revolution, 38.

9. Quoted in Wesley, 104; see also Quarles, 48.


12. Ibid.

14. The charge of petit treason requires a sense of subjugation, as it is legally defined as the murder of one to whom the murderer owes allegiance, as of a master by his servant, or a husband by his wife (OED).


18. Quoted in Donnan, Documents Illustrative, 3:122. No reason for their decision was given.


20. Greene, 223. Most Northerners owned a small number of slaves who resided in the master's house.


22. E. Alfred Jones, 249.

23. Quoted in Peter Kolchin, American Slavery 1619–1877, 78.


29. It is possible that Belinda was more aware of legal concepts than her lack of formal education might suggest. Such was apparently true for Elizabeth Freeman (“Mum Bett”) who petitioned for her freedom based on the idea that the Bill of Rights claimed that everyone was born free. Asked where she had learned about the Bill of Rights, Freeman purportedly replied, “By keepin' still and mindin' things” (Kaplan and Kaplan, 245).


31. Ibid.


36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., 254–55.

42. Ibid., 255. Moody argues that the final phrase, “and she will ever pray,” is “obviously a pun, connoting both her appeal as well as her piety. By ending with the word pray, the narrative circles back to its first image of Belinda's nuclear family at worship, and thereby reinforces the religious subtext of the secular document” (16). Indeed, such a pun reinforces the African religious subtext of the narrative.

43. Kaplan and Kaplan, 244.
Notes to Chapter 3

2. Susanna Ten Eyck married Henry Darby (date unknown); she was widowed on June 9, 1808 (Florence Christoph, *Schuyler Genealogy*, 118).
3. Humphreys, 10–11, 41–42.
5. John was also a member of one of the old elite Dutch families. He was the son of Abigail Lispenard (or Lespinard) and Jacobus Bleecker. The Bleeckers could trace their family’s settlement in New Netherland to the 1650s. The Lispenards of New Rochelle were a prominent Huguenot family, and John’s brother Anthony became a renowned auctioneer after whom New York City’s Bleecker Street is named (James C. Hendrickson, “Ann Eliza Bleecker,” 30).
6. [Margaretta V. Faugeres,] *The Posthumous Works of Ann Eliza Bleecker*, xvi. Hereafter, this text will be cited as *PW*. Unfortunately, no copies of Bleecker’s *Albany Gazette* are known to survive.
7. In the poem “To Miss M. V. W.,” Bleecker explicitly identifies herself as a “Poetess.”
8. Grace Greylock Niles, *The Hoosac Valley*, 252. The name “Schaghticoke” appears throughout the colonial and Federal periods in a variety of spellings. I use the present-day spelling when not quoting.
10. Ibid., iii.
11. Ibid., iv.
14. Quoted in Niles, 97.
15. In “Race and Sensibility in the Early Republic,” Julie Ellison asserts that the use of the term “servants” throughout Bleecker’s writings blurs the question of whether the individuals named are enslaved or not. But, as in New England, “servants for life” was the euphemism that conveniently erased the Dutch families’ slaveholding policies. See below for an extended discussion of slavery in Dutch New York, and for further discussion on the use of “servants for life,” see chapter 6.
17. Ibid., v–vi.
18. Ibid., vi.
19. This slowness is confirmed in a letter Philip Schuyler wrote to Governor George Clinton on August 4, 1777, from Stillwater: “In this situation every Reinforcement will be welcome . . . I wish you therefore to hasten [reinforcements] up the soonest possible with Directions to repair to my Head Quarters, where that will be seems at present to depend much more on General Burgoyne’s pleasure than mine. . . . [From several counties] we have had few Men, at present none, nor can it be expected that they should turn out, if even a great Majority were Whigs, the Reverse of which is unhappily the Case, as they are employed in bringing their Effects down the Country or driving their Cattle to
the Enemy” (Schuyler Family Papers, Albany Institute of History and Art).
21. As late as 1779, Bleecker would remark on the political differences between herself and Susan Ten Eyck, on the one hand, and her neighbors on the other: “The most disagreeable of our hours are when we admit politics in our female circle: this never fails of opening a field of nonsensical controversy among our ladies” (PW, 116).
22. PW, vii.
23. Burgoyne’s Saratoga Campaign lasted from June to October, 1777, with his surrender on October 17, 1777.
24. PW, vii–viii. Faugeres is certainly not the last writer to sentimentalize Bleecker’s life. Rufus W. Griswold, in Female Poets of America, embellished the story of Bleecker’s losses by proclaiming, “The youngest of the children died a few days after, and within a month Mrs. Bleecker’s mother expired in her arms, at Redhook” (28; emphasis added).
25. Ibid., vii–ix.
26. Ibid., 220.
27. There are many such references in the Bible; see, for example, Psalms 60:3
29. Ibid., 220–22.
30. One example is “Hope arising from Retrospection,” PW, 237–39, in which Bleecker specifically mentions Abella.
32. Humphreys, 151–53.
33. June Namias, White Captives, 120.
34. PW, v. No record has been found of this woman’s name or her fate during the flight from and subsequent return to Tomhanick. Like that of so many other slaves, her existence is erased from the historical record.
35. These letters, previously unknown to scholars, are part of the Leonard Bleecker Papers housed at Rutgers University Libraries.
36. Ticonderoga fell to Burgoyne during the Saratoga campaign of 1777.
37. See note 19 for Philip Schuyler’s rendering of the situation at Stillwater.
38. The edge of the letter has disintegrated, and several letters of words in the right margin are missing.
39. Bleecker has “Coll Lorin” in the text, but elsewhere in her correspondence with Leonard Bleecker she refers to a Colonel Lewis, and later in this sentence she refers to Captain Lorin, suggesting that the use of “Lorin” here was a misprint.
40. Probably Susan Ten Eyck, Bleecker’s single half-sister.
41. Silas Deane (1737–89) had been an important figure in Revolutionary politics, as he had been a delegate to the Continental Congress and had served as an emissary to France two years before this letter was written.
42. As discussed in the next section, during this period Bleecker is increasingly transposing violence and guilt onto “savages,” most of whom are figured as Native Americans.
43. A section of this page was torn and has been reattached in a manner that obscures some words throughout a section of the letter.
44. PW, 178–79.
45. Nor was the flight from Burgoyne’s troops the only escape Bleecker had to make. In April 1779 she wrote a letter from nearby Cojemans where she had gone to escape a
group of Tories disguised as Indians who had invaded the area: “They struck a panic over
the stoutest of us. . . . [O]ur disorder on this exceeded the confusion of AGRAMONTA’s
camp; every thing topsey-turvey . . . Susan and I ventured up a loft without light, where
spectres have been gambling for at least a dozen centuries—by report” (PW, 115–16).
But she concludes, “We still remain greatly alarmed, and never undress for bed. However,
we have passed the preceding season in security and pleasure; we have frequently had
sociable dance, which by way of eminence we stile a ball,” and she expects to return to
Tomhanick (PW, 116). This is less than two years after Abella’s death.

46. It is impossible to discern the dates of composition for most of Bleecker’s poetry.
Selected poems were posthumously published in the The New-York Magazine in 1790 and
1791, and subsequently her poetry was collected by Margaretta in Posthumous Works in
1793, but the majority are undated. There is, however, a distinct difference in the poetry
that addresses Abella’s death and other, more conventional examples that appear earlier in
the collection.
47. PW, 199.
48. Ibid., 211.
49. Ibid., 115–16. For a full-length study of how Tory and Patriot alike used such dis-
guises, see Philip J. Deloria’s Playing Indian.
51. Ibid., 220–22.
52. Ibid., 225.
54. Ibid., 231–32.
55. According to county records, the Kittle family name is spelled variously as
“Kittlehuyn,” “Ketyne,” or “Kittle.” See also Sylvester, 439.
56. On the Iroquois’s desire for neutrality, see Nash, The American People, 188–90;
Richard Aquila, The Iroquois Restoration; Dorothy V. Jones, License for Empire, 28–35,
180–86; and Carolyn Merchant, Ecological Revolutions, 92–96.
58. Roy Harvey Pearce, The Savages of America, 198.
60. Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, Indian Captivity Narratives 38, 186–87.
61. Michelle Burnham, Captivity and Sentiment, 92.
62. PW, 146.
63. Ibid., 19.
64. Niles, 100–101.
67. Sylvester, 455.
68. Cuyler Reynolds, Albany Chronicles, 300.
70. Ibid., 303.
71. Carla J. Mulford, “Introduction,” xxii. For a full-length study of these issues, see
Julia Stern’s The Plight of Feeling.
72. Kenneth Silverman, A Cultural History of the American Revolution, discusses the
narrative as “a violent shoot-em up” (498).
74. PW, 22.
75. Bleecker incorrectly conflates the actions of Daniel and William Kittle; whether she remembered incorrectly from the narrative's oral rendering or intentionally conflated them is impossible to know.
76. PW, 28.
77. Ibid., 35–36. By the time Bleecker is writing, the image of a savage Indian dashing a child's head against the rocks has become standard fare in nonfiction captivity narratives.
78. Bleecker also presents in The History of Henry and Anne the man who puts family before military advancement.
79. PW, 143–44. The day after this letter was penned, the panic led to another flight by Bleecker and other women of the neighborhood, but they soon returned. “All the whig families are convened in my home,” she noted, “but not a man amongst us except my old negro Merkee” (PW, 144).
80. In a letter written a couple of years later, Bleecker would also make an analogy between Benedict Arnold’s traitorous acts and the consequences for those left to endure his help to the enemy: “In consequence of his infernal treaty, a party of twelve hundred tories, Indians, &c. have made a descent on our northern frontiers. . . . The innocent infants, the simple women perish unresisting—sometimes crushed in the flaming ruins of their own houses” (PW, 142).
81. PW, 48.
82. Ibid., 58.
83. Ibid., 66.
84. Ibid., 67.
85. Ibid., 49. Bleecker would use similar biblically imbued language when her own husband was taken captive in 1781: “O! my sorrows are swelled to a deluge . . . save me from temptation in this my hour of darkness and horror” (PW, 134).
86. Ibid., 77.
87. Ibid., 81.
88. This common terminology (similar to what Mary Rowlandson used as well) links Maria’s story even more closely to Bleecker’s own. In a letter dated September 4, 1779, written only two months before she composed The History of Maria Kittle, Bleecker wrote to a cousin about her desire for a “restore[d] tranquility” after “my night of affliction” (PW, 131–32). The need for restoration of peace at this later date is due to skirmishes between the colonists and Native Americans in the area, and her affliction is specifically aligned in the letter with the loss of her mother and Abella.
89. PW, 84.
90. Ibid., iii.
91. Ibid., x.
92. Ibid., xi.
93. Ibid., xii.
94. Ibid., 179. The letter is dated May 8, 1783.
95. Ibid., 153–54.
96. Ibid., 156.
97. Ibid., 149–51.
98. Countryman, 43–54.

99. As she humorously wrote to a cousin, Susan's only hope of a spouse in Tomhanick was "our Parson, who, though past his grand climacteric, is still a bachelor" (PW, 123). And when John leaves them alone at home, she must admit that they are "cloistered, shut up, imprisoned (pray help me to a more emphatical word to express our confinement)" (PW, 127).

100. PW, 149.
101. Ibid., 155–56.
102. Ibid., 158.
103. Ibid., 163.
104. Ibid., 165.
105. That is, as a letter book.
106. Chinese green tea.
107. PW, 172–73.
108. Ibid., 179.

109. Susan and Samuel were not the only family members to receive such letters. Her cousin, "Miss V——" and even her husband received admonishments. But for quantity and intensity, none compare to those sent to Susan.

110. PW, 179–80.
111. Ibid., xiii. Bleecker wrote a poem, "On seeing Miss S.T.E. crossing the Hudson" (PW, 239–40). In spite of her disappointment, it is a loving tribute.
112. Ibid., 181.
113. Hendrickson, 38.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Bleecker did create one poem for Margaretta and her young niece Hannah Swits—"A Short Pastoral Dialogue," meant as a guide to valuing nature. She also created one poem specifically for Margaretta, discussed below. Susan, on the other hand, is the intended subject of several poems.

2. PW, 292–93.

3. Faugeres concludes another long poem, "Night," with reminiscences of her mother's death. Though it includes graphic details about Bleecker's death and burial, Faugeres refers to her mother as "a fond / Indulgent parent" (PW, 306).

4. PW, 229.

5. Margaretta completed the last paragraphs of this narrative after her mother's death. See below.

6. For a fuller study of Faugeres's contributions to The New-York Magazine, see Sharon M. Harris, "The New-York Magazine."

7. PW, 260.
8. Ibid., 109–10.
9. Ibid., 110.
10. Ibid., 111.
11. Ibid., 112.
12. Ibid., 114.

14. Significantly, extreme responses by the white community to early slave insurrections were compared by one New Yorker to the hysteria of Salem during the witch craze (Botein, 47).

15. Kobrin, 40–41.


17. Quoted in Zilversmit, 149–50.


20. Quoted in Zilversmit, 178.


22. Ibid., 269.


25. These comments usually related the misadventures of the slaves’ love lives, e.g., “FAN has a fine son, and has parted with TITUS because she took a dislike to his foolish grinning” (*PW*, 158).


27. Ibid., 373–74.


34. Ibid., 331.


38. Ibid., 354.

39. Ibid., 354.

40. Ibid., 354–55.


42. Fleigelman, 100.


44. Ibid., 221.

45. Ibid, 213.


50. Ibid., 43.


52. See Minnick, 87–88.
53. Quoted in Mackey, 54.
55. The prison was built in Greenwich Village and housed its first prisoners in 1797 (Barnes, 94).
57. Ibid., 4n.
58. Ibid., 5.
59. Ibid., 6.
60. Quoted in Minnick, 88.
61. “Faugeres ...,” Nouvelle Biographie Générale (17:167). The French national biography entry notes that her students were from “the principal families of the country.”
63. Countryman, 162–63, 294.
64. Quoted in Gronowicz, 106.
66. Faugeres, “Ode,” 15. Though a Federalist, George Washington had become an icon by this time, and his praise was ritual, at least publicly, among both Federalists and Anti-Federalists. Clinton and Washington, for example, were both friends and business partners (Ellis, 119).
68. “Died,” New York Spectator (14 Jan. 1801), 3. There is no record of where Peter Faugeres was buried; because he was a victim of yellow fever, it is possible that his body was removed from the city along with those of other victims of the devastating epidemic.

Notes to Chapter 5

3. Ibid., 34–37.
4. Ibid., 34.
5. Ibid., 37.
8. Cathy N. Davidson, Revolution and the Word, 132, 188.
10. Ibid., 99.
11. Ibid., 132.
15. Ibid., 207.
16. Ibid., 209.
17. Tenney, 324.
18. Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes, 121.
20. Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, 134.
21. Ibid., 133–34.
22. Tenney, 8.
23. The commentary that follows has been informed by Dana D. Nelson’s *The Word in Black and White*; Londa Schiebinger’s *The Mind Has No Sex?* and *Nature’s Body*; and Ronald Takaki’s *Iron Cages*.
25. Tenney, 53.
26. Ibid., 59.
27. Ibid., 54–55.
28. Ibid., 53 (emphasis added).
29. Ibid., 53.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., 55.
32. Peter Wagner, *Eros Revived*, 292–302. In the illustrations often accompanying erotica, race was a popular vehicle for depicting licentiousness and cultural disorder. An illustration in one of William Hogarth’s novels, the detail of *Noon* (1738), figures English society as in disarray, which is represented via the form of a black man fondling a white woman’s breasts, apparently to the woman’s pleasure. As in *Female Quixotism*, the erotic illustration in Hogarth’s novel is employed in the context of a moral argument about the state of contemporary culture.
33. Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests*, 6. Tenney may also have been familiar with the most public and infamous case of cross-dressing of the eighteenth century: Chevalier d’Eon de Beaumont, a French diplomat to London who became an actress and whose transgendered sexual identity was the subject of rampant debate. Public speculation about d’Eon’s sexuality became so widespread that the London Stock Exchange accepted bets on his gender (Garber, 259–66).
34. Tenney, 278.
35. Ibid., 320–21.
40. Smith, 24.
42. Tenney, 48.
43. Ibid., 76.
44. Ibid., 95.
45. Ibid., 322.
46. Ibid.

**Notes to Chapter 6**

2. Most common is to refer to “Bars Fight” as “doggerel” or a “semi-literate effort.” Blyden Jackson, for example, describes what he deems Terry’s “ineptitude as a poet” and insists that the narrative point of view in “Bars Fight” is “clearly ‘white’” (*A History of Afro-American Literature*, 1:30–33). It is this latter view that will be particularly challenged in my analysis of Terry’s poem.


4. This assessment of Terry’s poem did not, however, prevail in the nineteenth century. Both Josiah Gilbert Holland in *A History of Western Massachusetts* (1855) and George Sheldon in *A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts* (1895) value the poem in ways largely absent in late-twentieth-century criticism.


6. See, for instance, Kenneth Lincoln, *Ind’n Humor: Bicultural Play in Native America*.

7. Pratt, 23.

8. It is impossible to note everyone here, but the scholars whose work has most influenced my own thinking include Frances Smith Foster, Mary Helen Washington, Barbara Christian, Hazel Carby, Deborah McDowell, Valerie Smith, Nellie McKay, bell hooks, Hortense Spillers, Thadious Davis, Patricia J. Williams, Ann duCille, and Michele Wallace.


12. Ibid., 428.

13. Ibid., 438.

14. Ibid.

15. Lucy Terry’s date of birth has often been cited as ca.1730, based on the fact that she was reportedly five years old when she was bought by Ebenezer Wells and brought to Deerfield. Coupled with the first official record about Terry—her baptism in 1735—the date of 1730 has been assumed. Baptism did not, however, necessarily occur immediately upon her arrival in Deerfield. Baptism of slaves was an element of the Great Awakening fervor and may have been less common prior to that period of evangelical revivalism. Like David R. Proper, I believe that 1724 is a far more accurate supposition for her date of birth, based on the fact that Wells was Terry’s second master in the colonies (see below).

16. There is no record of Terry’s life in Rhode Island prior to 1730. Rhode Island was one of the major slave trading colonies at the time. Between 1709 and 1807, there were more than 900 slave-gathering voyages departing from Rhode Island, with more than 106,500 Africans trafficked into slavery (Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle*, 6).

17. I am indebted to Proper’s collection of the Lucy Terry Papers, though my conclusions differ from his (he terms Lucy Terry a “poetess,” for example, and her work as “doggerel”).

18. Terry gained her freedom either shortly after her marriage or perhaps in 1758 when her master died. At the time of her marriage, she was still legally defined as Wells’s “servant.”


20. Records of the Church in Deerfield, 1731–1810, the Lucy Terry Papers.


22. Records of the Church in Deerfield, 1731–1810, the Lucy Terry Papers.
23. While this grant may have been an act of kindness on the master’s part, it was to a degree dictated by law. Throughout New England in the early eighteenth century, manumission had become a means of not having to support aging slaves. This process became so common that most New England colonies passed laws requiring masters who manumitted a slave to prove that the slave could support himself or herself. Massachusetts and Connecticut passed such laws at the turn of the century, in 1703 and 1704 respectively, a decade before the other colonies followed suit. See Charles Wesley, *In Freedom’s Footsteps*, 73–75.

24. This fact may confirm the supposition that Ebenezer Wells did not free Lucy Terry Prince until his death.


27. No record is extant of the number of African Americans in Vermont at the time that the Princes settled there. The 1790 census, taken almost three decades later, indicates a total of 269 free African Americans in Vermont (Wesley, 111).

28. All of the other grantees, apparently, were Euro-Americans; only Abijah’s name is followed by the designation “Negro.” See William Loren Katz, *The Black West*, 60; and Martha Wright, “Bijah’s Luce of Guilford, Vermont,” 152.


31. Ironically, Williams College was first established as the Free School. It became Williams College in 1793. The information about these events is drawn from nineteenth-century histories, the authors of which interviewed residents or were themselves residents of the community.


33. This date is based on the fact that Judge Samuel Chase presided over the trial; Chase served on the Supreme Court from 1796 to 1811, but he presided only one term—May 1796 in Bennington—over the U.S. Circuit Court in Vermont. The records of Supreme Court cases heard in Bennington between 1790 and 1830 were destroyed by fire (P. Jeffrey Potash and Samuel B. Hand, *Litigious Vermonters*, 18).

34. Terry Prince may have had good reason for doubting the efforts of her counsel. Tyler had been an intimate friend of Terry’s attorney since the late 1780s, and Tyler owed his appointment to the Vermont Supreme Court to Tichenor’s influence (James Benjamin Wilbur, *Ira Allen* 2:357).

35. Kaplan, 211.

36. Herndon, 270.

37. Ibid., 273. As Carol Wilson has observed, imprisonment was a tactic used not only for runaway slaves but for free blacks as well: “Even if eventually found innocent of the crime of which they were charged, free blacks could become enslaved if they failed to pay their fees. The majority of the black population often found payment of fees impossible” (46).

38. Herndon, 269–70.

39. Both Lucy and Abijah had apparently accepted Christianity by the time they became parents. All of the children were baptized, and Lucy’s obituary identifies her as a pious woman.

40. An obituary published at Lucy Terry Prince’s death asserts that the land was lost “through inattention . . . which subjected her to penury” (see below).

42. Alternative names given to this group were the Socois (a French-Canadian designation) and the River Indians (an English designation).

43. Quoted in Sheldon, 1:8. The compensation for the 8,000 acres was £94 10s. (Holland 2:352).

44. Quoted in Sheldon, 1:8.


46. To his credit, Sheldon does include a two-chapter history of the Pocumtucks in the region, although again he presents their history only in time and terms of colonialist settlement.

47. William Pynchon of Springfield, for instance, was granted the right by the General Court to sell his corn at Windsor and Hartford for five shillings per bushel. “A sort of non-importation act was also passed, for the benefit of Mr. Pynchon in this transaction. It was to the effect that no more than 4 shillings a bushel should be paid to Indians who brought their own corn down to sell, under a penalty of five shillings per bushel” (Sheldon, 1:52). Pynchon actually began to go directly to the Pocumtucks to buy his corn and then delivered it to the settlements, at a greater profit than the producers themselves could receive, by law, for the same action.


49. Quoted in Takaki, 60. This statement was edited out of the final version.

50. In *American Women Writers to 1800*, I assumed she was nonliterate. However, further research into her life, as detailed in this chapter, has made me reconsider that assumption, although it remains possible that she relied upon her considerable intelligence and exceptional memory. One scant piece of evidence exists to argue for Lucy Terry’s literacy: a letter from Clarissa Ashley, sister of Lucy Terry’s minister, to her brother Elihu, in which she asserts that her style may remind him of “old Luce’s” style. In the middle of the first page of her letter, Clarissa writes, “I suppose you will scarlely read this however it will serve to put you in mind of old Luce for I begin at one corner of the paper and I have got all most down to the other” (quoted in Proper, 193).

51. Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, 8. As John Sekora notes, “Because of the constant tension between settlers and tribes in the North and West, the captivities always possessed a timeliness. But that relevance was aggravated with each new quarrel. A new narrative or (more often) a new edition of a previous one appeared most years during the eighteenth century” (96).


53. John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive*, 44.

54. The Reverend Jonathan Ashley, minister during all of Lucy Terry’s years in Deerfield, had preached many such sermons. At the beginning of King George’s War, for example, in one sermon he included the following call: “I know our days are determined in this world by God . . . but yet it is our duty to use means appointed for the lengthening out of our lives, and to defend ourselves against such as seek to take them away” (quoted in Sheldon, 1:536).

55. Quoted in Sheldon, 1:536.


57. Quoted in Sheldon, 2:888.

58. See Alice Morse Earle, *Margaret Winthrop*; and Sharon M. Harris, “Margaret Tyndal Winthrop.”
59. Quoted in Sheldon, 2:888–89.
62. The Reverend Williams’s true assessment of his slaves is indicated in a 1729 inventory of his property: two slaves, Mesheck and Kedar, are listed as property in conjunction with a “one eyed horse” and a “weak backed cow” (quoted in Sheldon, 2:889–90).
64. At least five African Americans, including Lucy Terry, were baptized in Deerfield in 1735 (Sheldon, 2:893).
65. A transcript of excerpts from Ashley’s sermon is located in the Lucy Terry Papers.
66. See Moon, 24–25; Proper, 194.
67. Such ideas were predominant even before the Great Awakening; see, for example, Cotton Mather’s The Negro Christianized (1706) in which he asserted that baptizing slaves was a form of freeing them.
68. Williams, 48.
69. Also often spelled “Caughnawaga.” Naming is as complicated with the Kahnawake as with Eunice herself (see below). They were Iroquois du Sault to the French, French Mohawks to the Deerfield residents, Praying Indians to residents of New York, and praying Iroquois to their Abenaki neighbors. For further details, see John Demos, The Unredeemed Captive, 120.
70. Kahnawakes were often given different names when they became adults; at some point, Eunice/A’ongote was renamed Gannenstenhawi (“she brings in corn”). This renaming may, as John Demos has suggested, signify her acceptance into and by the Kahnawake community (The Unredeemed Captive, 141–42, 159–60).
71. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Good Wives.
72. Terminology is, of course, significant in dissecting processes of cultural conflict. While the term “master” as the one who “owns” a captive was accurate in many instances, especially during the journey from the site of captivity to the native village, it was also a discursive means of suggesting the horrific state of captivity—ironically, exposing the alliance between captivity and slavery that the colonialists did recognize. In the Kahnawake matrilocal culture, however, female captives were often taken into the community and accepted as some form of “kin.” The system was, notably, perfect for acculturation purposes.
73. Demos, 143ff. See also Martha Harroun Foster’s “Lost Women of the Matriarchy,” 121–40, concerning the gynocratic nature of Iroquois culture. For an opposing view, see James Axtell, Beyond 1492.
74. See Demos, 128–31.
75. Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, 159.
76. François Xavier was his Catholic name; Arosen, his Mohawk name (Demos, 154).
78. Thomas Foxcroft, Eli the Priest, 7.
79. Quoted in Demos, 204.
80. Quoted in Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, 7.
81. The brief details of Jinny Cole’s life are recounted by Sheldon, who as a child knew her son Cato (2:896–98).
82. These traditions were handed down in evolving versions, including songs such as
“Steal Away” and “Swing Low, Sweet Chariot” or stories such as “People Who Could Fly.” They have been recreated in some of the most powerful African American literature produced in the twentieth century, most notably Toni Morrison’s *Song of Solomon*.

83. Sheldon, 2:897.

84. “Griot” is a French designation; “dyeli” is West African (specifically Maninkan) in origin. See Thomas O’Toole, *Historical Dictionary of Guinea*, 71, 124.

85. See James F. Brooks, “‘This Evil Extends Especially . . . To the Feminine Sex.’”

86. Jinny Cole’s spirit of resistance was also linked with her homeland. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a popular term in African American slang was to define a spirited reaction as getting one’s “Guinea” up. As late as 1888–89, Frances E. Watkins Harper used the phrase in her novel *Trial and Triumph*: the spitfire protagonist Annette is angered when a white classmate refuses to sit next to her in school because she is black. Annette remarks, “I guess I felt like Mrs. Larkins does when she says her Guinea gets up. My Guinea was up” (217).

87. “Restoration,” as discussed further below, was the most significant element of the white captivity narrative tradition that developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, beginning with Mary Rowlandson’s 1692 *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*. The dominant colonial culture not only viewed restoration as the return of the captive to “civilization” but especially viewed the act as signifying providential design in the process and a sign of approval of the overall Puritan mission. My point here is that Lucy Terry’s beliefs may have been influenced as much by her African spiritual heritage as by Christianity.


89. Quoted in David Zesmer, *Guide to English Literature*, 147.

90. Ibid.


92. Tara Fitzpatrick, “The Figure of Captivity,” 2–3.


94. See Derounian-Stodola and Levernier: “Whether negative or positive, stereotyping Indians ultimately served the same pragmatic racist purpose regarding the so-called Indian problem encountered by an essentially expansionistic, white, agrarian society that needed new territories as it grew in both size and military strength” (53).

95. Gates, 12.

96. Foster, *Written by Herself*, 25. Mae Gwen Henderson, in “Speaking in Tongues,” also remarks upon this tradition. African American women writers, she notes, “have encoded oppression as a discursive dilemma, that is, their words have consistently raised the problem of the black woman’s relationship to power and discourse. Silence is an important element of this code.”


98. This is the argument Haraway makes concerning the emergence of a cybernetic culture in the late twentieth century.

99. Pratt, 2.

100. Holland, 2:359.

101. Hemenway, 79.


103. Sheldon, 1:547.
104. See Elijah Williams’s Account Book, the Lucy Terry Papers.
105. Pratt, 23.
106. See especially Patricia Caldwell’s *The Puritan Conversion Narrative*.
108. Like all folk ballads, different versions of “Bars Fight” have emerged. More than a century and a half after Terry’s poem was crafted, Harriet Hitchcock, an elderly resident of Deerfield, still knew Terry’s memorial to the massacre of 1746 but recalled an additional couplet that either had been in the original poem or was added as it was transformed in its oral migration. Hitchcock placed the couplet, “Twas nigh unto Sam Dickinson’s mill, / The Indians there five men did kill,” at the beginning of the poem; modern scholars have studiously considered this variation, arguing that perhaps its rightful place was at lines 5 and 6 (see, for instance, Bernard Katz, “A Second Version of Lucy Terry’s Early Ballad,” 183–84; and Pattie Cowell, *Women Poets in Pre-Revolutionary America 1650–1755*, 255–57). What has never been disputed, however, is the conclusion of “Bars Fight” in which the child Samuel Allen is abducted and taken to Canada.
110. Quoted in Sheldon, 1:309.
112. John Sekora, 94.
115. Pratt, 7.
117. Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, 7.
119. Kaplan is building her theory of the erotics of talk on Audre Lorde’s assertion in *Sister Outsider* that the erotic constitutes a measure of one’s sense of self which in turn creates the recognition of one’s ability to aspire. Kaplan recognizes that “Lorde’s discussion of the erotic works against a whole history of the sexual objectification of women of color” (*The Erotics of Talk*, 170–71). In this context, Terry’s erotics of talk offer at least the potential for, if not a realization of, the antidote to hooks’s sense of lack concerning eighteenth-century representations of the body of a free black woman.

**Note to Appendix**