Appendix A

Foundations of Race

Source: National Museum of African American History and Culture
https://nmaahc.si.edu/learn/talking-about-race/topics/historical-foundations-race

Modified from original text

1 Race is a human-invented, term used to describe and categorize people into social groups based on characteristics like skin color, physical features, and genetic heredity. Race is not a valid biological concept. However, it is a real social construction that gives or denies benefits and privileges. American society developed the notion of race early in its formation to justify its new economic system of capitalism, which depended on the institution of forced labor, especially the enslavement of African peoples. To more accurately understand how race and its counterpart, racism, are woven into the very fabric of American society, we must explore the history of how race, white privilege, and anti-blackness came to be.

> **Social construct:** an idea or collection of ideas that have been created and accepted by the people in a society. These constructs serve as an attempt to organize or explain the world around us.

The Invention of Race

The concept of "race," as we understand it today, evolved alongside the formation of the United States. The concept of "race" was deeply connected with the evolution of two other terms, "white" and "slave." The words "race," "white," and "slave" were all used by Europeans in the 1500s, and they brought these words with them to North America. However, the words did not have the meanings that they have today. Instead, the needs of the developing American society would transform those words' meanings into new ideas.

The term "race," was rarely used before the 1500s. When it was used, it identified groups of people with a similarity or group connection. The modern-day use of the term "race" (identifying groups of people by physical traits, appearance, or characteristics) is a human invention. During the 17th century, European Enlightenment philosophers based their ideas on the importance of reasoning, rationality, and scientific study. Scientists began classifying things found in nature, such as plants, minerals, and animals, into categories. Soon, they began classifying people as well. Enlightenment beliefs, which started in the late 17th century and grew through the late 18th century, argued that there were natural laws that governed the world and human beings. Today, we know that not all claims made during the Enlightenment Era were true. For example, the false notion that "white" people were naturally smarter, more capable, and more human than nonwhite people became accepted worldwide. This categorization of people became a justification for European colonization and the enslavement of people from Africa.

The concept of slavery has existed for centuries. Enslaved people, "slaves," are forced to labor, or work, for another person. We can point to the use of the term slave in the Hebrew Bible, ancient societies such as Greece, Rome, and Egypt, as well as during other eras of time. Within the Mediterranean and European regions, before the 16th century, enslavement was acceptable for persons considered heathens or non-Christians. At that time, being a slave was not for life or hereditary - meaning the status of a slave did not automatically transfer from parent to child. In many cultures, slaves were still able to earn small wages, gather with others, marry, and potentially buy their freedom. Similarly, peoples of darker skin, such as people from the African continent, were not automatically enslaved or considered slaves.

The word "white" held a different meaning, too. Before the mid-1600s, there is no evidence that the English referred to themselves as being "white people." This concept did not occur until 1613 when the English society first encountered and contrasted

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themselves against the East Indians through their colonial pursuits. Even then, the term “white” was rarely used. From about the 1550s to 1600, “white” was exclusively used to describe elite English women, because the whiteness of skin signaled that they were persons of a high social class who did not go outside to labor. However, the term white did not refer to elite English men because the idea that men did not leave their homes to work could signal that they were lazy, sick, or unproductive. Initially, the racial identity of “white” referred only to Anglo-Saxon people and has changed due to time and geography. (The term Anglo-Saxon refers to settlers from the German regions of Angeln and Saxony, who made their way over to Britain after the fall of the Roman Empire around AD 410.) As the concept of being white evolved, the number of people considered white would grow as people wanted to push back against the increasing numbers of people of color, due to emancipation and immigration. Activist Paul Kivel says, “Whiteness is a constantly shifting boundary separating those who are entitled to have certain privileges from those whose exploitation and vulnerability to violence is justified by their not being white.”

European colonists’ use of the word “white” to refer to people who looked like themselves, grew to become entangled with the word “race” and “slave” in the American colonies in the mid-1660s. American colonists created “races” of “savage” Indians, “subhuman” Africans, and “white” men. These social constructions successfully united the white colonists, marginalized native people, and permanently enslaved most African-descended people for generations. Tragically, American culture, from the very beginning, developed around the ideas of race and racism.

2 Race (and Racism) in Colonial and Early America

European colonists came to North America in search of a place to create a new society. The ideals of Enlightenment spread to the North American colonies and formed the basis of their democracy. However, these same ideals formed the most brutal kind of servitude - chattel slavery.

Before 1500, the notion of hierarchy was a common principle. In a hierarchy, people or groups are ranked one above the other according to status or authority. Every person belonged to a hierarchical structure in some way: children to parents, parishioners to churches, laborers to landowners, peasants to nobles, etc. However, as the Enlightenment ideas of the natural rights of man became more common through the 18th century, the concept of equality becomes common as well. People came to believe that peasants had the same rights as nobles. At the same time, people still desired to classify themselves, especially if they could rank themselves above others. By categorizing humans by “race,” a new hierarchy was invented based on what many considered science.

Within the first decades of the 1600s, the first Africans were captured and brought to the American colonies as enslaved labor (most colonies had made enslavement legal). At this time in colonial America, enslaved Africans were just one source of labor. The English settlers used European indentured servants and enslaved indigenous people as other forms of forced labor. These groups of enslaved and forced labor often worked side-by-side and co-mingled socially. The notion of enslavement changed throughout the 1600s. In this early period, enslavement was not an automatic condition, nor did it apply to all African and African-descended people. Very importantly, being enslaved was not necessarily a permanent lifetime status. The boundaries between groups were more fluid but began to shift over the next few decades to make strict distinctions, which eventually became law.

By the late 1600s, significant shifts began to happen in the American colonies. As the population increased, there were more demands for land and labor to work the land. When wealth was the goal, landowners wanted a lot of labor and a very low cost. Indentured servitude lost its attractiveness as it became less profitable to use servants of European descent. White settlers began to turn to slavery as the primary source of forced labor in many of the colonies. African people were seen as more desirable slaves because they brought advanced farming skills, carpentry, and bricklaying skills, as well as metal and leatherworking

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skills. Characterizations of Africans in the early period of colonial America were mostly positive, and the colonists saw their future as dependent on this source of labor.

The evolution of Virginia's law demonstrates how the system of chattel (*owned items*) slavery and, along with it, anti-blackness (*opposed to or hostile toward black people*), became common in colonial America. At first, labor status, free or slave, was not permanent nor solely connected to race. A significant turning point came in 1662 when Virginia enacted a law of hereditary slavery, which meant the status of the mother determined the status of the child. This law was different from English common law, which assigned the legal status of children based on their father's legal status. Thus, children of enslaved women would automatically share the legal status of "slave." This doctrine laid the foundation for the natural increase of the enslaved in the Americas and increased the abuse of female slaves by white planters or other men. Each child born by an enslaved woman was now legal property of the women's owner, and was viewed as a labor source that could be sold for profit. in Virginia, 1667, new law deemed it legal to keep enslaved people in bondage even if they converted to Christianity. Prior to this, enslavement was acceptable for persons considered heathens or non-Christians . With this decree, the justification for black servitude changed from a religious status to a designation based on race.

Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 had a lasting impact on anti-blackness and the racial divide in the colonial Chesapeake region. During the uprising, coalitions of poor white people and free and enslaved Africans rebelled against the rising elite, planter class. The goal was to acquire land reserved for Virginia's indigenous people. Wealthy planters were shaken by the fact that a rebel militia that united white and black servants and slaves had destroyed Jamestown, the colonial capital. After Bacon's Rebellion, Virginia's lawmakers began to make legal distinctions between "white" and "black" inhabitants. By permanently enslaving Virginians of African descent and giving poor white indentured servants and farmers some new rights and status, they hoped to separate the two groups and make it less likely that they would unite again in rebellion. The Africans physical distinctiveness marked their newly created subordinate position. To further separate the social and legal connections between lower-class whites and African laborers (enslaved or free), laws were put into place to control the interaction between the two groups. These laws created a hierarchy based on race.

3 Liberty and Slavery

American colonists' belief in natural laws produced revolutionary political thoughts in the last part of the 18th century. New generations of Americans, many born in the colonies, seized upon ideas like that of John Locke's "Social Contract" which argues that all people naturally had a right to life, liberty and property, and that any created government is legitimate only with the consent of those people being governed. Thomas Jefferson built upon these ideas in the Declaration of Independence by proclaiming that "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" were inalienable, God-given rights to all men. After the Revolution, the U.S. Constitution adopted the protection of property within its words. It is within these founding documents that the concept of liberty - the human right to freedom and the protected right to own property - became the foundation of American ideals. However, as these founding documents were being written and adopted, race-based slavery was common practice in America. Although some of the **Founding Fathers** acknowledged that **slavery** violated the ideal of liberty, others fought fiercely to preserve the system that provided free labor, cheaper goods, and ultimately, much wealth.

America would come to be defined by the language of freedom and the acceptance of slavery. Along with the revolutionary ideas of liberty and equality, slavery concerns began to surface as Black colonists embraced the meaning of freedom, and the British abolished slavery within their lands. As the young United States tried to establish itself, it had to wrestle with the tension that came with promoting freedom while condoning slavery. For those who wanted to maintain the institution of slavery, it became necessary to develop new rationales and arguments to defend it. They had to answer the question - How does one justify holding a human as property? As a

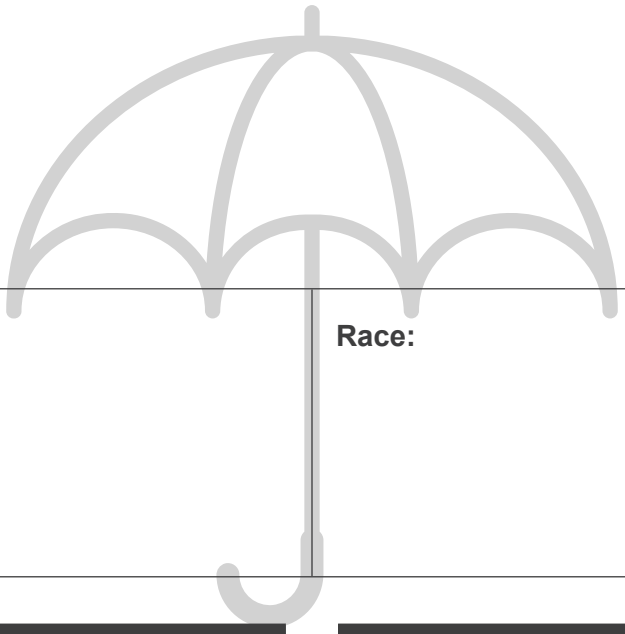
Appendix A (cont.)

result, major political leaders and thinkers promoted unfounded theories about racial differences and the immorality of nonwhite people. These theories spread throughout the late-18th century. Physical differences were merged with status differences and came together to form a social hierarchy that placed “white” at the top and “black” at the bottom. By the beginning of the 19th century, “white” was an identity that designated a privileged, landholding, (usually male) status. Having “whiteness” meant having clear rights in the society. Not being white signified the instability or nonexistence of your freedoms, rights, and property. Ironically, Jefferson and Locke also both made arguments for the idea of inferior “races,” thereby supporting the development of the United States’ culture of racism. Their support of inferior races justified the taking of American Indian land and the enslavement of Africans in the era of revolution. It was this racial ideology that allowed American chattel slavery and anti-blackness to continue.

Appendix B

"Race is the child of racism, not the father."

TA-NEHISI COATES



Racism:	Race:

Justifications of Slavery	Evolution of Racism in the U.S.

Appendix C

On Slaveholders' Sexual Abuse of Slaves: Selections from 19th 7 2oth century Slave Narratives

Source: nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai/enslavement/text6/masterslavesexualabuse.pdf

Modified from original text

For many enslaved African Americans, one of the cruelest hardships they endured was sexual abuse by the slaveholders, overseers, and other white men and women whose power to dominate them was complete. Enslaved women were forced to submit to their masters' sexual advances, perhaps bearing children who would generate the rage of a master's wife, and from whom they might be separated forever as a result. Masters forcibly paired "good breeders" to produce strong children they could sell at a high price. Resistance brought severe punishment, often death. "I know these facts will seem too awful to relate," warns former slave William J. Anderson in his 1857 narrative, ". . . as they are some of the real 'dark deeds of American Slavery.'" Presented here are selections from two groups of narratives: 19th-century memoirs of fugitive slaves, often published by abolitionist societies, and the 20th-century interviews of former slaves compiled in the 1930s by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Slave Narrative Project (reproduced here as transcribed by the interviewers).

"Plenty of the colored women have children by the white men. She know better than to not do what he say. Didn't have much of that until the men from South Carolina come up here [North Carolina] and settle and bring slaves. Then they take them very same children what have they own blood and make slaves out of them. If the Missus find out she raise revolution. But she hardly find out. The white men not going to tell and the nigger women were always afraid to. So they jes go on hopin' that thing[s] won't be that way always."

-W. L. BOST, ENSLAVED IN NORTH CAROLINA, INTERVIEWED 1937 [WPA SLAVE NARRATIVE PROJECT]

"The slave traders would buy young and able farm men and well developed young girls with fine physique to barter and sell. They would bring them to the taverns where there would be the buyers and traders, display them and offer them for sale. At one of these gatherings a colored girl, a mulatto of fine stature and good looks, was put on sale. She was of high spirits and determined disposition. At night she was taken by the trader to his room to satisfy his bestial nature. She could not be coerced or forced, so she was attacked by him. In the struggle she grabbed a knife and with it, she sterilized him and from the result of injury he died the next day. She was charged with murder. Gen. Butler, hearing of it, sent troops to Charles County [Maryland] to protect her, they brought her to to Baltimore, later she was taken to Washington where she was set free. . . This attack was the result of being goodlooking, for which many a poor girl in Charles County paid the price. There are several cases I could mention, but they are distasteful to me. . . . There was a doctor in the neighborhood who bought a girl and installed her on the place for his own use, his wife hearing it severely beat her. One day her little child was playing in the yard. It

Appendix C (cont.)

fell head down in a post hole filled with water and drowned. His wife left him; afterward she said it was an affliction put on her husband for his sins. Let me explain to you very plain without prejudice one way or the other, I have had many opportunities, a chance to watch white men and women in my long career, colored women have many hard battles to fight to protect themselves from assault by employers, white male servants or by white men, many times not being able to protect [themselves], in fear of losing their positions. Then on the other hand they were subjected to many impositions by the women of the household through woman's jealousy."

-RICHARD MACKS, ENSLAVED IN MARYLAND, INTERVIEWED 1937 [WPA SLAVE NARRATIVE PROJECT]

He had so many slaves he did not know all their names. His fortune was his slaves. He did not sell slaves and he did not buy many, the last ten years preceding the war. He resorted to raising his own slaves. . . . . A slave girl was expected to have children as soon as she became a woman. Some of them had children at the age of twelve and thirteen years old. . . . Mother said there were cases where these young girls loved someone else and would have to receive the attentions of men of the master's choice. This was a general custom. . . The masters called themselves Christians, went to church worship regularly and yet allowed this condition to exist.

-HILLIARD YELLERDAY, ENSLAVED IN NORTH CAROLINA, INTERVIEWED CA. 1937 [WPA SLAVE NARRATIVE PROJECT]

I knew a man at the South who had six children by a colored slave. Then there was a fuss between him and his wife, and he sold all the children but the oldest slave daughter. Afterward, he had a child by this daughter, and sold mother and child before the birth. This was nearly forty years ago. Such things are done frequently in the South. One brother sells the other: I have seen that done.

-WILLIAM THOMPSON, ENSLAVED IN VIRGINIA, INTERVIEWED IN ONTARIO, CANADA, 1855; IN BENJAMIN DREW, THE REFUGEE: OR THE NARRATIVES OF FUGITIVE SLAVES IN CANADA, 1856

Appendix D

Phillis Wheatley (1753–1784)

Source: https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/phillis-wheatley
Original text by Sondra A. O'Neale, Emory University

Modified from original text

Although she was an enslaved person, Phillis Wheatley Peters was one of the best-known poets in pre-19th century America. Educated and enslaved in the household of prominent Boston tailor John Wheatley, praised in New England and England, with presses in both places publishing her poems, and paraded before the leaders of the new United Stated and Great Britain, Wheatley was the abolitionists' example that blacks could be both artistic and intellectual. Her name was a household word among literate colonists and her achievements a spark for the struggling antislavery movement.

Wheatley was seized from Senegal/Gambia, West Africa, when she was about seven years old. She was transported to the Boston docks with a shipment of "refugee" slaves, who because of age or physical frailty were unsuited for hard labor in the West Indian and Southern colonies. In the month of August 1761, "in want of a domestic," Susanna Wheatley, wife of prominent Boston tailor John Wheatley, purchased "a slender, frail female child ... for a trifle" because the captain of the slave ship believed that the small child was terminally ill, and he wanted to gain at least a small profit before she died. A Wheatley relative later reported that the family speculated the girl—who was "of slender frame and evidently suffering from a change of climate," nearly naked, with "no other covering than a quantity of dirty carpet about her"—to be "about seven years old ... from the circumstances of shedding her front teeth."

After discovering the girl's intelligence, the Wheatleys taught her to read and write, but did not entirely excuse Wheatley from her domestic duties. Soon she was immersed in the Bible, astronomy, geography, history, British literature, and the Greek and Latin classics. In "To the University of Cambridge in New England" (probably the first poem she wrote but not published until 1773), Wheatley indicated that despite this exposure, rich and unusual for an American slave, her spirit yearned for the intellectual challenge of a more academic atmosphere.

By the time she was 18, Wheatley had gathered a collection of 28 poems for which she, with the help of Mrs. Wheatley, ran advertisements for subscribers in Boston newspapers in February 1772. When the colonists were apparently unwilling to support literature by an African, she and the Wheatleys turned in frustration to London for a publisher. Wheatley had forwarded the Whitefield poem to the Countess of Huntingdon. A wealthy supporter of evangelical and abolitionist causes, the countess instructed bookseller

Portrait of Phillis Wheatley. Source: Library of Congress.

Appendix D (cont.)

On Being Brought from Africa to America
BY PHILLIS WHEATLEY

'Twas mercy brought me from my Pagan land,
Taught my benighted soul to understand
That there's a God, that there's a Saviour too:
Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.
Some view our sable race with scornful eye,
"Their colour is a diabolic die."
Remember, Christians, Negros, black as Cain,
May be refin'd, and join th' angelic train.

Archibald Bell to begin correspondence with Wheatley in preparation for the book.

In her poetry, Wheatley applied biblical symbolism to comment on slavery. For instance, "On Being Brought from Africa to America," the best-known Wheatley poem, she scolds those who do not include Africans as fellow Christians: "Remember, Christians, Negroes, black as Cain, /May be refin'd and join th' angelic train."

The remainder of Wheatley's themes can be classified as celebrations of America. She was the first to applaud this nation as glorious "Columbia" and that in a letter to no less than the first president of the United States, George Washington, with whom she had corresponded and whom she was later privileged to meet. Her love of America as well as her religious commitment are apparent in many of her writings, including letters to a number of prominent New England political leaders.

Wheatley was manumitted (granted freedom) some three months before Mrs. Wheatley died on March 3, 1774. Although many British newspapers criticized the Wheatleys for keeping Wheatley in slavery while presenting her to London as the African genius, the family had provided a safe haven for the poet. Wheatley was kept in a servant's place—a respectable arm's length from the Wheatleys' genteel circles—but she had experienced neither the horrors of slavery, nor the harsh realities of free Black.

On April 1, 1778, despite the disapproval of some of her closest friends, Wheatley married John Peters. A free black, Peters evidently aspired to entrepreneurial and professional greatness. However, Peters' business plans did not work out, largely due to the discrimination faced by African Americans.

Economic conditions in the colonies during and after the war were harsh, particularly for free blacks, who were unprepared to compete with whites in a tight job market. These societal factors were responsible for the newfound poverty that Wheatley Peters suffered. Phillis Wheatley Peters died, uncared for and alone on December 5, 1784.

Recent scholarship shows that Wheatley Peters wrote perhaps 145 poems, most of which is now lost.

Abolitionists and Christians have been criticized of exploiting Phyllis Wheatley as an exhibition of African intelligence. Some considered her proof that an African American could be "made white" by well-intentioned abolitionists. Additionally, early 20th-century critics of Black American literature were not very kind to Wheatley Peters because of her supposed lack of concern about slavery. She, however, did have a statement to make about the institution of slavery, and she made it to the most influential segment of 18th-century society—the institutional church. She wrote these bold lines in her poetic eulogy to General David Wooster castigate patriots who confess Christianity yet oppress her people:

But how, presumptuous shall we hope to find
Divine acceptance with th' Almighty mind --
While yet (O deed ungenerous!) they disgrace
And hold in bondage Afric's blameless race;
Let virtue reign -- And those accord our prayers
Be victory our's, and generous freedom theirs.

Appendix E

America and the Six Nations: Native Americans after the Revolution

Source: americainclass.org/america-and-the-six-nations

Modified from original text

You will be analyzing a speech delivered on December 1, 1790, by Cornplanter (1746?–1836), a chief of the Seneca tribe, to President George Washington. The speech tells a story of trust and betrayal, weakness and power. To understand it, we must understand how the relationship between Indians and European newcomers evolved over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Seneca were part of the Five Nations (later to become the Six Nations after the Tuscarora joined), also called the Iroquois Confederacy. The Confederacy held what is today upstate New York. The Seneca occupied the western part of that area. Extremely powerful, the Six Nations controlled transportation and trade routes into the Ohio Valley. When Europeans arrived in America, the tribes considered their presence an opportunity to expand their trade and influence, and they established relationships with the Dutch, the British, and the French. During the French and Indian War (1754–63) the Confederacy allied with the victorious British. Before the War British settlers had been pushing into Indian territory. With the conclusion of fighting the Proclamation of 1763 stopped such invasions, but settlers ignored it and continued to claim Indian lands. In 1768 colonial and Six Nation leaders met at Fort Stanwix in New York to draw up a treaty that would establish boundaries and keep settlers out of Indian territory. The treaty proved no more effective than the earlier Proclamation. The settlers kept coming.

As the American Revolution began, the Six Nations attempted to remain neutral; they considered the conflict a civil war and had no desire to become involved. As pressure from both sides increased, the British insisted that the Six Nations ally with them. The tribes could not agree on which side to support, and the Confederacy split. The Oneida and Tuscarora supported the Americans; the Seneca, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Cayugas joined the British.

Even though they fought on both sides in the American Revolution and inhabited territories negotiated between Great Britain and the United States, the Six Nations were ignored in the Treaty of Paris of 1783, which ended the war. Nonetheless, they hoped to retain both influence and control of their lands. The Six Nations maintained trade relations with the British, and their territory constituted a buffer between British forts in the Ohio Valley and what was then the northwest border of the United States.

As strategic as that buffer was, Indian ownership of it represented an obstacle to the westward expansion of the United States. During the colonial period Native Americans would often lease land to settlers but retain the right to hunt on it or ask for food from the settlers. After the Revolution American leaders ended this practice and claimed the right to purchase Indian land. In the deals that followed, precise boundaries were difficult to determine because Indians did not survey their lands, marking them instead with pictographs, burial mounds, stones, or natural features. To settle various boundary disputes, Seneca chiefs, in 1784, returned to Fort Stanwix for a replay of the 1768 negotiations. This time they did not face representatives of a British colony but rather officials of a new, independent nation. While the treaty they signed drew boundaries, it also forced them to give up significant amounts of territory. In return, however, the treaty guaranteed that they would be secure in the possession of their remaining lands.

However, even with the Fort Stanwix agreement in place, Indian land holding continued to shrink as speculators and government agents, both federal and state, laid claim to more and more territory. This relentless pressure on Indian land brought Cornplanter to Philadelphia, which had replaced New York as the national capitol in 1790, to ask

Appendix E (cont.)

Washington to confirm that the Seneca lands belong to the Seneca and could not be taken from them.

Did Cornplanter succeed? In his response Washington stated that he could not enforce the land-protecting provisions of the 1784 Fort Stanwix treaty because it was made under the Articles of Confederation, which were no longer in effect. However, he assured Cornplanter that the United States would honor future treaties. Despite this, speculators and state governments continued to take Indian lands.

By examining several key passages from Cornplanter's speech, we will discover the arguments he deployed in his appeal to Washington, and we will get a sense of the plight of the tribes in the wake of the American Revolution.

Excerpt 1: Cornplanter sets the tone of his argument.	**Text Analysis**
To the great Councillor of the thirteen fires. The Speech of the Corn-planter, Half-town and the Great-Tree chiefs of the Senecca Nation. (1) …The voice of the Senecca Nation speaks to you the great Councillor, in whose heart, the wise men of the thirteen fires, have placed their wisdom. (2) It may be very small in your ears, & we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention. (3) For we are about to speak of things which are to us very great. (4) When your army entered the Country of the Six Nations, we called you the Town-destroyer and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the neck of their mothers. (5) Our Councillors and warriors are men, and can not be afraid; but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women & children, and desire, that it may be buried so deep, as to be heard no more. (6) When you gave us peace we called you father, because you promised to secure us in the possession of our Land. (7) Do this and so long as the Land shall remain that beloved name shall live in the heart of every Senecca…. (8) We mean to open our hearts before you, and we earnestly desire, that you will let us clearly understand, what you resolve to do. (9) When our chiefs returned from the treaty of fort Stanwix, and laid before our Council what had been done there our Nation was surprized to hear, how great a Country you had compelled them to give up,	**1. In sentence 1 when Cornplanter refers to Washington as "the great counselor in whose heart the wise men of the thirteen fires have placed their wisdom," to what is he referring?** He is referring to the fact that Washington is president of the United States and he speaks for the thirteen separate states. **2. In sentence 4 Cornplanter's reference to Washington as "the Town-destroyer" recalls a time during the American Revolution (1779) when he ordered the burning of Seneca villages. Why does Cornplanter bring this up?** He wants to remind Washington that Cornplanter understands that he is a powerful warrior and has defeated the Seneca in the past. He also wants to remind Washington that the Seneca have suffered in the past. **3. In sentence 6 Cornplanter contrasts Washington's role as soldier with his role as peace maker. What is the effect of this contrast?** Cornplanter reminds Washington that although at one time they were enemies, they are no longer. It reminds Washington that the Seneca look to him for protection. **4. What is the importance of the use of the word "father" in sentence 6?** It describes Washington's current role as the protector of the Indians and their land.

Appendix E (cont.)

to you, without paying us any thing for it. (10) Every one said your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us for what had happened during the war: but that one day you would reconsider it with more kindness. (11) We asked each other what we had done to deserve such severe chastisement.	**5. In sentences 9 and 10 Cornplanter refers to the 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix. According to Cornplanter what happened there? Why?** The Americans forced the Seneca to give up large areas of land without being paid anything. The Indians assumed the Americans did this because they still harbored animosity toward the Seneca for allying with the British during the Revolution. The Seneca thought that this treatment was unfair; they had hoped that the American's anger had passed and were somewhat surprised to see that it had not. **6. In sentence 10 what hope does Cornplanter raise?** He raises the possibility that Washington will reconsider the treaty of Fort Stanwix.

Excerpt 2: Cornplanter explains why the Seneca fought against the Americans during the Revolution.	**Text Analysis**
(12) …When you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men that assembled at them told us you were all brothers, the children of one great Father who regarded also the red people as his children. (13) They called us brothers and invited us to his protection. (14) They told us he resided beyond the great waters where the sun first rises: That he was a King whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was bright as that sun. (15) What they said went to the bottom of our hearts: We accepted the invitation and promised to obey him. (16) What the Senecca Nation promise they faithfully perform; and when you refused obedience to that King he ordered us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. (17) In obeying him we did no more than you yourselves had lead us to promise. (18) The men who claimed this promise said that you were children and had no Guns that when they had shaken you, you would submit. (19) We hearkened to them and were deceived until your army approached our towns. (20) We were deceived by your people in teaching us to confide in that King, had helped to deceive us and wnow [we now] appeale to your hearts. (21) Is the blame all ours?…	**7. In sentence 12, to what time is Cornplanter referring? How do you know? Cite evidence from the text.** He is referring to the time before the American Revolution. His statement "kindled your thirteen fires separately" means the thirteen colonies were not yet one country but still separate colonies. When he speaks of being "the children of one great father," he is referring to the English King. **8. According to Cornplanter, what was the relationship before the American Revolution between the Seneca and the colonists?** The colonists and Indians were equals — brothers. Both groups were the children of the King "beyond the great waters where the sun first rises". In sentences 12 and 13 Cornplanter states that all the white men were "brothers," the children of one great Father who regarded also the red people as his children. **9. Cornplanter offers a reason to explain why the Seneca supported the British during the American Revolution. What is the reason?** During the colonial period the British, the "wise men," assured the Indians that both they and the British were children of a great Father, the King, who was powerful and good. The Seneca believed them and

Appendix E (cont.)

	"promised to obey" this great Father. When the Revolution came, the Seneca kept their promise. **10. How does Cornplanter argue that in some ways the colonists were to blame for the Seneca supporting Britain?** He maintains that the Seneca were simply doing what the Americans told them to do back when they (the Americans) were themselves British. The Seneca believed that the American rebellion did not nullify the promise they had made earlier to the British. **11. Why does he make this argument?** He makes it in the hope that it will lessen the hostility of the Americans to the Indians. He referred to this hope earlier in sentence 10.

Excerpt 5 Cornplanter warns Washington of unrest on America's northwestern border.	**Text Analysis**
(42) You have said we were in your hand, and that by closing it, you could crush us to nothing. Are you determined to crush us? (43) If you are, tell us so that those of our nation who have become your children & are determined to die so, may know what to do: In this case one chief has said, he would ask you to put him out of pain: Another, who will not think of dying by the hand of his father, has said he will retire to the Chataughque, eat of the faral root, and sleep with his fathers in peace. (44) Before you determine on a measure so unjust, look up to the God who made us, as well as you, we hope he will not permit you to destroy the whole of our nation… (45) When that great Country was given up, there were but few Chiefs present, and they were compelled to give it up. (46) And it is not the Six nations only, that reproach those Chiefs, with having given up that Country; the Chipaways and all the nations who lived on those lands westward, call to us & ask us brothers of our fathers where is the place which you have reserved for us to lie down on. (47) You have compelled us to do that which	**22. What does the first paragraph tell us about the Seneca state of mind?** The Seneca are desperate. The loss of their land and the uncertainty of their condition have driven them to prefer death over life. **23. In paragraph 3 what arguments does Cornplanter make against the legitimacy of the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix?** He argues that only a few Six Nation chiefs were present at the negotiations, and they were forced to sign and give up their lands. **24. How did other tribes in the region react to the Treaty?** They criticized the chiefs who negotiated the Treaty for giving us so much land. Moreover, because they felt that they may not have "a place… to lie down on," they threatened war. **25. How did the Seneca respond when other tribes called on them to war against the Americans?** They asked them to wait until the Seneca could talk to the Americans. **26. Why does Cornplanter tell Washington that the Seneca persuaded the tribes not to go to war?** He wants strengthen his case by illustrating

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has made us ashamed. (48) We have nothing to answer to the children of the brothers of our fathers. (49) When last Spring they called on us to go to war to secure them a bed to lie upon, The Seneccas entreated them to be quiet until we had spoken to you: but on our way down we heard, your army had gone to the Country which those nations inhabit: and if they meet together the best blood on both sides will stain the ground… (50) We will not conceal from you, that the great God, and not man has preserved the Corn planter from his own nation: for they ask continually, where is the Land which our children and their children after them are to lie down on?….	how valuable the Seneca are to Washington in keeping the peace on the northwestern frontier. **27. In this excerpt what warning is Cornplanter delivering to Washington?** He is telling him that there is unrest on America's northwestern border and that if the Indians' problems are not addressed, if he cannot assure the tribes that they will have a place "to lie down on," there will be war.

Excerpt 6: Cornplanter speaks of his personal sacrifice and the plight of his people.	**Text Analysis**
(51) He loves peace, and all that he had in store he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves: the whole season which others employed in providing for their families, he has spent in his endeavors to preserve peace. (52) And at this moment his wife and children are lying on the Ground in want of food. (53) His heart is in pain for them; but he perceives that the great God will try his firmness in doing what is right. (54) The Game which the great Spirit sent into our Country for us to eat, is going from among us: We thought he intended we should till the ground as the white people do, and we talked to one another about it. (55) But before we speak to you of this, we must know from you, whether you mean to leave us, and our children, any land to till. (56) Speak plainly to us concerning this great business. (57) All the Lands we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations: no part of it ever belonged to the King of England, and he could not give it to you. (58) The Land we live on our Fathers received from God, and they transmitted it to us, for our Children and we	**28. Why has Cornplanter given "all that he had in store" to "those who have been robbed"?** He suggests that he has done so to avoid war, to prevent the victims from plundering "the innocent to repay themselves." **29. How have Cornplanter's peace-making efforts affected his family?** He has been unable to to provide for his family, and now they are suffering from lack of food. **30. According to Cornplanter, how have the Seneca interpreted the departure of game from their lands?** They believe it is a sign from the Great Spirit that they, like the white man, should plow the soil. **31. How does Cornplanter refute argument that the British king gave Indian lands to the Americans after the Revolution?** He asserts that the king never owned the lands in the first place. God gave the land to the ancestors of the current generation, and they will in turn to pass it to the next. **32. What finally does Cornplanter ask of Washington?** He asks whether the Americans plan to leave the Seneca with any lands at all.

Appendix E (cont.)

cannot part with it…. (59) These are to us very great things. (60) We know that you are strong and we have heard that you are wise; and we wait to hear your answer to what we have said that we may know that you are just.	

On January 19, 1791, Washington replied to Cornplanter's desire to restore lands lost at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, saying:

"Although it is my sincere desire in looking forward to endeavour to promote your happiness by all just and humane arrangements; yet I cannot disannull [erase] treaties formed by the United States before my administration, especially as the boundaries mentioned therein have been twice confirmed by yourselves. The lines fixed at Fort Stanwix…must therefore remain established."

Appendix F

European Americans and Native Americans View Each Other, 1700-1775

Source: http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/becomingamer/peoples/text3/indianscolonists.pdf

Modified from original text

Autonomy: being self-governing

In British America, there was no greater sense of Otherness than between Europeans and Native Americans. Both Indians and Africans represented the "other" to white colonists, but the Indians held one card denied to the enslaved Africans— autonomy. As sovereign entities, the Indian nations and the European colonies (and countries) often dealt as peers. In trade, war, land deals, and treaty negotiations, Indians held power and used it. Here we canvas the many descriptions of Indians by white colonists and Europeans, and sample the sparse but telling record of the Native American perspective on Europeans and their culture in pre-revolutionary eighteenth-century British America. All come to us, of course, through the white man's eye, ear, and pen. Were it not for white missionaries, explorers, and frontier negotiators (the go-betweens known as "wood's men"), we would have a much sparser record of the Indian response to colonists and their "civilizing" campaigns.

"The natives, the so-called savages"

Francis Daniel Pastorius, Pennsylvania, 17002 Pastorius was the founder of German Town, the first German settlement in Pennsylvania.

The natives, the so-called savages . . . they are, in general, strong, agile, and supple people, with blackish bodies. They went about naked at first and wore only a cloth about the loins. Now they are beginning to wear shirts. They have, usually, coalblack hair, shave the head, smear the same with grease, and allow a long lock to grow on the right side. They also besmear the children with grease and let them creep about in the heat of the sun, so that they become the color of a nut, although they were at first white enough by Nature.

They strive after a sincere honesty, hold strictly to Library Company of Philadelphia Lenni Lenape (Delaware) family, Pennsylvania in T. C. Holm, A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden, 1702 Robert A. Selig "Drey Americaner" ("Three Americans"), Virginia copy of drawing in Francis Louis Michel, Short Report of the American Journey . . . , 1702 their promises, cheat and injure no one. They willingly give shelter to others and are both useful and loyal to their guests. . . . I once saw four of them take a meal together in hearty contentment, and eat a pumpkin cooked in clear water, without butter and spice. Their table and bench was the bare earth, their spoons were mussel-shells with which they dipped up the warm water, their plates were the leaves of the nearest tree, which they do not need to wash with painstaking after the meal, nor to keep with care of future use. I thought to myself, these savages have never in their lives heard the teaching of Jesus concerning temperance and contentment, yet they far excel the Christians in carrying it out. They are, furthermore, serious and of few words, and are amazed when they perceive so much unnecessary chatter, as well as other foolish behavior, on the part of the Christians. Each man has his own wife, and they detest harlotry, kissing, and lying. They know of no idols, but they worship a single all-powerful and merciful God, who limits the power of the Devil. They also believe in the immortality of the soul, which, after the course of life is finished, has a suitable recompense from the all-powerful hand of God awaiting it.

Appendix F (cont.)

"they will seldom injure a Christian, except if given cause for it"

Christoph von Graffenried, North Carolina, 17117. Von Graffenried was co-founder with Lawson and others of the New Bern settlement in North Carolina.

I have heard and observed many more such things among the Indians. But because so many authors have written about them that my remarks would only pass for repetition I will not relate more, except to say concerning the cruel and barbarous manner of the Indians, that they are indeed furious when one angers them; but if one leaves them in peace, does them no harm, and treats them according to their ways in a friendly and goodhearted manner, they will seldom injure a Christian, except if given cause for it. They have occasionally been treated cruelly and badly by the Christians. I have spoken to many of the Indians about their cruelty, but a sensible king answered me and gave a nice example of a snake. If one leaves it in its coil untouched, quiet, and uninjured, it will do no creature harm; but if one disturbs and wounds it, it will bite and wound. And the Spaniards had used their forefathers too cruelly, yes, very inhumanly. Concerning their, the Indians' massacres and fighting treacherously: They had to use their advantage or else they could not hold their own; they were not so strong in numbers, and were not provided with pieces [firearms], muskets, swords, and all sorts of other treacherous inventions made with powder to destroy men; likewise they had neither powder nor lead or else they got them from the Christians themselves; so that our ways were much more treacherous, false, and harmful; otherwise, we would not use them so cruelly. Moreover we practiced among ourselves the greatest tyranny and cruelty. Indeed I have experienced this myself.

"These savages will give us trouble yet."

Francis Cample, Pennsylvania, 1740. An Irish immigrant, Cample settled in the new town of Shippensburg in the Cumberland Valley

Oct. 10th, 1740. The building of our little fort, and the digging of the well within its enclosure, has been a good work. Had it not been for the recent killing of young Alex[ande]r Askew, near to where Robert McInnis was shot seven years ago, the friendship of the Indians might not have been suspected, and this very necessary work might have been postponed until a more serious calamity would have overtaken us. I have no confidence in the friendship of these savages, and have always felt that we have been warming a viper which will some day show us its fangs. Our only safety, in my opinion, depends wholly upon our vigilance and the preparation we make in our defense. . . .

March 10th, 1742. A quarrel occurred last night out at the Spring amongst a party of drunken Indians, during which four of their cabins were set on fire and burned to the ground. One of the Indians, named Bright Star, a desperate man, was seriously injured in the fight, and will likely die of his wounds. I saw him not an hour ago, and considered him then in a dying condition.

"You have your Laws and Customs, so have we."

Gachradodow, a leader of the Iroquois, addressed colonial officials during negotiations for the Lancaster Treaty of 1744 between the Iroquois and the colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

Gachradodow in a strong voice, and with a proper action, spoke as follows:

Great Assaragoa, The World at the first was made on the other Side of the Great Water, different from what it is on this Side, as may be known from the different Colors of our Skin and of our Flesh, and that which you call Justice

Appendix F (cont.)

may not be so amongst us. You have your Laws and Customs, and so have we. The Great King might send you over to conquer the Indians, but it looks to us that God did not approve of it. If he had, he would not have placed the Sea where it is, as the Limits between us and you. . . .

Brother Assaragoa, . . You know very well when the white people came first here, they were poor; but now they have got lands and are by them become rich, and we are now poor: what little we have had for the land goes soon away, but the land lasts forever.

"We are Indians, and don't wish to be transformed into white men."

Shickellamy, New York, 1745. An Oneida leader, Shickellamy expressed his opinion of Christians' attempts to convert the Indians, as recounted by a Moravian missionary.

We were told that two ministers and an Indian had been lately here - probably it was the Presbyterian [David] Brainerd and his interpreter Tatami. He had assembled the Delawares in Shikellmy's house, and (as Shikellmy's people told us) informed that that on Sundays they should assemble as the whites do and pray as they do. Hence he would build a house for that purpose, and stay with them two years. . . To this Shikellmy said: "We are Indians, and don't wish to be transformed into white men. The English are our Brethren, but we never promised to become what they are. As little as we desire the preacher to become Indian, so little ought he to desire the Indians to become preachers. He should not build a house here, they don't want one." They departed for Philadelphia the next day.

Appendix G (cont.)

What about the civil liberties of white women, free African Americans and American Indians?

- Does this challenge the “stock story” of the foundations of the U.S.?
- Compared to white men, what were their civil liberties?
- How were they treated by colonial society?
- What did you find interesting? Are there contradictions between texts?

White Women:
Free African Americans:
American Indians: